Pursuing Passion through *Feelings* or *Values*:

How Lay Beliefs Guide the Pursuit of Passion

Data and Code available at:

https://osf.io/twy5u/?view_only=1d6fef0793c449a68a83999b12d81350

Abstract

Although the pursuit of passion is widely valued in both popular and academic discourses, many employees report struggling to pursue their passion. Here, we seek to understand why by exploring how employees pursue their passion. Our analysis of 117 graduation speeches reveals two distinct lay beliefs about how passion is pursued: one focuses on pursuing passion through activities which evoke strong positive affect (*feelings-based* passion pursuit), while the other centers on pursuing passion through activities that reflect personal values (*values-based* passion pursuit). Across three samples of full-time employees, we develop a scale to measure these lay beliefs, demonstrate construct and discriminant validity, and show their contrasting associations: *values-based* passion pursuit was consistently associated with higher passion and job satisfaction, and lower turnover intentions, while *feelings-based* passion pursuit was not. Our theory and findings suggest that employees may more successfully pursue their passion by focusing on following *values* instead of *feelings*.

Keywords: passion, motivation, lay beliefs, turnover, career decisions

Each year, more than 3.5 million college graduates enter the workforce (U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics, 2018), after business leaders, politicians, and academics have exhorted them to "find" or "follow" their passion through their work. This advice seems to be widely embraced (Cech, 2018), as evidenced by numerous graduation speeches, talks, and articles on the topic (Hennie, 2013; Sheets, 2013). The workplaces graduates enter into also emphasize the pursuit of passion: In the eyes of many employers, passion for work is a highly desired quality (Hagel, Brown, Ranjan, & Byler, 2014), as shown through the abundance of job postings and mission statements by leading organizations across industries (Gershon, 2017; Neely, 2020; Reid, 2015; Rivera, 2015; Wolf, Lee, Sah, & Brooks, 2016). This emphasis on passion extends beyond the popular and into the academic literature, which suggests that passion—defined as "a strong feeling toward a personally important value/preference that sparks intentions and behaviors which express that value/preference" (Jachimowicz et al., 2018, p. 9980)—is associated with numerous beneficial outcomes (for meta-analysis, see Pollack, Ho, O'Boyle, & Kirkman, 2020). These outcomes include greater job satisfaction (Burke & Fiksenbaum, 2009), increased work engagement (Ho & Astakhova, 2017), greater perseverance (Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews, & Kelly, 2007), and heightened job performance (Astakhova & Porter, 2015; Jachimowicz, Wihler, Bailey, & Galinsky, 2018).

Given the emphasis placed on passion and the benefits accrued to those who pursue their passion, one might expect that a large proportion of employees are passionate for their work. However, while a majority of employees list "passion for work" as critical in their jobs (Burnett, 2018; Sagala, 2018), a recent survey of 3,059 U.S. employees concluded that only 13% of workers report being passionate for their work (Hagel, Seely Brown, Wooll, & Ranjan, 2017). This is not only a function of employees selecting jobs that do not afford the pursuit of passion, given that similar struggles have also been reported in jobs ostensibly

chosen by employees pursuing their passion, such as teaching and nursing (Douglass, 2017; Fernet, Lavigne, Vallerand, & Austin, 2014; Guo et al., 2019). The reality of such challenges inherent in the pursuit of passion thus stands in contrast to the elevated notion passion holds in contemporary workplaces and the academic literature, which raises the question: How do people pursue their passion, and why do some struggle in this pursuit more so than others?

We address these questions in the current research, exploring whether different employees pursue their passion in different ways, and whether doing so affects how successful employees are in their pursuit of passion for their work. More specifically, we draw on extant narratives culled from graduation speeches and prior theory extolling how workforce entrants should pursue their passion, which reveals two distinct lay beliefs about passion for work: Some employees pursue their passion by engaging in work that evokes strong positive feelings (i.e., what we call *feelings-based* passion pursuit), while others pursue their passion by engaging in work that allows them to express their values (i.e., what we call *values-based* passion pursuit).[1] We propose and find that these lay beliefs have contrasting effects on work outcomes, such that *values-based* passion pursuit is consistently associated with better work outcomes, including higher passion, while *feelings-based* passion pursuit is not.

Our research takes a bottom-up approach by examining how the different lay beliefs of passion pursuit espoused by popular figures and in prior literature relate to work outcomes. That is, different employees hold distinct lay beliefs about how passion is pursued, which impact how successful they are in their pursuit of passion, and their subsequent job satisfaction and intention to leave their job. Distinguishing between these two lay beliefs, we propose, helps provide one puzzle piece for why some employees more successfully pursue

[1] While we discuss these two lay beliefs as distinct, we do not view them as being on opposite ends on the same dimension. Rather, people can vary in the extent to which they hold either lay belief. In the General Discussion, we also report and discuss potential interaction effects between the two lay beliefs.

their passion for work while others struggle. To do so, we conducted three studies. In Study 1, we explored narratives from 117 graduation speeches and developed a scale to measure the lay beliefs of passion pursuit espoused in these speeches (drawing on an approach used in Grant, Berg, & Cable, 2014; Spielmann et al., 2013). We subsequently validated this measure with a sample of 202 full-time employees, and tested the differential effects of passion pursuit lay beliefs on work outcomes: passion for work, job satisfaction, and turnover intention. In Study 2, we replicated these findings in a sample of 204 full-time employees, and provided discriminant validity to a number of related constructs. Finally, in Study 3, we relate lay beliefs of passion pursuit to a behavioral measure of turnover (Gardner, Van Iddekinge, & Hom, 2018).

The current research advances our understanding of the contrast between the widely-held beliefs about the importance of passion in the contemporary workplace (Neely, 2020; Reid, 2015; Wolf et al., 2016) and the challenges reported by employees seeking to pursue their passion (Douglass, 2017; Fernet, Lavigne, Vallerand, & Austin, 2014; Guo et al., 2019; Hagel, Seely Brown, et al., 2017). That is, while many employees may view the pursuit of passion as an important goal, we demonstrate that the lay beliefs that guide this pursuit may be a crucial determinant in their success. This perspective thereby also addresses prior calls for research to "discover the roots of work passion" (Perrewé, Hochwarter, Ferris, Mcallister, & Harris, 2014, p. 148; see also Cardon, Wincent, Singh, & Drnovsek, 2009; Curran, Hill, Appleton, Vallerand, & Standage, 2015; Pollack et al., 2018) by investigating *how* people pursue their passion and *why* differences these lay beliefs matter in understanding disparate outcomes in passion pursuit. Taken together, our theory and results suggest that one reason why employees are struggling to pursue their passion is because many pursue the affective high of passion, but doing so is not associated with favorable outcomes; on the contrary,

pursuing passion by focusing on what one cares about may be linked with better work outcomes.

Theory Development

While passion as a construct was initially developed to explore hobbies (Vallerand, Mageau, et al., 2003), recent research has increasingly examined passion as it pertains to work (Pollack, Ho, O'Boyle, & Kirkman, 2020). These studies have theoretically and empirically distinguished passion for work from other constructs, including personal interest, intrinsic motivation, flow, and engagement (Birkeland & Buch, 2015; Cardon, Post, & Forster, 2017; Cardon, Wincent, Singh, & Drnovsek, 2009; Cho & Jiang, 2021; Curran et al., 2015; Ho & Astakhova, 2017; Perrewé et al., 2014; Pollack et al., 2019; Vallerand, 2015). Note that passion is commonly conceptualized as consisting of three components: first, experiencing passion reflects a strong affective response (Chen, Yao, & Kotha, 2009); second, experiencing passion means to enact an attribute that is meaningful to the individual (Newman, Obschonka, Moeller, & Chandan, 2019); third, passion propels employees to engage in behaviors that reflect what they care about (Curran et al., 2015).

As a result, passion for work overlaps with but is distinct from related constructs. For example, in contrast to intrinsic motivation, employees who are passionate about their work are more likely to weave their passion for work into their self-concept (Birkeland & Buch, 2015; Liu, Chen, & Yao, 2011; Pollack et al., 2020; Vallerand, 2015; Vallerand, Houlfort, & Fores, 2003). Passion for work also explains variance in several organizationally relevant outcomes above and beyond what related constructs can explain (Cho & Jiang, 2021; Ho, Wong, & Lee, 2011; Liu et al., 2011; Trépanier, Fernet, Austin, Forest, & Vallerand, 2014). For example, higher levels of passion for work are uniquely related to higher job satisfaction, greater concentration, higher self-esteem, and greater creativity (Burke & Fiksenbaum, 2009; Curran et al., 2015; Ho & Astakhova, 2017; Pollack et al., 2018; Zigarmi, Nimon, Houson,

Witt, & Diehl, 2009), as well as reduced burnout and emotional exhaustion (Birkeland, Richardsen, & Dysvik, 2017; Claude Fernet et al., 2014).

In addition to its significance in academic research, the pursuit of passion has also taken on an important role in public discourse. In recent years, passion for work has become a widespread goal for many employees and employers (Tokumitsu, 2014)—so much so that sociological research has portrayed the pursuit of passion as a "schema" that permeates the workplace as a highly-prized attribute (Gershon, 2017; Neely, 2020; Reid, 2015; Rivera, 2015; Wolf et al., 2016). Within this schema, passion is considered a signal for an employee's ability to excel (Rao & Tobias Neely, 2019; Reid, 2015; Sharone, 2013), and cultivating passion among the workforce is viewed as integral to running a successful business (e.g., Chen, Ellsworth, & Schwarz, 2015; Hagel, Brown, & Samoylova, 2013; O'Keefe, Dweck, & Walton, 2018; Whitehurst, 2016). The pursuit of passion therefore represents a goal that many employees aspire to reach and that many organizations aim to cultivate.

Lay Beliefs about the Pursuit of Passion

Given the importance of the pursuit of passion for many, how do employees go about its pursuit? Here, we propose that employees vary in their lay beliefs—systematic if-then assumptions (Detert & Edmondson, 2011; Levy, Chiu, & Hong, 2006)—about how passion is pursued. Both academic and popular discourses suggest that some employees believe that passion for work is pursued by engaging in activities that spark strong positive feelings (*feelings-based* passion pursuit), while others believe that passion for work is pursued by engaging in activities that allow them to express their values (*values-based* passion pursuit). However, to date these distinctions and their implications have not been systematically examined, leaving open the question of whether they differentially affect important work outcomes. Below, we highlight the differences between these different approaches to passion

pursuit, and discuss how their differential endorsement by individuals may produce distinct outcomes.

***Feelings-Based* Passion Pursuit.** Several academic and popular accounts describe the pursuit of passion as the engagement in activities that provide a strong positive affective experience. For example, passion has been viewed as "enthusiasm, joy, and even zeal" (Smilor, 1997, p. 342), as constituting "intense positive emotions" (Gielnik et al., 2015, p. 1014), and even as "love of one's work" (Baum & Locke, 2004, p. 588).

Feelings-based passion pursuit is also commonly espoused by prominent business people, politicians, journalists, and academics, particularly in graduation speeches. For example, in a 2013 graduation speech, UC San Diego Chancellor Pradeep K. Khosla said, "[h]owever you find your passion, make sure it's something that makes you happy." Likewise, during a 2007 commencement address, news anchor Brian Kenny said, "[F]ind what you love to do, and pour yourself into it. You do not want to dread driving to work every day. You'll be at your best, by the way, when you're happy. When you feel joy." Similarly, media proprietor Oprah Winfrey, in a 2008 commencement address, stated that passion will "bloom when we're doing what we love." Finally, in his 2020 commencement address, T-Mobile CEO Mike Sievert said, "[F]ollow the cliché — follow your passions. Find the things that make you happy and help you spread happiness to other people." *Feelings-based* passion pursuit thus emphasizes that the pursuit of passion entails engaging in activities that sparks strong positive feelings, but does not specify whether those activities themselves are personally important or not.

***Values-Based* Passion Pursuit.** A second lay belief construes the pursuit of passion for work as engaging in activities that are personally important. For instance, prior research has suggested that those whose work identities are important and central to themselves experience heightened levels of passion for work (Murnieks et al., 2014) and that employees

direct passion toward activities they "find particularly meaningful" (Perrewé et al., 2014, p. 147).

