Author: **Ari Hautaniemi**

Author address:

Ari Hautaniemi

Tahtikatu 2

15810 Lahti

Finland

Tel. +358 50 344 7257

E-mail: ari.hautaniemi@tuni.fi

Author Bio:

Mr Ari Hautaniemi (Master of Social Sciences, sociology; Bachelor of Engineering, milieu planning) is a doctoral student at the University of Tampere, Finland, in the Doctoral Programme in Social Sciences. He works as a project manager and research, development, and innovation expert at the LAB University of Applied Sciences Institute of Design in Lahti, Finland, where he has been one of the founders of Limu Radio, a student-led online community radio funded by the university of applied sciences. He has been actively developing the Finnish student radio operations and collaboration. Mr Hautaniemi has also been a president and a cabinet member of the World College Radio Day network.

Balancing the Turbulence: Organisational Values in European Student Radio

1. Introduction

An organisation based entirely on volunteer student labour is a perfect example of a system that must constantly reconstruct and re-evaluate its activities. Any operation managed and run at least partly by students is given that a large part of the staff will either leave or change the level of involvement regularly during the academic year. This puts pressure on organisational continuity as effective management must deal with this constant flux. Such uncertainty poses a challenge to any organisation.

One of the major issues concerning student media, including all college radio stations, is that students often manage them with no previous management experience or education (Raymond 2016). Transferring general and contextual information and processing it into behaviour might be hard in an organisation where people with diverse skills work together for a limited period (e.g., Ajmal & Koskinen 2008: 7; Infield 1997). Despite the challenge, student media persist in a turbulent academic environment where students' motives, resources, and interests alter. According to Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995), new knowledge is created through the interaction between explicit, documented,

public, structured, and externalised information and tacit knowledge that emerges in people's perceptions, interactions, and behaviour in organisations. These elements' interaction is connected to a certain organisation's culture. As culture provides a cognitive map by which the organisation steers through the challenges it faces, the demand for analysing organisational cultures becomes prevalent when organisations face significant changes and operate in turbulent, complex, or unpredictable environments. Culture creates stability and adaptability by enforcing continuity and consistency through adherence to a clear set of consensual values and offering a set of doctrines to follow when adjusting to new conditions, both for management and members. (Denison 1990; Cameron & Quinn: 2011.)

Edgar Schein (2004) states that organisational culture manifests on three interacting layers. The easiest to observe is the external layer of artefacts, and visual organisational structures, such as management practices and ways of interaction. The core of the culture is underlying assumptions and beliefs that are often unconsciously held. Between the two are the espoused values demonstrated through strategic emphases, goals, and other philosophies. This study focuses on exploring the organisational culture of one specific type of European student media, radio stations, at the level of values. It examines what kind of culturally held values these stations exhibit. The premise is that

these values affect the organisational choices, strategies, and goals, and thus the ability of the station to remain operational and steer effectively through turbulences.

2. Student radio

In this study, the term ‘student radio’ refers to a radio station, either streaming or broadcasting, that is at least partly managed and operated by students from a particular associated higher education institution. Even though the literature on student radio is scant, it elicits some of the values often linked to this media. Student radio has a tradition of experimentation and alternative nature, a focus on the community and sometimes public service broadcasting, and close educational ties (Slotten 2008). Student stations are concentrated on providing alternatives to the mass media and commercial stations dominating the airwaves, most notably through freeform content and music that is not limited to contemporary hits, but that covers all forms and genres, including indie, small and local bands and artists and not limiting to mainstream hits. (Wall 2007; Kruse 1993: 33-35.) Sometimes this alternativeness stretches onto organisational practices, internal policies, and community relationships (Fauteux 2015: 150-187).

Student radio stations have a common goal to educate, with a trial-and-error mindset that allows students to experiment with different formats and make mistakes, even on air (Sauls 2000; Priestman 1999; Raymond 2016). It emphasises locality and highly depends on unpaid participants for its success (Reilly & Farnsworth 2015: 11). Student radio is a training ground for future professionals in journalism and broadcast. Still, it also allows participants to experiment with new formats and activities otherwise out of their reach, giving space to under-represented social groups whose needs and issues do not surpass the threshold of mainstream media. (Scifo 2007: 233-234.) Occasionally student radio stations operate in conflicting environments with internal and external tensions affecting the practices and managerial solutions within a station (Wilson David 2015).

