

ARE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS GETTING ENOUGH INTERETHNIC COMMUNICATION AND DIVERSITY ENGAGEMENT EXPERIENCES? CONCERNS & CONSIDERATIONS

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Professor Dr. Ezhar Tamam

INAUGURAL LECTURE series

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PROFESSOR DR. EZHAR TAMAM

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CONCERNS & CONSIDERATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Interethnic communication study in today's increasingly democratic multicultural societies is important to improve communication practices and relations across ethnic boundaries. Within the context of higher education settings, interethnic contact, attention to news in the media and other forms of culture-related diversity engagement are important because they contribute to social and personal development. Positive interethnic contact in different communication settings, intercultural communication sensitivity, interethnic bridging social capital and attachment to the national ethos are salient social processes and mechanisms within students' development and unity-integration frameworks. This monograph highlights concerns and considerations related to undergraduates' interethnic communication and culture-related diversity engagement, and the implications for academicians and administrators.

Although interethnic/intergroup posturing is not pronounced, Malaysian undergraduates are not extensively engaged in interethnic interaction and socialization despite their awareness of the importance of such engagement and the continuous call for them to mingle on a regular basis. Interethnic interaction and socialization on a daily basis are not yet a norm in the lives of local students. Such engagements occur more often in structured or facilitated situations and mostly on matters related to academic activities. The undergraduates are also found to have little interest in news in the news media, although the news media has a role in the development of social attitudes. It also seems to be a norm for undergraduates not to capitalize on the wide ranging diversity-related learning opportunities that are presumably available to them throughout their three- to four-year study period. Intercultural sensitivity, interethnic bridging social capital and civic responsibility development

among undergraduates are affected by the extent to which they experience positive interethnic interaction and socialization, in and outside the classroom. Thus interethnic contact and diversity learning experiences, where relevant and appropriate, should be systematically and strategically integrated into the students' study program. It is necessary to develop positive interethnic contact expectations that members of other ethnic groups have an interest to interact with members of one's own ethnic group. This has to be emphasized and integrated in the formal curriculum (in the teaching of intercultural communication or in courses related to cultural diversity and ethnic relations in particular) and in co-curriculum activities. For the contact to have positive effects it must be under conditions that are conducive. These conditions are: (1) equal group status within the situation; (2) common goals; (3) intergroup cooperation; and (4) authority support. Students must perceive and feel that the campus multicultural environment promotes inclusiveness, where the students feel that the different ethnic groups are of equal status and working for common goals in a cooperative manner and policies for better intercultural relations are in place and endorsed by the university.

Additionally, as the news media has a role in fostering interethnic tolerance, attachment to national ethos and national pride, the news media must convey more positive news on national affairs and interethnic relations to enhance unity and intercultural understanding. Such news should then be strategically tapped as learning resources.

On the more specific goal of nation building, within the context of higher education systematic longitudinal studies, including assessment studies, are recommended. Individual- and institutional-level factors that facilitate and hinder a higher level of positive ethnic/culture-related diversity engagement in and outside classrooms must be integrated in future studies.

INTRODUCTION

O you men! Surely We have created you of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other; surely the most honorable of you with Allah is the one among you most careful (of his duty); surely Allah is Knowing, Aware (*Verse 13-Al-Hujurat*)

Have mercy, kindness and affection for your subjects for they are “either your brother in religion or one like you in creation.”
(*Sayyidina Ali ibn Talib, the Caliph of Islam, when advising his governor, Malik al-Ashtar*)

Promoting and enhancing intercultural communication and relationships is important in today’s increasingly democratic and plural societies. In Malaysia, in the context of national unity and integration, we are often reminded to respect and understand our fellow citizens who are culturally/ethnically different. Mutual respect and sensitivity also applies in interactions with people of different nationalities. Interaction with people of different cultures and ethnicities is a form of intercultural communication and also a form of engagement with diversity.

There is nothing new in the call for Malaysians of different ethnic backgrounds to have good relations with each other. Verse 13 of Surah Al-Hujurat in the Quran clearly stresses on the need for positive intercultural contact for the wellbeing and betterment of society. Advancements in communication technology and the growing diversity in the ethnic composition of contemporary societies have heightened the opportunities for intercultural contact and the need for intercultural competence. The importance and benefits of positive intercultural communication and socialization are well recognized. There is substantive empirical support for the benefits gained from positively engaging with challenges associated with diversity and cultural differences inherent in intercultural

communication. Culture/ethnic-related diversity is both a challenge and a resource for growth for individuals as well as society.

Intercultural communication as a field of practice is not new. Given its significant role in society, intercultural communication has been and remains an important area of inquiry for social science researchers. As a field of study, it is relatively new in this country. As in many developed countries, intercultural communication study in Malaysia arose due to practical concerns. It started with studies on issues surrounding identity and ethnic relations following the May 13 ethnic riots. In its formative years, studies on ethnic-related issues were mainly descriptive. Sociologists, anthropologists and linguists were the main and early contributors in advancing understanding on the role of culture in society and its relationship with identity and communication behavior. Contributions of Malaysian communication scholars in developing the field emerged with the introduction of communication academic programs at undergraduate and graduate levels. Intercultural communication as a full-fledged course was first offered in the mid-nineties. Fast forward to the post-New Economic Policy era, the country has seen substantial growth in the field, both in course offerings and research. In research, this includes areas of research, goal of inquiries and perspectives in research methodology. Descriptions on the evolution and development of intercultural communication study in the country can be found in my forthcoming article entitled “Intercultural Communication Study in Malaysia”, which will be published in 2018 in the *International Encyclopedia of Intercultural Communication*, by Wiley Publication. The forthcoming manuscript describes the historical beginnings, progress and milestones, challenges and future research directions of this issue.

Malaysia is a rich site for intercultural communication research given the nature of its society. In intercultural communication

inquiry, the central theme is the differing cultural backgrounds of communicators and how cultural differences (and similarities) shape communication experiences and outcomes. The core research themes have been, and continue to be, on advancing understanding of intercultural communicators' experiences and on antecedents, processes and consequences of intercultural communication in different communication contexts.

In my formative years as an academic, my research focused on the difficulties and challenges in intercultural communication attributed to cultural differences and cultural identity. Among my early scholarly contributions were a journal article entitled "Intercultural communication at workplaces: Difficulties as voiced by local and expatriate managers" (Tamam, 2000) and a book chapter entitled "Communicating with expatriates" (Tamam, 2001). Parts of my research works, during these formative years, were also related to youth and youth development. The interest in youth was driven by the fact that: (a) youth make up a large segment of the Malaysian population; (b) youth are at the critical phase of development, a distinct stage of preparation for adulthood, and what they learn and experience during this developmental stage matters; (c) various social settings, including institutions of higher learning are a microcosm of the larger Malaysian society; what people experience and learn in their younger years will certainly shape how they conduct their life and relate to society in later years; and (d) youth face increasing developmental demands. Increased global interdependency, confluence of diverse peoples and increasing diversity and complexity of adult social worlds demand that the youth develop more social and communication skills. As such, in examining the intercultural communication phenomena, when and where applicable, I relate it to youth and youth development. My studies over the years covered a wide range

of topics including communication patterns, media use, identity, intercultural sensitivity and the role of the media. Many of these studies were within the context of intercultural relations. Eventually, my research work evolved from studies framed in the interethnic relations context to studies on intercultural communication as a form of diversity engagement. Thus the focus shifted towards examining antecedents of culture/ethnic-related diversity engagement and its relationship with social and educational outcomes, particularly among undergraduates in institutions of higher learning.

SCOPE OF THE MONOGRAPH

What is the nature of undergraduates' interethnic communication in Malaysian public universities? What are their perceptions and attitudes towards interethnic communication and towards fellow citizens who are culturally/ethnically different? How integrated are they in a multiethnic university setting? What factors shape their interethnic attitudes and interethnic communication behavior? What are their levels of engagement in culture-related diversity? In what ways have their interethnic communication experiences and culture/ethnic-related diversity engagements influenced their personal and social development? These are key questions that I have been addressing when examining undergraduates' communication experiences during their time in public universities. This book provides insights on the above questions. The book is organized into nine sections: (i) patterns of interethnic contact; (ii) interethnic attitudes and posturing; (iii) antecedents of interethnic contact; (iv) media and interethnic attitudes; (v) culture/ethnic-related diversity engagement; (vi) outcomes of interethnic communication and culture/ethnic-related diversity engagement; (vii) measurement of intercultural sensitivity and attachment to national ethos; (viii) considerations for improving interethnic contact and culture/ethnic

diversity engagement; and (ix) future directions in education and research on undergraduates' interethnic communication and culture/ethnic-related diversity engagement.

PATTERNS OF INTERETHNIC CONTACT– SHALLOW AND NOT EXTENSIVE

Identifying patterns of interethnic contact among undergraduates is useful because it provides an indication of how integrated the students are in a multicultural university setting. The key variables examined are on the frequency/quality of contact and the nature of the contact. Uncovering information about the frequency/quality of interethnic contact offers valuable insights into the students' everyday 'real-world' intercultural experiences. Measuring actual contact is more instructive than assessing attitudes because attitudes may not be translated into actual contact behavior.