Values-based passion pursuit is also frequently depicted in popular accounts. Turning to commencement addresses, former Mexican President Felipe Calderón noted in 2011, "you have to embrace with passion the things that you believe in, and that you are fighting for." Likewise, in graduation remarks in 2009, former Associate Justice Yvette McGee Brown noted, "Therein lies the truth of what your life's work should really be. […] Something that you have a passion for; something that gives voice to who you are." Similarly, former presidential advisor David Gergen, in a 2010 commencement address, revisited an encounter between then-U.S. senator Barack Obama and a group of students and quoted Obama as saying, "Look. You can't plan out your life. What you have to do is first discover your passion—what you really care about." Taken together, these excerpts reflect *values-based* passion pursuit, which suggests that the pursuit of passion should center on activities one finds important or valuable, and does not specify whether these activities ought to evoke strong positive affect.

Despite what appears to be a clear distinction between both lay beliefs of how passion is pursued, a comprehensive analysis differentiating these lay beliefs has yet to be conducted to instantiate them. We therefore revisit prior academic literature and delve into the popular domain, focusing on graduation speeches as representative of the popular discourse where the virtue of passion pursuit is extolled (Duckworth, 2016), to further scholars' understanding of these lay beliefs and develop a way to measure them.

Differential Effects of *Feelings-Based* and *Values-Based* Passion Pursuit

Given our assumption that *feelings-based* and *values-based* passion represent two lay beliefs, both in academic and popular contexts, we argue that they distinctly shape how

successful people are in their pursuit of passion.[2] Specifically, we argue that employees who hold a *feelings-based* lay belief are less likely to be successful in their pursuit of passion, in comparison to employees who hold a *values-based* lay belief. Note that employees who hold a *feelings-based* lay belief are ultimately in pursuit of positive emotional experiences at work, and there is evidence that the emotions that employees gain from doing their jobs diminish over time (Diener, Lucas, & Scollon, 2006). That is, those who focus on pursuing affective experiences will likely experience less intense emotions over time because of the inevitable decline in emotional intensity in any job (Frijda, 1988). When this decline in affective intensity occurs, employees may attribute their experience to being less successful in their pursuit of passion.

Aligned with this argument is research on affective forecasting (Wilson & Gilbert, 2005), which demonstrates that people typically make affective forecasting errors, inadequately estimating whether future events will provide them with the feelings they seek (Gilbert & Ebert, 2002; Wilson & Gilbert, 2003). Therefore, it is possible that employees who endorse a *feelings-based* passion pursuit may seek out work activities that they expect will bring them strong positive affect, but in doing so may inaccurately estimate whether this work will actually provide them with those affective experiences. We therefore hypothesized the following:

> **Hypothesis 1.** Employees who hold *feelings-based* beliefs about the pursuit of passion will report lower levels of passion for their work.

In contrast, employees who pursue their passion with a *values-based* belief may focus less on the emotions associated with their work, and thus be less susceptible to the effects of

[2] Note that this situates our work within prior studies which show how lay beliefs affect work-related outcomes. For example, individuals who believe negotiation attributes can be improved outperform negotiators who believe negotiation attributes are fixed (Kray & Haselhuhn, 2007). Similarly, entrepreneurs who believe entrepreneurial ability is malleable outperform entrepreneurs who believe entrepreneurial ability cannot be learned (Pollack, Burnette, & Hoyt, 2012). We thus propose that, as a result of their different lay beliefs about how passion is pursued, employees may vary in how successful they are in that pursuit.

fluctuations in emotions and forecasting errors. Further, since values are stable cognitions, and not fleeting emotional experiences, jobs that reflect one's values can provide a continuously fulfilling experience, sometimes lasting over a lifetime (Rokeach, 2008). Indeed, prior research suggests that the values employees seek to enact in their work remain relatively stable over time (Harpaz & Fu, 2002), in part because they are a component of their identity (Serpe, 1987; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

In addition, because people are motivated to preserve their sense of self by engaging in activities aligned with that sense (Burke, 1991), employees who endorse a *values-based* belief may be more likely to persevere in their pursuit of passion. Just as the German word for passion—"Leidenschaft"—refers to the ability to endure hardship because the reasons for engaging in an activity are personally important, employees who pursue their passion with a *values-based* lay belief may be more likely to continue with their pursuit of passion even when a positive affective response is lacking (see also Jachimowicz, Wihler, Bailey, & Galinsky, 2018). In addition, employees with a *values-based* passion pursuit lay belief may seek ways to have their job reflect what they care about (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001); that is, employees who seek out work they care about are often able to craft it, such as by including or excluding tasks or imputing meaning to their work (Berg, Grant, & Johnson, 2010).

Our assertion that a *values-based* lay belief may facilitate the pursuit of passion is further supported by research that focuses on how students develop a passion for a new activity. For instance, in one study, junior high school students learned how to play a new musical instrument. Five months later, the students who were more likely to attain greater passion were those who placed more value on music (Mageau et al., 2009). In another study, undergraduate students enrolled in entrepreneurship training, and 12 weeks later, after the course concluded, the students who were more likely to report greater passion for

entrepreneurial activities were those who had integrated entrepreneurship into their identity (Gielnik, Uy, Funken, & Bischoff, 2017). Taken together, we hypothesized the following:

> **Hypothesis 2.** Employees who hold *values-based* beliefs about the pursuit of passion will report higher levels of passion for their work.

We further specify that experiencing being less successful in one's pursuit of passion has the potential to influence two important work-related outcomes: job satisfaction and turnover intentions. Because employees often expect to be passionate for their work (Bolles, 2009; Wolf, Lee, Sah, & Brooks, 2016; Perrewé et al., 2014), they may be less satisfied with their work if their current employment does not match that expectation, i.e., when they are less successful in their pursuit of passion. In addition, this dissatisfaction may also prompt employees to seek employment elsewhere with the hope of finding an environment that can provide greater passion for work (Bedeian, Kemery, & Pizzolatto, 1991; Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007). Aligned with our previous theorizing, we argue that employees who endorse a *feelings-based* belief are more likely to report lower levels of job satisfaction and higher turnover intensions because of reduced success in passion pursuit. In contrast, we suggest that employees who hold a *values-based* belief will be more likely to report higher levels of job satisfaction and lower turnover intensions because of higher success in passion pursuit. More precisely, we hypothesize:

> **Hypothesis 3a.** Passion for work will be negatively related to job satisfaction and positively related to turnover intention.
>
> **Hypothesis 3b.** The relationship between passion pursuit lay beliefs, job satisfaction, and turnover intentions is mediated by passion for work.

Overview of Studies

We first qualitatively explore narratives from 117 graduation speeches, and use them to develop the Passion Pursuit Scale, a measure of how individuals pursue their passion for work. We subsequently detail our validation of the Passion Pursuit Scale and use it to test the

differential effects of the *feelings-based* and *values-based* lay beliefs on how successful people are in their pursuit of passion as well as on job satisfaction and turnover intentions across three studies with full-time employees. All data and code to reproduce our analysis is available at https://osf.io/twy5u/?view_only=1d6fef0793c449a68a83999b12d81350. We report all manipulations, measures, and exclusions in these studies.

Study 1

The main purpose of this study was to develop and validate measures that assess passion for work and distinguish between the different lay beliefs of how passion is pursued. We began by developing 20 items for each of the lay belief constructs and then we conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) of the items to separately develop a Passion Pursuit Scale and a Passion for Work Scale.[3] We subsequently test the hypothesized relationships using regression analyses and structural equation modelling.

Item Generation

We developed the Passion Pursuit Scale by collecting narratives on how to pursue passion from 117 graduation speeches across a variety of different university categories. We chose to sample narratives from graduation speeches because these speeches represent one of the most common settings in which the pursuit of passion is highlighted (Duckworth, 2016). Three independent raters coded the speeches for *feelings-based* and *values-based* narratives about the pursuit of passion (for similar methods, see Grant, Berg, & Cable, 2014; Spielmann et al., 2013). An average Cohen's kappa agreement between raters of .84 reflected reasonably

[3] A recent meta-analysis highlights that prior research uses a wide variety of passion scales, but that two scales are particularly often used (Pollack et al., 2020). First, the most widely-used scale for passion, "harmonious passion" (for work) focusses on how passion is internalized, with items like "My job is in harmony with the other activities in my life" (Liu et al., 2011; Vallerand, Blanchard, et al., 2003). The second most-common passion scale, the entrepreneurial passion scale (Cardon, Gregoire, Stevens, & Patel, 2013), is specific to entrepreneurs. Given the current research's focus, we therefore develop a scale that captures the extent to which employees are successful in their pursuit of passion for work.

good agreement overall (Landis & Koch, 1977). Examples of coded quotes from graduation speeches for both lay beliefs are summarized in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

Based on the coded graduation speech statements, we developed twenty items each for both *feelings-based* and *values-based* pursuit of passion. In response to the prompt "I pursue my passion for work by…" participants were asked to rate their agreement on a 7-point scale (ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*). For *feelings-based* passion pursuit, items included, "… focusing on activities that bring me joy," "… dedicating time to tasks that make me feel elated," and "… choosing tasks based on how much I think I will enjoy them." For *values-based* passion pursuit items included, "… identifying the aspects of my work that allow me to express my values," "… furthering the values and ideals I am committed to" and "… working on projects that adhere to my values" (see Table S1 for a list of all 40 items).

Similarly, to generate items for the Passion for Work Scale, we reviewed prior academic literature, including existing definitions of and theories around passion, as well as extant passion scales, and developed twenty items. To do so, we drew from a recent meta-analysis of the passion literature (Pollack, Ho, O'Boyle, & Kirkman, 2020), detailing a number of scales and theoretical definitions used in prior research, which we used for item generation. Items were rated on a 7-point scale (ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*), and included "My work helps me further my passion," "My job allows me to pursue my passion" and "My job fosters my passion" (see Table S2 for a list of all 20 items).

Participants

To ascertain the psychometric properties of the Passion Pursuit Scale and the Passion for Work Scale, we recruited 202 full-time employees through Prolific (M_{age} = 36.04, SD_{age} = 9.81, 48.1% female) who indicated in a pre-screen that they were interested in pursuing their passion for work. This sample size allows us to detect small-to-medium-sized correlations (r = .196) with 80% power.

Additional Measures

In addition to responding to the passion pursuit and passion for work items, participants also reported two work-related outcomes.

Job Satisfaction. We measured job satisfaction using a one-item measure (Dolbier, Webster, McCalister, Mallon, & Steinhardt, 2005). On a scale from 1 = *extremely dissatisfied* to 7 = *extremely satisfied*, participants rated their agreement with "Taking everything into consideration, how do you feel about your job as a whole?"

Turnover Intentions. We also assessed turnover intentions with a two-item measure (Chen, Ployhart, Thomas, Anderson, & Bliese, 2011). On a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*, participants rated their agreement with "I frequently think of quitting my job" and "I am planning to search for a new job during the next 12 months" (r = .88).

All participants were also asked to report their age, gender, number of years employed, education level, income, job title, and industry. We used their reported job title to code for whether or not they were a manager or supervisor and we used their reported industry to code for sector (public versus private). These measures were used as control variables in our analyses given their prior association with our variables of interest (Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002; Pollack et al., 2020; Tett & Meyer, 1993).

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Passion Pursuit Scale. We first conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with an orthogonal rotation (varimax) on the data from the 40 passion pursuit items (20 for *feelings-based* passion pursuit and 20 for *value-based* passion pursuit). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .97. The KMO measure for each of the 40 items was greater than .95, which indicates a high level of sampling adequacy. Barlett's test of sphericity, $\chi 2(780) = 8294.834$, $p < .001$, highlights that correlations between items were sufficiently large for factor analysis.

We subsequently used a parallel factor analysis to determine how many factors to extract (Horn, 1965) and found that a two-factor solution emerges (see Figure S1). The two factors suggested by the EFA support our theorizing of two distinct lay beliefs regarding how passion is pursued (i.e., *feelings-based* and *values-based* passion pursuit). Indeed, as Table S1 highlights, all items developed to reflect *feelings-based* passion pursuit loaded onto one factor, and all items developed to reflect *value-based* passion pursuit loaded onto the other.

