Original Research

Disconnected Out of Passion: Relationship Between Social Alienation and Obsessive Passion

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Abstract

Violent radicalization continues to be a global problem. One of the main proposals for understanding radicalization and support for political violence is based on social alienation as a trigger. That is, individuals who feel alienated from society try to get out of this situation by using violence, if necessary. However, social alienation alone is not enough to explain radicalization. Therefore, we propose that social alienation interacts with other factors to foster radicalization. Particularly, we propose that obsessive passion, an internal compulsion that leads a person to engage in an activity even when they should not, is one of the interacting factors. Following previous literature, we hypothesized that higher social alienation predicts support for political violence to a greater extent the higher the obsessive passion. To test this hypothesis, we performed two studies in which the cause of passion varied (religion: $N = 652$ and family: $N = 873$). Both studies assessed social alienation, harmonious and obsessive passion, and support for political violence. The results showed a significant increase in the effect of social alienation on support for political violence when obsessive passion was higher, even

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controlling by harmonious passion. These results highlight the importance of considering other variables related to social alienation that could facilitate radicalization processes, particularly maintaining an obsessive passion for a cause when one feels a social disconnection. The theoretical and practical implications of these results are discussed given their contributions to prevention based on work on feelings of social disconnection and harmonization of causes.

Keywords

To this day, violent radicalization continues to be a problem in Western societies. The events of recent years, from the Syrian conflict to the recent Taliban conquest of Afghanistan, have led thousands of people to move, with many choosing Europe as one of their destinations (OECD, 2021). While the relationship between migration and radicalization or migration and terrorism seems to be very weak (Helbling & Meierrieks, 2020), other associated factors, such as acculturation and the possibility of feelings of marginalization due to cultural differences, are more closely related to radicalization (Lyons-Padilla et al., 2015; Roy, 2017). To further advance the relationship between disconnection from society and support for political violence, the present research presents two studies that show an interaction between social alienation—a state of detachment from society—and obsessive passion—a strong and uncontrollable urge to partake in an activity that appears to foster support for political violence.

Disconnection from Society and Political Violence

One of the main proposals for understanding radicalization and support for political violence is based on social alienation or marginalization as a trigger (Schmid, 2013; Silke, 2008). That is, individuals who feel socially alienated try to get out of this situation by using violence, if necessary. In this regard, research has lent some support to the notion that people who feel disconnected from society present a higher risk of engaging in terrorism (Ellis & Abdi, 2017). This tendency has been found in various aggravated groups and individuals, such as lower-class groups (Scull et al., 2020), convicts (Siegel et al., 2019), immigrants (Lyons-Padilla et al., 2015), refugees (Ellis et al., 2015), individuals isolated from family and friends (Silke, 2008), and people who suffer socioeconomic marginalization (Gouda & Marktanner, 2019). In fact, many of the programs aimed at preventing violent extremism find their

basis in addressing issues such as marginalization and other related variables (Stephens et al., 2019).

A relevant construct in understanding this disconnection is social alienation. It is considered a state of estrangement and detachment from society (Bélanger et al., 2019a) and a trigger factor for radicalization (e.g., Kruglanski et al., 2008; Pressman, 2009; Schmid, 2013). In fact, several authors have found evidence of this relationship. Among them, Troian et al. (2019) found that social alienation (conceptualized as anomie) mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination or rejection and support for political violence. Lyons-Padilla et al. (2015) found that migrants who feel marginalized and insignificant because they do not identify with their heritage culture nor the culture in which they were living presented greater support for radicalism. For their part, Bélanger et al., (2019a) found evidence of the link between social alienation and support for political violence using correlational and experimental designs.

In trying to explain these effects, Sageman (2004) proposed that social connections with other aggrieved group members reinforce increasingly radical ideas while prompting those involved to lose connection with the wider society. Thus, the cognitive opening that occurs for these ideas to emerge (Wiktorowicz, 2004) seems to stem from the feeling of threat to group identity that social alienation produces (Feddes et al., 2015). In this regard, an interesting fact is that individuals who maintain obsessive passion seem to react to identity threats by considering the use of violent alternatives (Rip, Vallerand et al., 2012). Indeed, although to the best of our knowledge, it has not been empirically tested, Bélanger, Robbins et al. (2020) suggested that individuals who feel disconnected from others, apart from their main activity, may generate obsessive passion because they compensate by overinvesting themselves in an activity that satisfies their psychological needs (Ryan et al., 2006; Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013).