Student radio has a relatively long history in Europe, dating back several decades (e.g., Doliwa 2015). It has been connected to the public service realm by, for instance, focusing on serving the student community. Student radio is categorised and organised as community media in many European countries such as Sweden, Spain, and Ireland. (Cavanagh 2009.) Community media refers to self-organised, participatory, not-for-profit media focusing on local or community interests (Unesco 2019). Community media has at least five core characteristics: 1) ownership and control are in the hands of self-organised and independent citizens' groups, associations, or non-profit

organisations, 2) access to individuals who are not professional media makers, 3) transparent and open decision making, favouring collective over hierarchical structures and decision-makers representing the community they serve 4) skill-sharing, empowerment, and capacity-building are pivotal in the mission and purpose with training being essential both for sustainability and personal development of volunteers 5) giving voice to groups, ideas, and cultures not always represented in mainstream media. (Coyer & Hintz 2010.)

There are significant differences in regulation and funding arrangements, however. For instance, in Spain, stations can gather funds through grants, donations, and unlimited advertising. In the Netherlands, student radio is entitled to collect funding from various sources, including ads, but the government still funds it under the community media category. In Germany, strict regulations have slowed community and student radio evolution. In Ireland, student radio is operated by volunteers and funded primarily with student fees. (Cavanagh 2009; Reilly & Farnsworth 2015: 11.)

These portrayals imply some of the underlying values that influence the choices and aspirations of student radio organisations also, namely focusing on serving close communities, emphasising educational and capacity-building objectives, and providing alternatives for more mainstream, i.e., public or commercial radio.

3. Cultural values in organisations

Organisational culture can be seen as a long-term set of values, beliefs, and assumptions that characterise and affect the organisations and their members. The core level beliefs impact the espoused values expressed in the organisation. Values, in turn, affect attitudes, which impact behaviour and thus the effectiveness of an organisation in various situations and contexts. Like individuals, organisations hold core values that are more paramount and more profoundly held than others. These value systems are prominent when those in powerful and important units and positions share them and when they affect their behaviour and comprehension of how things are done in the organisation. (Chatman 1991; Stackman 2000: 46-47; Schein 2004.) One of the most used models for assessing the dominant value systems and their impact on organisational effectiveness is the Competing Values Framework, CVF, originally developed by Quinn & Rohrbaugh (1981), accompanied by the Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (later referred to as OCAI), developed by Cameron & Quinn (2011). CVF suggests that organisational values can be evaluated on two dimensions. One dimension is a continuum between flexibility (e.g., adaptability and dynamism) and stability (e.g., order and control). At the same time, the other emphasises either internal (e.g., integration, collaboration, and unity) or external orientation (e.g., differentiation,

competition, and rivalry). When these dimensions cross, organisational cultures can be divided into four types with particular and idiosyncratic characteristics. Cameron and Quinn (2011) named the four culture types Clan, Adhocracy, Market, and Hierarchy based on these features. The term ‘competing values’ implies that the different culture types compete on a continuum in which clan and adhocracy emphasise flexibility and discretion in contrast to hierarchy and market that focus more on stability and control. Moreover, clan and hierarchy have more internal focus on integration, whereas adhocracy and market show more external focus on differentiation (see figure 1). (Cameron & Quinn 2011)

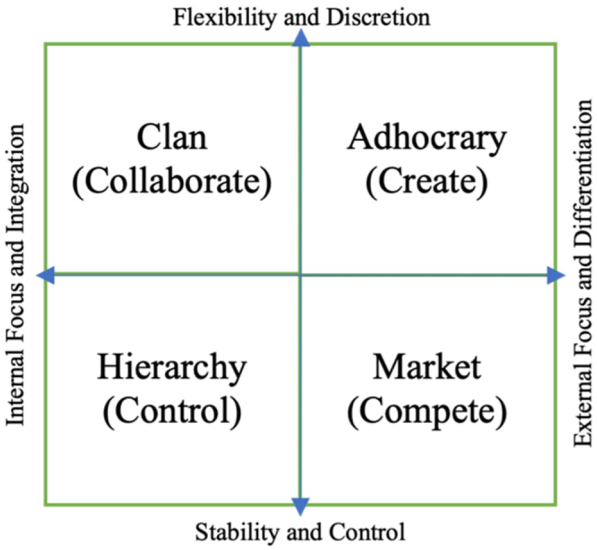

Figure 1: The Competing Values Framework, according to Cameron & Quinn (2011).

