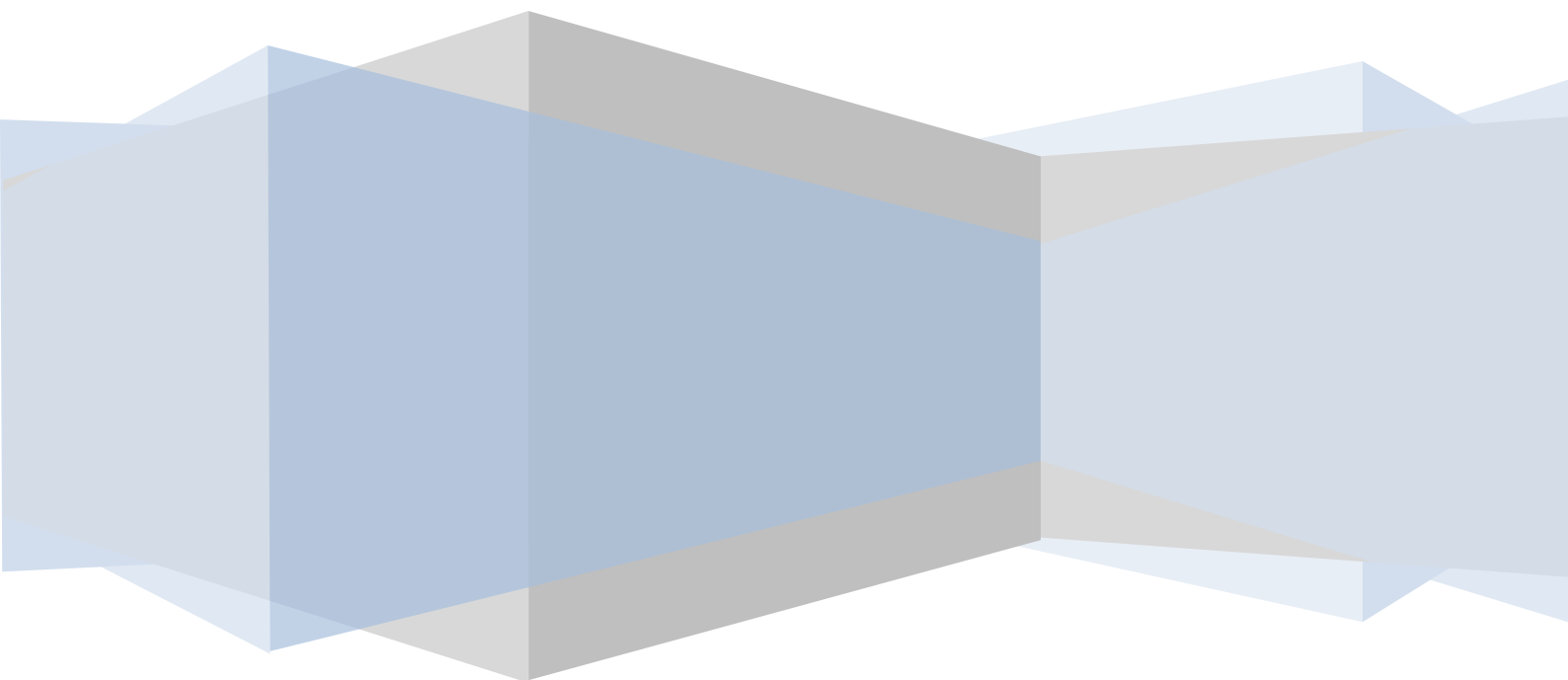


MORAL PANICS AND MIGRANT DEVIANCE: PERCEIVED ATTITUDE AND INTENTIONS

The Sept. 28, 2007 news report of the murder of two local women by African students in Kuala Lumpur resulted in a spate of crime stories amplifying and vilifying African Nationals and students. The media constructed a newly stylized word Awang Hitam to describe this deviant group. Relying on Ben Yehuda's (1994) five criterion model and findings from a content analysis of news articles in the local dailies from 2007 to 2010, the African deviance can be defined as moral panic, a term introduced by Stan Cohen (1972). Miller David and Jacquie Reilly (1994) argued that media content alone cannot determine the emergence or disappearance of a moral panic. In tandem with this argument this study also explored the media impact on attitude and behavioural intentions of audience which is often unexplored but vital in defining a moral panic phenomenon. The survey revealed that the panic in the moral panic was not evident. The respondents had positive attitude towards African students. Intentions to avoid befriending them was also not evident. All the three constructs of the Theory of Planned Behaviour were predictive of behavioural Intentions to befriend African students. We conclude by emphasizing that the African moral panic phenomenon needs to be examined from all its authors or agents namely media, police, relevant government departments, NGO's and public before it can be confirmed as an authentic nation-wide moral panic.