The Dualistic Model of Passion

Recent research has shown that high commitment to an activity or a cause is distinguished not only in degree or intensity, but also in the quality of the commitment. This difference has been conceptualized as passion for an activity (Vallerand et al., 2003). Ideological passion is conceptualized as "a strong inclination toward a beloved, valued, and self-defining cause, ideology, or group in which people invest a considerable amount of time and energy" (Rip, Vallerand et al., 2012, p. 2). Therefore, for a cause to become a passion, it must be meaningful, enjoyable, and something in which one can invest time in on a regular basis.

The dualistic model of passion also suggests that individuals can pursue their causes in qualitatively different ways even when they are committed to the same extent (Vallerand, 2010; Vallerand et al., 2003). Therefore, the

dualistic model proposed a difference between two types of passion that distinguish between how passion is internalized into one's core self or identity: harmonious passion and obsessive passion. These two types of passion differ in terms of how the activity is regulated with other life domains.

Harmonious passion arises from the autonomous internalization of a cause in the identity. It refers to a strong desire to engage in the cause while maintaining control of it and being able to decide when to engage and when not to engage. The experience that emerges is that the cause is well integrated with other domains of life (Vallerand, 2010; Vallerand et al., 2003). Obsessive passion arises from a controlled internalization of a cause in one's identity. As with harmonious passion, obsessive passion refers to a strong desire to engage in a cause. However, in this case, the passion overwhelms attention and identity, and it can be defined as a strong and uncontrollable urge to partake in the activity. The cause is beyond the control of the individual, who is pressured to continually pursue it (Vallerand, 2010; Vallerand et al., 2003). An internal compulsion leads obsessively passionate individuals to engage in a cause even when they know they should not, thus causing a conflict between the passionate activity and participation in other activities (Vallerand et al., 2003). This creates susceptibility to threats, which leads them to try to protect themselves (Bélanger et al., 2013a). This divergent evolution is associated with various identity and motivational processes that make people more or less vulnerable to symbolic threats (Rip, Vallerand et al., 2012).

These differences are also associated with different outcomes. Thus, harmonious passion has been related positively with aspects of well-being such as life satisfaction, meaning in life, subjective well-being, positive emotions, flow, and vitality (Curran et al., 2015; Lafrenière et al., 2008; Philippe et al., 2009; Rip et al., 2006; St-Louis et al., 2016; Vallerand et al., 2003, 2006). Obsessive passion, on the other hand, has been positively related to negative emotions, rigid persistence, emotional conflicts, health issues, rumination, anxiety, and depression and negatively to life satisfaction, well-being, vitality, and meaning in life (;Curran et al., 2015; Lafrenière et al., 2008; Philippe et al., 2009; Rip et al., 2006; St-Louis et al., 2016; Vallerand et al., 2003, 2006).

In relation to aggression, harmonious passion is not related to aggression, whereas obsessive passion is related to interpersonal aggression in contexts in which a symbolic threat to the self or personal identity is perceived (Rip, Vallerand et al., 2012). Along the same lines, Gousse-Lessard et al. (2013) found that, while individuals with harmonious passion only accepted mainstream behaviors, individuals with obsessive passion accepted both these behaviors and more radical ones. In addition, research has shown that individuals who exhibit obsessive passion (vs. harmonious passion) suffer more psychological reactivity to messages that indicate how to prove their cause (Bélanger, Schumpe, Nisa et al., 2021), develop moral disinhibition (Bélanger, Schumpe, Nociti et al., 2019), and are more supportive of radical

groups (Bélanger, Robbins et al., 2020). These cognitive processes make individuals who maintain obsessive passion more likely to accept the use of political violence. As theorized by Bélanger (2021), an individual's ideological obsession is accompanied by two self-regulatory shifts: reliance on goal-shielding to manage goals and ego-defensive reactions to manage threats to the self. Therefore, threats to the self should cause the individual to focus on the cause and the achievement of the associated goals, leading them to consider more radical actions to achieve those goals.