Cameron and Quinn (2011) describe each type as follows:

- The clan culture is characterised by shared values, common goals, an atmosphere of collectivity and assistance, empowerment, and human development. It emerges through a relatively long history, regular membership, absence of institutional alternatives, and close interactions among members.
- The adhocracy culture is a more temporary institution, disbanding by the end of its task and rebuilding rapidly when new goals emerge. This type is characteristic of, e.g., filming, consulting, and software development.
- The market culture focuses strongly on transactions with the outside world instead of internal management. It emphasises profits and winning through market competition.
- The hierarchy culture has a clear organisational structure, standardised rules and procedures, strict control, and well-defined responsibilities, resembling the Weberian (2001) depiction of bureaucracy.

The CVF model validity and reliability are tested in various contexts (Yu & Wu 2009) but not applied in the student or college radio framework, probably because student-led radio stations are scarcely studied. Some hints are found in organisations that relate to student radio in one way or another. Grabowski et al. (2015: 919) have examined the applicability of the CVF model in the context of a voluntary organisation and found out that uncertain and scarce resources (money and people) have led management to focus

on means and processes rather than outcomes, with an emphasis on “getting the job done”. Felipe et al. (2017: 17-18), studying creative technology companies, found that the adhocracy type positively correlates with an organisation’s ability to handle changes, arguably due to being flexible enough to reconfigure resources and processes. Even though not as strong, this positive impact was also found in the clan type of culture, but more surprisingly, in hierarchical culture. The authors speculate that stability, formalised structures, control, and order are beneficial, especially in crisis and uncertainty. Also, there seems to be a constant need to balance soft skills with discipline and instructions (Holzmann et al., 2020).

CVF does not judge which types of value constructions are preferable, nor does it rate values based on their effectiveness. Nevertheless, there seems to be an apparent discrepancy between the preferred (clan or adhocracy) and current (hierarchy) organisational cultures. In contrast to existing hierarchy culture, clan and adhocracy cultures often positively impact job satisfaction (Lund 2003; Belias & Koustelios 2015; Cucek & Kac 2020). However, Lund (2003: 228) has noted that the latter does not imply that performance levels would be higher in adhocracy and clan cultures than in market and hierarchy cultures.

As student radio is in constant flux with students with varying levels of competence coming in, graduating, and leaving, it makes it an exciting target for examining what kind of values the student radio managers perceive their stations to have that help them survive in this volatile environment. What makes this effectiveness and resilience possible in these organisations' cultures?

Research Design and the data

Comparing the findings mentioned above with the various depictions of student radio in different countries leads to two hypotheses:

H1) The dominant category in which student radio organisations fall is the clan culture, which emphasises developing human resources through cohesion and collectivity.
H2) In addition, as students come and go as they graduate and as their situations change through employment and other life changes, it is also justifiable to assume that student radio stations at least partly display adhocracy cultures, with a project-focused organisation that assembles whenever the semester and new broadcast season begins.

This research is based on a survey conducted within European student radio stations in 2018, mapping their characteristics and aspects linked to their organisational cultures. The data was collected using an online survey tool Webropol. As there are no official

Europe-wide statistics on student radio, the list of potential respondents was gathered through Wikipedia (2017) and other internet radio databases, such as Internet-radio.com, www.listenlive.eu and TuneIn.com. National student radio organisations provide some data in Sweden (SRS 2019), the UK (SRA 2019), France (RadioCampus 2019), Italy (RadUni 2019), and Spain (ARU 2016). The initial search produced a list of over 260 stations. Those with identifiable contact details (e.g., a fill-in form on their website or an email address) were approached with a cover letter and a link to take the survey. One-third of the emails failed to reach the respondent, meaning either the address on the website was wrong or the station was not operational. Some stations also provided no contact details, website, or any indication of whether they still existed or not.

This study focuses on the responses of station managers, faculty advisors, and editors (later referred to as 'managers'). The managers were chosen as the respondents because they have decision-making capacity and a comprehensive view of their station's organisational practices, choices, and values based on their role.

After sending out invitations in three rounds, 90 respondents from 21 countries were gathered. Fifty-one were managers, representing 46 individual stations from 19 countries (Table 1). Especially active were student radio stations in Spain, but most

countries are represented by just one station in the data. Despite several attempts to contact the stations, some countries with student radio websites (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Hungary, Luxembourg, and Switzerland) did not participate.