Given that item loadings were strong for most items, we shortened the scales by selecting items that uniquely captured the type of passion pursuit lay belief they represent. To do this, we chose items that loaded the weakest onto the factor they do not represent. Based on the recommendation of Hinkin (1998), we aimed for five items for each of the subscales (*feelings-based* passion pursuit and *values-based* passion pursuit). The EFA factor loadings of our items after scale reduction are reported in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

All loadings were at least 0.69 and all cross-loadings were no higher than 0.32. The communalities (h2) for each of the items was at least .56, which suggested that the variance in each item was explained well by the extracted factors. The total scale (α=.91) explained 69% of the variance, with the *feelings-based* passion pursuit factor explaining 32%, and the *values-based* passion pursuit factor explaining 37%. The resulting five-item *feelings-based* passion pursuit scale (α = .89) and the five-item *values-based* passion pursuit scale (α =.93) are moderately correlated (r = .479; 95% CI [.365, .579]; VIF = 1.30).

Passion for Work Scale. We used a similar methodology with the 20 passion for work items. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .98. The KMO measure for each of the 20 items was greater than .97, which indicates a high level of sampling adequacy. Barlett's test of sphericity, $\chi 2(190) = 6938.862$, $p < .001$, indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large for factor analysis. Parallel analysis suggested a one-factor solution (see Figure S2). Table S2 shows the factor loadings of an EFA with no rotation. The communalities (h2) for each of the items was at least .72 which suggested that the variance in each item was explained well by the extracted factor. To reduce the number of items in the passion for work scale, we first selected the five items with the strongest loadings. However, because they were highly correlated (r > .85), we further reduced the items to the following three (α = .97): (1) "I am accomplishing my pursuit of passion through my work," (2) "I am following my passion through my job," and (3) "My work activities propel my passion."

Common Method Variance Test

Given that all of our data was collected through a single survey, we tested for common method variance using the Harman's one-factor test (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). To conduct this test, we ran a confirmatory factor analysis in which all of the study's variables (five variables: *feelings-based* passion, *values-based* passion, passion

for work, job satisfaction, and turnover intention) were loaded onto a common factor. The one factor model did not fit the data well ($\chi^2[104] = 1483.263$, CFI = .529, TLI = .456, RMSEA = .256 [90% CI: 0.245, 0.268], SRMR = .206), suggesting that our effects are not the result of common method variance.

Hypothesis Testing

Passion for Work. We next regressed passion for work onto both *feelings*- and *values-based* passion pursuit. While both types of passion pursuit were positively related to higher levels of passion for work, *values-based* passion pursuit ($\beta = .46$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$) had a larger effect than *feelings-based* passion pursuit ($\beta = .13$, $SE = .07$, $p = .055$); the difference between these two coefficients was statistically significant, $\beta = .33$, 95% CI = [.10, .56], $p = .005$. These results remained comparable when controlling for tenure, education, income, age, gender, sector, and whether the participant held a managerial role (*values-based*: $\beta = .43$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$; *feelings-based*: $\beta = .17$, $SE = .07$, $p = .021$). Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) similarly highlights that *values-based* passion pursuit ($\beta = .46$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$) has a larger effect on passion for work than *feelings-based* passion pursuit ($\beta = .13$, $SE = .07$, $p = .052$).

Job Satisfaction. We also regressed job satisfaction onto both *feelings*- and *values-based* passion pursuit, and find that only *values-based* passion pursuit significantly predicted job satisfaction ($\beta = .39$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$), while *feelings-based* passion pursuit did not ($\beta = .11$, $SE = .07$, $p = .130$). The difference between these two coefficients was statistically significant, $\beta = .28$, 95% CI = [.04, .52], $p = .025$. Results were similar after controlling for tenure, education, income, age, gender, sector, and whether the participant held a managerial role (*values-based*: $\beta = .36$, SE = .08, $p < .001$; *feelings-based*: $\beta = .15$, SE = .08, $p = .055$). SEM also supported our finding that values-based passion pursuit is a significant predictor of

job satisfaction, while feelings-based passion pursuit is not (*values-based*: $\beta = .39$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$; *feelings-based*: $\beta = .11$, $SE = .07$, $p = .126$).

Turnover Intentions. We then regressed turnover intentions onto both *feelings-* and *values-based* passion pursuit. As before, *values-based* passion pursuit significantly predicted turnover intentions ($\beta = -.28$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$), while *feelings-based* passion pursuit did not ($\beta = -.11$, $SE = .08$, $p = .135$). However, the difference between these two coefficients was not statistically significant, $\beta = -.16$, 95% CI = [-.42, .09], $p = .208$. Our results did not change when we controlled for tenure, education, income, age, gender, sector, and whether the participant held a managerial role (*values-based*: $\beta = -.26$, $SE = .08$, $p = .001$; *feelings-based*: $\beta = -.11$, $SE = .08$, $p = .169$). SEM also supported our finding that *values-based* passion pursuit is a significant predictor of turnover intentions, while *feelings-based* passion pursuit is not (*values-based*: $\beta = -.28$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$; *feelings-based*: $\beta = -.11$, $SE = .08$, $p = .131$).

Exploratory Analysis. Mediation Models. Finally, in an exploratory analysis, we tested the indirect effects linking passion pursuit to job satisfaction and turnover intentions via passion for work. Using bootstrapped bias-corrected confidence intervals (10,000 iterations), we found a statistically significant indirect effect between *values-based* passion pursuit and both job satisfaction (95% CI = [.248, .483]) and turnover intentions (95% CI = [-.392, -.177]). However, the indirect effects between *feelings-based* passion pursuit and both job satisfaction (95% CI = [-.004, .227]) and turnover intentions (95% CI = [-.178, .002]) were not statistically significant.

Discussion

In Study 1, we validated both the Passion Pursuit Scale and the Passion for Work Scale and provided initial evidence for the differential effects of *feelings-based* and *values-based* passion pursuit on passion for work, as well as job satisfaction and turnover intention,

with values-*based* passion pursuit overall having a stronger relationship with these constructs relative to *feelings-based* passion pursuit. These results provide initial evidence for Hypotheses 2 and 3, but only partially for Hypothesis 1—that is, while *feeling-based* passion pursuit was negatively associated with passion for work, that relationship was weaker than the positive association between *values-based* passion pursuit and passion for work.

Study 2

In Study 2, we used another sample of participants to test the construct validity of the Passion Pursuit Scale, provide discriminant validity with related constructs, and test our full theoretical model. We recruited 204 full-time employees (M_{age} = 35.57, SD_{age} = 10.26, 47.06% female) who indicated that they were interested in pursuing their passion at their jobs through Prolific. This sample size allows us to detect small-to-medium-sized correlations (r = .195) with 80% power.

Measures

We used the ten-item Passion Pursuit Scale (α_{values} =.92; $\alpha_{feelings}$ =.90) and three-item Passion for Work Scale (α =.97) that we developed in Study 1. We used the same one-item measure for job satisfaction, the same two-item measure for turnover intentions (r = .74), and the same control variables as in Study 1.

Discriminant Validity. To distinguish our effects from other constructs related to passion for work (Ho & Astakhova, 2017; Perrewé et al., 2014; Pollack et al., 2020), we measured intrinsic motivation (e.g., in response to "Why are you motivated to do your work?," items included "Because I enjoy the work itself;" α = .95; Grant, 2008), work meaningfulness (e.g., "What I do at work makes a difference in the world;" α = .96; Bunderson & Thompson, 2009), neoclassical calling (e.g., "The work I do feels like my calling in life;" α = .94; Bunderson & Thompson, 2009), and positive/negative affect ($\alpha_{positive}$ =.92; $\alpha_{negative}$ =.89; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988).

Results

Table S3 depicts the means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations of study variables.

Construct Validity. To test for convergent validity, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the ten items of the Passion Pursuit Scale. As shown in Table S4, items loaded strongly on their a priori factor. The two-factor model of *feelings-based* passion pursuit and *values-based* passion pursuit fit the data adequately: $\chi^2[34] = 111.865$, CFI = .949, TLI = .933, RMSEA = .106 [90% CI: 0.085, 0.128], SRMR = .040, all item loadings were statistically significant ($p < .001$). Given that the RMSEA was a bit high, we examined the residual correlations between items. As displayed in Table S5, there were only two residual correlations with magnitudes greater than 0.1 and neither were extreme.

Discriminant Validity. Following the examples of Farrell (2010) and Nifadkar, Tsui, and Ashforth (2012), we took three approaches to assess the discriminant validity of the Passion Pursuit Scale. First, we conducted another CFA that included measures of constructs similar to the Passion Pursuit Scale: intrinsic motivation, neoclassical calling, work meaningfulness, positive affect, and negative affect. Although all item loadings were statistically significant ($p < .001$), the measures of model fit were mixed: $\chi^2[990] = 8973.544$, CFI = .896, TLI = .889, RMSEA = .066 [90% CI: .061, .071], SRMR = .055. Upon closer examination, the items with the greatest unaccounted-for variance (item loadings < .6) were in the negative affect and positive affect scales (see Table S6 for item loadings). As shown in Table S8, AVE estimates further highlighted that items in the positive affect and negative affect were driving poor model fit. The AVE estimates for these scales were less than .60, suggesting that these scales had poor convergence validity. Given that the two affect scales are not measures of primary interest, we conducted another CFA that excluded them. The fit of the five-factor model (*feelings-based* passion pursuit, *values-based* passion pursuit,

intrinsic motivation, neoclassical calling, and work meaningfulness) was satisfactory: $\chi^2[265] = 633.589$, CFI = .933, TLI = .924, RMSEA = .083 [90% CI: .074, .091], SRMR = .048, all item loadings were statistically significant ($p < .001$). Factor loadings are shown in Table S7.

Second, we used the AVE versus shared variance test to examine discriminant validity (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). As displayed in Table S8, the AVE for both *feelings-based* and *values-based* passion pursuit is greater than their shared variance with any of the other constructs. Third, we ran a paired construct test where we compared the six-factor model described above with a constrained version of the model (Bagozzi & Phillips, 1982). In the constrained model, inter-factor correlations between the two subscales of the Passion Pursuit Scale and similar constructs were constrained to 1. More specifically, we constrained the following correlations: (1) *values-based* passion pursuit and work meaningfulness, (2) *values-based* passion pursuit and neoclassical calling, and (3) *values-based* passion pursuit and intrinsic motivation. The AIC measures for the unconstrained model were lower than those for the constrained model and a chi-square difference test between the two models was statistically significant ($p < .001$; Table S9). These results support discriminant validity for the *values-based* passion pursuit and *feelings-based* passion pursuit scales.

Common Method Variance Test. Given that all of our data was collected through a single survey, we tested for common method variance using the Harman's one-factor test (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). To conduct this test, we ran a confirmatory factor analysis in which all of the study's variables (five variables: *feelings-based* passion, *values-based* passion, passion for work, job satisfaction, and turnover intention) were loaded onto a common factor. The one factor model did not fit the data well ($\chi^2[104] = 1353.041$, CFI = .570, TLI = .503, RMSEA = .243 [90% CI: 0.231, 0.254], SRMR = .155), suggesting that our effects are not the result of common method variance.

Hypothesis Testing.

Passion for Work. To test Hypotheses 1 and 2, we regressed passion for work onto both *feelings*- and *values- based* passion pursuit. As shown in Table 3, we found that while *values-based* passion pursuit was significantly related to passion for work (β = .63, *SE* = .08, $p < .001$), *feelings-based* passion was not (β = -.05, *SE* = .08, $p = .585$). The difference between these two coefficients was statistically significant, β = .67, 95% CI = [.37, .97], $p < .001$. This relationship held even after controlling for tenure, education, income, age, gender, sector, and whether the participant held a managerial role (*values-based* passion pursuit: β = .62, *SE* = .09, $p < .001$; *feelings-based*: β = -.05, *SE* = .09, $p = .576$). *Values-based* passion pursuit also showed significant predictive power for passion for work above and beyond similar constructs (intrinsic motivation, neoclassical calling, and work meaningfulness; *values-based* passion pursuit: β = .17, *SE* = .05, $p = .002$; *feelings-based*: β = -.07, *SE* = .05, $p = .157$). Once again, the difference between these two coefficients was statistically significant, β = .24, 95% CI = [.05, .43], $p = .014$.