Disconnected out of Passion

Given the literature review, social alienation appears to be a risk factor that facilitates support for political violence (e.g., Bélanger et al., 2019a). However, it seems that individuals perceive this threat differently. Specifically, we propose that obsessively passionate individuals will be more aware of this threat and, therefore, will show greater support for political violence. That is to say, social alienation generates a loss of significance by threatening the self, and therefore, individuals who maintain obsessive passion will show a greater predisposition to use political violence in support of their cause. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to explore the relationship between social alienation and obsessive passion; we hypothesized that higher social alienation predicts support for political violence to a greater extent the more intense the obsessive passion. To test this hypothesis, we present two studies. In Study 1, the cause of passion is assigned to participants (i.e., religion), and in Study 2, to replicate the effects with a more relevant cause, participants chose which cause was more important to them—we concentrated on participants who ascribed to the most common cause, the family.

Study 1

The first study addressed the relationship between social alienation and obsessive passion in predicting support for political violence.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited through a form of snowball sampling in which psychology students at a Spanish university asked their acquaintances to participate. Their participation was voluntary and they received no financial compensation. Six hundred and fifty-two Spaniards were recruited (381 women; M_{age} = 30.24 years, SD_{age} = 13.44). Regarding education, 9.1% had primary education, 9.4% had secondary education, 24.2% had a baccalaureate education, 33.7% had

university education, and 23.6% had a vocational education degree. Regarding employment status, 35.8% were employed, 15.1% were unemployed, 43.2% were students, 2.9% were studying and working, 0.9% were housewives, and 2.1% were retired. As for religion, 47.7% were Christians, 24.3% atheist, and the rest belonged to other religions, such as Islam and Judaism. A post-hoc sensitivity analysis was computed using the G*Power function for linear multiple regression, fixed model, R^2 increase (Faul et al., 2009). Considering the sample size ($N =$ 652), $\alpha = .05$ and $\Delta R^2 = .03$, the power reached was .99. This implies that our sample was large enough to detect small effect sizes.

Measures

Social Alienation

This aspect was measured with nine items taken from the scale developed by Bélanger et al., (2019a); e.g., "I feel like a stranger in Spanish society" and "I keep myself apart from Spanish society due to my beliefs"; $\alpha = .70$). The items were answered on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*fully disagree*) to 6 (*fully agree*).

Passion

The passion scale consists of two six-item subscales measuring obsessive passion for religion (e.g., "I have difficulties controlling my urge to think about my religion"; $\alpha = .89$) and harmonious passion for religion (e.g., "My religion is in harmony with the other activities in my life"; $\alpha = .95$) taken from Vallerand et al. (2003). In addition, two indicators were included, one assessing the importance of religion ($M = 2.84$, $SD = 1.98$) and the other the time spent thinking about religion ($M = 1.67$, $SD = 1.25$). The items were answered on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*fully disagree*) to 7 (*fully agree*).

Support for Political Violence

This aspect was measured with eight items taken from the belief toward violence scale developed by Bélanger et al., (2019a); e.g., "Sometimes the only way to gain attention to a just cause is to damage property" and "Violence is necessary for social change"; $\alpha = .88$). The items were answered on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*fully disagree*) to 6 (*fully agree*).

Results

We conducted hierarchical multiple regression analyses to examine the influence of obsessive passion and social alienation on support for political

violence. We centered independent variables before computing the interaction terms. In Step 1, we entered social alienation, obsessive passion, and the control variable harmonious passion. In Step 2, we entered the two-way interaction terms between social alienation and obsessive passion. We display means, standard deviations, and correlations for all measures in Table 1.

Step 1 explained a significant amount of variance in willingness to engage in radical activism, $F(3, 646) = 43.91$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .17$. The two-way interaction terms in Step 2 significantly increased the amount of explained variance, $F(4, 645) = 38.78$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .19$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$ (see Table 2). The same analyses, controlling for age and gender, showed similar results.

To further probe the nature of the interaction between social alienation and obsessive passion, we computed the conditional effect of interaction for low versus high levels of obsessive passion (Hayes, 2013). The effect of social alienation on support for political violence was significant for high (1 SD above the mean; $b = .41$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.33, .49]) and low levels (1 SD below the mean) of obsessive passion ($b = .22$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.14, .30]; see Figure 1). Therefore, the effect of social alienation on support for political violence increased to a greater extent when obsessive passion was higher.