COUNTRY	STATIONS	MANAGER RESPONSES
Austria AT	1	1
Belgium BE	1	1
Croatia HR	1	1
Finland FI	3	5
France FR	4	4
Germany DE	2	2
Greece EL	4	6
Ireland IE	2	2
Italy IT	3	4
Netherlands NL	1	1
Norway NO	1	1
Portugal PT	1	1
Russia RU	1	1
Slovakia SK	1	1
Slovenia SI	1	1
Spain ES	11	11
Sweden SE	1	1
Turkey TR	2	2
UK	5	5
Total	46	51

Table 1: European student radio stations and managers in the data.

The survey was divided into two sections. First, it examined the respondent characteristics, the general practices and crafted policies, organisational choices, and, e.g., the media content of the stations. Based on the responses on this part, a brief overview of European student radio features can be drawn. Students are the primary people working in 42 of the cases. In the rest, they are the prominent secondary voluntary staff. A participant is involved for an average of 3.8 years. Forty-nine stations are available online, and 22 have an FM frequency: Forty-four air or stream content daily, six weekly. The average number of weekly listeners is around 3500, but there is a variance from 0 to 30000 listeners. Of the managers, 21 were women, 29 were men, and one did not want to identify their gender. More than half were 30-49, 20 were 18-29, and four were 50-64-year-old. Four out of five managers had been involved with the station for three or more years, and seven for 1-2 years, so the respondents should have a relatively comprehensive view of their station. The respondents' fields of study varied quite a bit: A third of the respondents reported studying majors connected to media, journalism, broadcasting, radio, or communications. Two-thirds included various majors, such as sociology and political science, culture, arts and design, medicine, engineering, history, education, computer sciences, and law.

The second part of the survey focused more on organisational values with adapted questions from the OCAI and other questions about personal motivations and workplace

climate. The OCAI-derived statements measure the four organisational culture types, clan, adhocracy, market, and hierarchy. The statements in each item are designed to indicate one of the four culture types identified by Cameron & Quinn (2011). The original instrument consists of six items: dominant characteristics, organisational leadership, management of employees, organisational glue, strategic emphasis, and success criteria. From the original six, five were selected and slightly modified to precisely match the state of the radio station, with changing the wording (e.g., the original being 'The glue that holds the organisation together is an emphasis on achievement and goal accomplishment,' and the slightly altered version 'The glue that holds our station together is the emphasis on achievements and goal accomplishment.'). The question about employee management was left out of this survey: student-run stations primarily operate on unpaid participation of students and other volunteers, not paid employees, which is the focus of the original OCAI question on employment, with, e.g., a statement on security of employment. Each item has four statements. In the original OCAI, a respondent should divide 100 points among these four alternatives, depending on how each option reflects one's organisation, giving a higher number of points to the alternative most like the organisation (Cameron & Quinn 2011). Also, the part for preferred culture in the future was left out. Instead of this ipsative scoring, a 5-step Likert scale is selected, with a value of one meaning that the respondent strongly disagrees and five that she strongly agrees with the statement.

The alterations are pragmatic: the respondents might find the original OCAI instrument rather laborious. As the survey included general questions about the station, answering everything with thought could have been too strenuous for the respondents, thus resulting in less accuracy. The survey design aimed to provide an easy-to-fill-out form with questions applicable to the respondent's current situation and position (e.g., Iarossi 2006: 48).

Also, as the survey included other Likert-scale questions about topics other than organisational values, altering the original OCAI to match the measurement style of these questions makes it easier to use the data for later purposes and statistical analysis.

Likert scale for OCAI has been used and found reliable before (e.g., Kalliath & Gillespie 1999). Teräväinen et al. (2021) used Likert scaling in scoring the current and preferred culture typologies in evaluating organisational cultures on Finnish construction sites, referring to Bellot (2011), who in analysing organisational culture assessment tools concludes that the Likert-scaling is more useful in statistical analysis than the OCAI's original ipsative scaling. Heritage et al. (2014) also used a 1-5 Likert scale in examining the validity of the OCAI in assessing organisational cultures. Their

findings provide further evidence of the psychometric properties of the OCAI and the instrument's validity as a viable method of evaluating organisational culture.