Insert Table 3 about here

As an additional robustness check, we conducted Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), taking the correlation of all measured variables into account by simultaneously regressing *values-based* passion pursuit and *feelings-based* passion pursuit with the theoretically similar constructs. Again, *values*-based passion pursuit was significantly associated with higher passion for work (*estimate* = .13, *SE* = .04, $p = .001$), even after controlling for intrinsic motivation (*estimate* = .23, *SE* = .06, $p < .001$), neoclassical calling (*estimate* = .52, *SE* = .06, $p < .001$), and work meaningfulness (*estimate* = .13, *SE* = .04, $p = .003$). As before, *feelings-based* passion pursuit was not significantly associated with passion

for work (*estimate* = -.01, *SE* = .03, *p* = .793). In sum, these findings provide further support for Hypotheses 1 and 2.

Job Satisfaction. We also regressed job satisfaction onto both *feelings*- and *values-based* passion pursuit, and find that only *values-based* passion pursuit significantly predicted job satisfaction (β = .47, *SE* = .09, *p* < .001), while *feelings-based* passion pursuit did not (β = -.09, *SE* = .09, *p* = .341; see Table 3). The difference between these two coefficients was statistically significant, β = .56, 95% CI = [.22, .90], *p* = .002. SEM also supported our finding that values-based passion pursuit is a significant predictor of job satisfaction, while feelings-based passion pursuit is not (*values-based*: β = -.01, *SE* = .07, *p* = .857; *feelings-based*: β = -.08, *SE* = .06, *p* = .154).[4]

Turnover Intentions. We also regressed turnover intentions onto both *feelings*- and *values-based* passion pursuit, and find that only *values-based* passion pursuit significantly predicted job satisfaction (β = -.42, *SE* = .10, *p* < .001), while *feelings-based* passion pursuit did not (β = .15, *SE* = .10, *p* = .123; see Table 3). The difference between these two coefficients was statistically significant, β = -.57, 95% CI = [-.93, -.22], *p* = .002. SEM also supported our finding that values-based passion pursuit is a significant predictor of turnover intentions, while feelings-based passion pursuit is not (*values-based*: β = -.42, *SE* = .10, *p* < .001; *feelings-based*: β = .15, *SE* = .10, *p* = .119).[5]

Exploratory Analysis. Finally, in an exploratory analysis, we tested the indirect effects linking passion pursuit to job satisfaction and turnover intentions via passion for

[4] As shown in Table 3, results were similar after controlling for tenure, education, income, age, gender, sector, and whether the participant held a managerial role (*values-based*: β = .47, SE = .09, *p* < .001; *feelings-based*: β = -.09, SE = .09, *p* = .336), although both forms of passion pursuit were not significant predictors in models that included similar constructs (intrinsic motivation, neoclassical calling, and work meaningfulness; *values-based* passion pursuit: β = .02, *SE* = .08, *p* = .784; *feelings-based*: β = -.06, *SE* = .06, *p* = .337).

[5] As shown in Table 3, results were similar after controlling for tenure, education, income, age, gender, sector, and whether the participant held a managerial role (*values-based*: β = -.39, SE = .10, *p* < .001; *feelings-based*: β = .09, SE = .10, *p* = .369), although both forms of passion pursuit were not significant predictors in models that included similar constructs (intrinsic motivation, neoclassical calling, and work meaningfulness; *values-based* passion pursuit: β = -.11, *SE* = .10, *p* = .256; *feelings-based*: β = .13, *SE* = .08, *p* = .120).

work, in line with Hypotheses 3a and 3b. Using bootstrapped bias-corrected confidence intervals (10,000 iterations), we found a statistically significant indirect effect between *values-based* passion pursuit and both job satisfaction (95% CI = [.316, .647]) and turnover intentions (95% CI = [-.481, -.239]). However, same as in Study 1, the indirect effects between *feelings-based* passion pursuit and both job satisfaction (95% CI = [-.170, .087]) and turnover intentions (95% CI = [-.064, .125]) were not statistically significant.

Discussion

In Study 2, we further established the internal validity of the Passion Pursuit Scale, and provided discriminant validity with a number of related measures. In addition, and in line with our theoretical model and the findings of Study 1, we again found differential effects *feelings-based* and *values-based* passion pursuit on passion for work, job satisfaction, and turnover intention, whereby *values-based* passion pursuit overall had a stronger relationship with these constructs relative to *feelings-based* passion pursuit.

Study 3

In Studies 1 and 2, the relationship between passion pursuit lay beliefs and turnover intentions was assessed by directly asking participants whether they were considering leaving their jobs. Study 3 extends these studies by focusing on behavioral measures of turnover (i.e., "pre-quitting behaviors"; see also Gardner et al., 2018). We recruited 285 full-time employees (M_{age} = 33.86, SD_{age} = 9.68, 42.46% female) who indicated that they were interested in pursuing their passion at their jobs through Prolific. This sample size allows us to detect small-to-medium-sized correlations (r = .165) with 80% power.

Measures

We used the ten-item Passion Pursuit Scale (α_{values} =.89; $\alpha_{feelings}$ =.87) and three-item Passion for Work Scale (α =.96) that we developed in previous studies. We also used the

same one-item measure for job satisfaction and the same two-item measure for turnover intentions (r = .69) from before.[6]

To devise a behavioral measure of turnover, we draw on previous work (see Gardner et al., 2018) and asked participants to report how likely they would be to pay for the following five services on a scale of 1 (extremely unlikely) to 7 (extremely likely): (1) professional resume review, (2) professional LinkedIn profile review, (3) 2-hour interview preparation workshop, (4) 1-month Python coding bootcamp, and (5) a two-hour management training. We suggest that individuals who pay for the first three services—the resume review, LinkedIn profile review, or interview preparation workshop—are more likely to be actively thinking about leaving their current role. We therefore aggregated, averaged, and used responses to these three items as a behavioral measure of turnover (α =.88). The latter two services were used to obscure the purpose of the study from participants. They were also aggregated and averaged into a single scale (α =.63) in order to test whether any relationships between passion pursuit and our behavioral measure of turnover intention is simply the result of an underlying relationship between passion pursuit and likelihood to pay for any professional opportunity.

At the end of the survey, participants were asked to report their age, gender, number of years employed, education, and income, which we used as controls in our analyses similar to our prior studies. Given that this survey was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, we also collected and controlled for the extent to which they were worried about losing their job.

Results

[6] For brevity's sake, we report the outcomes of analyses on passion for work, job satisfaction, and turnover intention in the Supplementary Analyses. All results are in line with the findings from our earlier studies.

Table S10 displays means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations of study variables.

We aggregated participants' likelihood to pay for a professional resume review, professional LinkedIn profile review, and a 2-hour interview preparation workshop, which we suggest reflects a behavioral measure of turnover. When regressing this aggregated variable onto *values*- and *feelings*- based passion pursuit, we found that *feelings*-based passion pursuit was a significant positive predictor while *values*-based passion pursuit was not (*values*: $B = -.01$, $SE = .08$, $p = .941$; *feelings:* $B = .20$, $SE = .08$, $p = .008$). As reflected in Table 4, this pattern of results persisted after we accounted for our set of control variables and job loss worry (*values:* $B = .03$, $SE = .07$, $p = .675$; *feelings:* $B = .17$, $SE = .07$, $p = .023$).[7,8,9,10]

Discussion

The pattern of results in Study 3 is similar to but distinct to our earlier studies: Whereas in Studies 1 and 2, *values*-based passion pursuit was negatively associated with turnover intentions (while *feelings*-based passion pursuit was not significantly related to turnover intentions), here we show that the difference between both lay beliefs is driven by the positive relationship between *feelings*-based passion pursuit and turnover (while *values*-based passion pursuit was not significantly related to this measure). We interpret this

[7] The appendix contains the analyses for participant likelihood to pay for each of the three services individually.
[8] As an exploratory analysis, we also tested the mediation model linking passion pursuit lay beliefs to this behavioral measure of turnover intentions via passion for work. Using bootstrapped bias-corrected confidence intervals (10,000 iterations), we did not find a statistically significant indirect effect between likelihood to pay for these services and *values-based* passion pursuit (95% CI = [-.119, -.002]) or *feelings*-based passion pursuit (95% CI = [-.076, .000]).
[9] In the Supplementary Information, we also report the results of the two additional items (i.e., the Python bootcamp and the management training).
[10] We tested for common method variance using the Harman's one-factor test (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). To conduct this test, we ran a confirmatory factor analysis in which all of the study's variables (six variables: *feelings-based* passion, *values-based* passion, passion for work, job satisfaction, turnover intention, and Turnover-Related Likelihood to Pay) were loaded onto a common factor. The one factor model did not fit the data well ($\chi^2[152] = 2014.299$, CFI = .513, TLI = .452, RMSEA = .207 [90% CI: 0.199, 0.215], SRMR = .189), suggesting that our effects are not the result of common method variance.

disparity to mean that *values*-based passion pursuit is more closely related to shaping employees' attitudes about their job, whereas *feelings*-based passion pursuit is more closely related to shaping employees' attrition behaviors (see also Tett & Meyer, 1993).

General Discussion

The current research introduced the concept of lay beliefs about the pursuit of passion to highlight the idea that employees differ in how they pursue their passion. Across three studies, we predicted and found that two distinct lay beliefs—*values*- and *feelings-based* passion pursuit—have differential effects, such that *values-based* passion pursuit was consistently associated with higher levels of passion for work and job satisfaction, and lower turnover intentions (in line with Hypothesis 2). In contrast, *feelings-based* passion pursuit was not significantly related to these outcomes—and in Study 3 was even positively related to a behavioral measure of turnover. This pattern of results suggests that *feelings-based* passion pursuit may not necessarily impede the pursuit of passion—as suggested by Hypothesis 1—but it also does not seem to facilitate it. Crucially, and in support of Hypothesis 3a and 3b, our findings suggest that how passion is pursued is a crucial input into whether people are successful in their pursuit of passion, and how they feel about their jobs, providing one piece for solving the puzzle of why some employees are more likely to struggle in pursuing their passion.

Theoretical and Practical Contributions

We make several contributions to prior literature. First, we address the disconnect between the widely-held belief of the importance of passion in the contemporary workplace (Neely, 2020; Reid, 2015; Wolf et al., 2016) on the one hand, and the challenges reported by employees seeking to pursue their passion (Douglass, 2017; Fernet, Lavigne, Vallerand, & Austin, 2014; Guo et al., 2019; Hagel, Seely Brown, et al., 2017) on the other. That is, if passion is so widely valued by workforce entrants and organizations alike, why are not more

employees passionate for their work? Prior literature has predominantly focused on developing a consensus on what passion is, how it is different from related constructs, and how it is related to a variety of outcomes (Cho & Jiang, 2021; Jachimowicz, To, Agasi, Côté, & Galinsky, 2019; Perrewé et al., 2014; Pollack et al., 2020). In contrast, it offers few conceptual answers for why and how employees can better develop their passion for work.

To address this puzzle, we shift research attention towards a novel question and avenue for future research: *how* do people pursue their passion and *why* do the beliefs people hold about it matter? We subsequently identify and disentangle two distinct lay beliefs, develop scales to measure them (which could also be used in future research), and show that their differential endorsement is related to contrasting outcomes. Crucially, these findings reveal that how employees go about pursuing their passion may shape whether they are successful in it, moving beyond proclaiming that passion is important and beneficial, and toward an understanding of how employees may go about this pursuit (see also, Perrewé et al., 2014). The current research thus introduces the importance of theorizing around *how*—people believe—passion is pursued, and displays the relevance of this focus for whether employees actually attain passion for their work. Perhaps somewhat counterintuitively, focusing on the affective high of passion alone may not produce the desired results espoused by laypeople and popular figures. Indeed, pursuing passion by focusing on what one cares about may be linked with better work outcomes, but may in the moment be more challenging given the potential lack of affective feedback and necessity for perseverance in the face of setbacks (Moshontz & Hoyle, 2021).

