Original Research Article

Xenophobia and Xenophilia, the Bright and Dark Sides of Attitude Towards Foreigners: A Self-Determination Theory Approach

Nadia Barberis [ID]
Magna Graecia University of Catanzaro, Italy

Sebastiano Costa [ID]
University of Campania Luigi Vanvitelli, Caserta, Italy

Claudia Castiglione
University of Messina, Italy

Abstract

Introduction: The intensification of the migration phenomenon led to a growing interest in the public domain about the attitudes towards foreigners. Xenophobia and xenophilia are two opposite orientations towards foreigners, that could be considered the consequences of the interaction between several factors. Based on the self-determination theory, this study aims to verify that a bright pathway composed by intrinsic goal, needs satisfaction and altruism could explain xenophilia, whereas a dark pathway composed by extrinsic goal, needs frustration, and egoism could explain xenophobia in a group of Italian emerging adult. **Methods:** A group of 306 Italian emerging adults (aged 18–24), completed questionnaires and structural equation modelling was used to test the hypothesized model. **Results:** The results showed a relation between intrinsic goals and needs satisfaction, conversely needs satisfaction was related to altruism, moreover altruism was related to xenophilia. On the other hand, extrinsic goals were related to need frustration; moreover, need frustration was

Corresponding Author:
Nadia Barberis, Department of Health Sciences, Magna Graecia University of Catanzaro, Catanzaro 88100, Italy.
Email: nbarberis@unicz.it

related to egoism and egoism was related to xenophobia. **Discussion:** These results were discussed within the Italian context for a better general comprehension of both xenophobia and xenophilia in a SDT framework.

Introduction

Attitudes towards foreigners is a topic of growing interest in the public domain and also several scientific studies have devoted numerous efforts to the understanding of this theme. The present study is a first attempt to investigate the mechanisms behind xenophobia and xenophilia integrating this issue using self-determination theory (SDT) as theoretical framework. This correlational study reports the association between aspiration goals, psychological basic needs, individual traits of egoism and altruism, xenophobia and xenophilia, suggesting a dual SDT process model.

Xenophobia and Xenophilia

The intensification of the migration phenomenon in recent years has given new interest towards the integration in Italian contemporary society of cultural and ethnic differences (Korol et al., 2018; Triandafyllidou, 2018). The current political context has brought massive attention to the aforementioned issue and to the ways in which immigrants are perceived. According to the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), one of the key components of some parties is the frequent use of a political propaganda characterized by xenophobic traits to obtain huge electoral consensus (Fazzi, 2013; Ruzza & Fella, 2009). According to the Joint Reference Committee (2010), xenophobia is used by charismatic political leaders in order to gain more control over the system and to arouse public opinion. Xenophobia is used by the media in order to get sensational news as well (Joint Reference Committee, 2010). According to ISTAT data (2017) between 2006 and 2016, the number of foreigners residing in Italy has doubled, as a result of many multi-ethnic scenery urban centres opposed to certain political and ideological movements (Ambrosini, 2013a), thus favouring the emergence of xenophobic feelings in the population (Ambrosini, 2013b). In fact, several researches have focused on attitudes towards foreigners, in order to deepen the knowledge of xenophobia and xenophilia (Barbarino & Stürmer, 2016; Panichella & Ambrosini, 2018; Stürmer et al., 2013). Xenophobia literally means "fear for the strangers" and it is conceptualized as negative attitudes towards individuals from other cultural or ethnical backgrounds, in fact, the fear has the consequence of inducing a strong hostility towards strangers who are perceived as a real threat (Suleman et al., 2018). Xenophobia is a form of prejudice and intolerance that is based mainly on the

contrast between "ingroup" and "outgroup" (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015). Unlike xenophobia, xenophilia can be conceptualized as a positive attitude towards individuals perceived as culturally different, in fact, xenophilic individuals show interest and curiosity towards foreigners, they tend to accept cultural differences and implement welcoming behaviours towards immigrants and actively seeking contacts with different cultures (Stürmer et al., 2013). In a 2013 study, Stürmer et al., note that there were only 7 studies on xenophilia at that time, and even today this topic is little studied despite its important implications.

A review by Priest et al. (2013) of 121 studies highlighted that higher levels of discrimination were related to several indicators of ill-being, such as anxiety, depression, low self-esteem and called for further research addressing the interplay between the divergent attitudes towards different populations and health outcomes. In addition to a relevant personal burden, discrimination has an important social cost as well (Duriez et al., 2007), because it may hinder intergroup relationships and shared cultural identities. In light of the above, it is important to assess the potential antecedents of the divergent attitudes towards foreigner to provide more tailored anti-discrimination interventions (Kelaher, Ferdinand, Paradies & Warr, 2016). In addition to considering a psychological theoretical framework, the implementation of sociological theories regarding xenophobia and xenophilia may provide a more holistic approach to the divergent attitudes towards foreigner (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015). Specifically, Scheffer (2011) stated that xenophobia can be interpreted as a result of societal changes experienced by a community as potentially harmful, thereby leading foreigners to experience such perceptions as well and leading to social avoidance to avoid potentially dangerous consequences. In the long run, this social withdrawal by foreigners may lead the host community to a greater sense of distrust towards the out-group (Scheffer, 2011). Furthermore, Sanchez-Mazas & Licata (2015) highlighted that xenophobia is a major risk factor for hostility towards a multi-cultural society, on the contrary, it would be useful to promote policies in favour of cultural integration and multiculturalism, factors that can improve the health of the community (Suleman et al., 2018).

Xenophobia and xenophilia are two different orientations related one to each other and they may be the consequence of the interaction between several factors (Siem et al., 2016). Barbarino and Stürmer (2016) have shown altruism could be a relevant variable in the promotion of xenophile orientations among young adults, but also that low levels of altruism/cooperation-related personality traits promote a higher level of xenophobic orientation. Although Barbarino and Stürmer (2016) has deepened xenophobia and xenophilia for the first time as two separate related dimensions, the specular dimension of altruism as egoism has not been investigated.

Altruism And Egoism

Egoism is a personality trait characterized by self-centred behaviours and concern regarding the self (Weigel Hessing, & Elffers, 1999), which is the opposite to altruism, which represents a personality trait that is defined as the tendencies to act, taking care or

concern for others (de Vries, Wawoe, & Holtrop, 2016; Goetz et al., 2010). Egoism has shown to be positively related with behaviours that could potentially hurt other people, like cheating (Weigel et al., 1999), tax evasion (Webley et al., 2001), and insurance fraud (Fetchenhauer, 1999), whereas altruism has shown to be related with outcomes related to concern for others as well as a less risk-taking behaviour while driving (Ulleberg & Rundmo, 2003), more prosocial behaviours (Stocks et al., 2009), and more volunteerism (Hask-Leventhal, 2009). Therefore, it seems to be interesting to investigate the not only relationship between altruism, xenophobia and xenophilia, but egoism as well, to further explore the different origins of xenophobia and xenophilia (Barbarino & Stürmer, 2016). Recently, several studies (Güntert et al., 2016; Haivas et al., 2012; Ryan & Hawley, 2016) have recognized that the contribution of altruism and egoism in promoting attitudes towards others can be better understood if integrated into the Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Furthermore, SDT is interested to both the *bright* and *dark* pathways of human functioning and could help in the integration of the findings regarding attitudes towards outgroups (Barbarino & Stürmer, 2016; Pittinsky et al., 2011) that have shown that positive (xenophilia) and negative attitude (xenophobia) can be represented as two different expressions of the attitude toward foreigners.