The means for Likert values of each item statement are first added together and then divided by a total of five, producing an overall mean from 1 to 5 for the given statement, with a value closer to five indicating a dominant cultural feature, and means under three suggesting that the feature is not prevalent. The overall mean is then plotted on a quadrant form with two crossing axes with dimensions on internal vs external and flexibility vs stability. First, all individual elements are examined through means and standard deviations. Second, the means from each item statement representing a particular cultural type are added together and divided by five. This results in an altogether mean plotted on a quadrant, creating a sum variable labelled 'The Organisational Culture Type', reflecting an overall image of the organisational culture of student radio in Europe. Even though not following the original OCAI questionnaire with its ipsative scoring on six dimensions, forming such a sum variable is justified as the validity and reliability of the CVF and OCAI are well tested in various empirical studies (Howard 1998; Yu & Wu 2009; Lamond 2003; Heritage et al. 2014). The sum variable reliability is then tested using Cronbach's alpha.

In some of the questions, not all respondents answered. The missing data has been imputed with a variable mean, thus not affecting the sample average.

4. Results

The individual items with means and standard deviations and their connectedness to a particular culture type are represented in table 2, and the overall organisational culture profile of European student radio in figure 2. As standard deviation measures how dispersed the data is concerning the mean, a higher standard deviation score refers to more scattered views on the statement, with a low score a more unified view, respectively.

	Mean	*Std.Dev.*	*Type*
Dominant Characteristics			
The station is a very personal place. For example, it is like an extended family and people seem to share a lot of themselves.	**4,0**	**1,10**	Clan
The station is a very dynamic and entrepreneurial place. For example, people are willing to do extra hours and take risks.	**3,6**	**1,08**	Adhoc
The station is very results-oriented. For example, a major concern is with getting the job done and people are very competitive and achievement-oriented.	**2,2**	**0,97**	Market
The station is a very controlled and structured place. For example, formal procedures generally define what people do.	**2,6**	**1,12**	Hierarchy
Organizational Glue			
The glue that holds our station together is loyalty and mutual trust. Commitment to this organisation runs high.	**4,4**	**0,75**	Clan
The glue that holds our station together is commitment to innovation and development. There is an emphasis on being on the cutting edge.	**3,6**	**0,85**	Adhoc
The glue that holds our station together is the emphasis on achievements and goal accomplishment.	**3,2**	**1,01**	Market
The glue that holds our station together is formal rules and policies. Maintaining a smooth-running organisation is important.	**3,2**	**0,93**	Hierarchy
Leadership			
The stations management is generally considered to exemplify mentoring, facilitating, or nurturing.	**4,2**	**0,71**	Clan
The stations management is generally considered to exemplify entrepreneurship, innovation, or risk taking.	**3,4**	**1,16**	Adhoc
The stations management is generally considered to exemplify a no-nonsense, aggressive, or results-oriented focus.	**2,4**	**1,43**	Market
The stations management is generally considered to exemplify coordinating, organizing, or smooth-running efficiency.	**4,1**	**0,69**	Hierarchy
Strategic Emphases			
The station emphasises human development. For example, high trust, openness, and participation persist.	**4,4**	**0,69**	Clan
The station emphasises acquiring new resources and creating new challenges. For example, trying new things and prospecting for opportunities are valued.	**4,1**	**0,68**	Adhoc
The station emphasises competitive actions and achievement. For example, overachieving targets and winning prizes and attention are dominant.	**2,5**	**1,04**	Market
The station emphasises permanence and stability. For example, efficiency, control, and smooth operations are important.	**3,5**	**0,96**	Hierarchy
Criteria of Success			
The station defines success on the basis of the development of human resources, for example teamwork, staff commitment, and concern for people.	**4,2**	**0,71**	Clan
The station defines success on the basis of having the most unique or newest shows or services. For example, it is an innovator in program planning.	**3,4**	**0,97**	Adhoc
The station defines success on the basis of winning and outpacing the competition. For example, being the best station out there is important.	**2,4**	**1,11**	Market
The station defines success on the basis of efficiency. For example, trustworthiness, smooth scheduling, and low cost production are critical.	**3,5**	**0,98**	Hierarchy

Table 2: Organisational Culture Item means and standard deviations, according to CVF, in the European Student Radio Stations.

Based on the means, the clan culture seems to be the predominant feature in each item, especially concerning the organisational glue with loyalty and mutual trust (mean 4.4) and strategic emphasis (4.4) on human development. These item statements also have a relatively low standard deviation score (0.69-0.75). The same is true with statements about leadership and criteria of success (0.71). Interestingly, in the clan type statement about the dominant characteristic, the mean is still the highest of the four, 4.0, but the standard deviation is relatively high 1.1. This might imply different views on whether the station feels as personal as stated. The standard deviations for all the statements seem to indicate dispersion in the data, perhaps reflecting the multitude of features dominating the organisation.