A small number of local studies have examined university students' interethnic interactions within the ethnic relations and national unity framework. So what do we already know about the extent to which undergraduates in Malaysian public universities actually engage in structured and unstructured interethnic interaction and socialization? The findings of past local studies, as cited by Mun, Fee, Jawan and Darshan (2014), indicate the presence and persistence of ethnic polarization in Malaysian public universities and show that the intensity of polarization is high, particularly among Malay and Chinese students. Not contradicting or negating these findings, my studies are quite consistent in pointing to a persistent pattern that ethnically different students have no extensive engagement in interethnic contact, despite studying in universities with multiethnic student populations. This does not necessarily mean that the students have poor regard for interethnic contact or ethnically dissimilar others. On the contrary, the students have

a positive perception towards interethnic contact but the positive perception is not fully translated into actual interethnic contact, particularly in unstructured communication settings. Based on the data set of the 2009-2010 FRGS research on “Communication behavior in interethnic relationships in a multicultural university setting” in which students were asked to indicate how important it was for them to interact with people of a different ethnicity, 65% of the 447 undergraduates of a public university surveyed acknowledged its importance. However, when asked how much interest they had in interethnic socialization, the proportion of students indicating having interest was only 56%. The reasons for the lack of interest in interethnic socialization remain unclear.

As in the 2009-2010 survey, lack of extensive interethnic contact was also evidenced in the responses to a question on interethnic contact in the 2011-2013 FRGS research data set (N=421) on students’ interethnic social capital survey. In both studies, students were asked to report how frequently they interacted and socialized with peers of different ethnicity on campus. The ratio of Malay, Chinese and Indian students in both samples mirrored the ethnic ratio of the general population. The frequencies of the students’ interethnic contact are summarized in Figure 1. The findings from the 2010 study show that the proportion of students who had everyday socialization was much lower (30%) than that of students who had everyday interaction (45%); these findings were replicated in the 2013 study (44% had everyday socialization, which was much lower than the 61% who had everyday interaction). The findings of the two surveys show that a substantial percentage of students are not extensively engaged in interethnic contact. Positive interethnic contact on a daily basis is thus not a norm as yet. Most of their contact and interaction are shown to occur in structured settings.

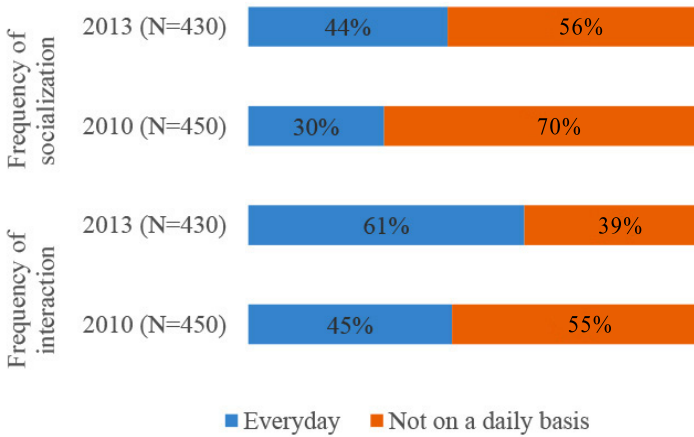


Figure 1 How frequently did you interact and socialize with peers of different ethnicity in this campus during this semester?

Data source:

- (1) 2009-2010 FRGS research: Communication behavior in interethnic relationships in a multicultural university setting.
- (2) 2011-2013 FRGS research: University students' interethnic social capital.

In a more recent survey (an on-going study at the time of writing), 1192 final year students of different ethnicities from five universities were asked to report how frequently they had interethnic contact in seven different communication settings. The findings are presented in Figure 2. Similar to the earlier studies, the responses are not encouraging. Their interethnic contact is more prevalent in structured situations than in unstructured situations. Most of the contact takes place in classes and in residential colleges, and most of the interaction is related to academic matters. The findings also suggest that the level of interpersonal relationships in these contact situations is shallow, as only 38% reported that they frequently/always share personal feelings or problems with peers of different ethnicities.

Are University Students Getting Enough Interethnic Communication

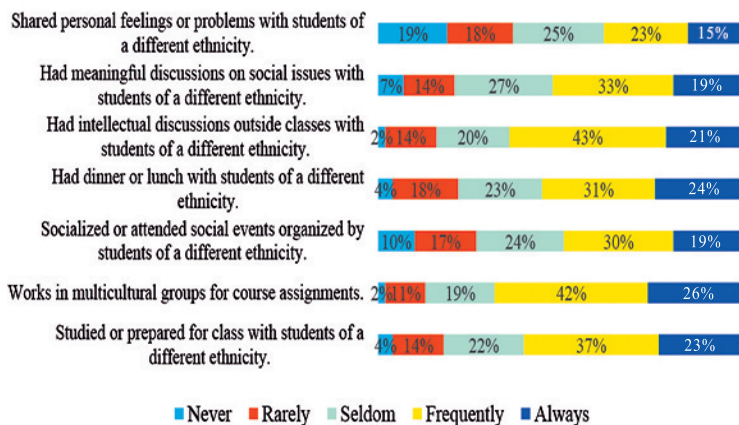


Figure 2 How often have you had the following positive interactions with peers of a different ethnicity during this semester? (N=1192)

Data source: 2014-1016 FRGS research: Formal/informal diversity engagement and civic values among final year undergraduates.

While the results in Figure 2 provide a general picture of students' interethnic contact, it does not show whether there is ethnic differentials in the patterns of interethnic contact. Table 1 summarizes the findings on the patterns of interethnic contact across the Malay, Chinese and Indian groups. As shown in Table 1, the Malay sample has a relatively lower percentage of the 'frequently/always' response for all the seven communication settings compared to the non-Malay samples. This disparity could be because the non-Malay students, being the minority, see the necessity or desirability of interethnic interaction and socialization for themselves. This finding is consistent with the ideological asymmetry hypothesis of the social dominance theory which suggests that frequent positive interethnic/intergroup contact has greater appeal to a minority than a majority (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Table 1 Frequency of interethnic contact across different contexts by ethnicity

Context of interaction	Percentage					
	Malay (n= 673)		Chinese (n= 250)		Indian (n= 224)	
	N/R/S	F/A	N/R/S	F/A	N/R/S	F/A
Studied or prepared for class with students of different ethnicity.	40	60	27	73	35	65
Worked in multicultural groups for course assignments.	33	67	26	74	27	73
Socialized or attended social events organized by students of different ethnicity.	57	43	34	66	45	55
Had dinner or lunch with students of different ethnicity.	48	52	36	64	32	68
Had intellectual discussions outside classes with students of different ethnicity.	35	65	31	69	31	69
Had meaningful discussions on social issues with students of different ethnicity.	49	51	42	58	36	64
Shared personal feelings or problems with students of different ethnicity.	65	35	53	47	53	47

Note. N/R/S= never/rarely/sometimes, F/A= frequently/always

Data source: 2014-1016 FRGS research: Formal/Informal diversity engagement and civic values among final year undergraduates.

Another interpretation of the observed differential interethnic contact levels could be that the minority groups are not segregating themselves. This is in line with Pavel's (2006) argument that self-segregation or polarization is not necessarily a problem that has to be associated with the minority.

Hence, drawing from the abovementioned studies, what can we deduce about students' interethnic contact in public universities in the country? Generally, studies by others and my own studies have shown that, at the individual level, students are not extensively engaged in interethnic interactions and socialization despite seeing it as being important and despite the continuous call for them to mingle on a regular basis. Interethnic interaction and socialization on a daily basis is thus not as yet a norm. The students engaged more in structured or facilitated communication and mostly on matters related to academic activities. This trend holds true for all the three main ethnic groups but seems relatively more pronounced among the Malay students. It is thus clear that more needs to be done to increase positive interethnic interactions and socialization among students. Further, the contact has to be positive because merely having contact or frequent contact is not enough. It is also important to note that analysis on the relevant data sets have indicated that the quality of the contact is more important than the frequency or amount of contact (e.g., Tamam, Idris, & Tien, 2011; Tamam, 2013).

INTERETHNIC ATTITUDE – LESS ‘US vs THEM’ POSTURING

Studies on intercultural relations have traditionally focused on interethnic/intergroup attitudes. Interethnic attitude is generally defined as the degree to which one is accommodative, respectful and tolerant towards people who are culturally and ethnically different. Very often, interest in interethnic attitudes is motivated by attempts to regulate or manage interethnic tensions. Within the national unity and integration framework, mapping or monitoring interethnic attitudes among Malaysians of different ethnicities is important. Positive interethnic attitude, as an attitudinal indicator of the interethnic relation status, is assumed to be a requisite for positive and harmonious interethnic relations. Past international studies have found that individuals who have a more positive interethnic attitude show stronger endorsement for multiculturalism, support for multicultural societies and are more tolerant and less prejudiced towards culturally or ethnically different others (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010).

A number of previous local studies have assessed the interethnic attitudes among Malaysians (e.g., Tamam, 2009; Hashim, Abu Bakar, Mamat, & Razali, 2016). These studies provide valuable insights on a number of things, such as, how responsive Malaysians are towards multiculturalism and towards cultural differences and contradictions. It is however also important to note that interethnic attitude is socially constructed and contextual, and its nature is shaped by many factors, including the ethnic-related socio-political situation that exists in the country. As such, interethnic attitudes among Malaysians may change or fluctuate from time to time. Despite the fluid state of interethnic attitudes, it is nevertheless imperative to gauge Malaysians' interethnic attitudes from time to time for practical and policy purposes. This is more pertinent in

view of Shamsul Amri's (2005) characterization of ethnic relations in the country as being in a state of 'stable' tension.

A 2005 survey involving 1028 university students was carried out to assess students' willingness to consider or accommodate the viewpoints and rights of individuals of other ethnic groups. This study essentially tapped into how ethnocentric /non-ethnocentric the students were in their interethnic relations. It was found that the students had favorable interethnic attitudes, and there was no significant difference in the levels of interethnic attitude between the Malay and non-Malay students. The descriptive statistics by items of the scale for the overall sample is summarized in Table 2. The study clearly shows that students are accommodating in their ethnic relations. An item by item analysis shows that many of the students surveyed hold the view that respecting the rights of other ethnic groups and taking into account the problems and needs of other ethnic groups is important; they also acknowledge the role and contribution of each ethnic group towards national development. The findings suggest that the perception of group threats among the students, at the time of the study, was weak. It would be interesting and important to know whether the positive findings would be reproduced if a replication study was to be carried out today, in a situation where the country is facing a number of contentious ethnic-related social-political issues. In 2005, the year in which the study was carried out, ethnic-related socio-political issues were not as visible as they are today.