Discussion

As predicted, there was an interaction between social alienation and obsessive passion, even controlling for harmonious passion. It seems that when both factors were high, participants' support for violence was also higher. However, it seems that the majority of participants did not feel a great passion for religion, as reflected by the importance assigned and the time spent thinking about it. This is mainly because they were asked directly about their passion for religion without being free to choose the cause that was most important to them. To overcome this limitation, the study was replicated with another sample.

Study 2

Having proven that social alienation and obsessive passion interact in predicting greater support for political violence, we sought to replicate the study

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Pearson's Bivariate Correlations.

	M	*SD*	1	2	3
1. Social alienation	2.69	0.79			
2. Obsessive passion	1.57	0.93	.06		
3. Harmonious passion	2.57	1.67	−.21***	.63***	
4. Support for political violence	1.43	0.73	.35***	.22***	.02

Note. ***$p > .001$.

Table 2. Linear Hierarchical Regression.

	Step 1	Step 2
	B(SE)	B(SE)
Social alienation	.81*** (.09)	.16 (.17)
Obsessive passion	.30*** (.06)	−.45* (.18)
Harmonious passion	−.07 (.05)	.04 (.05)
Social alienation X obsessive passion		.68*** (.15)
R^2	.17***	.19***
ΔR^2	.17***	.02***

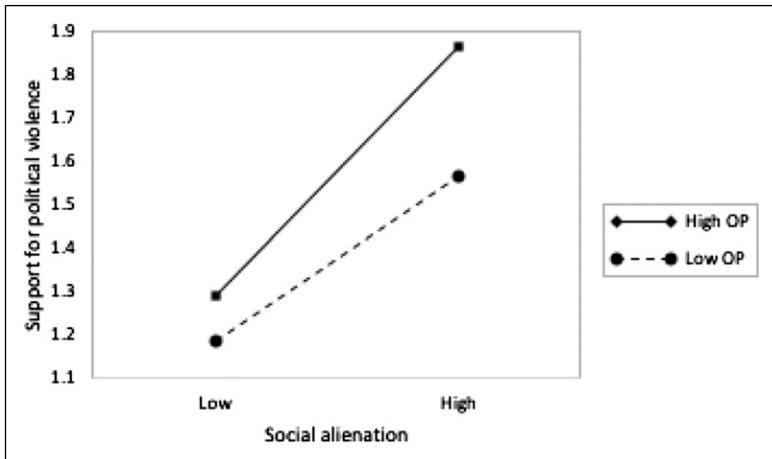Note. ***p > .001; *p > .05.

Figure 1. Support for political violence for social alienation (low vs. high) and low versus high obsessive passion (OP) in Study 1. High = One standard-deviation higher than the mean; Low = One standard-deviation lower than the mean.

to confirm the validity of the results. Given that in Study 1, participants were forced to evaluate religion as a cause, and therefore showed scores close to a floor effect, in this study they were left free to choose the cause they were most passionate about. In this way, we expected to find the same effects as in the first study, but with a cause that was really important to the participants.

Method

Participants and Procedure

We collected a large sample by snowball sampling, in which psychology students from a university other than the one in Study 1 asked their

acquaintances to participate. Their participation was voluntary and they received no financial compensation. A total sample of 1324 was collected, but only those who indicated that family was their most important cause were retained, leaving a final sample of 873 Spaniards (556 women; M_{age} = 29.33 years, SD_{age} = 13.81). Regarding education, 10.6% had primary education, 12.3% had secondary education, 27.1% had a baccalaureate education, 35.5% had university education, and 14.5% had a vocational education degree. Regarding employment status, 30.0% were employed, 13.9% were unemployed, 54.4% were students, 0.1% were studying and working, 0.5% were housewives, and 1.1% were retired. As for religion, 88.2% were Christians, 11.3% were atheist, and the rest belonged to other religions, such as Islam and Judaism. The majority of participants (66.47%) chose family as their most important cause, and this was the only reason for choosing these participants. A post-hoc sensitivity analysis was computed using G*Power function for linear multiple regression, fixed model, R^2 increase (Faul et al., 2009). Considering the sample size (N = 873), α = .05 and ΔR^2 = 01, the power reached was .99. This implies that our sample was large enough to detect a small effect sizes.