Psychological Basic Needs

SDT is a widely studied macro theory that considers the satisfaction of the three basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness as central to the positive development of the individual and well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Psychological basic needs play a pivotal role to explain the "bright" tendency towards health and integrity, and the "dark" inclination towards vulnerabilities and maladjustment. Specifically, SDT assumes that the need of satisfactory experience represents a "bright" pathway oriented towards growth, adjustment, and prosociality (Cheon et al., 2018; Haivas et al., 2013), whereas a "dark" pathway is characterized by need frustration, which leads to ill-being, to maladjustment, poorer social relationships, and antisocial behaviours (Cheon et al., 2018; Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013). Extensive need frustration conditions tend to focus people more on egoistic and selfish patterns of behaviours, whereas altruistic and prosocial behaviours can be experienced in conditions of need satisfaction (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Relationships Motivation Theory (RMT; Ryan & Deci, 2017) is a mini-theory defined by SDT that states that individuals are predisposed to be intrinsically involved in social relationships and to provide support to other individuals, thus confirming that basic psychological needs have a relevant role in explaining the beneficial pathway of helping behaviours as well (Ryan & Deci, 2017; Weinstein & Ryan, 2010). In experimental studies, Pavey et al. (2011) have shown that the satisfaction of basic psychological needs increases prosocial intention and prosocial activities. Furthermore, Cheon et al. (2018) showed that bright side variables (need satisfaction and autonomy support) favour prosocial behaviours, on the contrary, dark side variables (need frustration and control) increase antisocial behaviours. Moreover,

Gagné (2003) described how people with a high level of need satisfaction reported greater engagement in altruistic activities, and Hodge and Gucciardi (2015) reported how basic need satisfaction has a positive relationship with self-reported prosocial behaviour in sport contexts. Furthermore, Park et al. (2011) showed a negative association between psychological basic needs and egoistic concerns and a positive association with altruistic concerns. Furthermore, within SDT, several studies have shown that personal goal could also promote altruistic and egoistic behaviours and that these effects are largely mediated by basic psychological needs (Duriez et al., 2007; Niemiec et al., 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste, et al., 2007).

Intrinsic And Extrinsic Goals

Specifically, SDT conceptualizes a distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic goals (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Intrinsic goals are the natural desire to express and develop oneself (such as affiliation and growth), and previous studies have shown that they are related to a higher level of well-being, adjustment, and higher quality of relationships (Ryan & Deci, 2017), whereas extrinsic goals are based on concrete rewards and external signs of success achievement (such as money and fame) and they are related to poorer psychological health, less prosocial behaviours and more antisocial behaviours (Kasser, 2016; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Ryan and Deci (2017, page 275), regarding the Goal Contents Theory (a sub-theory of SDT), specified: "relations between intrinsic and extrinsic goals and wellness will largely be a function of (i.e., mediated by) satisfaction and frustration of basic psychological needs". Several studies within SDT have shown that personal goal could also promote altruistic and egoistic behaviours and these effects are largely mediated by basic psychological needs (Duriez et al., 2007; Niemiec et al., 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste, et al., 2007). Following SDT, individuals who pursuit intrinsic goal tend to satisfy their own basic needs, whereas extrinsically oriented individuals are more likely to frustrate their own basic needs (Ryan & Deci, 2017). For instance, intrinsically oriented individuals are focused on developing their interests and on improving their own growth, consequently, their behaviours tend to promote autonomy, competence and relatedness fulfilment. Conversely, individuals who pursuit extrinsic goals tend to behave in order to obtain fame, richness or popularity, and this could frustrate their need to have good relationships (frustration of relatedness), or promote the feeling of being pushed to do things that are not freely chosen (frustration of autonomy). Moreover, an SDT-based study showed in both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs (Duriez et al., 2007) that both intrinsic and extrinsic goals are predictive of interpersonal prejudice. Furthermore, previous studies (Duriez, 2011; Duriez, et al., 2007; Van Hiel et al., 2010) showed that individuals with extrinsic goals orientation have a lower level of attitudes towards multiculturalism and a higher level of racial prejudice and discriminatory attitudes towards ethnics minorities. These studies suggest that the principles based on SDT could be also applied to investigate intrinsic and extrinsic goals as antecedents of xenophobia and xenophilia.

The present sudy

Several studies (Duriez, 2011; Duriez, et al., 2007; Van Hiel, et al., 2010) highlighted the need to further explore the underlying mechanism of the relations between intrinsic and extrinsic goals and the attitude towards other individuals (e.g. xenophobia and xenophilia). Recently, several studies (Güntert et al., 2016; Haivas et al., 2012; Ryan & Hawley, 2016) suggested that the integration of the basic psychological needs postulated by SDT (Ryan & Deci, 2017) with the concept of altruism and egoism could provide a clear understanding of the process that promote attitudes towards others (e.g. xenophobia and xenophilia). SDT seems to provide a broad theoretical framework for better understanding attitudes towards foreigners, such as xenophobia and xenophilia. Although several studies in SDT have already examined similar constructs, xenophobia and xenophilia are still unexplored topics. Furthermore, the integration of both the dark and bright paths based on the self-determination theory framework was used in several context and domain (Ryan & Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013), such as school (Jang, Kim, & Reeve, 2020), physical education (Jang et al., 2020), sport (Bartholomew et al., 2011), parenting (Costa et al., 2019) and work (Huyghebaert et al., 2018), but studies on the understanding of immigration are still scarce. Emerging adulthood is an interesting period of life to study this phenomenon (Musso et al., 2017), because it characterized by the development of a coherent self-identity through the consolidation of the various areas of life (Arnett, 2000). Furthermore, the ideological visions about cultural diversity in this period of life it becomes increasingly important in the development of the self and in the understanding of the own role in the society. Since emerging adulthood is a life stage characterized by a wide array of experimentations aimed at structuring one's sense of self (Arnett, 2000) it is reasonable to infer that contextual features like cultural diversity may help structuring personal identity. This may in turn foster different behavioural and thinking styles towards foreigners. For these reasons, the aim of this study is to test a model (Figure 1) in a group of Italian emerging adults that could provide a better comprehension of xenophobia and xenophilia using an SDT framework. In line with previous studies (Niemiec, et al., 2009; Vansteenkiste, et al., 2007), intrinsic goals would positively predict need satisfaction, and negatively predict need frustration. Conversely, need satisfaction, would positively predict altruism, whereas need frustration would positively predict egoism. Moreover, altruism would positively predict xenophilia, and egoism would positively predict xenophobia. Specifically, a dual-process model based on SDT (Figure 1) was hypothesized in a group of Italian emerging adult:

> **Hypothesis 1** (H1): A *bright* pathway is expected in which intrinsic goal would be primarily related to need satisfaction. Need satisfaction would, in turn, be related primarily to altruism and finally, altruism would primarily be related to xenophilia.

> **Hypothesis 2** (H2): A *dark* pathway is expected in which extrinsic goal would be primarily related to need frustration. Need frustration would, in turn, be primarily related to egoism, and finally, egoism would primarily be related to xenophobia.
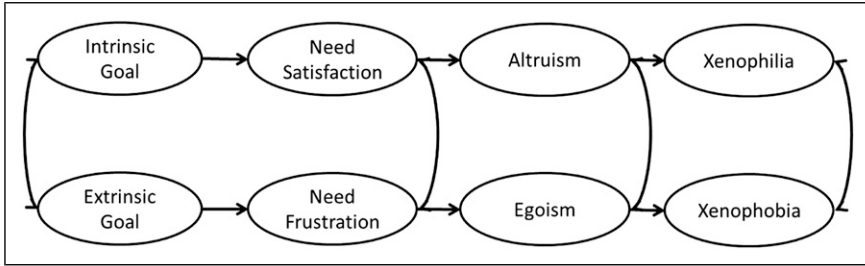
Figure 1. Hypothesized Model.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): In addition to these direct paths, we also expect less pronounced cross-paths between *bright* and *dark* variables.