Table 2 How far do you agree or disagree with the following statements related to interethnic relations?

Items	Percentage (N=1028)				
	SD	D	SWA	A	SA
The needs of people of different ethnicities must be given due consideration in the implementation of development programs.	1	3	9	49	39
It is very important to be fair to people of different ethnicities.	1	2	5	46	47
The rights of an individual must be respected regardless of his or her ethnic origin.	1	2	5	42	50
The provision of equal opportunity for all Malaysians must be the top priority of the government.	1	3	10	40	46
The satisfaction of all ethnic groups affected in or by community development initiatives must be seriously and adequately addressed.	1	4	14	53	29

Note. SD= strongly disagree, D= disagree, SWA= somewhat agree, A= agree, SA= strongly agree

Data source: 2004-2005 IRPA research: Youth as a foundation of unity: A survey of ethnic tolerance among Malaysian youth

In my current research which is somewhat different but related, I measure the extent to which university students have a positive regard for people who are ethnically different from themselves. The term used was intergroup attitude. A total of 1192 Malay, Chinese and Indian final year undergraduates from five different universities were asked to state their level of agreement to a number

of intergroup attitude items using a 5-point scale. The results are summarized in Table 3. As shown in the table, the students generally have a positive or favorable intergroup attitude; they are willing and ready to accommodate and relate to others who are ethnically different from themselves. The findings suggest that intergroup posturing is not pronounced among members of the university student population. These findings from my current study are no different from those from the 2005 study. Taken together, unlike the general population, particularly the political-interest groups, it seems that interethnic or intergroup posturing is not pronounced among university students.

In assessing students' intergroup attitudes in the current study, I also examined whether there are differences in the levels of intergroup attitude across the three main ethnic groups. The results, summarized in Table 4, show the distribution pattern of responses across the three groups to be similar. Test of difference of group means showed no significant difference ($M_{Malay} = 3.51$, $M_{Chinese} = 3.39$, $M_{Indian} = 3.49$, $F=3.067$, $p= 0.55$).

Table 3 How far do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Items are on intergroup attitudes)

Items	Percentage (N= 1192)				
	SD	D	SWA	A	SA
I enjoy meeting people who come from backgrounds very different from my own.	1	4	38	33	32
I believe cultural diversity within a group makes the group more interesting and effective.	1	4	37	35	23
I can work cooperatively with a multicultural group of people.	1	3	34	38	23
I find it hard to function effectively when the people involved come from very diverse cultural backgrounds. (R)	11	30	37	15	6
I find it difficult to relate to people from a different culture. (R)	11	36	33	20	7
I prefer the company of people who are very similar to me in background and expressions. (R)	9	25	38	20	8

Note. SD= strongly disagree, D= disagree, SWA= somewhat agree, A= agree, SA= strongly agree;

(R)= reverse item.

Data source: 2014-1016 FRGS research: Formal/informal diversity engagement and civic values among final year undergraduates.

To summarize this section, on the question of undergraduates' interethnic/intergroup attitudes, my studies show that in general, students have a positive attitude towards those of different ethnicities. It seems that they are not ethno-centric in their views and positions regarding their relations with peers who are of different

ethnicities. This pattern holds true for Malay, Chinese and Indian students, and there is no significant difference between the three ethnic groups, suggesting that the level of intergroup posturing across the ethnic groups is relatively low and comparable. The positive findings suggest that the foundation for enhancing greater unity and integration among the youth in public universities is there. Nevertheless, this positive attitude must be complemented with facilitative or supportive environmental and institutional factors such that the positive attitude is fully translated into productive interethnic contact.

A note of caution is appropriate here. It is important to note that most of the past studies have been snap shot, cross-sectional studies rather than programmatic, longitudinal interethnic attitude studies employing a standard or common measurement. As such, readers must be cautious in making generalizations on the trends in the interethnic or intergroup attitude status of university students. More conclusive inferences could have been made had there been systematic replication or longitudinal studies on the status of the interethnic or intergroup attitudes among students.

Table 4 Item by item analysis of intergroup attitude across the three ethnic groups

Items	Percentage									
	Malay (N= 673)					Chinese (N= 250)				
	SD/D	SWA	A/SA	SD/D	SWA	A/SA	SD/D	SWA	A/SA	SD/D
I enjoy meeting people who come from backgrounds very different from my own.	3	41	56	5	36	58	6	37	57	
I believe cultural diversity within a group makes the group more interesting and effective.	3	40	57	7	35	58	6	37	57	
I can work cooperatively with a multicultural group of people.	4	40	56	3	26	71	3	37	60	
I find it hard to function effectively when the people involved come from very diverse cultural backgrounds. (R)	46	36	18	32	38	20	32	45	23	
I find it difficult to relate to people from a different culture. (R)	49	35	16	41	31	28	43	31	26	
I prefer the company of people who are very similar to me in background and expressions. (R)	37	41	22	23	39	38	32	36	32	

Note. SD= strongly disagree, D= disagree, SWA= somewhat agree, A= agree, SA = strongly agree; (R)= reverse item.
Data source: 2014-1016 FRGS research: Formal/informal diversity engagement and civic values among final year undergraduates.

ANTECEDENTS OF INTERETHNIC CONTACT – LANGUAGE COMPETENCY MATTER BUT SO DO SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

Given the findings of early intergroup contact studies that positive intergroup contact has positive effects, such as, reducing intergroup prejudice and improving intergroup understanding, more international studies examining the factors that facilitate (as well as hinder) contact across cultural and ethnic boundaries have emerged. This line of research is imperative because intercultural contact does not come about naturally, even if people have greater intercultural contact opportunities. When faced with greater intercultural contact opportunities individuals must decide whether to approach or avoid intercultural contact. There has been an abundance of research on situational and personality factors that account for why individuals approach or avoid intercultural contact.

A small number of researchers have examined the influence of selected individual background and psychological variables on the level and quality of intercultural contact. Studies involving university student populations, mostly conducted in the west, have established that students' individual attributes and campus conditions are essential in determining whether and how positive intercultural contact will occur (Saenz, Ngai & Hurtado, 2007). Language competence is definitely one of the individual-level factors that influence the degree to which one has interest and will participate in intercultural contact and interaction. However, while language proficiency is necessary it is not sufficient to ensure intercultural contact and interaction (e.g., Groeppel-Klein, Germelmann, & Glaum, 2010). A host of other disposition factors have been identified, that correlate with the level and quality of intercultural contact. Among the frequently discussed individual disposition factors are, ethnocentrism (e.g., Martin & Nakayama,

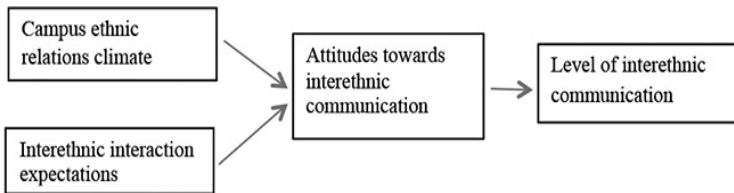
2005) and intercultural communication apprehension (eg., Lin & Rancer, 2003), which have been found to be negatively related to intercultural willingness-to-communicate and intention to participate in intercultural interactions. Tolerance of ambiguity, open-mindedness (e.g., Tamam, 1993) and cultural openness (e.g., Groeppel-Klein, Germelmann, & Glaum, 2010) are also found to correlate with propensity for intercultural contact and interaction. These disposition factors are alterable state variables rather than relatively stable state variables. As such, interventions to improve students' propensity to engage in intercultural contact and interaction should address these intercultural contact barriers. Knowledge of one's own culture and the cultures of other people has also been identified as a salient determinant of intercultural contact and interaction. The more one understands the similarities and differences in cultures, the less fearful or apprehensive one will be of intercultural contact and interaction (Groeppel-Klein, Germelmann, & Glaum, 2010).

Allport's four conditions for positive intercultural contact stipulated in the intergroup contact theory are widely recognized as important antecedents of intercultural contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The main thesis of the theory is that the extent and benefits of contact are contingent upon the conditions under which the contact occurs. The theory postulates that positive contact is more likely to occur under four optimal conditions. The conditions are: (1) equal group status within the situation; (2) common goals; (3) intergroup cooperation; and (4) authority support. Past studies have shown that frequent contact does not necessarily produce positive contact effects. For the contact to have positive effects, the conditions of the contact must be conducive. Thus, to promote and enhance positive intercultural contact among students in multicultural universities, the campus environment must be favorable for such contact to take

place. Students must perceive and feel that the campus multicultural environment promotes inclusiveness where the different ethnic groups are of equal status, are working for common goals in a cooperative manner and policies for better intercultural relations are in place and endorsed by the university.