This shift in perspective away from the *outcome* of passion pursuit, and toward the process of *how passion is pursued* opens a novel window with important conceptual and practical implications. Importantly, this view centers on organizations, moving beyond merely listing passion in job descriptions and mission statements and toward asking what

organizational factors are necessary for pursuing and maintaining passion over time. That is, how can coworkers, leaders, and organizations better support employees during passion pursuit—and not just during the "peaks" of passion when others already gravitate toward them (Jachimowicz, To, et al., 2019), but particularly in the "troughs" of passion pursuit which may be marked by setbacks and hardship? For example, this could include elements of the job characteristics model (Hackman & Oldham, 1976; Hackman & Oldham, 1980), such as autonomy or feedback (which may build self-efficacy in one's ability to pursue passion; Claude Fernet et al., 2014; Ho, Kong, Lee, Dubreuil, & Forest, 2018; Warnick, Murnieks, McMullen, & Brooks, 2018); additionally, this may require strong relationships with leaders and coworkers (Chen, Lam, & Zhong, 2007; Dunegan, Uhl-Bien, & Duchon, 2002) or the autonomy to choose how, where, and when to work (Van Yperen & Hagedoorn, 2003). Indeed, this perspective could also explain why the combination of passion and perseverance is associated with higher job performance, over and above just passion for work alone (Jachimowicz et al., 2018): because the pursuit of passion is so challenging in the troughs, those who are able to endure may be more likely to make it through and attain the next passion peak. In this way, our theory and results shift attention away from those who are being called on to pursue their passion, and toward those who are calling on others to pursue their passion, asking how they can create the necessary environments for the pursuit of passion to flourish.

Finally, we also entertained the idea that the pursuit of passion requires both *values-based* and *feelings-based* lay beliefs. That is, one could argue that employees are least likely to struggle pursuing their passion if they believe this entails the combination of engaging in work activities which both evoke strong positive affect and which they find important or valuable. However, pursuing passion through both *values-based* and *feelings-based* beliefs may lead to conflicting implications for employees: Work that is personally important often

involves continuous engagement, stretch goals, and even hardship, and may thus not be enjoyable at times (O'Keefe, Dweck, & Walton, 2018), whereas for many, work that is enjoyable entails carrying out easy tasks within one's comfort zone that provide quick rewards (Woolley & Fishbach, 2017). Thus, if employees are unlikely to reconcile these differences, they may lean to one side or the other. Using our data to empirically explore whether the combination of *values-based* and *feelings-based* lay beliefs affect passion for work, we find that the interaction term was not statistically significant in any of our studies (Study 1: $B = .030$, $SE = .046$, $p = .514$; Study 2: $B = .050$, $SE = .042$, $p = .238$; Study 3: $B = .010$, $SE = .037$, $p = .776$. Thus, our data suggests that what matters is whether people pursue passion for work *values-based* or *feelings-based* rather than both.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current research has several shortcomings that future research could address. First, while we find that being less successful in one's pursuit of passion is associated with increased turnover intentions, this does not rule out the existence of additional processes; for example, employees who intend to leave their jobs because they report lower levels of passion for work may engage in other, compensatory strategies to address their expectation-experience discrepancy. They could, for example, intend to pursue their passion through company volunteering programs (Brockner, Senior, & Welch, 2014), employer CSR practices (Burbano, 2016), or hobbies outside of work (Howe, Jachimowicz, & Menges, 2021; Jachimowicz, He, & Arango, 2019). Future research could therefore examine whether employees who endorse a *feelings-* or *values-based* passion pursuit are more likely to explore potential alternative strategies and could further clarify the longer-term consequences of varying endorsements of lay beliefs about passion pursuit.

A second opportunity for future research is to evaluate employees' pursuit of passion over time. Consider that passion for work may fluctuate over time, such that the same

employee may be more likely to desire leaving the company on one day than another. However, it is possible that differences in lay beliefs about the pursuit of passion are also associated with the extent to which passion for work may vary over time; given the stability of values (Rokeach, 2008), it is conceivable that employees who endorse a *values-based* passion pursuit fluctuate less in passion for work than those who endorse a *feelings-based* passion pursuit. Such a longitudinal perspective, perhaps obtainable through daily diary or experience sampling methods, might be able to uncover temporal variations and provide further evidence on the links between *values-* and *feelings-based* passion pursuit, passion for work, job satisfaction, and turnover (Liden, Wayne, & Stilwell, 1993; Morrison, 1993).

Conclusion

People entering the workforce are frequently called on to pursue their passion, yet many struggle to do so—even in jobs ostensibly selected to pursue their passion. The current research highlights that *how* employees pursue their passion is a crucial input into how successful they will be in their pursuit of passion. Instead of merely calling on workforce entrants to pursue their passion, organizations could create an environment which empowers people to engage in work they care about—while supporting them even when passion is more suffering than love.

REFERENCES

Astakhova, M. N., & Porter, G. (2015). Understanding the work passion–performance relationship: The mediating role of organizational identification and moderating role of fit at work. *Human Relations*, *68*(8), 1315–1346.

Bagozzi, R. P., & Phillips, L. W. (1982). Representing and Testing Organizational Theories: A Holistic Construal. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *27*(3), 459.

Baum, J. R., & Locke, E. A. (2004). The relationship of entrepreneurial traits, skill, and motivation to subsequent venture growth. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*(4), 587–598.

Bedeian, A. G., Kemery, E. R., & Pizzolatto, A. B. (1991). Career commitment and expected utility of present job as predictors of turnover intentions and turnover behavior. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *39*(3), 331–343.

Berg, J. M., Grant, A. M., & Johnson, V. (2010). When Callings Are Calling: Crafting Work and Leisure in Pursuit of Unanswered Occupational Callings. *Organization Science*, *21*(5), 973–994.

Birkeland, I. K., & Buch, R. (2015). The dualistic model of passion for work: Discriminate and predictive validity with work engagement and workaholism. *Motivation and Emotion*, *39*(3), 392–408.

Birkeland, I. K., Richardsen, A. M., & Dysvik, A. (2017). The Role of Passion and Support Perceptions in Changing Burnout: A Johnson-Neyman Approach. *International Journal of Stress Management*.

Bolles, R. N. (2009). *What color is your parachute? 2010: A practical manual for job-hunters and career-changers*. New York: Ten Speed Press.

Brockner, J., Senior, D., & Welch, W. (2014). Corporate Volunteerism, the Experience of Self-Integrity, and Organizational Commitment: Evidence from the Field. *Social Justice Research*, *27*(1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-014-0204-8

Bunderson, J. S., & Thompson, J. A. (2009). The call of the wild: Zookeepers, callings, and the double-edged sword of deeply meaningful work. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *54*(1), 32–57.

Burbano, V. C. (2016). Social Responsibility Messages and Worker Wage Requirements: Field Experimental Evidence from Online Labor Marketplaces. *Organization Science*, *27*(4), 1010–1028. Retrieved from http://pubsonline.informs.org/doi/10.1287/orsc.2016.1066

Burke, P. (1991). Identity Processes and Social Stress. *American Sociological Review*, *56*(6), 836–849.

Burke, R. J., & Fiksenbaum, L. (2009). Work motivations, work outcomes, and health: Passion versus addiction. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *84*, 257–263.

Burnett, J. (2018). Survey: Millennials want passion more than money. *Ladders*.

Cardon, M. S., Gregoire, D. A., Stevens, C. E., & Patel, P. C. (2013). Measuring entrepreneurial passion: Conceptual foundations and scale validation. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *28*(3), 373–396.

Cardon, M. S., Post, C., & Forster, W. R. (2017). Team Entrepreneurial Passion: Its Emergence and Influence in New Venture Teams. *Academy of Management Review*, *42*(2), 283–305.

Cardon, M. S., Wincent, J., Singh, J., & Drnovsek, M. (2009a). The nature and experience of entrepreneurial passion. *Academy of Management Review*, *34*(3), 511–532.

Cardon, M. S., Wincent, J., Singh, J., & Drnovsek, M. (2009b). The nature and experience of entrepreneurial passion. *Academy of Management Review*, *34*(3), 511–532.

Cech, E. (2018). *The passion principle: Self-expression, career choice, and inequality among*

career aspirants.
Chen, G., Ployhart, R. E., Thomas, H. C., Anderson, N., & Bliese, P. D. (2011). The Power of Momentum: A new model of dynamic relationships between job satisfaction change and turnover intentions. *Academy of Management Journal*, *54*(1), 159–181.
Chen, P., Ellsworth, P. C., & Schwarz, N. (2015). Finding a fit or developing it: Implicit theories about achieving passion for work. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *41*(10), 1411–1424.
Chen, X. P., Yao, X., & Kotha, S. (2009). Entrepreneur passion and preparedness in business plan presentations: a persuasion analysis of venture capitalists' funding decisions. *Academy of Management Journal*, *52*(1), 199–214.
Chen, Z., Lam, W., & Zhong, J. A. (2007). Leader-member exchange and member performance: A new look at individual-level negative feedback-seeking behavior and team-level empowerment climate. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(1), 202–212.
Cho, Y., & Jiang, W. (2021). If You Do What You Love, Will The Money Follow? How Work Orientation Impacts Objective Career Outcomes via Managerial (Mis)perceptions. *Academy of Management Journal*.
Curran, T., Hill, A. P., Appleton, P. R., Vallerand, R. J., & Standage, M. (2015). The psychology of passion: A meta-analytical review of a decade of research on intrapersonal outcomes. *Motivation and Emotion*, *39*(5), 631–655.
Detert, J. R., & Edmondson, A. C. (2011). Implicit voice theories: Taken-for-granted rules of self-censorship at work. *Academy of Management Journal*, *54*(3), 461–488.
Diener, E., Lucas, R. E., & Scollon, C. N. (2006). Beyond the hedonic treadmill: Revisiting the adaptation theory of well-being. *American Psychologist*, *61*, 305–314.
Dolbier, C. L., Webster, J. A., McCalister, K. T., Mallon, M. W., & Steinhardt, M. A. (2005). Reliability and validity of a single-item measure of job satisfaction. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, *19*(3), 194–198.
Douglass, A. (2017). *Leading for change in early care and education: Cultivating leadership from within*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
Duckworth, A. L. (2016, June 4). Graduating and Looking for Your Passion? Just Be Patient. *New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/05/jobs/graduating-and-looking-for-your-passion-just-be-patient.html
Duckworth, A. L., Peterson, C., Matthews, M. D., & Kelly, D. R. (2007). Grit: Perseverance and passion for long-term goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*(6), 1087–1101.
Dunegan, K. J., Uhl-Bien, M., & Duchon, D. (2002). LMX and subordinate performance: The moderating effects of task characteristics. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *17*(2), 275–285. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1019641700724
Farrell, A. M. (2010). Insufficient discriminant validity: A comment on Bove, Pervan, Beatty, and Shiu (2009). *Journal of Business Research*, *63*(3), 324–327.
Fernet, C., Lavigne, G. L., Vallerand, R. J., & Austin, S. (2014). Fired up with passion: Investigating how job autonomy and passion predict burnout at career start in teachers. *Work & Stress*, *28*, 270–288.
Fernet, Claude, Lavigne, G. L., Vallerand, R. J., & Austin, S. (2014). Fired up with passion: Investigating how job autonomy and passion predict burnout at career start in teachers. *Work and Stress*.
Fornell, C., & Larcker, D. F. (1981). Evaluating Structural Equation Models with Unobservable Variables and Measurement Error. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *18*(1), 39.
Frijda, N. (1988). The laws of emotion. *American Psychologist*, *43*(5), 349–358.
Gardner, T. M., Van Iddekinge, C. H., & Hom, P. W. (2018). If You've Got Leavin' on Your

Mind: The Identification and Validation of Pre-Quitting Behaviors. *Journal of Management*, *44*(8), 3231–3257. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206316665462

Gershon, I. (2017). *Down and Out in the New Economy: How People Find (or Don't Find) Work Today*. University of Chicago Press.