Method

Participants

Questionnaires were administered to 306 Italian emerging adults aged between 18 and 24 years (M = 21.02, DS = 1.85) (44% was Sicilian, and 56% was Calabrian). The sample consists of 39% of men and 61% women. Regarding participants' educational level, 12% of the participants had a middle school certification, 82% had a high school diploma, and 6% had a university degree. About paternal education 3% had an elementary school certification, 26% had a middle school certification, 53% had a high school diploma, and 18% had a university degree. About maternal education, 4% of them had an elementary school certification, 26% had middle school certification, 51% had a high school diploma, and 19% had a university degree.

Procedures

Emerging adults participated in this study voluntarily, and they have been enrolled among researchers' acquaintances, friends and neighbours of psychology students at the University of Messina. The only inclusion criteria were to be a young Italian individual, resident in Italy. A convenience sample was enrolled involving friends and psychology students. The questionnaires were individually administered to the participants in their own houses, to allow the participants to respond as freely as possible. The administration took place in a calm room in the presence of a researcher. The protocol described above was given in a paper and pencil format and it was filled by using pens, each of the participants had enough time to answer every question. All questionnaires, except for the Basic Psychological Needs Scale, are translations of validated English questionnaires. As regards the Basic Psychological Needs Scale, the version validated in Italy was used. Concerning the Adapted Self-Report Altruism

Scale and the Egoism Scale, reduced versions were used. For each questionnaire, Cronbach's alphas (see Table 1) was assessed and confirmative factor analyses were conducted. The results reveal no reliability issue.

The protocol compilation, which took place in a single session, required an average of 30 minutes. Before filling out the questionnaires, the anonymity of the data gathered was guaranteed to each participant. Each individual signed proper informed consent. The research was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki, and the study protocol was approved by the local internal ethics committee of the University of Messina.

Measure

The Aspiration Index (Duriez et al., 2007), consists of two different scales that assess the importance given by the individual to both extrinsic and intrinsic goals in life. Extrinsic goals (e.g., "It is important for me to be financially successful in life) are evaluated by using six items regarding the importance given to the extrinsic goals of financial success, image and fame (two items for each subscale). Intrinsic goals (e.g., "It is important for me to develop myself and to learn new things") are evaluated by using six items regarding the importance given to the intrinsic goals of personal growth, community contribution and affiliation (two items each subscale). The response system is on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = completely disagree; 5 = completely agree). In this study Cronbach's alphas were 0.69 for intrinsic goals and 0.80 for extrinsic goals, and two separate CFA indicating good model fit for both intrinsic, $\chi2(6) = 45.55, p < .01$; S-B $\chi2$ (6) = 20.74; $p < .01$, R-CFI = 0.90; R-RMSEA = 0.09 (90% CI = 0.06–0.12), and extrinsic goals, $\chi2(6) = 46.91, p < .01$; S-B $\chi2$ (6) = 40.73; $p < .01$, R-CFI = 0.92; R-RMSEA = 0.14 (90% CI = 0.10–0.18).

The Basic Psychological Needs Scale (Chen, 2015) is a 24 items questionnaire that assesses satisfaction and frustration of the basic psychological needs. The scale contains 24 items assessing satisfaction and frustration of the psychological needs in everyday life: autonomy satisfaction (four items; e.g., "I feel that my decisions reflect what I really want"), competence satisfaction (four items; e.g., "I feel competent to achieve my goals"), relatedness satisfaction (four items; e.g., "I feel connected with people who care for me, and for whom I care"), autonomy frustration (four items; e.g., "I feel pressured to do too many things"), competence frustration (four items; e.g., "I feel like a failure because of the mistakes I make"), and relatedness frustration (four items; e.g., "I feel excluded from the group I want to belong to"). The response system is on Likert 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). In our study Cronbach's alphas of Needs Satisfaction Scale was .84, and Cronbach's alphas of Needs Frustration was 0.87, and a CFA indicated good model fit, $\chi2(276) = 3469.52, p < .01$; S-B $\chi2$ (276) = 2636.48; $p < .01$, R-CFI = 0.98; R-RMSEA = 0.03 (90% CI = 0.01–0.04).

The Adapted Self-Report Altruism Scale (Duerden et al., 2012) is a questionnaire developed to test how frequently several altruistic behaviours are used (e.g., "I would offer

Table 1. Descriptive Statistic.

Variables	Definition	Measurement	α	Min	Max	M	SD	Skew	Kurt
1. Intrinsic goal	This scale evaluates the importance given to the intrinsic goals of personal growth, community contribution and affiliation	Aspiration Index-subscale intrinsic goal	.69	1	5	4.47	.48	−.93	.52
2. Extrinsic goal	This scale evaluates the importance given by the individual to both extrinsic and intrinsic goals in life	Aspiration Index-subscale extrinsic goal	.80	1	5	3.30	.75	−.09	−.15
3. Need satisfaction	This scale assesses to what extent personal levels of basic psychological needs (autonomy, competence and relatedness) are met	Basic psychological needs scale-subscale need satisfaction	.84	1	5	4.08	.52	−.64	.80
4. Need frustration	This scale assesses to what extent personal levels of basic psychological needs (autonomy, competence and relatedness) are frustrated	Basic psychological needs scale-subscale need frustration	.87	1	5	1.99	.68	.83	.48
5. Altruism	This scale evaluates how frequently several altruistic behaviours are used	Adapted self-Report altruism scale	.78	0	4	3.05	.60	−.57	−.09

Table 1. (continued)

Variables	Definition	Measurement	α	Min	Max	M	SD	Skew	Kurt
6. Egoism	This scale evaluates egoism (the tendency to act for oneself even at the cost of potential harm for the community)	Egoism scale	.72	1	5	2.26	.70	.45	−.07
7. Xenophilia	This scale evaluates xenophilia (a positive attitude towards individuals perceived as culturally different)	Allophilia scale	.96	1	6	3.00	.88	−.12	−.46
8. Xenophobia	This scale evaluates xenophobia (a feeling of aversion and fear towards foreigners)	Xenophobia scale	.85	1	6	3.27	.99	.22	−.51

Note. α = Cronbach's alphas; Min= Minimum; Max= Maximum; M= Means; SD = Standard Deviations; Skew = Skewness; Kurt = Kurtosis.

to help a disabled or elderly person across the street) and it was frequently used in previous studies (Duerden, et al., 2012; Sharma & Singh, 2018). In this study, an adapted version of ten items has been used, and the response was given on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 0 (Never) to 4 (Very often). In our study Cronbach's alphas was 0.78, and a CFA indicated good model fit, $\chi2(35) = 77.65$, $p < .01$; S-B $\chi2$ (35) = 55.37; $p < .01$, R-CFI = 0.95; R-RMSEA = 0.03 (90% CI = 0.01–0.04).