Studies on factors facilitating and enhancing interethnic contact among students are crucial for higher education policies and practices in the country. Despite the many benefits positive interethnic/intergroup contact brings, local studies advancing understanding on the factors or conditions that promote and sustain a high level of interethnic contact among university students are scarce. While there have been substantial international studies on the antecedents of interethnic/intergroup communication, these past studies have not specifically examined the influence of interethnic interaction expectations (defined as expectation of ethnically different peers when interacting with other ethnic groups), the campus ethnic relations climate (defined as the perception of ethnic relations on campus) and attitudes towards interethnic communications (defined as interest in participating in interethnic interactions with peers) on the level of undergraduates' interethnic interactions. Hence, an analysis was done on the relevant data set to address this knowledge gap. In addition to providing descriptive information on the variables, the theoretical contribution of the study is that it clarifies how strongly interethnic interaction expectations and perceptions of ethnic relations campus climate influence attitudes towards and the level of interethnic interaction of undergraduate students in public multicultural universities. The findings were published in a paper entitled "Influence of expectation and campus racial climate on undergraduates' interethnic interaction." Overall, the study (Tamam, Idris, Tien, & Ahmad, 2013) demonstrates that attitudes towards interethnic interactions have an impact on the

level of interethnic interaction among students. This relationship holds true for both the Malay and Chinese students. Attitude towards interethnic interactions is, in turn, affected by interethnic interaction expectations. This is also applicable for both groups but the strength of the influence differs across the ethnic groups. Attitude towards interethnic interactions is also affected by the perception of the campus' ethnic relations climate, but only among the Chinese students. The findings add to the literature by clarifying the nature and strength of the relationships between interethnic interaction expectations and campus ethnic relations climate as well as the attitude towards and level of interethnic interaction. The relationships among the variables are summarized in Figure 3.



Source: Tamam, E, Idris, F, Tien, W. M., & Ahmad, M. A. (2013)

Figure 3 Theoretical linkages of campus ethnic relations climate, interethnic interaction expectations, attitudes towards interethnic interactions and levels of interethnic interactions

Tamam et al.'s (2013) findings indicate that the perception of campus ethnic relations climate has a differential impact on attitudes towards and levels of interethnic interactions for the majority and minority students. The perception of campus ethnic relations climate is more important to the minority than to the majority. Hence, it is imperative to consider the role or influence of ethnicity in assessing interethnic perceptions, attitudes and

behavior, as well as in designing intervention programs to improve students' levels of interethnic interactions and relations. Tamam et al.'s (2013) study, as well as other studies, have indicated that one barrier to interethnic mixing is the negative expectation that other ethnic groups would not be interested in interacting with members of one's own ethnic group. The belief that other ethnic groups are not interested in contacting and interacting with one's ethnic group could be a misconception and this faulty negative expectation could set the foundations for growth in pluralistic ignorance in interethnic contact, interaction, and relations. Pluralistic ignorance occurs when individuals observe others behaving similarly to themselves but believe that the same behavior reflect different feelings and beliefs (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). In other words, to account for the lack of interethnic interactions among students, one probable explanation is that the Malay majority avoids or minimizes contact with the non-Malays because they misconstrue the feelings or attitudes of the other ethnic group members. They see the non-Malays as having little or no interest in engaging in interethnic contact and interaction with their group. The reverse could also be true. According to Shelton and Richeson (2005), pluralistic ignorance is one of the many factors working against interethnic/intergroup contact and the reason why the self-segregation problem is perpetuated on campuses.

What can we conclude on the antecedents of interethnic contact and interaction among students in Malaysian public universities? Students' propensity for interethnic contact and interaction is a function of the individual's demographic background, disposition and expectations. With regard to expectations, it is necessary to develop positive interethnic contact expectations that members of other ethnic groups have an interest in interacting with members of one's own ethnic group. This has to be emphasized and integrated in

formal curriculums (in the teaching of intercultural communications or in courses related to cultural diversity and ethnic relations, particularly) and in co-curriculum activities. With regard to campus environment factors, a favorable contact environment is a significant determinant of frequent positive contact with ethnically dissimilar others. A negative perception of the campus ethnic relations climate results in students having more in-group interaction and in-group friends instead of interacting and making friends across ethnic groups. While interethnic contact expectations and perception of the campus ethnic relations climate are determinants of attitudes towards interethnic attitude, which in turn, determine the level of interethnic communication, it is also important to note that the relationship is non-asymmetrical for the Malays and non-Malays.

MEDIA AND ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT – NEWS MEDIA AS A LEARNING/DEVELOPMENT RESOURCE

This section focuses on the media behavior of university students, and the impact of news media exposure and attention on the social attitudes of the students. While there are many facets of media behaviors that can be studied, examining students' exposure and attention to news in the media has been, and continues to be, important. This is because the news media is regarded as a salient source of information, socializing agent and resource for development. A meta-analysis study of media effects by Emmers-Sommer and Allen (1999) found that the mass media, including the news media, are significant sources of learning, and that they influence attitudes and behavior. Moreover, as Soen (2002) points out, an individual's subjective reality is contingent upon the individual's dependence upon the media as a source of information.

The mainstream news media in the country has been expected to function as an agent and a partner in nation building since the country gained independence five decades ago (Tamam, Raj, & Govindasamy, 2012). Among the news media's key roles are to impart the right knowledge, attitudes and behavior, in line with the notions of responsible citizenship, civility and harmonious coexistence in a multiethnic society. The news media regulations in the country stress on the development role of news media in strengthening unity and harmony among the various ethnic groups. Drawing on findings of past local studies examining the role and effectiveness of the news media in the country, it can be concluded that to a certain extent the news media has been successful in its role as a change agent and partner in national development. For, instance, Hassan (2008), based on a review of past studies on the role of the mainstream media in the country, notes that the news media carry a lot of development information, messages on unity and integration and messages that promote nationalism. In a study which assessed the efficacy of the mainstream news media in disseminating messages of unity and integration, the majority of the respondents surveyed perceived that unity and integration messages in the news media had a positive impact on them and the society. Hassan et al.'s (2008) study also found that the television was the main source of information and news on unity and integration, followed by the newspaper and the radio.

While acknowledging the development role of the news media, it is also important to identify the extent to which university students consume news from the news media. My own studies and studies by others suggest that in general university students are not active consumers of news from the media. To support this, the data in my 2008 and 2011 surveys clearly show that the pattern of university students' exposure and attention to news from the

mainstream media for the two years is similar, that is, a majority of the students spend less than 15 minutes per day reading/watching the news (see Table 5). In a more recent survey, a similar pattern is observed-- most of the students spend less than 15 minutes per day on news from the mainstream media and alternative media. What do these results tell us? It implies that many Malaysian university students have little interest in news in the media though the reason for this state of affairs is unclear. It may imply that the mainstream (government-regulated) news media is not a main source of news for the students. Students are probably more prone to getting news from interpersonal sources. The finding on the lack of exposure and attention to the news media means that students deprive themselves of the learning and development opportunities afforded by the news media, provided and assuming that the media convey positive development messages.

Despite the somewhat limited news media exposure, does news consumption have an impact on students' social development? This is an important question because the media has been shown to have an influence on people's perceptions, opinions and attitudes. In the context of the national unity and integration agenda, analyses of the relationship between exposure and attention to news on public affairs in the news media, and interethnic tolerance, national ethos and national pride, were carried out. The premise underlying the analyses was that coverage of diversity, differences, and messages of harmony and reconciliation in relation to interethnic relation issues in the news media should help the public to understand the dynamics of interethnic relations and thus promote better intercultural understanding and relations between the various ethnic groups in the country. It was also assumed that narratives of national interest in the mainstream news media are a good way of cultivating collective consciousness and sense of pride in being Malaysian.

Table 5 Exposure to news in the media

Duration (minute/ day)	Newspaper		Television		Radio		Online		Main- stream media	Alternative media
	2008 ¹	2011 ²	2008 ¹	2011 ²	2008 ¹	2011 ²	2008 ¹	2011 ²		
None	7	9	14	17	-	19	9	8	4	6
1 - 15	37	51	32	36	-	52	33	43	57	48
16 - 30	32	31	21	33	-	22	22	32	25	25
31 - 60	15	7	19	11	-	5	25	11	9	11
> 60	9	2	14	3	-	2	19	8	5	10

Note: Figures are percentages. In the 2015 survey, the questions were more general (i.e. mainstream and alternative media) rather than by specific media type.

Data source:

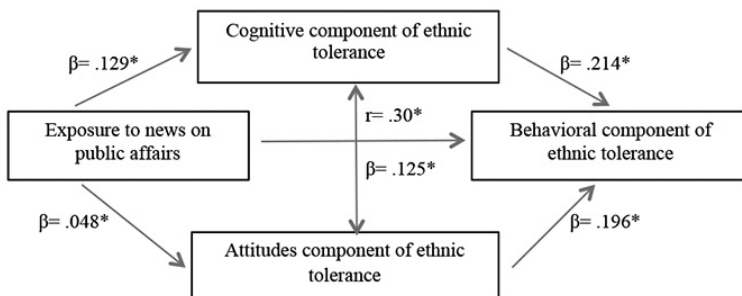
¹ 2007-2008 MOSTI research: National ethos and media use among youth, 19-25 years old (N= 606)

² 2011 Research: Media and culture survey (N= 300)

³ 2014-1016 FRGS research: Formal/informal diversity engagement and civic values among final year undergraduates (N= 1129)

Exposure to Positive News on Public Affairs and Interethnic Tolerance

On the relationship between news media exposure and interethnic tolerance, it was found that exposure to news on public affairs is correlated with the cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions of interethnic tolerance (Tamam, et. al., 2006). The cognitive component of ethnic tolerance is defined as the readiness to get in-depth understanding of cultural differences and of contentious interethnic relations issues, while the attitudinal component is defined as the willingness to accept the rights of those of different ethnicities, and viewing interethnic relations issues positively or constructively, and the behavioral component of ethnic tolerance is defined as practices that manifest openness, sensitivity and accommodativeness towards differences, divergence and conflicts. Public affairs news consumption, the cognitive dimension and the affective component of ethnic tolerance collectively explain 16.5 percent of the variance in the behavioral component level of ethnic tolerance (see Figure 4). The findings suggest that youth who are more frequently exposed to news on public affairs are more likely to have a higher level of ethnic tolerance in all the three cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions. Thus, it could be inferred that the mainstream news media, through its coverage of interethnic relations news, to some extent plays an important role in inculcating tolerant attitudes and behavior among young people with regard to interethnic socialization and interaction.