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Abstract

The Sept. 28, 2007 news report of the murder of two local women by African students in Kuala Lumpur resulted in a spate of crime stories amplifying and vilifying African Nationals and students. The media constructed a newly stylized word ***Awang Hitam*** to describe this deviant group. Relying on Ben Yehuda's (1994) five criterion model and findings from a content analysis of news articles in the local dailies from 2007 to 2010, the African deviance can be defined as *moral panic*, a term introduced by Stan Cohen (1972). Miller David and Jacquie Reilly (1994) argued that media content alone cannot determine the emergence or disappearance of a moral panic. In tandem with this argument this study also explored the media impact on attitude and behavioural intentions of audience which is often unexplored but vital in defining a moral panic phenomenon. The survey revealed that the ***panic*** in the moral panic was not evident. The respondents had ***positive*** attitude towards African students. Intentions to avoid befriending them was also not evident. All the three constructs of the Theory of Planned Behaviour were predictive of behavioural Intentions to befriend African students. We conclude by emphasizing that the African moral panic phenomenon needs to be examined from all its authors or agents namely media, police, relevant government departments, NGO's and public before it can be confirmed as an authentic nation-wide moral panic.

Introduction

Malaysia is in a fast-track mode to realize its 2020 vision of becoming an industrialized nation. Human migration across the globalized world has achieved unprecedented levels. Rapidly developing nations like Malaysia are powerful magnets attracting migrants resulting in an exponential growth in the migrant community. The latest count stand at 2.5 million and these accounts for 2% of the total population of 23 million.

As a result of strong economic growth and job opportunities the local workforce has moved up to the higher paying and more dignified jobs leaving behind a void at the bottom. This void is now the domain of the migrant workers who have taken up both the legal and illegal jobs. The illegal jobs are taken up by the non-documented migrants such as drug pushing, prostitution, illegal money lending and others. The migrant workers predominantly come from Africa and Asia. These developments in Malaysia are similar to the European nations inundated by migrants from North Africa (Dario Melossi 2003).

Adding to this, the New York Times online reported that in 2009, Malaysia attracted thousands of international students to pursue their studies here to fulfil the government's strategy to establish an 'education hub' within the Asian region (Gooch, 2009). The government has set a target of 100,000 foreign students by 2010 (Ninth Malaysia Plan). Many migrants particularly Africans made use of this avenue to come into the country. According to more than 124 reports in the local newspapers a lot of the 'African students' gained entry using a student pass. Subsequently they abandoned classes and formed African enclaves in several parts of the city of Kuala Lumpur.

The local population embroiled in this fast multi-cultural transformation triggered by the infusion of migrant cultures is unable to respond to the '*strangeness*' and '*foreignness*' of their social behaviour and cultures. The Utusan Malaysia, a popular Bahasa daily in its Nov 19, 2011 publication reported blatant abuse in student visa by African nationals to specifically indulge in myriad crimes in the city suburbs and this created pronounced uneasiness among locals. Research done on impact of migrants in Europe showed similar distrust, discomfort and scepticism among the local people (Dario Melossi 2003).

An unfavourable perception of this nature immediately puts the migrant workers or foreign nationals as possible scapegoats for the emerging ills of a society despite the fact that the common ills of society had always existed. It is as if the encompassing '*strangeness*' and '*foreignness*' in the social and economic landscape of Malaysia has created a climate for a possible social upheaval.

Research Objective

This paper examines the phenomenon of moral panic and criminalisation of migrant groups in particular the African migrants. African migrant's deviancy has been the main focus of media reports in the recent past. Crimes have also been perpetrated by other immigrant groups but yet there seems to be a greater media interest in African deviant behaviours. Relying on Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) five criterion model (*concern, consensus, hostility, volatility and disproportionate*) and analysis on the news reports that followed the brutal killing of two women by two Nigerian students will be undertaken to determine whether the media and other claims-makers such as politicians, police, non-profit organisations etc. did construct a moral panic on this issue of African menace. The second objective is to study the views and opinions of the public and analyse the level of consensus and concern amongst the affected publics namely local students in institutions of higher learning where most of the African students begin their life in this country as either a genuine student or student with other motives.