The Egoism Scale (Weigel et al., 1999) is a self-report used to evaluate egoism, which is the tendency to act for oneself even at the cost of potential harm for the community (e.g., "It is alright for a person to break the law if he doesn't get caught). It was widely used in previous studies (De Vries & van Kampen, 2010; Moshagen et al., 2018). In this study, an adapted version of seven items was used, and the response was given on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 to 5. In our study Cronbach's alphas was .72, and a CFA indicated good model fit, $\chi2(14) = 46.04$, $p < .01$; S-B $\chi2(14) = 35.14$; $p < .01$, R-CFI = 0.92; R-RMSEA = 0.02 (90% CI = 0.02–0.06).

The Allophilia Scale (Pttinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011), is a 17 item (e.g., I am motivated to get to know foreigners better) self-report to measure the allophilia towards foreigners (xenophilia). The response system is on a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 to 6 (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree). The study by Alfieri & Marta (2011) has

shown good validity among the Italian population as well. In this study Cronbach's alphas was 0.96, and a CFA indicated good model fit, $\chi2(136) = 4411.17$, $p < .01$; S-B $\chi2$ (136) = 3853.84; $p < .01$, R-CFI = 0.96; R-RMSEA = 0.08 (90% CI = 0.06–0.09).

The Xenophobia Scale (van der Veer, 2013) is a 9 item self-report used to assess the xenophobia, which is a feeling of aversion and fear towards foreigners (e.g., Immigrants cause an increase in crimes). The response system is on Likert 6-point scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree,) to 6 (Strongly Agree). The study by van der Veer et al., 2011 shows that this instrument has good psychometric qualities. In our study Cronbach's alphas was 0.85, and a CFA indicated good model fit, $\chi2(27) = 78.53$, $p < .01$; S-B $\chi2$ (27) = 67.92; $p < .01$, R-CFI = 0.95; R-RMSEA = 0.07 (90% CI = 0.05–0.09).

Data Analyses

In our study, we used Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), with latent variables, to examine the relationship of the variable. This approach involved a structural model testing a number of direct and indirect paths between predictors, mediators, and outcome variables. According to the common step approach to SEM, in the first phase was tested the general measurement model, in the second phase a structural model with only the direct hypothesized paths was tested. As a result, in this model, Intrinsic and Extrinsic goal are the predictor variables, Need Satisfaction and Need Frustration are the first set of mediation variables, whereas Altruism and Egoism are the second set of mediation variables, and finally Xenophilia and Xenophobia represent the outcomes. Furthermore, to explore the cross path and identifying significant relationships that could improve the model modification indices were used. Finally, to have a more possible conservative analysis, a further model was tested controlling for the effects of background variables (age, gender, region, education, education of father, and education of mother), including them in the final model, as predictors of all the study variables.

SEM with latent variables requires multiple indicators for all the constructs assessed. Extrinsic goal indicators were the three sub-scales: success, image and fame, and Intrinsic goal indicators were the three sub-scales: personal growth, community contribution and affiliation. Needs Frustration and Need Satisfaction indicators were respectively the sub-scale of this variable: autonomy frustration, relatedness frustration, competence frustration for Needs Frustration and autonomy satisfaction, relatedness satisfaction and competence satisfaction for Needs Satisfaction. Furthermore, satisfaction and frustration of the same need were allowed to correlate (autonomy frustration with autonomy satisfaction, competence satisfaction with competence frustration, relatedness satisfaction with relatedness frustration), because this shares the reference to the same specific need. On the other hand, Altruism, Egoism, Xenophilia and Xenophobia were represented by three parcels of each scale. Instead of using separate items or the total score, 3 parcels of items for the constructs were created and used these as indicators of latent constructs. According to the previous studies (Little et al., 2002), parcelling has some more advantages. Parcels are likely to have a stronger relation to the latent factor, they are less likely to be influenced by method effects, and they are more likely to meet the assumptions of normality (Little et al., 2002). Analysis of the covariance

matrices was conducted using R and solutions were generated based on maximum-likelihood estimation and using a bootstrapping approach with 5000 bootstrap samples.

Results

Descriptive and Correlations

The scores of Means and Standard Deviations, Skewness and Kurtosis for each variable are shown in Table 1. Results clearly show how the levels of skewness and kurtosis are adequate for the entire variable (Skewness range: from −.93 to .83; Kurtosis range: from −.51 to .80). Furthermore, Table 2 shows correlations among the dimensions of the questionnaire. Extrinsic goals are positively correlated with Need Frustration, Egoism and Xenophobia, whereas they are negatively correlated with Altruism and Xenophilia. Intrinsic goals are positively correlated with Need Satisfaction, Altruism and Xenophilia, whereas they are negatively correlated with Need Frustration and Egoism. Need Frustration is positively correlated with Egoism and Xenophobia, while whereas it is negatively correlated with Need Satisfaction and Altruism. Need Satisfaction is positively related to Altruism and Xenophilia, while it is negatively related to Egoism. Egoism is positively related to Xenophobia, whereas it is negatively related to Altruism and Xenophilia. Altruism is positively related to Xenophilia, and it is negatively correlated with Xenophobia. Finally, Xenophobia is negatively related to Xenophilia.

Structural Equation Modelling

The measurement model showed a good fit for the data: χ^2 (221) = 398.05, $p < .01$, CFI = .94, SRMR = .05, RMSEA = .05 (90% CI: .04,.06). All the factor loadings were statistically significant, with indicators loaded on the assigned latent construct, with a range between .54 and .93. The hypothesized model was tested and results showed a sufficient fit for the data: χ^2 (239) = 502.63, $p < .01$, CFI = .91, SRMR = .09, RMSEA = .06 (90% CI: .05-.07). Results

Table 2. Correlation.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Intrinsic goal							
2 Extrinsic goal	.10						
3 Need satisfaction	.39**	.08					
4 Need frustration	−.16**	.14*	−.45**				
5 Altruism	.35**	−.27**	.28**	−.19**			
6 Egoism	−.14*	.16**	−.19**	.38**	−.22**		
7 Xenophilia	.22**	−.14**	.15**	.10	.50**	−.18**	
8 Xenophobia	−.07	.22**	−.01	.16**	−.36	.25**	−.64**

Note. *p < .05; **p < .01.

(Table 3) showed that, in accordance with hypothesis 1, Intrinsic goals are positively associated with Need Satisfaction (β = .62), that in turn is associated with Altruism (β = .48), which in turn is related with Xenophilia (β = .44). Parallel to hypothesis 2 Extrinsic goal are positively associated with Need Frustration (β = .21), are positively associated with Egoism (β = .54), which in turn is related with Xenophobia (β = .31).

Furthermore, modification indices suggested adding the paths from Intrinsic Goal to Need Frustration, from Extrinsic Goal to Altruism, and from Altruism to Xenophobia. These paths led to an improvement in the model's fit: χ^2 (236) = 433.58, p < .01, CFI = .93, SRMR = .06, RMSEA = .05(90% CI: .05-.06). Figure 2 shows the final model. In accordance with hypothesis 1, results (Table 4) showed that Need Satisfaction was predicted by Intrinsic goal (β = .75), while Altruism was predicted by Need Satisfaction (β = .53) and Xenophilia was predicted by Altruism (β = .58). In accordance with hypothesis 2, Need Frustration was predicted by Extrinsic goal (β = .27), Egoism was predicted by Need Frustration (β = .55), and Intrinsic goal (β = −.34), Xenophobia was predicted by Egoism (β = .19). Furthermore, following hypothesis 3, significant cross-paths were found from Intrinsic goal to Need Frustration (β = −.34), and from Extrinsic goal to Altruism (β = −.33). Moreover, a significant path was found from Altruism to Xenophobia (β = −.40). Finally, controlling in the final model for the effects of age, gender, region, education, education of father, and education of mother, results confirmed adequate fit for the data: χ^2 (332) = 565.6, p < .01, CFI = .93, SRMR = .05, RMSEA = .05 (90% CI: .04-.06), and the significative paths between the study variables remain significant after controlling for the demographics variables.