Measures

The same measures as in Study 1 were included, with the exception that an adapted passion scale. For this purpose, participants were asked to write down the name of the most important cause, mission, or aspect that gave meaning to their lives. Once they wrote a cause, they were asked to respond to the items (e.g., "I have difficulties controlling my urge to think about my cause" or "My cause is in harmony with the other activities in my life"). As mentioned above, only data from those participants who chose family as the most important cause were considered for the analyses. The reliability of all scales was acceptable: social alienation (α = .68), obsessive passion (α = .75), harmonious passion (α = .79), the indicators of importance (M = 6.47, SD = 0.96) and time spent thinking about the cause (M = 4.50, SD = 1.73), and support for political violence (α = .86).

Results

We conducted hierarchical multiple regression analyses to examine the influence of obsessive passion and social alienation on support for political violence, as in Study 1. We centered independent variables before computing the interaction terms. We display means, standard deviations, and correlations for all measures in Table 3.

Step 1 explained a significant amount of variance in willingness to engage in radical activism, $F(3, 876)$ = 62.76, $p < .001$, R^2 = .17; the two-way

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics and Pearson's Bivariate Correlations.

	M	SD	1	2	3
1. Social alienation	2.65	0.74			
2. Obsessive passion	3.93	1.19	.09**		
3. Harmonious passion	5.69	0.92	−.27***	.21***	
4. Support for political violence	1.47	0.73	.37***	.12***	−.25***

Note. ***p > .001; *p < .05.

interaction terms in Step 2 significantly increased the amount of explained variance, $F(4, 875) = 48.34$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .18$, $\Delta R^2 = .01$ (see Table 4). The same analyses, controlling for age and gender, showed similar results.

To further probe the nature of the interaction between social alienation and obsessive passion, we computed the conditional effect of the interaction for low versus high levels of obsessive passion (Hayes, 2013). The effect of social alienation on support for political violence was significant for high (1 SD above the mean; $b = .37$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.28, .46]) and low levels (1 SD below the mean) of obsessive passion ($b = .24$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.16, .33]; see Figure 2). Thus, the effect of social alienation increased to a greater extent when the obsessive passion was higher, as in Study 1.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 were replicated in this second study. As predicted, there was an interaction between social alienation and obsessive passion (controlling for harmonious passion); individuals who were more socially alienated and had an obsessive passion for their family were more supportive of political violence. In this case, the levels of passion for family, both obsessive and harmonious, presented higher values than in the previous study,

Table 4. Linear Hierarchical Regression.

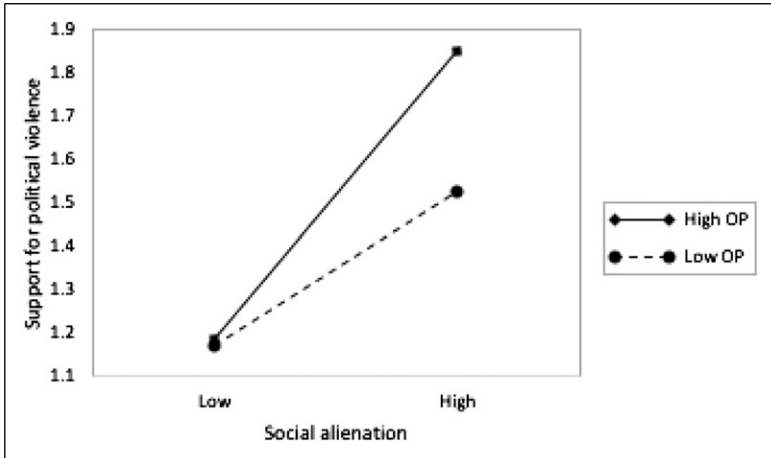|	Step 1	Step 2
	B(SE)	B(SE)
Social alienation	.81*** (.19)	.28 (.27)
Obsessive passion	.32*** (.08)	−.22 (.27)
Harmonious passion	−.86*** (.08)	−.87*** (.15)
Social alienation X obsessive passion		.53* (.26)
R^2	.17***	.18***
ΔR^2	.17***	.01*

Note. ***p < .001; *p < .05.

Figure 2. Support for political violence for social alienation (low vs. high) and low versus high obsessive passion (OP) in Study 2. High = One standard-deviation higher than the mean; Low = One standard-deviation lower than the mean.

and the importance of the cause and the time spent thinking about it were high, so the ground effect disappeared. Thus, the interaction between alienation and obsessive passion was confirmed in a different sample with a different cause.