Source: Tamam, E., Tien, W. Y., Idris, F., & Hamzah, A. (2006).

Figure 4. Summary of the multiple regression analyses for variables predicting the behavioral component of ethnic tolerance

Note:

* = Significance at $p = .05$; β = Standardized Beta

Regression 1. Dependent variable = Cognitive component of ethnic tolerance; Independent variable = exposure to news on public affairs, with attitudinal component of ethnic tolerance, gender and age as control variables. $R^2 = .124$, $F = 137.162$, $p = .000$

Regression 2. Dependent variable = Attitudinal component of ethnic tolerance; Independent variable = exposure to news on public affairs, with cognitive component of ethnic tolerance, gender and age as control variables. $R^2 = .114$, $F = 93.621$, $p = .000$

Regression 3. Dependent variable = Behavioral component of ethnic tolerance; Independent variables = exposure to news on public affairs, cognitive and attitudinal components of ethnic tolerance, gender and age. $R^2 = .160$, $F = 110.494$, $p = .000$

Exposure to Positive News on Public Affairs and Attachment to National Ethos

Identification with the ethos of the country is a promising social mechanism that can provide a unifying force, and functions as an enabling factor in the management of a multicultural society. The national ethos is defined as a collective memory and attachment to the distinctive characters of the country, and it provides the socio-psychological mechanism for positive intercultural relations among the various ethnic and religious groups, particularly in times of conflict (Mohd Noor, 2005). In building a progressive, peaceful and harmonious Malaysian society, as envisioned in the Vision 2020,

Dr. Mahathir Mohammad argues strongly that: “Building a nation out of diverse people with differing historical, ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural and geographical backgrounds is something more than just fostering consensus on the basic character of a state or nation. It involves the fostering of: (1) shared historical experiences, (2) shared values, (3) a feeling of common identity, (4) shared destiny that transcends ethnic bounds without undermining ethnic identity, (5) loyalty, (6) commitment, and (7) an emotional attachment to the nation, and the flowering of a distinctly national ethos”(Jamaluddin, et al. 2004: 9). In spite of the centrality of the national ethos to nation-building, and the integration objective, empirical evidence on the nature of identification with the national ethos and its theoretical linkages to exposure to the news media has not been examined; thus the connection between news media use and attachment to the national ethos is not clearly understood.

Drawing on the above argument, the relevant data set was analyzed to ascertain the level of attachment to the national ethos among university students, and the relationship between exposure to news media and attachment to the national ethos. The data set from the 2004-2005 IRPA research on youth as a foundation of unity was used for this purpose. In the analysis, three dimensions of the national ethos emerged:—(1) shared identity and future; (2) shared history and values of the country; and (3) shared loyalty/commitment towards the country. It was found that many of the respondents had a moderate to high degree of attachment towards a shared identity and future, shared history and values of the country, and had a favorable degree of loyalty/commitment towards the country. Interestingly, there was a significant difference among the three main ethnic groups, in terms of their degree of attachment to the three different dimensions of the national ethos, with the Malay group scoring significantly higher than the Chinese. On the

relationship between news media exposure and attachment to the national ethos, it was seen that exposure to the news media had a positive and significant relationship with the shared identity and future dimension and the shared history and values dimension, but not with the loyalty/commitment dimension (see Table 6). Analysis by individual news media revealed that exposure to both television and radio news was positively and significantly correlated with the attachment to shared history and values, but not with shared loyalty/commitment. These findings show a differential impact of the news media.

Table 6 Bivariate correlation of news media exposure and attachment to national ethos

News media	Dimension of national ethos		
	Shared identity and future	Shared history and values	Shared loyalty and commitment
News on TV	.15*	.14*	.03
News in the newspaper	.06	.09	.01
News in news magazines	.04	.05	.05
News on the radio	.09*	.12*	.04
News on the internet	.06	.03	.02

Source: Tamam, E., Yee, W., Idris, F., Hamzah, A., Mohamed, A. A., Luan, W. S., Mohd Noor, M. (2005).

Exposure to Positive News on Public Affairs and National Pride

Editors and journalists are generally expected to advocate nationalism, a society that is characterized by strong pride for the country, by informing and reinforcing positive national narratives and symbols in the news media. Narratives of national interest in the mainstream news media are a good way of cultivating collective consciousness and a sense of pride in being Malaysians. The findings on the relationship between exposure to news in the mainstream media and national pride were published in 2011 (Tamam, 2011). It was found that only the television was positively and significantly correlated with national pride for all the three main ethnic groups in the study. The association between television news consumption and national pride was much weaker for the Chinese than for the Indian and Malay sample groups. The positive association observed implies that television news, to some extent, has an impact on the youth, in instilling national pride among them, despite their relatively low consumption of television news. In contrast, exposure and attention to news in newspapers was found to have no association with national pride for the Malays and the Indians, but was significant for the Chinese sample. A possible explanation for the mixed findings could be due to differences in the perceptions of newspaper credibility across the ethnic groups. The finding is compatible with previous research that has demonstrated that media influence or effect varies according to the ethnicity of consumers. Overall, the findings suggest that television news consumption has a greater impact than newspaper consumption because television viewing involves a higher degree of information processing activity as compared to newspaper reading. This is in line with Cohen's argument on the efficacy of the television as a learning and development resource (Cohen, 2008).

In conclusion, it is seen that although university students vary in news media consumption, the norm is that university students have little interest in news in the media. The majority of students spend between 15 to 30 minutes per day reading/watching news in the media. The news media has a role in the development of social attitudes. Higher exposure and attention to news in the media contribute to higher interethnic tolerance, attachment to the national ethos and national pride. The theoretical contribution of my studies on media use lends support to the agenda setting and framing function of the news media as a partner in the country's national development efforts. Based on the relationships observed, at a practical level it can be concluded that news media exposure to positive national narratives is a potential determinant of interethnic tolerance, attachment to the national ethos and national pride. Therefore, the news media must convey more positive interethnic relations news to enhance unity and intercultural understanding. Accordingly, the relevant institutions responsible for promoting national integration and citizenship education should use appropriate news media as learning and development resources in educational activities, to educate young people about ethnicity, ethnic differences, interethnic relations issues, national ethos and national pride, with the purpose of further strengthening unity and harmony among the various ethnic groups in the country. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the efficacy of the news media in the development of social attitude varies by type of news media, and there is differential impact of news media by ethnicity.

DIVERSITY ENGAGEMENT – STRUCTURAL DIVERSITY DOES NOT GUARANTEE DIVERSITY ENGAGEMENT

Students' interaction with peers of different ethnic backgrounds is a form of diversity engagement. It is also termed as interaction diversity in the literature on campus diversity. In addition to interaction diversity, curriculum and co-curriculum diversity are equally significant for students' development. This section focuses on curriculum and co-curriculum diversity. Curriculum diversity involves structured initiatives that come mostly in the form of academic courses while co-curriculum diversity involves structured initiatives that come through extra-curriculum activities. These different types of diversity are not mutually exclusive conditions that foster experiences with diversity

Curriculum and co-curriculum diversity have been identified as having positive impacts on students' educational outcomes (e.g., Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Denson & Chang, 2009). Many have suggested that greater learning and development will occur when there are more opportunities for students to engage with diversity (Denson & Chang, 2009), including diversity associated with ethnic and cultural differences. A theoretical explanation for the positive outcomes from students' engagement with diversity offered in many past studies is that students experience "cognitive disequilibrium", a phenomenon that is attributed to differences and contradictions inherent in diversity. The process of harmonizing, accommodating and assimilating the different and divergent information and perspectives enhances learning and personal growth (Denson & Chang, 2009).

Despite the presence of culture- and ethnic-related diversity in many institutions of higher learning, studies have shown that students are not getting enough diversity learning and experience

(Bowman 2010). Many students often even resist diversity when given the opportunity. Structural diversity that arises from the social and cultural backgrounds of the students, in itself and by itself, does not necessarily imply that the students will experience diversity. Thus diversity engagement must not be left solely to chance. Universities must provide conditions that encourage and facilitate diversity engagement among students. Many scholars have argued that diversity engagement must be structured, and should occur on a regular and on-going basis in order for it to be effective and beneficial (Bowman 2010). In today's increasingly multicultural societies, educators stress on the role of higher education in preparing students with competencies by providing them with positive and rich learning experiences related to diversity, so that they are better able to deal with and manage the diversity that is inherent in the growing democracy of multicultural societies.

Are not students supposed to experience rich learning related to diversity associated with culture and ethnic differences during their undergraduate years? Within this context, and assuming the positive role diversity engagement plays in students' educational and social development, it is imperative to gauge how Malaysian students have fared in this type of educational experience. Despite the multicultural nature of many Malaysian universities, not much is known about the extent to which the students actually experience curriculum and co-curriculum diversity associated with cultural and ethnic differences. This leads to the question about the extent to which students at Malaysian public universities with diverse student populations actually experience curriculum and co-curriculum diversity. My current research addresses this question. In the following paragraphs, preliminary findings from the study on curriculum and co-curriculum diversity engagement of final year students in five universities are discussed.

In the study, curriculum diversity engagement was measured by asking the students to indicate whether they had the following experiences during their study at the university: attended a leadership workshop/course, taken a course to learn about culture (besides the required Ethnic Relations and Asian Civilization and Islamic Civilization courses), taken a course to learn about gender issues, taken a foreign language course, including a short course on a foreign language, and participated in a mobility program. The response options were never, once or twice and more often than that. Likewise, to measure co-curriculum diversity, respondents were asked to state whether they had the following experiences: attended dialogues/seminars exposing self to different perspectives and viewpoints; joined an association/club to explore different perspectives or viewpoints; attended a cultural awareness program; participated in events sponsored by another ethnic group; participated in a community project with a diverse socio-cultural group as part of a course assignment (other than Baktisiswa); joined an organization that promotes cultural diversity; read autobiography books of successful people irrespective of their ethnicity/nationality, and read a novel not related to an area of their undergraduate study. The response options were also never, once or twice, or more than twice.