Table 3. Direct and Indirect associations for the Hypothesized Model.

	b	p	CI low	CI upp	β
Direct Effect					
Extrinsic goal → need frustration	0.22	.02	0.06	0.43	0.21
Intrinsic goal → need satisfaction	0.96	<.01	0.50	1.45	0.62
Need frustration → egoism	0.48	<.01	0.32	0.66	0.54
Need satisfaction → altruism	0.61	<.01	0.36	0.93	0.48
Egoism → xenophobia	0.53	<.01	0.28	0.88	0.31
Altruism → xenophilia	0.65	<.01	0.45	0.88	0.44
Indirect Effect					
Extrinsic goal → need frustration → egoism	0.11	.02	0.03	0.21	0.11
Intrinsic goal → need satisfaction → altruism	0.58	<.01	0.26	1.00	0.30
Need frustration → egoism → xenophobia	0.25	<.01	0.13	0.42	0.16
Need satisfaction → altruism → xenophilia	0.39	<.01	0.21	0.64	0.21
Extrinsic goal → need frustration → egoism → xenophobia	0.06	.05	0.01	0.12	0.03
Intrinsic goal → need satisfaction → altruism → xenophilia	0.38	<.01	0.16	0.67	0.13

Note. LB = 95% CI Lower bound (BC); UB = 95% CI Upper bound (BC); CI = Bias Corrected Confidence Interval.
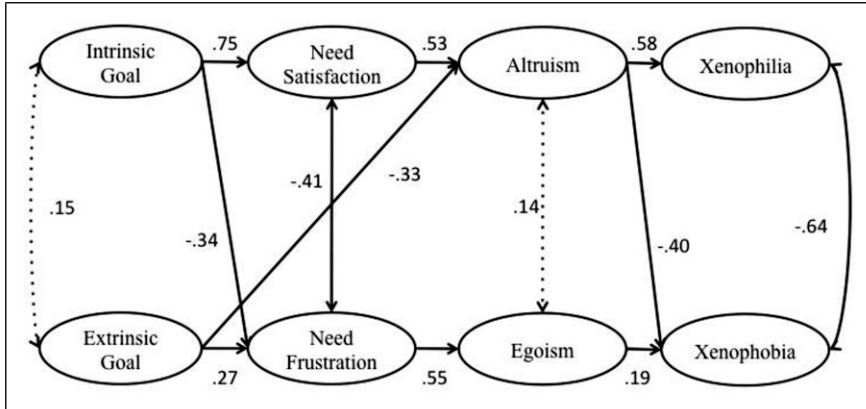
Figure 2. Final Model: Structural model of associations between Intrinsic Goal, Extrinsic Goal, Need Satisfaction and Frustration, Altruism, Egoism, Xenophilia and Xenophobia.
Note. Coefficients shown are standardized path coefficients. Dotted lines represent not significance relations. The measurement part of the model was not reported for clarity purpose.

Discussion

Emerging adulthood is a period characterized by exploration and experimentation that is necessary for a coherent consolidation of the self (Arnett, 2000) and cultural diversity could be a salient topic in the process of identity's definition that can lead to different development trajectories and different attitudes towards foreigners. For this reason, this study aimed to examine a complete model for the comprehension in a group of Italian emerging adult of the antecedents of both xenophobia and xenophilia, using the SDT as theoretical framework that emphasize the importance of both the "bright" and "dark" pathway of human functioning. In the "bright" pathway, intrinsic goals were expected to be related to need satisfaction, moreover, need satisfaction were expected to be related to altruism, and finally, altruism was expected to be related to xenophilia (H1). On the other hand, in the "dark" pathway, the extrinsic goal was expected to be related to need frustration, and need frustration were expected to be related to egoism, and finally, egoism were expected to be related to xenophobia (H2). Overall, the results of this study supported the hypotheses regarding these two pathways, but, as expected, there were reported several cross-paths as well (H3). These results and the contribution to the understanding of xenophobia and xenophilia have been discussed in a SDT framework.

Correlational analyses revealed that intrinsic goals are positively associated with xenophilia, whereas extrinsic goals are positively related to xenophobia. These results are in line with previous studies about relations between personal goals and attitudes towards multiculturalism, racial prejudice and discriminatory attitudes towards ethnics minorities (Duriez, 2011; Duriez, et al., 2007; Van Hiel et al., 2010). Broadly speaking, these results seem to confirm the idea that extrinsically oriented emerging adults are more focused on their

Table 4. Direct and Indirect Effects Final Model.

	b	p	CI low	CI upp	β
Direct Effect					
Extrinsic goal → need frustration	0.29	<.01	0.12	0.51	0.27
Intrinsic goal → need frustration	−0.69	<.01	−1.13	−0.30	−0.34
Intrinsic goal → need satisfaction	1.16	<.01	0.66	1.70	0.75
Need frustration → egoism	0.50	<.01	0.33	0.69	0.55
Need satisfaction → altruism	0.68	<.01	0.40	1.01	0.53
Extrinsic goal → altruism	−0.34	<.01	−0.50	−0.18	−0.33
Egoism → xenophobia	0.32	0.01	0.11	0.59	0.19
Altruism → xenophobia	−0.65	<.01	−0.89	−0.41	−0.40
Altruism → xenophilia	0.88	<.01	0.68	1.10	0.58
Indirect Effect					
Extrinsic goal → need frustration → egoism	0.14	0.01	0.06	0.26	0.15
Intrinsic goal → need satisfaction → altruism	0.78	<.01	0.37	1.27	0.40
Need frustration → egoism → xenophobia	0.16	0.01	0.05	0.30	0.10
Need satisfaction → altruism → xenophilia	0.59	<.01	0.35	0.91	0.31
Extrinsic goal → need frustration → egoism → xenophobia	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.10	0.03
Intrinsic goal → need satisfaction → altruism → xenophilia	0.69	<.01	0.32	1.14	0.23
Intrinsic goal → need satisfaction → altruism → xenophobia	−0.51	<.01	−0.87	−0.23	−0.16
Intrinsic goal → need frustration → egoism → xenophobia	−0.11	0.03	−0.22	−0.03	−0.04
Intrinsic goal → need frustration → egoism	−0.34	<.01	−0.56	−0.15	−0.19
Extrinsic goal → altruism → xenophobia	0.22	<.01	0.10	0.37	0.13
Extrinsic goal → altruism → xenophilia	−0.30	<.01	−0.45	−0.16	−0.19

Note. LB = 95% CI Lower bound (BC); UB = 95% CI Upper bound (BC); CI = Bias Corrected Confidence Interval.

ambitions rather than on interpersonal relationships, consequently, they could tend to develop more negative attitudes towards others (Leung & Law, 2019), and this could be applied for those who are from other cultural or ethnical groups as well. Conversely, individuals with intrinsic goals orientation are more interested in personal growth and meaningful relationships (Leung & Law, 2019), and for this reason, they could develop a more positive orientation towards others in general and towards individuals from other cultural or ethnical groups as well. Mechanisms underlying relationship between personal goals and attitudes towards foreigners are still unexplored, and that is the reason hypotheses of this study aim also to investigate the underlying role of need satisfaction/frustration and egoism/altruism in the relations between intrinsic/extrinsic goals and xenophobia/xenophilia.