Significance of Study

This far there is no published research on moral panic on this issue in Malaysia. Therefore there is very scant if not zero information on this issue and there is need for concrete information for policy makers to take affirmative action to contain and control this social or moral issue from reaching an unassailable position. The research will be based on a two prong approach starting with a content analysis to study the frequency, content and focus of news reports on the African moral panic. This will reveal whether there was *moral panic enactment* by the media and the news content may reveal about the mindset of the claims makers namely the police, public, Government department & Ministries and political bodies. Following this the study will test the impact of the media enactment of this panic on the local audience via a survey. Local Audience here refer to students studying in private institutions of higher learning. As reported in the newspapers most of the African immigrants enter the country as students in private institutions of higher learning and as such local students studying in these institutions are expected to be exposed to these students. The outcome of the survey will indicate whether the media were successful in creating moral panic responses amongst the local students. The Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) consists of three key constructs namely perceived attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control (Perloff M. 2003). Based on these variables, the behavioural intentions (dependent variable) towards the African students can be measured and inferences can be made on whether the media constructed moral panic had any impact on the local students.

Research Questions

The research questions pertaining to the content analysis are:

1. What is the frequency of news reports on the African migrants in the local dailies?
2. What is the focus of the content of such reports?
3. What is 'stylized' description of this group of migrants?
4. Do news reports boldly identify the race and nationality of the migrants?

The research questions pertaining to the TPB analysis are:

1. Does attitude positively correlate with the avoidance intentions?
2. Does subjective norm positively correlate with intention?
3. Does behavioural control correlate positively with avoidance intentions?
4. Which variable(s) was/were most closely associated with the behavioural intentions?

Literature Review

Cohen's study on Folk devils and Moral Panics in 1972 defined moral panics as 'a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests: its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotyped fashion by mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions 'ways of coping and are evolved on (more often) resorted to' (Cohen 1972).

Cohen's study originates from his interest in youth culture and its threat to social order. His original study was on British young adolescent groups such as Mods, Rockers, Teddy Boys and Skin heads who have been associated with youth violence and deviance. Their behaviours were emphasized and criminalised by the local media paving the way to a social upheaval or moral panic. According to Miller David and Jacquie Reily (1994) panics function as a mechanism of control by the 'control culture' in which the mass media playing the role as a moral barricade amplified the act of deviancy. The motive was to raise panics in the public domain to pressure authorities to implement policies to curb the social menace. Hall (1978) added that the moral panics appeared to be one of the principal forms of ideological consciousness through which a 'silent majority' is won over to legitimize relevant authorities to exercise various forms of control. The control culture refers to forces that wish to control or discipline society within their definition of moral values. The concept of control society was researched by Michael Foucault in his Work, Discipline and Punish (1955). According to him the nineteenth century righteous societies used enclosed spaces such as family, schools, prisons typically to discipline. While *space* can facilitate the disciplining process so does *panic* in today's open societies. And the *media* plays a pivotal role of creating the ripples and eventually the waves of social panic or moral panic.

Theoretical Framework

Moral Panic can emanate from almost any issue that threatens the moral foundations of a society particularly those forms of lawlessness perceived as 'novel' among those include **Mugging** (Hall Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts, 1978), **Crack Babies** (Humphries, 1999), Crank (Jenkins, 1994), Freeway Violence (Best, 1991, 1999), Wilding (Michael Welch, Eric A. Price & Nana Yankey, 2002). Generally the deviance is described in a stylized word e.g. **Wilding** (sexual violence committed by a group of urban teens in New York) and **Ethnic Gangs** (middle eastern urban teens involved in a stabbing incident in Sydney) (Scott Poynting, Greg Noble, Paul Tabar 2001). Moral panic can also emanate out of technological developments. The mobile phone, a simple device, created moral panics in India when a 2.37 minutes of video on an explicit sexual act by two school students was sent out via MMS to several recipients resulted in parents refusing to buy phones for their college-going sons and daughter and many institutions of higher learning banned mobiles in the campus grounds (Gopalan Ravindran 2009).

Moral panic is a defined social problem and is a sociological phenomenon. A social problem can be analysed from several angles. Objectivism declares it as a phenomenon that causes death or diseases; it must be real, damaging and threatening (Manis 1974). According to Merton and Nis (1976) functionalists define a social problem as a consequence of decadence and dysfunctions and role and value conflict in a society. For the constructionist they see social problem as a collectively built phenomenon; defined collectively in reference to conditions which poses as problem or the degree of felt concern over the issue. To the constructionist social problems are constructed by the human mind (Spectre & Kitsuse 1977). A simple expression of unfavourable attitude or participation in demonstrations and others represents the manifestation of a social problem.