The findings were quite disappointing as well as puzzling. In general, the findings suggest the students had limited (that is, diversity engagement is not rich) curriculum and co-curriculum diversity engagement. A significant percentage of the 1192 students surveyed had no exposure to or experience with the diversity learning presumably available on campus. As shown in Table 7, three in every ten students reported that they had never attended/participated in the following diversity experiences: taken a course to learn about gender issues, taken a foreign language course including a short

course on a foreign language; participated in events sponsored by another ethnic group; participated in a community project with a diverse socio-cultural group as part of a course assignment (other than Baktisiswa), and joined an organization that promotes cultural diversity. Two in every ten students reported they never had the following diversity learning experiences: attended a leadership workshop/course; taken a course to learn about culture (besides the required Ethnic Relations and Asian Civilization and Islamic Civilization courses); attended dialogues/seminars exposing self to different perspectives and viewpoints; joined an association/club to explore different perspectives or viewpoints; read autobiography books of successful people irrespective of their ethnicity/nationality, and read a novel not related to an area of their undergraduate study. Participation in a mobility program was also low.

Overall, the findings suggest that undergraduates are not capitalizing on the wide ranging diversity-related learning opportunities that are presumably available to them throughout their three- to four-year study. Engagement in a broad range of diversity initiatives is not a norm among the students in the universities surveyed. The finding on lack of engagement in diversity experiences is consistent with the findings of most past research on campus diversity engagement conducted in western countries. In other words, diversity-related learning experience is less likely to be extensive if it is left to the students themselves to manage. As such diversity learning experiences, where relevant and appropriate, should be systematically and strategically integrated into the students' study programs.

Table 7 Have you had the following experiences during your study at the university?

Type of diversity engagement	Percentage (N= 1192)		
	Never	Once/ Twice	More Than Twice
Attended a leadership workshop/course	14	46	40
Taken a course to learn about cultural differences (besides the required university courses such as Ethnic Relations).	21	50	29
Taken a course to learn about gender issues.	28	51	21
Taken a foreign language course including a short course on a foreign language.	32	45	23
Participated in a mobility program.	60	40	-
Attended a dialogue/seminar exposing self to different perspectives and viewpoints.	15	67	18
Participated in an association/club to explore different perspectives or viewpoints.	18	44	38
Attended a cultural awareness program.	19	54	27
Attended an event sponsored by other cultural/ethnic groups.	21	49	30
Participated in a community project with a diverse social-cultural group as part of a course assignment, other than Baktisiswa.	29	45	26
Joined an organization that promotes cultural diversity.	37	41	22
Read a life bio/autobiography book of successful people irrespective of their ethnicity/nationality.	22	49	29
Read a novel not related to your area of undergraduate study.	22	33	45

Data source: 2014-1016 FRGS research: Formal/informal diversity engagement and civic values among final year undergraduates.

Are University Students Getting Enough Interethnic Communication

In addition to assessing the extent of diversity engagement, the students were also asked about the quality of the diversity experiences they had on campus. Measurement of quality of diversity experience was based on students' self-rating of the impact of involvement in diversity-related activities on them. Figure 5 summarizes the findings on students' perceptions about the quality of diversity experiences they had on campus. Fewer than half the students surveyed reported that the diversity experiences they had had a positive impact on their views on ethnic relations, and improved their understanding about society and culture. This suggests that the students experience diversity engagement differently and many perceive that the experiences they have had, although meaningful, are not impactful enough. Further studies need to be done to find out how and why students experience diversity engagement differently.

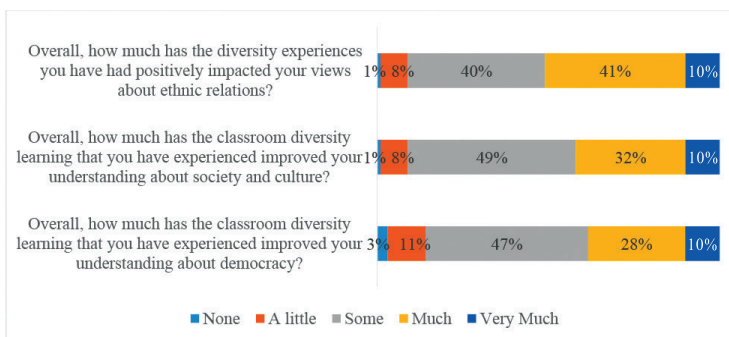


Figure 5 How would you rate the extent to which involvement in diversity-related activities have had an impact on you? (N=1192)

Data source: 2014-1016 FRGS research: Formal/informal diversity engagement and civic values among final year undergraduates.

In conclusion, it was found that students vary in the extent of diversity experiences they have had through curriculum and co-curriculum diversity engagement. Their engagement in diversity is to some extent beneficial and improves their views on ethnic relations and understanding of culture, cultural differences and democracy. However, diversity engagement among students is still limited and not extensive.

INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY, INTERETHNIC BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIC ATTITUDES AS OUTCOMES OF INTERCULTURAL INTERACTION/SOCIALIZATION

The preceding section on the patterns of interethnic interaction and socialization among students provide a snap shot profile of students' engagement with culture- and ethnic-related diversity. While the description is useful, equally important is the impact of frequent positive interaction and socialization on students' social development. Such analysis would provide empirical support that could clarify the role of positive interethnic interactions and socialization on the different domains of students' social development. Accordingly, the theoretical link connecting positive interethnic interaction and socialization with students' social development, namely in relation to intercultural sensitivity, interethnic social capital and civic attitudes, was examined.

As the need and opportunities for contact and interaction with ethnically dissimilar others in university campuses increase, intercultural sensitivity as an aspect of social and communication ability has assumed a greater role. Enhancing intercultural sensitivity is imperative in today's increasingly democratic and pluralistic society, where there is high demand for intercultural competency. Hence, the development of students' intercultural

sensitivity, a soft skills component, is an important learning objective because it is regarded as essential for the present and future workforce. Intercultural sensitivity is seen as a factor necessary for effective intercultural communications and harmonious intercultural relations. Thus, the role of universities is not only to produce technically competent graduates but also to better prepare them to assume a greater role as good citizens, in the larger society within and outside their country.

Past related studies have independently and separately enriched the literature on the role of diversity engagement and intercultural sensitivity. Despite those studies, there is a lack of empirical evidence linking ethnic-related diversity engagement with dimensions of intercultural sensitivity in a higher education learning context. In an attempt to integrate ethnic-related diversity engagement with the intercultural sensitivity literature in the higher education learning context, Tamam and Krauss (2014) conducted an analysis of the association between ethnic-related diversity engagement (measured in terms of the frequency of positive interaction and socialization with ethnically dissimilar peers) and three interrelated dimensions of intercultural sensitivity among students in a public university with a multi-ethnic, multi-religious student population. The ethnic-related diversity in this study is related to but not inclusive of diversity in ethnicity. Formal and informal interactions and socialization with ethnically dissimilar peers, occurring within and outside of the classroom, is conceptualized as ethnic-related diversity engagement. In this sense, ethnic-related diversity engagement is construed as a communication concept elicited through contact and interaction. Based on the cognitive growth perspective and contact hypothesis theory, engagement in ethnic-related diversity and intercultural sensitivity were hypothesized to be positively related.

Using multivariate analysis of variance, the analysis revealed that the level of intercultural sensitivity among students is positively associated with the students' level of ethnic-related diversity engagement, and that ethnic-related diversity engagement relates differentially to the interaction attentiveness, interaction openness and interaction confidence dimensions of intercultural sensitivity (Tamam & Krauss, 2014). Students in the high ethnic-related diversity engagement group had higher levels of interaction attentiveness and respect, interaction openness and interaction confidence than students in the moderate-level group. Students in the low level group had the lowest levels of all the three dimensions of intercultural sensitivity. These findings contribute to the body of knowledge by establishing empirical evidence linking ethnic-related diversity engagement and dimensions of intercultural sensitivity, and thus underscores the theoretical and practical significance of students' engagement in positive interethnic interaction and socialization in imparting intercultural sensitivity. The findings clarify the nature of the relationships by suggesting that the level of engagement in positive interethnic interactions and socialization is significantly associated with all the three dimensions of intercultural sensitivity. However, ethnic-related diversity engagement is more highly correlated with interaction confidence than with the other two dimensions. This relationship holds true for the three main ethnic groups studied.

A study was also conducted on the relationship between frequent positive interaction and socialization and interethnic bridging social capital among university students (Tamam, 2013). Universities with multiethnic student bodies offer opportunities for students of different ethnicities to develop cross-ethnic ties. These ties are important because they constitute a form of bridging social capital (Goddard, 2003). Cross-ethnic ties are important because

there are apparent benefits these ties afford. Social capital conveys benefits through the provision of information, influence and control and social solidarity. Interethnic bridging social capital, as a form of weak ties, connects individuals to social worlds and resources that exist outside their inner circles. In Tamam's (2013) study, interethnic bridging social capital is defined as social capital that allows individuals to draw on resources from weak ties with others who are ethnically different. Accordingly, it is assumed that frequent positive interaction and socialization would enhance bridging social capital embedded in the cross-ethnic ties. The results reveal a narrow level of interethnic social capital, and indirectly imply that the students are not well integrated in a multiethnic environment. The minority Chinese and the majority Malay students do not differ in their level of interethnic bridging social capital, but the minority Indian have a significantly higher level of interethnic bridging social capital in comparison. The findings indicate that the students are not really ethnically integrated, despite the continuous calls for them to mingle on a regular basis. This also means that many are not fully capitalizing on the diversity opportunities presented by the multiethnic university environment. The level of interethnic interaction and socialization with peers directly and significantly affects the level of interethnic bridging social capital for all the main ethnic groups. The differential levels of interethnic bridging social capital across ethnic groups underscore the issue of an ethnic gap in interethnic bridging social capital which may become a problem if not given due consideration when designing intervention programs aimed at improving interethnic relations.