Gielnik, M. M., Spitzmuller, M., Schmitt, A., Klemann, D. K., & Frese, M. (2015). "I put in effort, therefore I am passionate": Investigating the path from effort to passion in entrepreneurship. *Academy of Management Journal*, *58*(4), 1012–1031.

Gielnik, M. M., Uy, M. A., Funken, R., & Bischoff, K. M. (2017). Boosting and sustaining passion: A long-term perspective on the effects of entrepreneurship training. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *32*(3), 334–353.

Gilbert, D. T., & Ebert, J. E. J. (2002). Decisions and revisions: The affective forecasting of changeable outcomes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*(4), 503–514.

Grant, A. M. (2008). Does intrinsic motivation fuel the prosocial fire? Motivational synergy in predicting persistence, performance, and productivity. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(1), 48–58.

Grant, Adam M., Berg, J. M., & Cable, D. M. (2014). Job titles as identity badges: How self-reflective titles can reduce emotional exhaustion. *Academy of Management Journal*, *57*(4), 1201–1225. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2012.0338

Guo, Y. fang, Plummer, V., Lam, L., Wang, Y., Cross, W., & Zhang, J. ping. (2019). The effects of resilience and turnover intention on nurses' burnout: Findings from a comparative cross-sectional study. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, *28*(3–4), 499–508. https://doi.org/10.1111/jocn.14637

Hackman, J. Richard, & Oldham, G. R. (1976). Motivation through the design of work: test of a theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *16*(2), 250–279. https://doi.org/10.1016/0030-5073(76)90016-7

Hackman, J.R., & Oldham, G. R. (1980). *Work Redesign*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Hagel, J., Brown, J. S., Ranjan, A., & Byler, D. (2014). Passion at work. Retrieved from https://www2.deloitte.com/insights/us/en/topics/talent/worker-passion-employee-behavior.html

Hagel, J., Brown, J., & Samoylova, T. (2013). *Unlocking the passion of the Explorer*.

Hagel, J., Seely Brown, J., Wooll, M., & Ranjan, A. (2017). Building a more passionate future workforce | Deloitte Insights. *Deloitte Insights*.

Harpaz, I., & Fu, X. (2002). The structure of the meaning of work: A relative stability amidst change. *Human Relations*, *55*(6), 639–667.

Hennie, E. (2013). How to find your passion and inner awesomeness.

Ho, V. T., & Astakhova, M. N. (2017). Disentangling passion and engagement: An examination of how and when passionate employees become engaged ones. *Human Relations*.

Ho, V. T., Kong, D. T., Lee, C.-H., Dubreuil, P., & Forest, J. (2018). Promoting harmonious work passion among unmotivated employees: A two-nation investigation of the compensatory function of cooperative psychological climate. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *106*, 112–125.

Ho, V. T., Wong, S. S., & Lee, C. H. (2011). A Tale of Passion: Linking Job Passion and Cognitive Engagement to Employee Work Performance. *Journal of Management Studies*, *48*(1), 26–47.

Howe, L., Jachimowicz, J. ., & Menges, J. I. (2021). Your Job Doesn't Have to Be Your Passion. *Harvard Business Review*.

Jachimowicz, J.M., Wihler, A., Bailey, E., & Galinsky, A. D. (2018). Why grit requires perseverance and passion to positively predict performance. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *115*(40), 9980–9985.

Jachimowicz, Jon M., He, J., & Arango, J. (2019). The Unexpected Benefits of Pursuing a Passion Outside of Work. *Harvard Business Review*.

Jachimowicz, Jon M., To, C., Agasi, S., Côté, S., & Galinsky, A. D. (2019). The gravitational pull of expressing passion: When and how expressing passion elicits status conferral and support from others. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *153*(August 2017), 41–62. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2019.06.002

Judge, T. A., Heller, D., & Mount, M. K. (2002). *Five-factor model of personality and job satisfaction: A meta-analysis*. *87*(3), 530–541.

Landis, J. R., & Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, *33*(1), 159–174.

Levy, S. R., Chiu, C. Y., & Hong, Y. Y. (2006). Lay Theories and Intergroup Relations. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *9*(1), 5–24.

Liden, R. C., Wayne, S. J., & Stilwell, C. D. (1993). A longitudinal study on the early development of leader-member exchanges. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*(4), 662–674.

Liu, D., Chen, X. P., & Yao, X. (2011). From Autonomy to Creativity: A Multilevel Investigation of the Mediating Role of Harmonious Passion. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *96*(2), 294–309.

Mageau, G. A., Vallerand, R. J., Charest, J., Salvy, S. J., Lacaille, N., Bouffard, T., & Koestner, R. (2009). On the development of harmonious and obsessive passion: The role of autonomy support, activity specialization, and identification with the activity. *Journal of Personality*, *77*(3), 601–646.

Morrison, E. W. (1993). Longitudinal Study of the Effects of Information Seeking on Newcomer Socialization. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*(2), 173–183.

Murnieks, C. Y., Mosakowski, E., & Cardon, M. S. (2014). Pathways of Passion: Identity Centrality, Passion, and Behavior Among Entrepreneurs. *Journal of Management*, *40*(6), 1583–1606.

Neely, M. T. (2020). The Portfolio Ideal Worker: Insecurity and Inequality in the New Economy. *Qualitative Sociology*, (1990). https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-020-09444-1

Newman, A., Obschonka, M., Moeller, J., & Chandan, G. G. (2019). Entrepreneurial Passion: A Review, Synthesis, and Agenda for Future Research. *Applied Psychology*, apps.12236. https://doi.org/10.1111/apps.12236

Nifadkar, S., Tsui, A. S., & Ashforth, B. E. (2012). The Way You Make Me Feel And Behave: Supervisor-Triggered Newcomer Affect and Approach-Avoidance Behavior. *Academy of Management Journal*, *55*(5), 1146–1168.

O'Keefe, P. A., Dweck, C. S., & Walton, G. M. (2018). Implicit theories of interest: Finding your passion or developing it? *Psychological Science*, *29*(10), 1653–1664.

Perrewé, P. L., Hochwarter, W. A., Ferris, G. R., McAllister, C. P., & Harris, J. N. (2014). Developing a passion for work passion: Future directions on an emerging construct. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *35*(1), 145–150.

Podsakoff, N. P., LePine, J., & LePine, M. (2007). Differential challenge stressor-hindrance stressor relationships with job attitudes, turnover intentions, turnover, and withdrawal behavior: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(2), 438–454.

Pollack, J. M., Ho, V. T., O'Boyle, E. H., & Kirkman, B. L. (2020). Passion at work: A meta-analysis of individual work outcomes. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*.

Pollack, Jeffrey M., Ho, V. T., O'Boyle, E. H., & Kirkman, B. L. (2019). Exploring the Three Streams of Passion Research: A Meta-Analysis of the Effects of Passion on Work-Related Affect, Cognition, and Behavior. *Working Paper*.

Pollack, Jeffrey M., Ho, V. T., O'Boyle, E. H., & Kirkman, B. L. (2020). Passion at work: A meta-analysis of individual work outcomes. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*.

https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2434
Rao, A. H., & Tobias Neely, M. (2019). What's love got to do with it? Passion and inequality in white-collar work. *Sociology Compass*, *13*(12), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12744
Reid, E. (2015). Embracing, passing, revealing, and the ideal worker image: How people navigate expected and experienced professional identities. *Organization Science*, *26*(4), 997–1017. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2015.0975
Rivera, L. A. (2015). *Pedigree: How Elite Students Get Elite Jobs*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
Rokeach, M. (2008). *Understanding Human Values*. New York, NY: Schuster and Schuster.
Sagala, N. (2018). Why millennials are into the tech industry. Retrieved from Forerst Interat website: https://www.forest-interactive.com/blog/millennials-tech-industry/
Serpe, R. T. (1987). Stability and Change in Self: A Structural Symbolic Interactionist Explanation. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *50*(1), 44–55.
Sharone, O. (2013). *Flawed System/Flawed Self: Job Searching and Unemployment Experiences*. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226073675.001.0001
Sheets, J. (2013). Pursue Your Passion.
Smilor, R. W. (1997). Entrepreneurship: Reflections on a subversive activity. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *12*, 341–346.
Spielmann, S. S., MacDonald, G., Maxwell, J. A., Joel, S., Peragine, D., Muise, A., & Impett, E. A. (2013). Settling for less out of fear of being single. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *105*(6), 1049–1073. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034628
Stryker, S., & Burke, P. (2000). The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *63*(4), 284–297.
Tett, R. P., & Meyer, J. P. (1993). Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, Turnover Intention, and Turnover: Path Analyses Based on Meta-Analytic Findings. *Personnel Psychology*, *46*(2), 259–293. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.1993.tb00874.x
Tokumitsu, M. (2014). In the Name of Love. *Jacobin*.
Trépanier, S. G., Fernet, C., Austin, S., Forest, J., & Vallerand, R. J. (2014). Linking job demands and resources to burnout and work engagement: Does passion underlie these differential relationships? *Motivation and Emotion*, *38*(3), 353–366.
U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics. (2018). *Degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions, by level of degree and sex of student: Selected years, 1869-70 through 2026-27*.
Vallerand, R. J. (2015). *The psychology of passion: A dualistic model*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Vallerand, R. J., Blanchard, C., Mageau, G. A., Koestner, R., Ratelle, C., Léonard, M., … Marsolais, J. (2003). Les passions de l'âme: On obsessive and harmonious passion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*(4), 756–767.
Vallerand, R. J., Houlfort, N., & Forest, J. (2003). Passion at work. In *The Oxford Handbook of Work Engagement, Motivation, and Self-Determination Theory* (pp. 175–204).
Vallerand, R. J., Mageau, G. A., Ratelle, C., Léonard, M., Blanchard, C., Koestner, R., … Marsolais, J. (2003). Les Passions de 1'Âme: On Obsessive and Harmonious Passion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*(4), 756–767. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.4.756
Van Yperen, N. W., & Hagedoorn, M. (2003). Do high job demands increase intrinsic motivation or fatigue or both? The role of job control, and job social support. *Academy of Management Journal*, *46*(3), 339–348.
Warnick, B. J., Murnieks, C. Y., McMullen, J. S., & Brooks, W. T. (2018). Passion for entrepreneurship or passion for the product? A conjoint analysis of angel and VC

decision-making. *Journal of Business Venturing*.
Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *54*(6), 1063–1070.
Whitehurst, J. (2016). How to Build a Passionate Company.
Wilson, T. D., & Gilbert, D. T. (2003). Affective Forecasting. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *35*, 345–411. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(03)01006-2
Wilson, T. D., & Gilbert, D. T. (2005). Affective Forecasting. Knowing What to Want. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *14*(3), 131–134. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0963-7214.2005.00355.x
Wolf, E. B., Lee, J. J., Sah, S., & Brooks, A. W. (2016). Managing perceptions of distress at work: Reframing emotion as passion. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *137*, 1–12.
Woolley, K., & Fishbach, A. (2017). When Intrinsic Motivation and Immediate Rewards Overlap. In C. Kopetz & A. Fishbach (Eds.), *The motivation-cognition interface; from the lab to the real world.* Psychological Press, Taylor & Francis.
Wrzesniewski, A., & Dutton, J. E. (2001). Crafting a Job : As Active Employees Revisioning Crafters of Their Work. *The Academy of Management Review*, *26*(2), 179–201.
Zigarmi, D., Nimon, K., Houson, D., Witt, D., & Diehl, J. (2009). Beyond engagement: Toward a framework and operational definition for employee work passion. *Human Resource Development Review*, *8*(3), 300–326.