The hypothesis regarding the "bright" pathway (H1) are supported, showing to what extent intrinsic goal was positively related with need satisfaction, which was positively related

to altruism and finally altruism with xenophilia. SDT emphasises the growth-oriented nature of the human organism and its tendencies towards pro-sociality (Ryan & Deci, 2017), and when life experiences allow developing intrinsic goals in life, individuals tend to have a higher level of need satisfaction (Hope et al., 2019; Ryan & Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste, et al., 2007). The reason is that intrinsically oriented emerging adults are less sensitive to external pressures and they are keener on taking volitional initiatives in their lives (need for autonomy), seeking out challenging tasks (need for competence), and developing trustful relationships (need for competence), need satisfaction is positively related with altruism, as previous studies have shown (Ryan & Deci, 2017). People who had satisfactory experiences of the three basic needs are more connected to others in an authentic way and they are concerned about other people, thus having more altruistic behaviours (Cheon et al., 2018). In fact, Barbarino and Stürmer (2016) have shown how high levels in altruism could promote a tendency to share and help, creating more openness to foreigners and a higher level of xenophilia. Furthermore, these results extend on xenophilia, findings of previous studies (Duriez et al., 2007) on the path from extrinsic/intrinsic goals to racial and ethnic prejudice, suggesting also the underlying mechanism of need satisfaction and altruism. This path could have a strong theoretical and practical implications in the current political context, in order to support the inclusion of different cultures integration. Although SDT suggests that human beings have an innate tendency towards prosociality and social integration, such tendency needs to be supported by contextual conditions (Ryan & Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste et al., 2020). If social contexts tend to be supportive, and not thwarting, they could have positive repercussions not only on the promotion of altruism and xenophilia but, more broadly, on individual well-being and on the whole community. For this reason, politics must create conditions to promote the "bright" path, in order to reduce social tensions and to create good inclusion practices.

The hypothesis regarding the dark pathway (H2) was also supported, showing how extrinsic goal was positively related with need frustration, which was in turn positively related to egoism and that egoism was related to xenophobia. According to SDT, the darker sides of human behaviour are often caused by chronic thwarting and invasive life conditions, and it could be increased by the development of extrinsic life goals (Ryan & Deci, 2017), people who tend to pursue extrinsic life values tend to reduce occasions to be involved in close relationships (need for relatedness), they are more likely to take actions in order to obtain external incentives (need for autonomy), and they perceive a general feeling of ineffectiveness (need for competence) related to the other activities in life (Ryan & Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013). The frustration of psychological needs is expressed in defensive and antisocial tendencies that lead people to be more prone to use more egoistic behaviours (Ryan & Deci, 2017). As a consequence, egoism could lead to a narcissistic vision of foreigners as "others from me" (Hodson et al., 2009), and create disapproval and negativity toward foreigners and xenophobia. These findings are also in line with the studies about right-wing authoritarianism that suggested that individuals with high right-wing authoritarianism are characterized by motivational goals based on power-based exploitation that becomes explicit with the promotion of prejudice and discrimination towards immigrants (Grigoryev et al., 2019).

These results could provide a relevant contribution to the current political context in southern Italy, where most of the migrant landings are concentrated and where the first centres for refugees are often located. Furthermore, at the moment, southern of Italy is facing a period of economic and occupational crisis, which tends to promote frustration in the general population and increases the risk to views immigrants as the cause of all the problems (Ambrosini, 2013a; Boeri et al., 2015). Previous studies (D'Ancona, 2016) have shown, in fact, that economic recession increases the xenophobia, emphasizing the idea of immigration as an "economic threat" and for this reason, xenophobia could be generated as a "defence" against individual and group anxiety, which are engendered by difficulties of personal, economic and social nature. The group is divided into good and bad, and the immigrants represent the bad part, in which all the negatively connoted aspects are projected and by using such mechanism, immigrants are considered responsible of most of the social problems (Joint Reference Committee, 2010).

Finally, after examining cross-paths (H3) that shows a negative relation between intrinsic goal, need frustration and egoism, and how extrinsic goal is negatively related to altruism and altruism is also negatively related to xenophobia. These results confirm previous studies on SDT (Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013), suggesting that, although the "bright" and the "dark" pathways are the most consistent process for the development of xenophilia and xenophobia, individuals with extrinsic goals can have poorer awareness in the development of altruism, whereas intrinsic goals can protect against the emergence of need frustration and egoism, moreover altruism can play a buffering role against the development of xenophobia. In fact, the cross-paths showed in this study are in line with previous studies that have revealed that high scores in altruism could predict lower xenophobic attitudes (Barbarino & Stürmer, 2016) and could act as an inhibitor of aggressive and hostile impulses (Ashton & Lee, 2007; Stürmer et al., 2013)

This study had several limitations. Firstly, the correlational design of this study does not allow to make inference on the casual relations between study variables. Although several studies have previously shown the direction of the relationships hypothesized in this study, it is possible that some relationships may have opposite direction. For example, it is also possible that altruistic behaviours could promote psychological basic needs by providing a sense of relatedness with other individuals. Paths between altruism/egoism and xenophobia/xenophilia could also be bidirectional, therefore xenophilic individuals may be more prone to help more, while xenophobic individuals may be more prone to be more egoistic. It is also possible that the basic needs could predict personal goals, in fact, individuals who are socially excluded, or live with a general feeling of incompetence may pursue materialistic achievements as compensation. Only future experimental and longitudinal studies could test the causal dynamics of the study variables. A second limitation is that all the variables were measured by using only self-report questionnaires; future studies could use observational measures to obtain more detailed information. Furthermore, several confounding variables could have had a relevant role in the hypothesized relations that in this study was not possible to control. Future studies should integrate some other

relevant variables, such as the political views, with the goal to extend the understanding of these relations. Finally, this study was based on a sample of emerging adults, and that make our results less generalizable; future studies will use a more heterogeneous sample to generalize these findings to a broader population.

Despite those limitations, this study provides important insights into the developmental process of xenophilia and xenophobia, showing the bright and dark paths of the human development suggested by SDT. Overall, this study provided practical implications for the promotion of cross-cultural integration, suggesting that intrinsic goal, need satisfaction and altruism could have a relevant role to promote a more tolerant attitude towards foreigners. In a similar fashion, this study shows how extrinsic goals, need frustration, and egoism can play a pivotal role to reduce fear towards foreigners, which is relevant in a historical period characterized by a large migration stream and the challenge of a normative integration (Etzioni, 2019). Furthermore, these findings showed how highly extrinsically oriented people tend to behave in ways that may frustrate psychological needs, in order to reach their extrinsic ambitions, thus leading them to the development of darker habits, which highly impact on personal well-being and collective wellness. Considering that emerging adults could be particularly receptive to processes regarding cultural diversity (Musso, et al., 2017), this study confirms the helpful that could have the development of educational programmes on this topic cultural diversity.

Considering the political context, there could be an increasing risk that political parties may use the dark path to gather a broader electoral consensus, and as consequence, they could increase the climate of hatred (Ruzza & Fella, 2009; van der Bles et al., 2018). Panichella and Ambrosini (2018), in fact, have suggested that exposition to mass-media messages from parties with clear anti-immigrant positions tend to increase anti-immigrant hostility, especially among less-educated individuals that have not real interpersonal contacts with immigrants. However, this study showed the alternative way represented by the "bright" pathway hypothesized by SDT. In fact, highly intrinsically oriented people tend to be interested in their personal growth and in the wellbeing of others, and this may provide mutual beneficial effects for both the individual and the community itself. According to SDT, humans have a "natural" tendency to positive growth, cooperativeness, and benevolence, which could be developed in the absence of threats (Ryan & Deci, 2017). For these reasons, politics has a duty to support the positive development of individuals by creating proper social contexts, thanks to the promotion of intrinsic goals and the fulfilment of basic psychological needs.