Examining the individual means, statements that imply an adhocracy culture have the second-highest score on three of five items: the dominant characteristics (3.6), the organisational glue (3.6), and most clearly in the strategic emphasis (4.1), with its statement regarding novelty and looking for challenges. This statement also has the lowest standard deviation (0.68) of all the statements in the data, implying a somewhat clustered view about this being a key emphasis in European student radio. The adhocracy culture statements have the second-highest mean scores in dominant characteristics and organisational glue statements.

The hierarchy culture type has the second-highest mean scores in two individual items, the leadership (4.1) and the criteria of success (3.5), and the third highest in the other three items. Especially notable is the leadership item, in which the standard deviation is as low as 0.69. As the respondents are managers, the leadership style that emphasises coordination and maintaining a smooth-running organisation seems typical, even though not perceived as the defining factor or the glue that holds people together.

Based on means, market focus is the least dominant form of organisational culture in European student radio stations. The statements have the lowest scores in all five items, except for organisational glue, whose score equals that of hierarchy (3.2.). Still, statements implying a market culture have the highest standard deviation scores (1.01-1.43) in all but one item, i.e., dominant characteristics (0.97). This implies that goal-oriented competition and achievement elements still exist even though not high on average. One can argue, though, that the questions on competition-oriented values might be understood ambiguously, as the OCAI instrument does not clearly define what ‘achievements’, ‘result-orientation’ and ‘winning’ in this context means.

After reviewing the individual item scores, one can calculate the overall mean and standard deviation scores for each culture type-based sum variable calculated for all the four culture types. These scores are presented in table 3. The mean scores can then be plotted on a quadrant figure (figure 2).

Culture Type	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std.Dev.
Clan Culture	51	3.04	5.00	4.22	0.49
Adhoc Culture	51	2.20	4.60	3.59	0.60
Market Culture	51	1.00	4.40	2.56	0.76
Hierarchy Culture	51	2.00	4.80	3.38	0.62

Table 3: Overall scores for organisational culture types.