In assessing the theoretical relationship between interethnic interaction and socialization and interethnic bridging social capital, the role of intercultural sensitivity was also analyzed by Tamam and Hashmi (2016). Empirical evidence on the contribution of

intercultural sensitivity and interethnic interaction, both individually and collectively, on interethnic bridging social capital has not been assessed before. It is assumed that interethnic interaction and socialization in themselves may not be enough or may not directly affect the development of interethnic bridging social capital. Given the knowledge gap and social-educational relevance of interethnic bridging social capital to students' development, an analysis was done to test hypothesized theoretical relationships between interethnic interaction/socialization, intercultural sensitivity and interethnic bridging social capital. The results show that engagement in interethnic interaction/socialization for bridging social capital development is facilitated by intercultural sensitivity. The major contribution of the analysis lies not only in providing evidence but, more importantly, in clarifying the role of interethnic interaction/socialization and intercultural sensitivity on the development of interethnic bridging social capital. Hence, it underscores the theoretical and practical significance of intercultural sensitivity for the purpose of cultivating students' interethnic bridging social capital.

Civic responsibility development is thought to be another salient educational outcome from undergraduates' educational and socialization experiences during their university life. Yet, empirical evidence on the relationship linking frequent positive interethnic interaction and socialization with civic responsibility development in the Malaysian higher education context is scant. The culturally diverse environments in universities create richly varied educational experiences that help students learn and prepare them for participation in a diverse and increasingly democratic society (Moses & Chang, 2006). Empirical evidence linking cultural-related diversity engagement and democracy outcomes are found in a number of studies conducted in the west. Frequent

positive interaction and socialization with culturally dissimilar others in formal and informal settings have been found to enhance aptitude for citizenship, ability to take multiple perspectives, ability to recognize the value of commonality and differences in a democracy (Gurin et al., 2002), enhance social attitudes and encourage participation in civic activities (Paterson, 2009) and increase ratings of the importance of taking social justice action (Hurtado et al., 2002).

Given the gap in local literature on civic responsibility development as an educational outcome of diversity engagement, my colleagues and I (Tamam et. al., 2016) did an analysis on the data set of an on-going study to delineate the exact relationships between the amount and quality of diversity engagement and civic values of final year students. Civic responsibility development refers to the personal beliefs and feelings that individuals have about their responsibility and duty to society. Positive diversity engagement experience (to reflect quality of diversity engagement) refers to the extent to which engagement in diversity has a positive impact. Curriculum diversity engagement refers to the frequency of engagement with diversity-related courses, and co-curriculum diversity engagement refers to the frequency of diversity engagement through co-curriculum activities. The definitions of both curriculum and co-curriculum diversity incorporate the amount of diversity engagement. It was hypothesized that frequency of engagement in curriculum, co-curriculum and interaction diversity correlate with positive diversity engagement experience which, in turn, correlates with civic responsibility development. The findings of Tamam et al.'s (2016) survey clearly show that the more positive the diversity experience the students have the more they develop their civic responsibility. Curriculum and co-curriculum diversity engagement and interaction diversity have a direct positive

influence on positive diversity engagement experiences, but they have no direct relationship with civic responsibility development. This means it is the quality of engagement that matters and not the amount of engagement. This finding is in line with the findings of past studies that show that quality of contact is a better predictor than the amount of contact, on a number of contact outcome variables. The finding that co-curriculum diversity engagement and interaction diversity are better predictors than curriculum diversity engagement suggests that students in the universities benefit more from informal engagements with diversity than through formal courses.

To sum up, overall, the findings of my studies reported in this section underscore the value and the theoretical and practical significance of promoting, enhancing and facilitating diversity engagement through frequent positive interaction and socialization among university students. Intercultural sensitivity, interethnic bridging social capital and civic responsibility development among students are all affected by how much students experience positive interethnic interactions and socialization in the classroom and outside classroom in diversity learning settings.

ON MEASUREMENT OF INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY AND ATTACHMENT TO THE NATIONAL ETHOS

Intercultural sensitivity, attachment to the national ethos and interethnic bridging social capital are argued to be promising social mechanisms for fostering unity and integration. These three constructs could provide a useful integrative analytical framework for thinking about enhancing unity and integration. Thus, these three social attributes need to be fostered among university students, and there should be reliable and valid ways to measure them.

Development of intercultural communication sensitivity among students is indeed important. It is part of the soft skills that university education should emphasize on. Intercultural sensitivity is regarded as an important aspect necessary for living in a multi-ethnic democratic society. Yet, the conceptual domain of the construct within the Malaysian cultural context is unclear, and a reliable instrument to measure the construct is not available. My work on intercultural sensitivity has resulted in the development of a valid and reliable scale to measure intercultural sensitivity and clarify the conceptual domain of intercultural sensitivity within the Malaysian multi-ethnic society. My work has led me to reinterpret Chen and Starosta's intercultural sensitivity instrument, and offer an alternative theoretical and measurement model that fits the Malaysian scenario. A three-factor solution is offered - a model that fits the Malaysian multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. The three factors are: (1) interaction attentiveness and respect; (2) interaction openness; and (3) interaction confidence. Details on the items of the scale can be found in my article (Tamam, 2010). Interaction attentiveness and respect explains most of the variance in intercultural sensitivity. This makes sense because Malaysians are known to prefer indirect and non-confrontational communication styles. The proposed measurement scale is promising because the overall reliability coefficient is high at 0.914. The instrument would be useful for diagnostic purposes and for designing theory-based intercultural communication sensitivity training programs, particularly for university students. To enhance generalizability of the scale and its applicability, further validation using a larger population is of course desirable.

In addition to the intercultural sensitivity scale, my research on interethnic communication and relations has also resulted in the development of a valid and reliable instrument (the Attachment to

National Ethos Scale) to measure the degree of attachment to the national ethos. A strong attachment to national ethos, a feeling of common identity and sense of partnership, is the building block for unity in diversity in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. The scale essentially assesses the degree of identification with selected national characters. The assumption is that, within the context of building harmonious interethnic relations, collective memory and consciousness of selected national characters is an enabling factor that can foster mutual respect and understanding, particularly in problematic situations where issues of interethnic relations arise. Given the centrality of the national ethos in the multi-ethnic, multi-religious Malaysian society, periodical assessment of the level of attachment to the national ethos would provide useful inputs for effective management of a culturally diverse society in the process of building a progressive, peaceful and harmonious Malaysian society, as envisioned in the Vision 2020 objectives. The scale consists of sixteen 5-point Likert items, with response options ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. There are three sub-scales tapping into the three dimensions of the construct. The three dimensions are labelled as: (1) shared identity and future/destiny; (2) shared history and values; and (3) shared loyalty/commitment. Details of the items in the scale can be found in Tamam et al.'s article (Tamam, et al., 2005).

ENHANCING INTERCULTURAL INTERACTION/ SOCIALIZATION AND OTHER CULTURE- RELATED DIVERSITY ENGAGEMENT

In general, universities do embrace diversity and provide diversity experiences to students through curriculum and co-curriculum programs. However do the students get enough and meaningful diversity learning from their educational programs? Given that

research has shown the social and educational relevance of interethnic interaction and socialization both in and outside the classroom, universities must strategically do much more to promote a higher level of positive interethnic interaction and socialization and other forms of diversity engagement among students. To this end, universities must consider individual-level and institutional-level factors that facilitate and hinder positive culture-related diversity engagement on campus.

At the individual level, there are many barriers to interethnic interaction and socialization that we should be aware of. One salient basic factor that must be adequately addressed is the negative perception and expectation that individuals of other ethnic groups would not be interested to interact with members of one's own ethnic group. A faulty interethnic perception and expectation could set the foundation for the pluralistic ignorance problem in interethnic contact and relations to arise. To reasonably shape and enhance interethnic interaction and socialization, it is important to cultivate positive perceptions and expectations towards interethnic contact and participation as early as possible, through courses and co-curriculum activities. Early positive interethnic communication experiences in the first two semesters will shape future motivation and interest in intercultural communication and learning, which, in turn, will affect students' intercultural growth.

There are a number of ways to develop positive perceptions and expectations towards interethnic contact and participation. Abilities in perspective taking and empathy are among the essential interaction skills. Students must be made aware of and challenge or temper ethnic-related stereotyping that occurs in their environment. When people can empathize or take the perspective of another person into account, they are less likely to draw erroneous negative inferences about the person's attitudes or behaviour, thus reducing

the occurrence of pluralistic ignorance. If students do not correct their perceptual biases, they are likely to continue to avoid or minimize interethnic interaction and socialization with peers. This differential evaluation of each other's interests and attitudes perpetuates the self-segregation problem and results in lower levels of interethnic communication on campuses. Hence, development of empathy and perspective taking skills must be given due attention as an important learning objective in related courses and extra-curriculum activities.