Media and Moral Panic: The African Migrant Deviance

Constructionists declare social problems are collectively constructed. Media plays a key role and in the communication research tradition and based on the agenda-setting function of the media, 'the media do not determine how people think, but mostly what to think about' (Miller K.2005) Research within the discourse analytical tradition has indicated that media coverage does shape the way that people speak and think about immigrants (Marcello Maneri & Jessica ter Wai 2005). Marcello Maneri & Jessica ter Wai (2005) citing Van Dijk (1978) study on ethnic minorities found that media, personal experience and hearsay provided stories about ethnic minorities and shared this knowledge with others in their daily interactions. Thus it is clear that the media is a source of ethnic stories and opinions which acts as building blocks in combination with personal experiences and hearsay to construct the moral panic of ethnic minorities or migrant communities.

In this study of the African migrant deviance a social constructionist rationale forms the basis of the study. The African immigrant phenomenon has never been a debated issue in any public space prior to the appearance of a spate of news reports vilifying this group. It would be accurate to say that this media enacted moral panic fits Ben Yehuda's *Grass Roots model*. This model suggests that moral panic arises from the general public's concerns and anger about perceived moral deviants and unable to gain direct expression the media and social authorities pick it up and reflect this as public opinion about the reality of threat (Erich Goode & Ben-Yehuda 1994). The media is assumed to be the moral entrepreneur or moral barricade. David Altheid (2009) in his article explains why moral panic fits well with newspaper than television format. Newspaper or print media is more open to diverse views and had sections for opinions and reviews that accommodate a wider range of views and interpretations about events, issues and problems. The online newspapers are more efficient in attracting immediate response and opinions from the public.

Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB)

While the media has the inherent ability to enact a moral panic by telling the audience what to think but how they respond (attitude & intentions) needs to be studied. The **panic** in the moral panic phenomenon is a behavioural construct and without verifying the existence of panics either in the form of attitude, intentions or behavioural responses, than the existence of moral panic cannot be proven to exist or alternatively one would ask - where is the **panic** in the moral panic? The TPB is an improvement over the original Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA). Based on the research of Fishbein, the TRA constructs are attitude, subjective norm (SN) and intentions. This theory attempted to establish a relationship between attitude (towards an object, person) and subjective norm and the outcome in form of intention (dependent variable)(Perloff Richard, M. 2003). The individuals beliefs about the African students and personal evaluations (reject/accept them) represents their attitude. The subjective norm (friends, family, important others) support in their attitude and motivation to comply with them will determine their intentions (accept/reject African students). The TPB adds a third independent variable to allow for individual assessment or perceived control and power. Both TRA and TPB have been used in predicting intentions and behaviour. Studies on TPB include Van Ryn, Lyte and Kristen(1996) study on health behaviours, self-breast exams and exercise; Theodorakis(1994); McCual, Sandgren, O'Neil and Hinsz(1993) found TPB to possess strong predictive ability. Hagger (2002) concluded that TPB is superior to the TRA in predicting behaviour. Armitage and Conners(2001) meta-analysis on 185 studies supported TPB's predictive ability.

The African 'Folk Devils' Enactment: A Content Analysis

The African immigrants in this study are according to Cohen's concept the 'Folk Devils' because the general population feel threatened by their presence in large numbers and the local dailies have been allying their fears with a lot of negative reports of their criminal behaviour. The number of Africans in Malaysia has increased tremendously over the last decade. Thousands of Africans are overstaying in Malaysia. Immigration statistics showed 99,769 African students and tourists came to Malaysia from January to October 2009 alone. A huge number enter the country as students enrolled in top colleges under fake scholarships and are often spotted cruising in flashy cars and frequenting nightspots. These Africans are believed to be conmen who plied their shady trade overseas before dumping their ill-gotten gains in local banks and 'settling -down' here but in actual fact they start their duping activities on innocent Malaysians(Source ><http://www.thestar.com.my/news/story/2010/8/16>).

The African immigrants are not the largest migrant community and yet they seem to be a threatening force. What about Indonesians and others like the Vietnamese and Indians – it is possible that the Vietnamese and other Asian migrants share similar looks and enjoy certain cultural affinity that makes them less of a threat, even physical size, colour and general behaviour could be the reasons why the Africans seem to cause a lot of concern and fear. In most moral panic research it is usually the minority group who are vastly different in culture, religion and behaviour tend to be feared most by the general population and isolated incidents of deviancy is enough to trigger a media vilification and amplification that almost always results in a moral panic episode. Good examples are the **Wilding** incident in New York (Michael Welch, Eric A Price & Nana Yankey 2002) **Ethnic Gangs** (Lebanese immigrants) in Sydney Australia (Scott Pyonting, Greg Noble & Paul Tabar 2001).