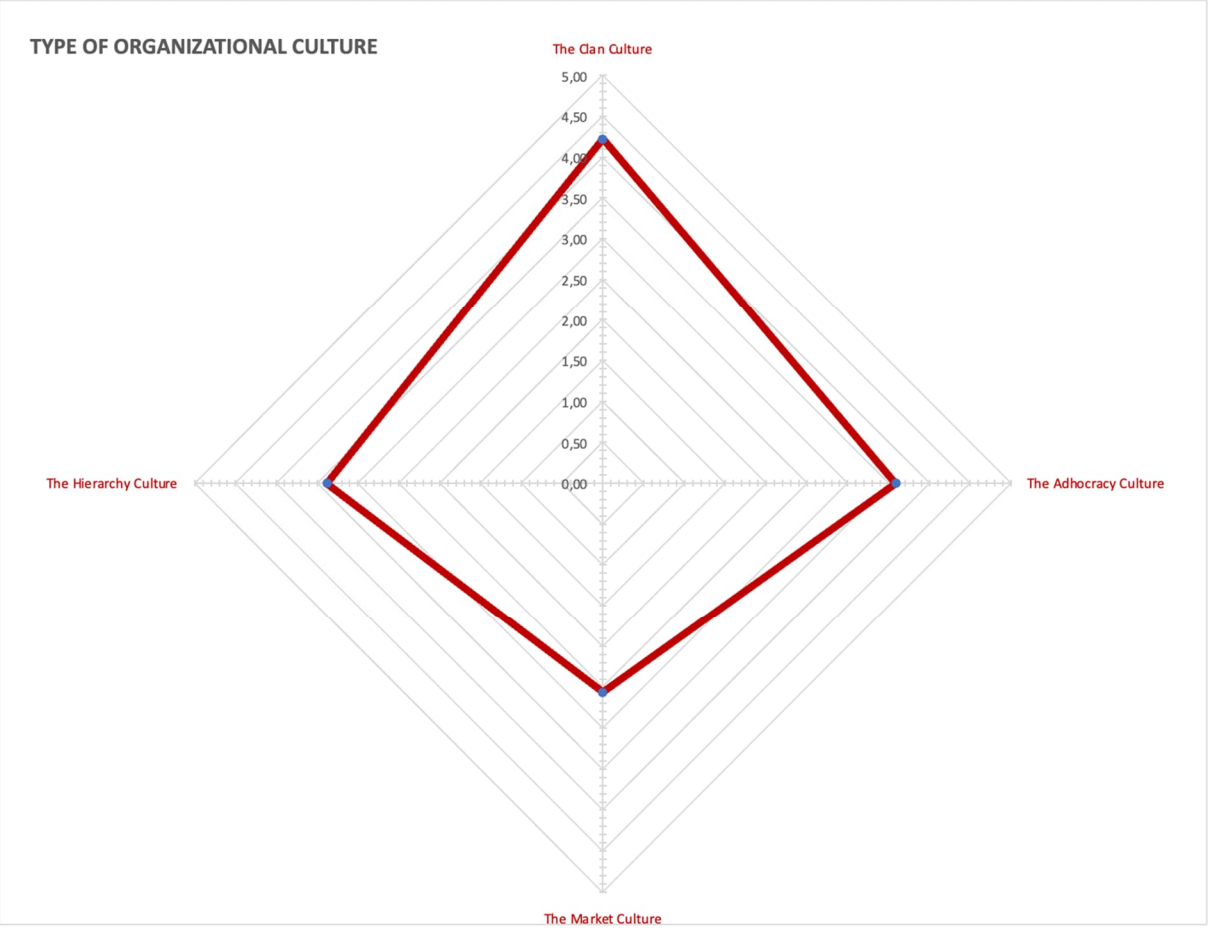

Figure 2: Overall organisational culture type of European student radio.

Figure 2 visualises the overall organisational culture values by displaying the mean levels of the four cultural types. As stated earlier, the Likert scale values 1-2 refer to disagreeing, 4-5 agreeing with the statement. Thus, values closer to five represent the dominance of that cultural element and values under three elements that are not typical for the organisational culture in general. As seen in the quadrant, the dominant culture in the European student radio organisations seems to be the Clan Culture, with a mean score of 4.2. This is not surprising when considering the depictions in community media and its objectives and aspirations. The lowest standard deviation score of all four types (0.49) in table 3 also implies relatively little debate on whether this is a typical form of culture in student radio stations. The second highest is the Adhocracy Culture (3.6). Cameron & Quinn (2011) have described it "…like a temporary institution, which is dismissed whenever the organisational tasks are ended and reloaded rapidly whenever new tasks emerge." Because student radio often follows the academic year or years with students coming in, participating for a while, and leaving after their course is over or after graduating, this type of culture fits well with this volatile environment. A bit more surprising is the relatively high level of Hierarchy Culture (3.4), which opposes the adhocracy culture of agility, transformation, and constant change, focusing on control, consistency, and uniformity. The mean level of Market culture is only 2.4, which implies that aggressive competition, profitability, and customer focus seem not to be essential for the European student radio organisational values. Still, the highest standard

deviation score of all four types (0.76) indicates that there still are elements of market culture present, but the stations vary the most on this dimension.

The reliability of the construct, the extent to which the individual dimensions measure culture types consistently, is tested by running a Cronbach's alpha reliability analysis on statistical analysis software SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences).

Sum Variable of Culture Type	Cronbach's alpha
Clan Culture	.565
Adhocracy Culture	.602
Market Culture	.706
Hierarchy Culture	.671

Table 4: Sum variable alpha scores.

As shown in Table 4, the alpha scores for the sum variables are between .57 and .71, making them sufficient for this exploratory research (Nunnally 1967). Still, only the construct of Market Culture has an acceptable reliability score based on the cutoff values presented by George & Mallery (2003).

The reasons for low alpha may vary, but especially two are significant concerning this study: The low number of items in the scale (in this case, 5 per each construct) and the fact that the structure might measure more than one dimension, the premise of a high alpha score (Gliem & Gliem 2003: 87). As the original OCAI is intended to measure

four distinct cultural types, intuitively, one assumes that the internal consistency should be higher. Still, it is also possible to interpret the scores to hint that several elements of different cultural types are present simultaneously, not ruling each other out. Thus, the low alpha scores in this research data intrigue examining whether more than four latent dimensions exist. An exploratory factor analysis would be an interesting next step. Unfortunately, it is not in the range of this study but instead invites future studies inspecting student radio cultures.

5. Conclusions

Concerning the two hypotheses for this study, both can be shown to hold based on the findings:

H1: The dominant cultural category for European student radio organisations is clan culture.
H2: European student radio stations display adhocracy cultures.