At the institutional level, universities must make sure that multicultural perspectives and diversity issues are incorporated in many, if not most, aspects of campus life, and that steps to ensure a positive campus interethnic communication and relations climate are well in place. The campus interethnic communication and relations climate or environment must be a fair and just one. Students must really experience fairness and justness in the multiethnic environment, and a sense of inclusiveness when living in that environment. To encourage and sustain regular positive interethnic interaction and socialization, the campus interethnic communication and relations environment must be characterized by inclusiveness. The conditions for frequent positive interethnic interaction and socialization specified in Allport's contact theory is instructive. Universities must have clearly stated policies and procedures in place to encourage and facilitate interethnic interaction and socialization, and to help the students confront and manage issues and challenges affecting them.

Universities should provide students with many varied opportunities for interethnic interaction and socialization whenever possible, both in and out of the classroom. Universities must also strategically do more to implement diversity interventions in almost every dimension of campus life-- from curriculum to the campus

climate to connection with the community. Academic affairs should be linked with student affairs for the diversity initiatives to have a pervasive impact on the campus. In terms of instructional practice, course contents should challenge students to think critically about diversity and differences. Instructional materials used in teaching, where relevant, should show events, situations and concepts from the perspective of a range of cultural and ethnic groups.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTION IN INTERETHNIC COMMUNICATION AMONG UNDERGRADUATES

Several promising research directions exist. The most strategic move would be to increase collaboration among Malaysian scholars with similar research interests to develop a systematic line of research with the goal of advancing theoretical models/frameworks of antecedents, processes and consequences of interethnic/intercultural contact in universities. This should include an agenda for developing a Malaysian theoretical perspective that is currently lacking in the field. The dominant “snap shot” research approach must be complemented with approaches that will yield deeper insights into the dynamics of interethnic/intercultural encounters, and a comprehensive understanding of antecedents, processes and consequences of interethnic/intercultural encounters. Where relevant and appropriate, multi-sites, longitudinal studies, dyadic, group and multi-level analyses that are currently much lacking, must be vigorously and actively pursued.

On the more specific goal of nation building within the context of higher education, the following tracks of research are believed to have strong social implications: (1) how and why students experienced diversity differently; (2) best or proven instructional practices that enhance interethnic/intercultural contact and learning;

(3) the effect of rising democracy and cyberspace democratization on the nature of interethnic communication and relations among students; (4) the use of new media in the development, maintenance and negotiation of cultural/ethnic identity among students; (5) the use of new media in mobilizing interethnic/intercultural collaboration and cooperation; and (6) the effect of new media on culture, interethnic communication and dialogue.

CONCLUSION

A culturally and ethnically diverse student population enriches the learning environment. However, having a diverse student community does not in itself ensure that students of different ethnic backgrounds will interact meaningfully and reap the benefits afforded by diversity engagement. The following recapitulate the main points raised.

Overall, local studies have suggested that while intergroup posturing is not pronounced, undergraduates are not capitalizing on the wide ranging diversity-related learning opportunities presumably available to them throughout their 3- to 4-year study tenure. Interethnic interaction and socialization, and other forms of ethnic-related diversity experiences among undergraduates are not a norm as yet in many, if not most, Malaysian public universities. While diversity is easily seen, it is not always felt/experienced by many students. Students are not getting enough of the much needed intercultural contact and diversity experiences, in and outside classrooms, which are important for social cognitive development and democratic sensibilities. Most of the contact and interaction currently occur in structured settings, and mostly on matters related to academic activities. Diversity-related learning experience is less likely to be extensive if it is left to the students themselves to manage. As such, educators should not leave interethnic contacts

and culture-related diversity engagement/learning to chance for two reasons. Firstly, positive diversity experiences play a central role in ensuring that students can function successfully in an increasingly democratic multicultural society, and secondly, there is a tendency for students to resist or limit interethnic contact despite the contact opportunities available to them.

Another concern relates to news consumption among students. The current trend is that university students have little interest in news in the media. The lack of exposure and attention to news in the media implies that students deprive themselves of learning and development opportunities afforded by the news media.

It is also of concern that students experience diversity engagement differently and many perceive that the experiences they have had are not impactful enough. Only about half the students surveyed reported that their diversity experiences had a positive impact on their views about ethnic relations, and improved their understanding about culture, cultural differences and democracy. Educators thus need to relook at the instructional strategies used in intercultural education and strategically do more and better to ensure that students are exposed to and experience rich diversity learning that would prepare them to integrate well in a multicultural society, to be interculturally competent and to be responsible citizens in an increasingly democratic society.

Communication behavior is shaped by perceptions and expectations. Thus, it is important to cultivate positive perceptions and expectations towards interethnic contact and experience as early as in the first year in university, through courses and co-curriculum activities. Universities must strategically promote and institutionalize diversity as a positive learning experience. Universities should also make sure that multicultural perspectives and diversity issues are incorporated into many aspects of campus

life, and that students are encouraged and challenged to think critically about diversities and differences and to move from their own embedded worldviews to consider those of others. Positive interethnic contact and diversity learning grow well in a campus where the interethnic communications and relations climate is characterized by inclusiveness. This must be perceived and felt by the students.

In terms of research, there is so much that can and should be done to advance understanding of the antecedents and consequences of interethnic communications and other forms of diversity engagement within the higher education context and within the unity and integration agenda. An integrative framework involving three analytical concepts (intercultural sensitivity, interethnic bridging social capital and attachment to the national ethos) could provide a useful perspective in examining interethnic relations and integration. It is argued that high intercultural sensitivity, high interethnic bridging social capital and strong identification with the national ethos are necessary (but not sufficient) factors that facilitate or enhance integration among students of different ethnic and cultural identity.

Lastly, systematic longitudinal studies, including assessment studies, are highly recommended in interethnic/intercultural communication studies in the higher education context. Longitudinal studies can not only provide better assessments but would also allow for conclusive claims to be made on antecedents and consequences of interethnic communications and other forms of diversity engagement among university students. Individual- and institutional-level factors that facilitate or hinder higher levels of positive ethnic/culture-related diversity engagement in and outside classrooms must be integrated into future studies on interethnic communications and other forms of diversity engagement among university students.

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BIOGRAPHY

Ezhar Tamam was born on 23rd November 1957 in Seremban, Negeri Sembilan. He obtained his B. Sc. (Agriculture) from Universiti Pertanian Malaysia (now Universiti Putra Malaysia) in 1981. He then joined UPM as a tutor in the Department of Communication. Subsequently he continued his studies and obtained his M.A. (Communication) degree from the Michigan State University in 1984, and was appointed as a lecturer in 1984. He went on to earn his Ph.D in Communication from the University of Oklahoma in 1993. Currently, he is a professor in Communication at the Department of Communication, Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication, UPM. He previously held several administrative positions, as Head of the Youth Studies Laboratory (now Institute of Social Science Studies), Head of the Communication Department and as Deputy Dean for research and innovation at the Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication.

Professor Dr Ezhar Tamam specializes in intercultural communications. His teaching and research focus on communication and culture and the role of communication and the media in development at the individual and societal levels. He has taught more than eight different courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels. He has successfully supervised and graduated 12 Ph.D and 10 M.S. students in the field of communication. His experience in supervising post-graduate students has been recognized by other institutions of higher learning where he has been appointed as external examiner of Ph.D and M.S. theses.

He has published numerous articles, books and book chapters, and has prepared commissioned reports. His articles are found in journals such as *Mass Communication and Society*, *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, *International Communication Gazette*, *Journal of College Student Development*,

Asia Pacific Education Review, Asia Pacific Journal of Education, International Journal of Adolescence and Youth, Human Communication, Journal of Malaysian Studies and Pertanika Journal of Social Science and Humanities. Three of his book chapters were published by Routledge, New York, and Peter Lang, New York. The findings in the commissioned reports were submitted to the respective funding agencies such as the Department of National Unity in the Prime Minister's Department, Malaysian Institute for Research in Youth Development, the International Youth Centre of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Selangor Islamic Religious Council, the State Government of Selangor and the State Government of Negeri Sembilan.

His involvement in research and consultancy has been on a research agenda that emphasizes on the influence of culture on communication, the role of communication on development at the individual and societal levels and investigating the social impacts on youth development. He has successfully completed a total of 43 research projects where he received funding from various institutions such as the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation (MOSTI), Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE), Malaysia Institute for Youth Research and Development, Ministry of Youth and Sports, Department of National Unity of the Prime Minister's Department, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the State Government of Selangor, the State Government of Negeri Sembilan and the Hitachi Foundation. Presently, he heads the UPM team in an international collaborative research project (Erasmus+) co-funded by the European Union, titled "International Media Study: Media Literacy as Media Competence for Social Change."

His major extension/professional contributions to society and the nation include presentation of key invited papers at conferences

on communication and youth, invited talks on communication and youth development, as resource person in workshops and several working committees, as citation-indexed journal articles and books reviewer and preparation of position papers for Malaysia on information and communication for the Malaysian National Commission for UNESCO. He has served on several committees at various levels. These include the evaluation panel for the Fundamental Research Grant Scheme (FRGS), both at university and national levels, and the Research University Grant Scheme (RUGS), editorial member for an international journal, *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* and *Global Media Journal - Malaysian Edition*, panel member of the advisory committee on development programs for a number of youth-related institutions, panel member for program accreditation by Malaysian Quality Agency (MQA), and as a member of the academic advisory panel of Universiti Industri Selangor.

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LIST OF INAUGURAL LECTURES

1. Prof. Dr. Sulaiman M. Yassin
*The Challenge to Communication
Research in Extension*
22 July 1989
2. Prof. Ir. Abang Abdullah Abang Ali
*Indigenous Materials and Technology
for Low Cost Housing*
30 August 1990
3. Prof. Dr. Abdul Rahman Abdul Razak
*Plant Parasitic Nematodes, Lesser
Known Pests of Agricultural Crops*
30 January 1993
4. Prof. Dr. Mohamed Suleiman
*Numerical Solution of Ordinary
Differential Equations: A Historical
Perspective*
11 December 1993
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