General Discussion

Disconnection from society is considered a risk factor for radicalization (Bélanger et al., 2019a). However, not all those who are socially alienated radicalize, so some psychological individual differences may play a relevant role (Vergani et al., 2020). In this regard, we evaluated the role of obsessive passion, a strong desire to engage in a cause that overwhelms attention and identity (Vallerand et al., 2003), in relation to social alienation in two studies. The results in both studies showed that social alienation and obsessive passion are risk factors for radicalization, and there is an interaction between the two, that is, the greater the social alienation and obsessive passion for a cause, whether religion or family, the greater the support for violence.

Various implications derive from these results. First, alienation and obsessive passion appear to be independent, whereas alienation and harmonious passion maintain a negative relationship. These results partially rule out the hypothesis that alienation leads to greater obsessive passion and vice versa (Bélanger, Robbins et al., 2020). Nevertheless, more research along these lines is needed to elucidate the relationship between these two constructs. Second, the relationship between the two types of passion, at least in the first study, was

very high, which adds further validity to the results because the difference in outcomes was significant even controlling for shared variance. Likewise, the differences in the strength of the correlation between the two studies seem to point to the relative independence of the two types of passion, which can be high or low at the same time (Bélanger et al., 2013a).

Third, harmonious passion shows signs of being a protective factor. It has a negative or nonexistent relationship with support for political violence and a negative relationship with social alignment even though it is positively related to obsessive passion. The integration of a cause into one's identity seems to protect against radicalization, even when adverse factors are present, by keeping this cause embedded with other aspects of life.

Fourth, qualitative differences in engagement with a cause appear to play a major role in explaining radicalization (Bélanger et al., 2013b). Unlike other constructs that account for quantitative differences (e.g., intensity), obsessive passion (vs. harmonious passion) maintains high predictive power. Consequently, future studies should compare the role of obsessive passion with other indicators of quantitative differences related to radicalization, such as, identity fusion (Gómez & Vázquez, 2015; Swann et al., 2012; Swann & Buhrmester, 2015).

Finally, feelings of disconnection from society, while an important risk factor that may pose a threat to identity or awaken the quest for significance, appear to be heightened when individuals share an obsessive passion. Social alienation is therefore a risk factor in itself, which is enhanced by obsessive passion. This implies that when individuals feel isolated from broad society, they maintain some support for the use of political violence; however, if they also maintain complete devotion to a cause, their support for the use of political violence is greater. Thus, the distinction between push and pull factors seems to be limited when individual differences are not taken into account in understanding radicalization (Vergani et al., 2020).

Taken together, these results provide evidence that confirms the difference established by the dualistic model of passion. As it proposes, the outcomes related to harmonious and obsessive passion were different. While harmonious passion maintained negative relationships with support for political violence, obsessive passion presented positive relationships, results similar to those found by Rip, Vallerand et al. (2012), Gousse-Lessard et al., (2013), and Bélanger, Schumpe, Nociti et al. (2019). Furthermore, these results go beyond previous studies by showing an interaction between push factors (i.e., social alienation) and personal psychological differences (i.e., obsessive passion). This implies that it is necessary to consider the various factors not only for their individual contributions, but in terms of the relationship between them and how they may interact and magnify support for political violence.

In the applied field, the derivations of the results of these studies fall in the field of prevention of violent extremism. On the one hand, the results highlight the importance of mitigating feelings of marginalization, trying to integrate all individuals into the wider society, develop healthy identities (Ellis & Abdi, 2017; Stephens et al., 2019). On the other hand, addressing these aspects may not be enough; it may be necessary to work also on changing the quality of involvement in various causes. That is, it may be necessary to harmonize passion for these causes and look for alternatives so that causes that are important to people can be integrated with other aspects of their lives. Working with these two aspects together could be a strategy to prevent violent extremism.