Author Contributions

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

Declaration

All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards. This study was conducted in accordance with the recommendations of the Ethical Code of the Italian Association of Psychology (AIP). The protocol was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Centre for Research and Psychological Intervention of the University of Messina.

Informed Consent

Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

ORCID iDs

Nadia Barberis ⬤ https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6489-2779
Sebastiano Costa ⬤ https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2392-6039

References

Alfieri, & Marta (2011). Positive attitudes towards the outgroup: adaptation and validation of the allophilia scale. *TESTING, PSYCHOMETRICS, METHODOLOGY IN APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY*, 99–116.

Ambrosini, M. (2013a). Immigration in Italy: Between economic acceptance and political rejection. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *14*(1), 175–194. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-011-0231-3

Ambrosini, M. (2013b). 'We are against a multi-ethnic society': Policies of exclusion at the urban level in Italy. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *36*(1), 136–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.644312

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emrging Adulthood. A theory of development from the late teens through the twentis. *American Psychologist*, *55*(5), 469–480. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.55.5.469

Ashton, M. C., & Lee, K. (2007). Empirical, theoretical, and practical advantages of the HEXACO model of personality structure. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *11*(2), 150–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868306294907

Barbarino, M. L., & Stürmer, S. (2016). Different origins of xenophile and xenophobic orientations in human personality structure: A theoretical perspective and some preliminary findings. *Journal of Social Issues*, *72*(3), 432–449. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12175

Bartholomew, K. J., Ntoumanis, N., Ryan, R. M., & Thøgersen-Ntoumani, C. (2011). Psychological need thwarting in the sport context: Assessing the darker side of athletic experience. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *33*(1), 75–102. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.33.1.75

Boeri, T., De Philippis, M., Patacchini, E., & Pellizzari, M. (2015). Immigration, housing discrimination and employment. *Economic Journal (London)*, *125*(586), 82–114. https://doi.org/10.1111/ecoj.12232

Chen et al. (2015). "Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction, Need Frustration, and Need Strength Across Four Cultures.". *Motivation and Emotion*, 216–236.

Cheon, S. H., Reeve, J., & Ntoumanis, N. (2018). A needs-supportive intervention to help PE teachers enhance students' prosocial behavior and diminish antisocial behavior. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *35*(4), 74–88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2017.11.010

Costa, S., Gugliandolo, M. C., Barberis, N., Cuzzocrea, F., & Liga, F. (2019). Antecedents and consequences of parental psychological control and autonomy support: The role of psychological basic needs. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *36*(4), 1168–1189. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407518756778

D'Ancona, M. Á. C. (2016). Immigration as a threat: Explaining the changing pattern of xenophobia in Spain. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *17*(2), 569–591. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0415-3

De Vries, R. E., & van Kampen, D. (2010). The HEXACO and 5DPT models of personality: A comparison and their relationships with psychopathy, egoism, pretentiousness, immorality, and Machiavellianism. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *24*(2), 244–257. https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi.2010.24.2.244

De Vries, R. E., Wawoe, K. W., & Holtrop, D. (2016). What is engagement? Proactivity as the missing link in the HEXACO model of personality. *Journal of Personality*, *84*(2), 178–193. https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12150

Duerden, M. D., Witt, P. A., Fernandez, M., Bryant, M. J., & Theriault, D. (2012). Measuring life skills: Standardizing the assessment of youth development indicators. *Journal of Youth Development*, *7*(1), 99–117. https://doi.org/10.5195/jyd.2012.155

Duriez, B. (2011). The social costs of extrinsic relative to intrinsic goal pursuits revisited: The moderating role of general causality orientation. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *50*(5), 684–687. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2010.12.017

Duriez, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Soenens, B., & De Witte, H. (2007). The social costs of extrinsic relative to intrinsic goal pursuits: Their relation with social dominance and racial and ethnic prejudice. *Journal of Personality*, *75*(4), 757–782. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2007.00456.x

Etzioni, A. (2019). Immigration: Europe's normative challenge. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *20*(1), 67–84. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-018-0593-x

Fazzi, L. (2013). Social work, exclusionary populism and xenophobia in Italy. *International Social Work*, *58*(4), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872813503855

Fetchenhauer, D. (1999). Warum betrügen so viele Kunden ihre Versicherung. *Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform*, *82*(6), 389–410. https://doi.org/10.1515/mks-1999-820601

Gagné, M. (2003). The role of autonomy support and autonomy orientation in prosocial behavior engagement. *Motivation and Emotion*, *27*(3), 199–223. https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1025007614869

Goetz, J. L., Keltner, D., & Simon-Thomas, E. (2010). Compassion: An evolutionary analysis and empirical review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *136*(3), 351–374. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018807

Grigoryev, D., Batkhina, A., Van De Vijver, F., & Berry, J. W. (2019). Towards an integration of models of discrimination of immigrants: From ultimate (functional) to proximate (socio-functional) explanations. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *21*(3), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00677-w

Güntert, S. T., Strubel, I. T., Kals, E., & Wehner, T. (2016). The quality of volunteers' motives: Integrating the functional approach and self-determination theory. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *156*(3), 310–327. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2015.1135864

Haivas, S., Hofmans, J., & Pepermans, R. (2012). Self-determination theory as a framework for exploring the impact of the organizational context on volunteer motivation: A study of Romanian volunteers. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *41*(6), 1195–1214. https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764011433041

Haivas, S., Hofmans, J., & Pepermans, R. (2013). Volunteer engagement and intention to quit from a self-determination theory perspective. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *43*(9), 1869–1880. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12149

Haski-Leventhal, D. (2009). Altruism and volunteerism: The perceptions of altruism in four disciplines and their impact on the study of volunteerism. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *39*(3), 271–299. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2009.00405.x

Hodge, K., & Gucciardi, D. F. (2015). Antisocial and prosocial behavior in sport: The role of motivational climate, basic psychological needs, and moral disengagement. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, *37*(3), 257–273. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.2014-0225

Hodson, G., Hogg, S. M., & MacInnis, C. C. (2009). The role of "dark personalities"(narcissism, Machiavellianism, psychopathy), Big Five personality factors, and ideology in explaining prejudice. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *43*(4), 686–690. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2009.02.005

Hope, N. H., Holding, A. C., Verner-Filion, J., Sheldon, K. M., & Koestner, R. (2019). The path from intrinsic aspirations to subjective well-being is mediated by changes in basic psychological need satisfaction and autonomous motivation: A large prospective test. *Motivation and Emotion*, *43*(2), 232–241. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-018-9733-z

Huyghebaert, T., Gillet, N., Lahiani, F. J., Dubois-Fleury, A., & Fouquereau, E. (2018). Psychological safety climate as a human resource development target: Effects on workers functioning through need satisfaction and thwarting. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *20*(2), 169–181. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422318756955

Istat. (2017). *Popolazione straniera residente al 1 Gennaio 2017 per età e sesso Italia*. http://demo.istat.it/strasa2017/index.html.