A total of 124 Press reports on migrant deviance in three Malaysian local daily newspapers (The Star, Utusan Malaysia & Berita Harian) from 2007 to 2010 showed that that this deviance was attributed to African nationals and African students. Based on Goode and Ben Yehuda's five criterion model (1994), the media reports and public outcry that erupted after a brutal murder of a woman and her housemate at Taman Usahawan Kepong on by two Nigerian students on Sept 28, 2007 can be defined as a moral panic. Taman Usahawan Kepong is one of the many African enclaves in the city. The local population staying in this area organized a public demonstration demanding swift action from authorities to wipe out this menace. The Kepong MCA public service bureau Chairman Datuk Liu Thim Soon who participated in the protest said that there have been several complaints from the residents and restaurateurs against the Africans who have been here since several years ago. Residents complained of frequent fights in the neighbourhood, ogling and teasing women and dining at eateries without paying the bill (The Star, Friday September 28, 2007: Kepong Abuzz with African Menace).

The Utusan Malaysia daily paper, a leading Bahasa paper was the most active in highlighting the crime activities of the African students. Utusan Malaysia carried the most number of reports about the African menace (73 reports) and identified clearly the identity of the crime perpetrators as Africans. This paper was the only paper which stylized this menace as 'Awang Hitam' or 'Gagak Hitam'. 'Awang Hitam' is a derogatory description and translated in English it means 'Black Chaps'. The other word, Gagak Hitam means Black Crow. The Star, a leading English daily was not so scathing in their description of this deviant community and referred to them as African Nationals or Students. This paper was the only paper which carried at least three positive news about the African Nationals.

Newspaper	Freq: 2007 -2010	Stylized description	Content/category	Remarks
Utusan Malaysia	73	Warga Afrika: 65 Awang Hitam: 22 Pak Hitam: 11 Gagak Hitam: 2 Lembah Hitam: 1	100% negative crime news content	Highest number of news articles on this issue
Berita Harian	33	Warga Afrika: 17 Awang Hitam:18	100% negative crime news content	
The Star	18	African Nationals: 15 Africans: 24 African students: 13	97% Negative crime news content with 3% positive content	The positive news highlighted how the African students were coping with their new environment as well as highlighting the fact that not all were involved in crime

Utusan Malaysia's news report titled *Tubuh Unit Khas Memantau Warga Afrika* (Form Special Unit to Monitor the African Migrants) quoted a politician from the leading political party that the immoral acts of the Africans must be controlled and the foreign student recruitment must be monitored (Utusan Malaysia March 4, 2010). In an earlier report the President of the Malaysian Youth Movement (Majlis Belia Malaysia, Datuk Shamsul Annuar Nasarah called for eradication of 'crude culture' of the Africans and wanted authorities to monitor abuse in student pass issuance (Utusan Malaysia 17 Nov 2009: Tubuh Jawatankuasa Pantau Aktiviti Warga Afrika). Most of the media reports boldly identified the deviant immigrants in the headline. The media normally does not reveal the ethnicity of criminals if they are committed by locals. According to Marcello Maneri & Jessica ter Wai (2005) particular ethnic groups receive special attention for example in the German Press Turks have tended to be covered as if they were representative of the entire range of 'foreigners in the country. A similar parallel can be drawn with the African deviance reporting in Malaysia. Based on the analysis almost all the reports were criminal deviance and the frequency of the popular words used to describe the African Nationals is shown in the table below. Running a host of scams is the most frequently used words followed by syndicated crime, duping women, drug trafficking and criminal activities.

Word count on negative words used to describe the activities of African Nationals/students		
Common words	Frequency	Remarks
Scams	116	Refer to black/fake money; duping schemes; parcel scams; get-rich quick ;inheritance & lottery scams marriage scams; document falsification; internet job scam
Syndicated Crime	112	
Duping women	107	
Drug trafficking/syndicate	96	
Criminal activities	91	
Intimidating	77	
African students	74	Identified as IPTS student(s) or private college students
Social ills/ problems	60	
Break-ins	18	
Disturbing girls/neighbourhood	17	
Fighting	3	
Kidnap	2	
Prostitution	4	
Rape	1	
Murder	2	

Some of the prominent news headlines are as follows:

1. African and Nigerians Nuisance at Puchong Areas
2. USM on alert after Net Scam – opening paragraph identified a Nigerian Student arrested for an internet love scam
3. Nigerian Kidnappers
4. Four arrested over Scam of Fake Notes – opening paragraph identified four African Students involved in this scam
5. Yes it is true! Many Africans and Nigerians living on cheating women – 21 people identified as Africans were arrested for running parcel scams

The Malaysian media both the main stream print media and online newspapers have played a key role as a moral agent highlighting, identifying, stylizing the criminal behaviour of Africans both student and non-students paving way for generating moral panic amongst several stakeholders in this issue. Malaysia Digest.com reported that local colleges were responsible for the influx of African students and the subsequent criminal activities. After much pressure from the public, authorities such as the police force, Immigration Department and Higher Education Ministry has taken action to curb this problem by concentrating on a number of hot spots in the Klang Valley. The police also launched a clandestine operation known as ‘operasi Gagak Hitam’ or “Black Crow Operation” in 2009. The Deputy Minister of Higher Education had also advised local and private colleges and universities to only enrol bona fide students particularly those who are committed and qualified by their government or an organisation(thestaronline.com.my, March 2010). The content analysis of news reports on the African National’s criminal activities proves that moral panic was triggered on 28th Sept 2007 by the murder of two local women which resulted in the media publishing regular

stories on the African National's deviance. African National's started to come in big numbers since the year 2000. The sudden eruption of this new societal menace(volatility) and the public hostility that followed with consensus from the media, police, government departments, political bodies and the general public proves that the African menace is a moral panic phenomenon and fulfils Goode Ben-Yehuda's indicator's of moral panic. The criterion which needs further analysis is measurable concern. Although the news reports contained public interviews and concern a more substantial survey is needed.

Analysis of Panic in Moral Panic: TPB

The content analysis did confirm the existence of moral panic, however, this paper will take the alternative approach to verify existence of *panic* in moral panic by evaluating the perceived attitude, and intentions of the public pertaining to deviant behaviour of African immigrants reported in the newspapers inclusive of their personal experience and information received from important others. Measuring the perceived threat in the form of attitudes, perceptions and behaviour will indicate the existence of moral panic triggered by the media primarily and probably other sources. The attitude and behavioural intentions will be measured based on the Theory of Planned behaviour(TPB) which will also take into consideration the important others(friends & family). In most social issues individuals tend to refer to important others to decide on how they should respond towards an attitude object and in this case the African students.

METHODOLOGY

The respondents for this survey will comprise of 250 Malaysian students will be selected using convenience sampling approach from nine private university and University colleges in the Klang Valley. This being an exploratory study, convenient sampling is deemed appropriate. Students have been selected because they are more regularly exposed to African students and their experiences or observations inclusive of the knowledge obtained from the media are anticipated to provide reliable responses. Most of the African migrants enter the country as students in private institutions of higher learning and as such local students will be the first to be exposed to this group of students.

Research Design

Selected local students pursuing Foundation, Diploma and Undergraduate degree courses will be given a questionnaire consisting of 21 questions. Section A consists of 3 questions on their demographic profile and one question on their awareness of the African Student issue and one question to quantify what are their main sources of information pertaining to this issue. Section B

consists of 9 questions(1 -9) measuring their attitude towards African Students followed by Section C which contains 4(10,11,14,20) questions on behavioural control and 6 questions on subjective norm(12,13,15,16,17,18) and 2 questions on intentions(19,21). Scale of measurement used in section B and C is based on a 5-point likert scale. Questions were adapted from TPB analysis on seat-belt usage study by Merill T. J.(Proquest published Dissertation 2003). The questionnaire was pilot-tested and adapted based on the findings. Statistical analysis that will be used are Correlation analysis to find correlation coefficient between the independent constructs of attitude, subjective norm and behavioural control against intentions and Multiple Regression analysis to determine which TPB variable was the best predictor of intention.

Reliability Analysis

Reliability Statistics: Attitude

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.949	.952	9

Reliability Statistic: Behavioural Intention

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.936	.937	2

Reliability Statistics: Behavioural Control

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.497	.507	4

Reliability Statistic: Subjective Norm

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.798	.794	6

The Cronbach's alpha analysis will reveal the internal consistency of the items used to measure the constructs of the research (Uma Sekaran 2008). The Cronbach's alpha value for the constructs of attitude, perceived behavioural control, subjective norm and behavioural intention are shown above. Cronbach alpha values nearer to 1.0 are considered to exhibit stronger internal consistency.