TABLE 1

Examples of Coded Quotes from Graduation Speeches

Theme	Example
Feelings-Based **Passion Pursuit**	
Pursuing passion based on…	
… choosing tasks based on how good they make one feel.	"I didn't need to think about it. I knew what intellectual passion felt like — because I'd felt it here, at Princeton — and I wanted to feel it again."
… pursuing activity that make one feel elated.	"Passion is the ability to get excited about something."
… focusing on activities that bring one joy.	"Eventually find what you love to do, and pour yourself into it. You do not want to dread driving to work every day."
Values-Based **Passion Pursuit**	
Pursuing passion based on…	
… identifying aspects of your work that allow the expression of one's values	"I know many of you are still searching; this is OK. It is a process that takes time and significant life experience and it may take a few more years for you to find the thing that will be your life-long passion."
… furthering the values and ideals one is committed to.	"You have to give meaning to your life. And to do so, you have to embrace with passion the things that you believe in, and that you are fighting for."
… dedicating time to engage in significant work activities.	"It is absolutely essential that you ask yourself what it is that you really care the most about? What are your passions? It is actually easier than it sounds because when we are truly following our hearts we are tapped into our deepest passions in life."

TABLE 2

Study 1: EFA Factor Loadings of Selected Passion Pursuit Scale Items

Items	*Values*-based	*Feelings*-based
I pursue my passion by….		
… focusing on activities that bring me joy	0.27	**0.69**
… choosing tasks based on how good they make me feel.	0.19	**0.79**
… dedicating time to tasks that make me feel elated.	0.29	**0.78**
… pursuing activities that make me feel euphoric.	0.22	**0.75**
… choosing tasks based on how much I think I will enjoy them.	0.14	**0.82**
… identifying the aspects of my work that allow me to express my values.	**0.83**	0.24
… identifying the aspects of my work that align with my personal values.	**0.88**	0.20
… furthering the values and ideals I am committed to.	**0.83**	0.11
… working on projects that adhere to my values.	**0.82**	0.28
… focusing on tasks that demonstrate my values.	**0.78**	0.32

Note. After we shorten the scales by selecting items that uniquely captured the type of passion pursuit they represent, all loadings were at least 0.69 and all cross-loadings were no higher than 0.32.

TABLE 3

Study 2: Regression Results

	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**		**Model 5**		**Model 6**		**Model 7**		**Model 8**		**Model 9**	
Dependent Variable	Passion for Work		Passion for Work		Passion for Work		Job Satisfaction		Job Satisfaction		Job Satisfaction		Turnover Intention		Turnover Intention		Turnover Intention	
Predictors	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Values-based Passion Pursuit	.63***	.08	.62***	.09	.17**	.05	.47***	.09	.42***	.10	0.02	.08	-0.42***	.10	-0.39***	.10	-.11	.10
Feelings-based Passion Pursuit	-.05	.08	-.05	.09	-.07	.05	-.09	.09	-.04	.10	-.06	.07	.15	.10	.09	.10	.13	.08
Age			.03	.12	-.02	.06			.07	.13	.02	.09			-.20	.14	-.19	.12
Female			-.01	.06	-.08*	.03			.06	.07	-.03	.05			.02	.07	.10	.06
Years employed			-.05	.12	-.10	.07			.08	.13	.03	.09			-.01	.14	-.03	.12
Education			.11	.06	-.02	.04			.14	.07	<.01	.05			-.16*	.07	-.06	.06
Income			-.04	.06	-.03	.03			.03	.07	.02	.05			.07	.07	.07	.06
Manager			-.01	.06	-.02	.03			.02	.06	.02	.04			.02	.07	.02	.06
Sector: Private			-.05	.06	.03	.03			-.09	.07	.01	.05			.07	.07	.01	.06
Intrinsic Motivation					.26***	.06					.50***	.08					-.47***	.10
Neoclassical Calling					.52***	.06					.14	.08					-.04	.10
Work Meaningfulness					.13**	.05					.25***	.07					-.06	.08
N	204		197		197		204		197		197		204		197		197	
Adj R2	0.35		0.35		0.80		0.16		0.19		0.63		0.10		0.17		.42	

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4

Study 3: Regression Results

	Passion for Work		**Job Satisfaction**		**Turnover Intention**		**Turnover Related Likelihood to Pay**		**Skillset Expanding Likelihood to Pay**	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Feelings-based Passion Pursuit	0.21**	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.07	0.17*	0.07	0.07	0.07
Values-based Passion Pursuit	0.37***	0.07	0.35***	0.07	-0.32***	0.07	0.03	0.07	0.30***	0.07
Age	0.25	0.14	0.22	0.16	0.09	0.16	0.31	0.16	0.12	0.15
Female	-0.06	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.06	-0.14*	0.06	-0.21***	0.06
Years Employed	-0.11	0.14	-0.11	0.16	-0.27	0.16	-0.39*	0.16	-0.23	0.15
Education	-0.06	0.06	-0.05	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.01	0.06	0.03	0.06
Income	-0.02	0.05	0.02	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.13*	0.06
Job Loss Worry	-0.13*	0.05	-0.17**	0.05	0.25***	0.05	0.29***	0.06	0.19***	0.05

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Supplementary Information for

Pursuing Passion through *Feelings* or *Values*:

How Lay Beliefs Guide the Pursuit of Passion

Study 3 Additional Results

Passion for Work. We regressed passion for work onto *values*- and *feelings*- based passion pursuit, and found that both were significant predictors (*values*: $B = .38$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$; *feelings:* $B = .20$, $SE = .07$, $p = .004$). The difference between these two coefficients was not statistically significant, $\beta = .18$, 95% CI = [-.06, .42], $p = .143$. As reflected in Table 4, this pattern of results persisted after we controlled for demographics and job loss worry (*values:* $B = .37$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$; *feelings:* $B = .21$, $SE = .07$, $p = .002$). Again, the difference between these two coefficients was not statistically significant, $\beta = .16$, 95% CI = [-.09, .40], $p = .208$. Similar to prior studies, we provide evidence in favor of Hypothesis 2, but only partially for Hypothesis 1, i.e., while *feeling-based* passion pursuit was positively associated with passion for work, that relationship was weaker than the association between *values-based* passion pursuit and passion for work.

Job Satisfaction. When job satisfaction was regressed onto *values*- and *feelings*- based passion pursuit, we found that *values*-based passion pursuit was a significant predictor while *feelings*-based passion pursuit was not (*values*: $B = .37$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$; *feelings:* $B = .05$, $SE = .07$, $p = .516$). As reflected in Table 4, this pattern of results persisted after we controlled for demographics and job loss worry (*values:* B = .35, SE = .07, p < .001; *feelings:* B = .07, SE = .07, p = .365). As in previous studies, we tested the mediation model linking passion pursuit to job satisfaction via passion for work. Using bootstrapped bias-corrected confidence intervals

(5,000 iterations), we found statistically significant indirect effects between job satisfaction and both *values-based* passion pursuit (95% CI = [.135, .391]) and *feelings*-based passion pursuit (95% CI = [.023, .248]).

Turnover Intention. When turnover intention was regressed onto *values*- and *feelings*-based passion pursuit, we found that *values*-based passion pursuit was a significant predictor while *feelings*-based passion pursuit was not (*values*: B = -.32, SE = .07, p < .001; *feelings:* B = .01, SE = .07, p = .859). As reflected in Table 4, this pattern of results persisted after we controlled for demographics and job loss worry (*values:* B = -.32, SE = .07, p < .001; *feelings:* B = .002, SE = .07, p = .983). We also tested the mediation model linking passion pursuit to turnover intention via passion for work. Using bootstrapped bias-corrected confidence intervals (5,000 iterations), we found statistically significant indirect effects between turnover intention and both *values-based* passion pursuit (95% CI = [-.338, -.117]) and *feelings*-based passion pursuit (95% CI = [-.220, -.019]).

Additional Professional Opportunities. In addition to our three likelihood to pay variables that focused on turnover intentions (resume review, LinkedIn profile review, and interview preparation workshop), we also included two additional likelihood to pay variables in order to obscure the purpose of the study from participants: likelihood to pay for a Python coding bootcamp and likelihood to pay for a management training. When likelihood to pay for these two other professional development opportunities was regressed onto *values*- and *feelings*- based passion pursuit, we found that *values*- based passion pursuit was a significant positive predictor, while *feelings*-based passion pursuit was not (*values*: B = .22, SE = .07, p = .003; *feelings:* B = .13, SE = .07, p = .083). As reflected in Table 4, this pattern of results persisted after we controlled for demographics and job loss worry (*values:* B = .30, SE = .07, p < .001; *feelings:* B

= .07, SE = .07, p = .350). Using bootstrapped bias-corrected confidence intervals (5,000 iterations), we did not find any statistically significant indirect effects between likelihood to pay for these professional development opportunities and *values*-based passion pursuit (95% CI = [-.040, .064]) or *feelings-based* passion pursuit (95% CI = [-.027, .035]).

TABLE S1

Study 1: EFA Factor Loadings of all Passion Pursuit Items

Items	***Values*-based**	***Feelings*-based**
I pursue my passion by….		
... dedicating time to tasks that make me feel elated.	0.25	**0.79**
... finding tasks that are thrilling to me.	0.26	**0.77**
... choosing tasks based on how much I think I will enjoy them.	0.15	**0.77**
... pursuing activities that make me feel euphoric.	0.21	**0.76**
... focusing on activities that bring me joy	0.25	**0.75**
... doing work that I find exhilarating.	0.33	**0.75**
... choosing tasks based on how good they make me feel.	0.22	**0.73**
... engaging in activities that enthuse me.	0.27	**0.73**
... finding tasks that make me feel blissful.	0.29	**0.73**
... focusing on projects that are enthralling to me.	0.26	**0.72**
... dedicating time to activities that delight me.	0.29	**0.71**
... doing work that will leave me in high spirits.	0.34	**0.7**
... indulging in activities that energize me.	0.35	**0.7**
... going after projects/tasks that excite me	0.36	**0.69**
... working on activities that I immensely enjoy.	0.39	**0.69**
... identifying the aspects of work that make me feel ecstatic.	0.32	**0.69**
... doing work that sparks strong feelings	0.44	**0.66**
... doing work that leaves me with positive feelings.	0.39	**0.6**
... identifying the aspects of my work that I am enthusiastic about.	0.52	**0.57**
... focusing on activities that intrigue me.	0.3	**0.57**
... going after projects/tasks that are meaningful to me.	**0.62**	0.52
... finding activities that are important to me.	**0.58**	0.48
... dedicating time to tasks that reflect what is significant to me.	**0.61**	0.47
... focusing on activities that reflect what I care about.	**0.69**	0.44
...choosing tasks based on how much they will further my values.	**0.72**	0.41
... focusing on projects that allow me to live out my values.	**0.76**	0.39
...finding activities that are compatible with my ideals.	**0.73**	0.37
... engaging in activities that promote ideals that I believe in.	**0.79**	0.36
... doing work that reflects who I am.	**0.67**	0.33
... choosing tasks based on how consistent they are with my values.	**0.78**	0.33
... focusing on tasks that demonstrate my values.	**0.78**	0.32
... doing work that embodies my values.	**0.84**	0.31
... pursuing work that shows my dedication to the values most important to me.	**0.84**	0.3
... doing work that helps me further my principles.	**0.79**	0.3
... working on projects that adhere to my values.	**0.84**	0.28
... engaging in activities that manifest my ideals.	**0.76**	0.28
... identifying the aspects of my work that allow me to express my values.	**0.83**	0.26
.... identifying the aspects of my work that align with my personal values.	**0.84**	0.25
... doing work that is congruent with my most important values.	**0.83**	0.21
... furthering the values and ideals I am committed to.	**0.83**	0.15

Note. After parallel analysis suggested a two-factor solution, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis with an orthogonal rotation (varimax) on the data from the 40 passion pursuit items (20 for *feelings-based* passion pursuit and 20 for *value-based* passion pursuit). Each item loaded most strongly onto its hypothesized dimension.