Jang, H.-R., Reeve, J., Cheon, S. H., & Song, Y.-G. (2020). Dual processes to explain longitudinal gains in physical education students' prosocial and antisocial behavior: Need satisfaction from autonomy support and need frustration from interpersonal control. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, *9*(3), 471–487. https://doi.org/10.1037/spy0000168

Joint Reference Committee. (2010). *Resource document on xenophobia, immigration, and mental health*.

Kasser, T. (2016). Materialistic values and goals. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *67*(1), 489–514. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-122414-033344

Kelaher, M., Ferdinand, A. S., Paradies, Y., & Warr, D. (2018). Exploring the mental health benefits of participation in an Australian anti-racism intervention. *Health Promotion International*, *33*(1), 107–114. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/daw048

Korol, L., Fietzer, A. W., & Ponterotto, J. G. (2018). The relationship between multicultural personality, intergroup contact, and positive outgroup attitudes toward Asian Americans. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *9*(3), 200–210. https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000107

Leung, A. N. M., & Law, W. (2019). Do extrinsic goals affect romantic relationships? The role of basic psychological need satisfaction. *Motivation and Emotion*, *43*(6), 857–873. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-019-09804-7

Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman (2002). "To Parcel or Not to Parcel: Exploring the Question, Weighing the Merits.". *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 151–173.

Moshagen, M., Hilbig, B. E., & Zettler, I. (2018). The dark core of personality. *Psychological Review*, *125*(5), 656–688. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000111

Musso, P., Inguglia, C., Lo Coco, A., Albiero, P., & Berry, J. W. (2017). Mediating and moderating processes in the relationship between multicultural ideology and attitudes towards immigrants in emerging adults. *International Journal of Psychology*, *52*(1), 72–77. https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12290

Niemiec, C. P., Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2009). The path taken: Consequences of attaining intrinsic and extrinsic aspirations in post-college life. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *43*(3), 291–306. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2008.09.001

Panichella, N., & Ambrosini, M. (2018). Between fears, contacts and family dynamics: The anti-immigrant attitudes in Italy. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *19*(2), 391–411. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-018-0536-6

Park, L. E., Troisi, J. D., & Maner, J. K. (2011). Egoistic versus altruistic concerns in communal relationships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *28*(3), 315–335. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407510382178

Pavey, L., Greitemeyer, T., & Sparks, P. (2011). Highlighting relatedness promotes prosocial motives and behavior. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, *37*(7), 905–917. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211405994

Pittinsky, T. L., Rosenthal, S. A., & Montoya, R. M. (2011). Liking is not the opposite of disliking: The functional separability of positive and negative attitudes toward minority groups. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *17*(2), 134–141. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023806

Priest, N., Paradies, Y., Trenerry, B., Truong, M., Karlsen, S., & Kelly, Y. (2013). A systematic review of studies examining the relationship between reported racism and health and wellbeing for children and young people. *Social Science & Medicine*, *95*(1), 115–127. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2012.11.031

Ruzza, C., & Fella, S. (2009). *Re-inventing the Italian right: Territorial politics, populism and post-fascism, extremism and democracy*. Routledge.

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2017). *Self-determination theory: Basic psychological needs in motivation, development, and wellness*. Guilford Publications.

Ryan, R. M., & Hawley, P. (2016). *Naturally good? Basic psychological needs and the proximal and evolutionary bases of human benevolence* (pp. 205–222). The Oxford handbook of hypo-egoic phenomena.

Sanchez-Mazas, M., & Licata, L. (2015). Xenophobia: Social psychological aspects. In: J. D. Wright (editor-in-chief), *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences*, 2nd editionVol 25. Oxford: Elsevier. pp. 802–807.

Scheffer, P. (2011). *Immigrant nations*. Polity Press.

Sharma, S., & Singh, K. (2018). Religion and well-being: The mediating role of positive Virtues. *Journal of Religion and Health*, *58*(2), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-018-0559-5

Siem, B., Stürmer, S., & Pittinsky, T. L. (2016). The psychological study of positive behavior across group boundaries: An overview. *Journal of Social Issues*, *72*(3), 419–431. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12174

Stocks, E. L., Lishner, D. A., & Decker, S. K. (2009). Altruism or psychological escape: Why does empathy promote prosocial behavior? *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *39*(5), 649–665. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.561

Stürmer, S., Benbow, A. E., Siem, B., Barth, M., Bodansky, A. N., & Lotz-Schmitt, K. (2013). Psychological foundations of xenophilia: The role of major personality traits in predicting favorable attitudes toward cross-cultural contact and exploration. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *105*(5), 832–851. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033488

Suleman, S., Garber, K. D., & Rutkow, L. (2018). Xenophobia as a determinant of health: An integrative review. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, *39*(4), 407–423. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41271-018-0140-1

Triandafyllidou, A. (2018). *Handbook of migration and globalisation*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ulleberg, P., & Rundmo, T. (2003). Personality, attitudes and risk perception as predictors of risky driving behaviour among young drivers. *Safety Science*, *41*(5), 427–443. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0925-7535(01)00077-7

van der Bles, A. M., Postmes, T., LeKander-Kanis, B., & Otjes, S. (2018). The consequences of collective discontent: A new measure of zeitgeist predicts voting for extreme parties. *Political Psychology*, *39*(2), 381–398. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12424

van der Veer et al. (2013). Psychometrically and qualitatively validating a cross-national cumulative measure of fear-based xenophobia. *Quality & Quantity*, 1429–1444.

Van Hiel, A., Cornelis, I., & Roets, A. (2010). To have or to be? A comparison of materialism based theories and self-determination theory as explanatory frameworks of prejudice. *Journal of Personality*, *78*(3), 1037–1070. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2010.00642.x

Vansteenkiste, M., Neyrinck, B., Niemiec, C. P., Soenens, B., De Witte, H., & Van den Broeck, A. (2007). On the relations among work value orientations, psychological need satisfaction and job outcomes: A self-determination theory approach. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *80*(2), 251–277. https://doi.org/10.1348/096317906x111024

Vansteenkiste, M., & Ryan, R. M. (2013). On psychological growth and vulnerability: Basic psychological need satisfaction and need frustration as a unifying principle. *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration*, *23*(3), 263–280. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032359

Vansteenkiste, M., Ryan, R. M., & Soenens, B. (2020). Basic psychological need theory: Advancements, critical themes, and future directions. *Motivation and Emotion*, *44*(2), 1–31. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-019-09818-1

Webley, P., Cole, M., & Eidjar, O. P. (2001). The prediction of self-reported and hypothetical tax-evasion: Evidence from England, France and Norway. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, *22*(2), 141–155. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0167-4870(01)00026-5

Weigel, R. H., Hessing, D. J., & Elffers, H. (1999). Egoism: Concept, measurement and implications for deviance. *Psychology, Crime and Law*, *5*(4), 349–378. https://doi.org/10.1080/10683169908401777

Weinstein, N., & Ryan, R. M. (2010). When helping helps: Autonomous motivation for prosocial behavior and its influence on well-being for the helper and recipient. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *98*(2), 222–244. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016984

Author Biographies

Nadia Barberis is Researcher in "Clinical Psychology,". Her research interests focus on psychological correlates of patients with organic diseases, motivational and emotional dynamics, and their relation with the development of psycho-pathological outcomes.

Sebastiano Costa is an Associate Professor in Developmental and Educational Psychology at the Department of Psychology of the University of Campania Luigi Vanvitelli. His research interest focuses on the personal, motivational, and emotional dynamics underlying the relations between contextual factors and psy- chological adjustment in several settings and across the lifespan.

Claudia Castiglione is PhD in Psychology. Her research interests focus on professional identity, burnout, job satisfaction.