The Cronbach values for attitude, subjective norm and intentions show strong internal consistency and it ranges from .79 to .95 and the lowest Cronbach value is for Perceived Behavioural control that is .507. A .507 value indicates a moderate consistency and is still admissible for this research.

RESULTS

Demographic description

A total of 205 participants from nine private institutions of higher learning responded to this survey. Out of this 20 respondents had to be dropped because of incomplete sections in the questionnaire. The majority of the respondents were from degree programmes (39.5 %). Out of the respondents males represented 47 % while female student's 53 %. Refer Table: 1. In terms of awareness of the researched issue on African migrant deviance a total of 98 % were aware while only 2 % were not aware. Refer table: 3. In terms of ethnicity the Chinese respondents formed the majority of the respondents (69%) while the Malays second at 14% and Indians at 8%. Refer table: 4. The main source of information on the African migrant deviance is from the newspapers (33 %) followed by friends 24 % and family 15% while internet was 15% and TV 12%. This clearly indicated that the media (Newspapers and TV) had a substantial role in creating awareness of the African nationals deviant behaviours. Refer Table: 5. This implied that the media had made an impact on what the public and in this case student should think. This also supported the findings of Marcello Maneri & Jessika ter Wal (2005) that the media is relevant and influential in the context of the way people think and speak about foreigners.

Table 1:course

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	found/cert	36	19.5	19.5	19.5
	dip	76	41.1	41.1	60.5
	degree	73	39.5	39.5	100.0
	Total	185	100.0	100.0	

Table 2: gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	male	87	47.0	47.0	47.0
	female	98	53.0	53.0	100.0
	Total	185	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: aware

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	180	97.3	97.3	97.3
	no	5	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	185	100.0	100.0	

Table 4: race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Malay	26	14.1	14.1	14.1
	Chinese	127	68.6	68.6	82.7
	Indian	18	9.7	9.7	92.4
	others	14	7.6	7.6	100.0
	Total	185	100.0	100.0	

Table 5: source

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	papers	61	33.0	33.0	33.0
	TV	23	12.4	12.4	45.4
	friends	45	24.3	24.3	69.7
	family	28	15.1	15.1	84.9
	internet	28	15.1	15.1	100.0
	Total	185	100.0	100.0	

CORRELATIONS : Attitude and Behavioural Intention

Research question one addressed the correlation between attitude and behavioural intention. Based on the TPB attitude towards African student will determine their evaluation of this group of students and the outcome of this will have an impact on their behavioural intentions of whether to consider befriending them or rejecting them. To some degree this research will be able to predict the intention of local students whether they would or would not befriend African students. In order to test this hypothesis a Pearson's correlation coefficient movement analysis was used. The Pearson's correlation coefficient output for attitude is 0.773 and is significant at $\alpha < 0.01$. This implied that there is a strong, positive correlation with behavioural intention and therefore this variable or construct could be used to predict whether the local students will accept or reject African students. Results of the analysis are shown below in Table 6.

Table 6: Correlations: Intent. & Attd.

		INTENT	ATTD
INTENT	Pearson Correlation	1	.733**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000
	N	185	185
ATTD	Pearson Correlation	.733**	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	
	N	185	185

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
ATTD	185	1.00	5.00	2.8082	.74644
SN	185	1.00	5.00	3.1991	.67062
INTENT	185	1.00	5.00	2.9297	1.03888
BC	185	1.00	5.00	2.0811	.61804
Valid N (listwise)	185				

The mean score for attitude is 2.808 based on the descriptive statistics in Table 7 and it can be inferred that the attitude towards African students is positive and supports the positive correlations in Table 6. This study hypothesized that attitude would be positively correlated with behavioural intentions and the Pearson's correlation coefficient of $r = 0.733$, $\alpha = 0.01$ implied that attitude had a strong positive correlation and therefore is a strong predictor of behavioural intentions and in the context of this study, the respondents have positive intentions of befriending African students.

Subjective Norm and Behavioural Intentions

Table 8: Correlations: Intent Norms

		INTENT	SN
INTENT	Pearson Correlation	1	.428**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000
	N	185	185
SN	Pearson Correlation	.428**	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	
	N	185	185

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Research question two addressed the correlation between subjective norm and behavioural intention. Based on the TPB subjective norm which refer to important others can influence behavioural intentions to befriend African students. To some degree this research will be able to predict the intention of local students whether they would or would not accept the African students. The Pearson's correlation coefficient movement analysis indicated a moderately positive correlations .428 ; $\alpha < 0.01$. Refer Table 8. This study hypothesized that subjective norm would be positively correlated with behavioural intentions and as such this variable had moderate predictive ability.