This study suffers from some limitations that may affect the interpretation of the data and of which the reader should be aware. First, the study designs did not include any manipulation, so we cannot confirm causality. Other studies should replicate the results by including manipulations, such as those performed by Bélanger et al. (2013b), to test causality. Along the same lines, these studies could be used to test whether social alienation fosters or generates obsessive passion (Bélanger, Robbins et al., 2020). Second, the two causes taken into account, although they seem to reflect the possibility of being disconnected from wider society, do not cover the full range of possible causes and leave out others that are more closely related to radicalization. Future studies should examine passion for other causes, such as the environment and its relationship to social alienation. Third, participants were from the general population and the sample number allowed adequate power to be achieved. However, future studies should seek to replicate the results with special populations, such as individuals at risk of radicalization, extremists, or former extremists. The use of these samples would allow testing whether these two factors are present and interact in individuals with a certain level of radicalization, and whether disengagement or deradicalization is accompanied by changes in these constructs. Positive results along these lines with samples of former radicals would make it possible to design programs based on harmonizing passion to reduce the risk of radicalization and encourage disengagement. Finally, regarding diversity, the aim was to achieve a broad, representative sample. This resulted in samples that were representative of the population in terms of education, employment, and religion. However, as they were representative of Spanish society, minority groups (such as religious groups) were less represented. This may limit the generalizability of the results to other groups. Similarly, the causes of passion were religion and family. Other passions might also be relevant in interaction with social alienation and yield similar or different results. Future studies should address these limitations to see if these results are generalizable to other groups and identities.

Overall, we can conclude that disconnection from wider society is an important risk factor for radicalization. However, this factor may interact with

other personal differences, such as obsessive passion or a controlled internalization of a cause in one's identity, fostering greater support for political violence. Therefore, it seems necessary to consider qualitative differences in the integration of a cause in one's own identity, especially when other risk factors are present.

Annex I—Scales' Items

Social Alienation

1. Most people can find satisfaction within Spanish society. (Reversed item)
2. I am detached from Spanish society.
3. I no longer support the way the Spanish government administers the country.
4. I feel like a stranger in Spanish society.
5. I feel that Spanish society despises who I am.
6. I want to belong to Spanish society. (Reversed item)
7. I defy Spanish's expectations.
8. I want to contribute in a positive way to Spanish society. (Reversed item)
9. I keep myself apart from Spanish society due to my beliefs.

Religious Passion

1. Religion is in harmony with the other activities in my life. (Harmonious Passion)
2. I have difficulties controlling my urge to think about Religion. (Obsessive Passion)
3. The new things that I discover with Religion allow me to appreciate it even more. (Harmonious Passion)
4. I have almost an obsessive feeling for Religion. (Obsessive Passion)
5. Religion reflects the qualities I like about myself. (Harmonious Passion)
6. Religion allows me to live a variety of experiences. (Harmonious Passion)
7. Religion is the only thing that really turns me on. (Obsessive Passion)
8. Religion is well integrated in my life. (Harmonious Passion)
9. If I could, I would devote entirely to Religion. (Obsessive Passion)
10. Religion is in harmony with other things that are part of me. (Obsessive Passion)
11. Religion is so exciting that I sometimes lose control over it. (Harmonious Passion)

12. I have the impression that Religion controls me. (Obsessive Passion)
13. Religion is important for me. (Indicator Importance)
14. Religion is a passion for me. (Indicator Time thinking)

Passion

1. My "cause" is in harmony with the other activities in my life. (Harmonious Passion)
2. I have difficulties controlling my urge to think about my "cause." (Obsessive Passion)
3. The new things that I discover with my "cause" allow me to appreciate it even more. (Harmonious Passion)
4. I have almost an obsessive feeling for my "cause." (Obsessive Passion)
5. My "cause" reflects the qualities I like about myself. (Harmonious Passion)
6. My "cause" allows me to live a variety of experiences. (Harmonious Passion)
7. My "cause" is the only thing that really turns me on. (Obsessive Passion)
8. My "cause" is well integrated in my life. (Harmonious Passion)
9. If I could, I would devote entirely to my "cause." (Obsessive Passion)
10. My "cause" is in harmony with other things that are part of me. (Harmonious Passion)
11. My "cause" is so exciting that I sometimes lose control over it. (Obsessive Passion)
12. I have the impression that my "cause" controls me. (Obsessive Passion)
13. My "cause" is important for me. (Indicator Importance)
14. My "cause" is a passion for me. (Indicator Time thinking)

Support for political violence

1. It is permissible to damage public property (e.g., bridges, government buildings) if it means people will listen.
2. I would burn a residential building if it helps a cause that I think is just.
3. Sometimes the only way to gain attention to a just cause is to damage property.
4. Sometimes, the death of civilians is necessary for social change.
5. To achieve political change, violence towards military personnel is sometimes needed.
6. To achieve political change, violence towards police officers is sometimes needed.

7. Violence is necessary for social change.
8. I am prepared to use violence in support of my beliefs and values.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

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