TABLE S2

Study 1: EFA Factor Loadings of all Passion for Work Items

Items	Passion for Work
I am successful in my pursuit of passion for work	0.88
My job allows me to pursue my passion.	0.93
I am passionate about my projects at work.	0.85
My work is a way for me to pursue my passion.	0.90
My work helps me further my passion.	0.93
The work tasks I do help me fulfill my passion.	0.93
I am accomplishing my pursuit of passion through my work.	0.95
I can cultivate my passion at my job.	0.91
I am living out my passion through my work.	0.92
My job fosters my passion.	0.92
My job cultivates my passion.	0.93
My job gives me a way to live out my passion.	0.92
I am following my passion through my job.	0.94
I am content with how much my work and what I am passionate about intersect.	0.87
My work activities propel my passion.	0.94
The work I do every day serves my passion.	0.93
My job helps me nurture my passion.	0.94
I am happy about the degree to which my work and my passions overlap.	0.90
I am nourishing my passion through my work.	0.94
I am serving my passion through my work.	0.93

Note. After parallel analysis suggested a one-factor solution, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis with no rotation on the data from the 20 passion for work items. All loadings were at least 0.85.

TABLE S3

Study 2: Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations of Variables

	Measure	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	*Feelings*-based Passion Pursuit	4.91	1.18									
2	*Values*-based Passion Pursuit	5.32	1.09	.73***								
3	Passion for work	4.69	1.68	.41***	.59***							
4	Intrinsic Motivation	5.16	1.48	.37***	.49***	.79***						
5	Neoclassical Calling	4.54	1.62	.40***	.57***	.86***	.80***					
6	Work Meaningfulness	5.26	1.40	.24***	.45***	.68***	.66***	.65***				
7	Positive Affect	3.41	0.80	.42***	.49***	.54***	.57***	.52***	.43***			
8	Negative Affect	1.68	0.64	-.22**	-.18*	-.14	-.19**	-.13	-.16*	-.22**		
9	Job Satisfaction	5.26	1.55	.25***	.41***	.73***	.78***	.69***	.65***	.49***	-.27***	
10	Turnover Intention	3.24	1.95	-.16*	-.32***	-.56***	-.62***	-.56***	-.46***	-.39***	.32***	-.71***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

TABLE S4

Study 2: Item-Loadings for Passion Pursuit Scale (Completely Standardized Solution)

Items	*Feelings*-based	*Values*-based
I pursue my passion by….		
… focusing on activities that bring me joy	.815	
… choosing tasks based on how good they make me feel.	.827	
… dedicating time to tasks that make me feel elated.	.830	
… pursuing activities that make me feel euphoric.	.821	
… choosing tasks based on how much I think I will enjoy them.	.706	
… identifying the aspects of my work that allow me to express my values.		.851
… identifying the aspects of my work that align with my personal values.		.866
… furthering the values and ideals I am committed to.		.774
… working on projects that adhere to my values.		.859
… focusing on tasks that demonstrate my values.		.835

Note. To test for convergent validity, we conducted a CFA on the 10 items of the Passion Pursuit Scale. The two-factor model of *values*-based passion pursuit and *feelings*-based passion pursuit fit the data adequately: $\chi^2[34] = 111.865$, CFI = .949, TLI = .933, RMSEA = .106 [90% CI: .085, .128], SRMR = .040, all item loadings were statistically significant ($p < .001$).

TABLE S5

Study 2: Residual Correlations of CFA Solution

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I pursue my passion by….									
… focusing on activities that bring me joy									
… choosing tasks based on how good they make me feel.	-0.02								
… dedicating time to tasks that make me feel elated.	0.004	-0.03							
… pursuing activities that make me feel euphoric.	-0.014	-0.007	0.073						
… choosing tasks based on how much I think I will enjoy them.	-0.01	0.139	-0.093	-0.049					
… identifying the aspects of my work that allow me to express my values.	0.109	-0.032	0.033	-0.006	0.012				
… identifying the aspects of my work that align with my personal values.	0.025	-0.026	-0.009	-0.056	-0.037	0.03			
… furthering the values and ideals I am committed to.	-0.039	-0.051	0.017	-0.054	-0.024	0.017	-0.015		
… working on projects that adhere to my values.	0.05	-0.033	-0.026	-0.025	0.044	-0.031	-0.009	0.036	
… focusing on tasks that demonstrate my values.	0.039	0.027	0.032	-0.034	0.075	-0.031	0.002	-0.019	0.023

Note. Given that the RMSEA of the 2-factor CFA was a bit high, we examined the residual correlations between items. There were only two residual correlations with magnitudes greater than 0.1 and they were not extreme, suggesting that our model is adequately explaining the relationships between our items.

TABLE S6

Study 2: CFA Factor Loadings of Seven-Factor Model (Completely Standardized Solution)

Items	Feelings	Values	Negative Affect	Positive Affect	Meaningful Work	Neoclassical Calling	Intrinsic Motivation
Feelings_1	0.818						
Feelings_2	0.824						
Feelings_3	0.830						
Feelings_4	0.821						
Feelings_5	0.705						
Values_1		0.857					
Values_2		0.860					
Values_3		0.780					
Values_4		0.860					
Values_5		0.829					
NAffect_1			0.788				
NAffect_2			0.739				
NAffect_3			0.518				
NAffect_4			0.745				
NAffect_5			0.493				
NAffect_6			0.628				
NAffect_7			0.625				
NAffect_8			0.752				
NAffect_9			0.600				
NAffect_10			0.779				
PAffect_1				0.779			
PAffect_2				0.779			
PAffect_3				0.744			
PAffect_4				0.796			
PAffect_5				0.772			
PAffect_6				0.474			
PAffect_7				0.767			
PAffect_8				0.822			
PAffect_9				0.732			
PAffect_10				0.682			
meaningful_1					0.874		
meaningful_2					0.886		
meaningful_3					0.909		
meaningful_4					0.907		

meaningful_5	0.954			
neo_call_1		0.949		
neo_call_2		0.944		
neo_call_3		0.935		
neo_call_4		0.777		
neo_call_5		0.665		
neo_call_6		0.903		
int_mot_1			0.935	
int_mot_2			0.848	
int_mot_3			0.893	
int_mot_4			0.938	

Note. To assess discriminant validity, we conducted a CFA that included measures of constructs similar to the Passion Pursuit Scale: intrinsic motivation, neoclassical calling, work meaningfulness, positive affect, and negative affect. Although all item loadings were statistically significant ($p < .001$), the measures of model fit were mixed: $\chi^2[990] = 8973.544$, CFI = .896, TLI = .889, RMSEA = .066 [90% CI: .061, .071], SRMR = .055.

TABLE S7

Study 2: CFA Factor Loadings of Five-Factor Model (Completely Standardized Solution)

Items	Feelings	Values	Meaningful Work	Neoclassical Calling	Intrinsic Motivation
Feelings_1	0.816				
Feelings_2	0.827				
Feelings_3	0.828				
Feelings_4	0.821				
Feelings_5	0.706				
Values_1		0.855			
Values_2		0.861			
Values_3		0.780			
Values_4		0.860			
Values_5		0.830			
meaningful_1			0.874		
meaningful_2			0.887		
meaningful_3			0.909		
meaningful_4			0.907		
meaningful_5			0.954		
neo_call_1				0.948	
neo_call_2				0.944	
neo_call_3				0.935	
neo_call_4				0.777	
neo_call_5				0.664	
neo_call_6				0.903	
int_mot_1					0.936
int_mot_2					0.847
int_mot_3					0.893
int_mot_4					0.938

Note. We conducted another CFA for discriminant validity that excluded positive affect and negative affect. The model fit was satisfactory: $\chi^2[265] = 633.589$, CFI = .933, TLI = .924, RMSEA = .083 [90% CI: .074, .091], all item loadings were statistically significant ($p < .001$).

TABLE S8

Study 2: Average Variance Extracted and Shared Variance Estimates

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	*Feelings*-based Passion Pursuit	**0.64**	0.53	0.14	0.16	0.06	0.18	0.05
2	*Values*-based Passion Pursuit	0.73	**0.70**	0.24	0.32	0.20	0.24	0.03
3	Intrinsic Motivation	0.37	0.49	**0.82**	0.64	0.44	0.32	0.04
4	Neoclassical Calling	0.40	0.57	0.80	**0.75**	0.42	0.02	0.02
5	Work Meaningfulness	0.24	0.45	0.66	0.65	**0.83**	0.18	0.03
6	Positive Affect	0.42	0.49	0.57	0.52	0.43	**0.54**	0.05
7	Negative Affect	-0.22	-0.18	-0.19	-0.13	-0.16	-0.22	**0.47**

Note. Correlations are below the diagonal, squared correlations are above the diagonal, and AVE estimates are presented on the diagonal. Table constructed based on the recommendation of Farrell (2010).

TABLE S9

Study 2: Paired Construct Test Chi-Square Difference

Model	χ^2(df)	$\Delta\chi^2$(df)	*p*	AIC	BIC
Model 1 (Unconstrained)	633.6 (265)			13620	13819
Model 2 (Constrained)	666.4 (268)			13646	13836
Model 1 vs 2		32.822 (3)	< .001		

Note. We ran a paired construct test where we compared our six-factor CFA model with a constrained version of the model to test whether *values*-based passion pursuit and *feelings*-based passion pursuit are strongly correlated with theoretically similar constructs. The unconstrained model was a better fit, suggesting this is not the case.

Table S10

Study 3: Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations

	Measure	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	*Feelings*-based Passion Pursuit	5.16	1.09						
2	*Values*-based Passion Pursuit	5.48	0.97	0.65***					
3	Passion For Work	5.22	1.43	0.44***	0.50***				
4	Job Satisfaction	5.53	1.31	0.29***	0.40***	0.70***			
5	Turnover Intention	2.98	1.73	-0.20***	-0.32***	-0.58***	-0.68***		
6	Turnover-Related Likelihood to Pay	2.85	1.74	0.20***	0.13*	-0.02	-0.11	0.23***	
7	Skillset Expanding Likelihood to Pay	3.26	1.75	0.27***	0.30***	0.19**	0.08	-0.03	0.67***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Given that the behavioral outcomes variables were both positively and significantly correlated with both feelings-based passion and values-based passion, we tested discriminant validity using CFA. All items loadings were statistically significant ($p < .001$) and model fit was satisfactory: $\chi^2[138] = 283.617$, CFI = .961, TLI = .951, RMSEA = .061 [90% CI: .051, .071], SRMR = .045.

FIGURE S1

Study 1: Parallel Analysis Scree Plot for Passion Pursuit Scale

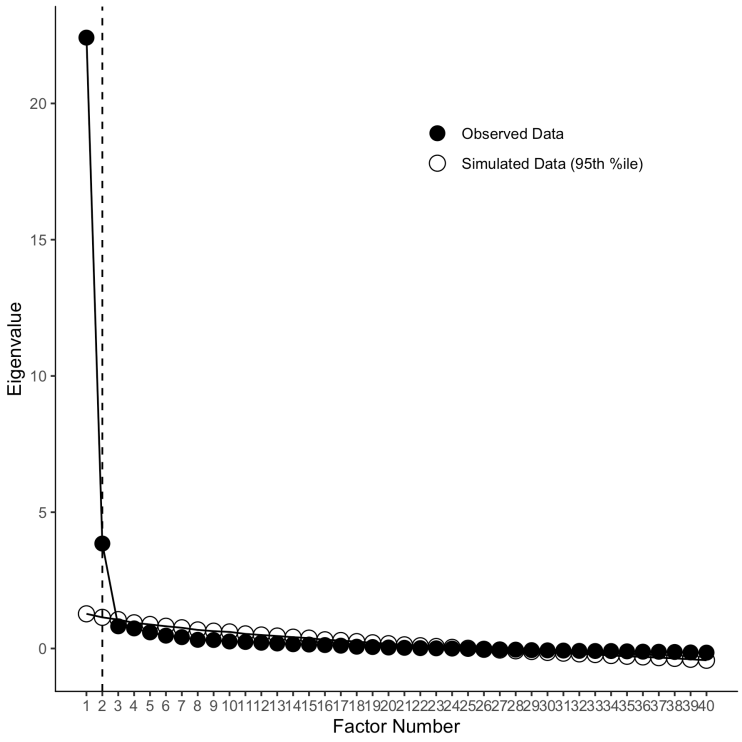

FIGURE S2

Study 1: Parallel Analysis Scree Plot for Passion for Work Scale