Behavioural Control and Intentions

Research question three addressed the correlation between Behavioural Control and behavioural intention. This study hypothesized that behavioural control would be positively correlated with behavioural intentions . Pearson's correlation coefficient output for behavioural control is .089. This implied that there was a positive but very weak correlation with intentions. Refer Table 9.

Table 9 :Correlations Behav. control & Intent

		BC	INTENT
BC	Pearson Correlation	1	.089
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.113
	N	185	185
INTENT	Pearson Correlation	.089	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.113	
	N	185	185

Gender and Attitude : T-test

Based on T-test findings on gender and attitude, there was no significant difference: $t(183) = 0.727$, $p > 0.05$. Refer Table 10 below:

Table 10 :Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means			
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
ATTD	Equal variances assumed	2.368	.126	.727	183	.468	.08002
	Equal variances not assumed			.720	169.791	.473	.08002

Multiple Regression: Attitude, Subjective Norm and Behavioural Control

The influence of the three constructs of attitude, behavioural control and subjective norm on intentions to befriend or reject African students is evident but to determine which variable is most influential in predicting intention outcomes, a multiple regression analysis was done to test research question four. The outcome of the analysis are as follows:

Table 11: Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.746 ^a	.556	.549	.69775

a. Predictors: (Constant), BC1, ATTD, SN

b. Dependent Variable: INTENT

Table 12: ANOVA^b

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	110.467	3	36.822	75.634	.000 ^a
	Residual	88.120	181	.487		
	Total	198.586	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), BC, ATTD, SN

b. Dependent Variable: INTENT

Table 13: Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.776	.436		1.781	.077
	ATTD	.928	.077	.667	12.056	.000
	SN	.222	.086	.143	2.579	.011
	BC	.124	.084	.074	1.475	.142

a. Dependent Variable: INTENT

The model summary Table: 11 shows that when all constructs were simultaneously tested the adjusted R Square is 0.549. This means that 54% of the variance can be accounted for by these constructs. The F statistics of 75.634 shown in Table 11 at alpha value $p=0.05$ is significant (null hypotheses is rejected) and therefore it can be inferred that this study could predict behavioural intention at a confident level using attitude, SN and behavioural control.

Referring to Table : 12, the beta weight comparison indicates the relative contribution of the TPB constructs, attitude was the best predictor for accepting or rejecting African students in this study (Beta 0.663). The weakest predictor was Behavioural control (Beta: 0.74)

Discussion and conclusion

According to Cohen the moral panic phenomenon generally ends with firm government policies to curb a given social threat. In the case of this study on African Menace the moral panic cycle has not reached the final point yet. This far the Ministry of Higher Education has not come up with firm student intake policies, it has merely recommended institutions of higher learning to be more stringent when selecting foreign students and other stern measures to deport them if they are not fulfilling the academic and attendance requirements (The Star Sept 15 2010). Being stringent and other requirements are hardly clear policies. It is vague and left to the interpretations of the institutions of higher learning. The immigration department of Malaysia has not made any firm statement on this. This basically means that this African deviance moral panic may be enacted again after having reached a high point in Sept 2007 and sustained till 2010.

The content analysis of the African deviance did fit Good, Ben-Yehuda's (1994) specific indicators of moral panic however concern and consensus was not proven. While it can be argued that there was consensus amongst the police, education ministry, immigration department and public in specific locations it may not be a widespread phenomenon. The survey proves that student community are not affected by this they have a **positive attitude** to African students in their campuses despite the fact that 98% of them were aware of the negative news about African nationals. Behavioural intentions to befriend African students taking into consideration attitude, important others like friends and family approval and their own confidence in decision-making were all positive. Attitude was the strongest predictive variable which was the case in most TRA or TPB studies such as in Hagger et al., 2002. The *panic* in moral panic was clearly not evident in the survey. Out of the 185 respondents 85 % had foreign friends and out of this 27 % had African friends. Miller David and Jacquie Reilly (1994) raised the issue that the moral panic concept *may be flawed* because moral panic is generally determined by analysing media content alone and '**audience belief and the impact**

of public opinion is frequently unexplored’. The current study proves the importance of studying the impact of moral panic on the audience to decide on key indicators of moral panic like consensus. It can also be concluded that the use of the Theory of Behavioural Control to evaluate the impact was relevant and predictive. There is also need to study the other agents or stakeholders of this moral panic phenomenon such as the general public, the police, media gatekeepers, government ministries and NGO’s to determine the full extent of this African deviance moral panic.

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