Student radio stations consist of volunteers, mostly students, focusing on the close community and being alternative, with an educational and empowering backspin. There is also a project-oriented take on student radio, as students come and go throughout the academic years to produce, experiment, and create novel content. When examining the

quadrant figure and the means for different items of organisational culture of European student radio, it seems puzzling that there are elements of hierarchical culture and even cues of market competition. After all, in the CVF model, these represent the different ends of the continuum concerning internal focus and integration versus external focus and differentiation, stability and control versus flexibility and discretion. Nevertheless, these competing values may well reflect the multidimensional nature of student radio organisations, with many unique facets that are hard to find in other, more stable organisations and that are difficult to simplify using metrics that are perhaps not designed to include such an outlier in the organisational universe. Student radio stations are very much dependent on the motivation of and simultaneously existing for the volunteers, thus emphasising the strong sense of community and 'us' versus, e.g., commercial and mainstream media, with a more market-oriented approach. At the same time, the stations must deal with the constant shifts in expertise and readiness, resulting in diverse ideas, group dynamics, and skills flowing in and out. Often the stations, unable to finance themselves independently from the university or other external entities, end up having their expenditures scrutinised or their budgets being cut under the economic pressures of their owners. To stay relevant, attractive, pedagogically sound, and thus being perceived as something worth investing time and money in, stations must constantly update their shows, content, and ways of operating and being.

At least three things may cause ambiguity in the results. First and foremost, the data is somewhat limited in size, which may cause the variance in the responses to affect the statistical analysis more than in a larger dataset. Therefore, one should be extremely careful not to draw universal conclusions about student radio based on this study but rather treat it as a first probe on the subject that has yet remained understudied. Second, student radio stations in Europe are diverse, demonstrating various organisational cultures rather than uniform types, even though the literature on community and student radio would suggest a strong emphasis on the clan culture. National cultural differences play their role in forming organisational practices and priorities (e.g., Hallin & Mancini 2004; Hofstede et al. 2010). Thirdly, rather than being limited to distinct types, organisational culture emerges as a continuum, with various attributes present simultaneously, just like the original competing values framework suggests (Cameron & Quinn 2011; see also Martin 2002; Schein 2004).

One should also remember that group values are not the critical prerequisite for group cohesion. Being part of a straightforward goal-oriented team can strongly motivate its members to commit to it, even more so than members' perceived similarities. (Anderson 1975: 73-75). Intergroup competition can also boost cohesion, especially when the group is thriving or faces disappointments. This might be caused by the voluntary members' unwanted feelings of cognitive dissonance. When the group membership is

chosen willingly, identifying with the group becomes more robust, even when the group performs poorly. Evidence suggests that cohesion based on the group task more accurately predicts group effectiveness than interpersonal attraction. (Brown 2000: 49-50.)

One can thus, with fair confidence, confirm that the findings of this study are closely in line with previous research on CVF in voluntary and creative organisations cited earlier (Grabowski et al. 2015; Felipe et al. 2017), with the emphasis being on clan and adhocracy cultures, but with the surprising presence of seemingly contradicting hierarchy culture present as well, bringing stability and predictability in constantly changing and turbulent situations and circumstances. Another explanation could be that, as Raymond (2016) has noted, student radio managers are often students with no previous management experience. In these situations, it is understandable that the organisational structure or the leadership style would rest on the 'default mode', a long-lasting management paradigm of hierarchical structures and bureaucratic division of labour, which requires less experience and maintenance (see, e.g., Tunstall 2007; Weber et al. 2001). Hierarchy is also in line with the clan type in that it focuses more on internal processes than external ones (Cameron & Quinn 2011).

The findings suggest that student radio managers need to balance being a facilitator with a mentoring and team-building mindset, entrepreneurial innovator, and controlling monitor or coordinator of day-to-day operations. Being able to cope in a complex environment with many push and pull forces at play simultaneously, it is thus more efficient to switch gears than just firmly fixate on one set of organisational values. As the competing values framework suggests, a single cultural archetype seldom truly reflects or encapsulates the variety of aspects and dimensions a cultural landscape within an organisation entails. Like Cameron & Quinn (2011) have noted, "Rather than seeing collaboration and competition as being opposed, master managers must be able to harness the power of both these approaches. Similarly, the need for control cannot be allowed to overwhelm the need for creativity and change." Peter Drucker has stated that knowledge-intensive organisations cannot rely on differing hierarchies, with bosses and subordinates, but instead more like teams of equals who find the organisation's values and mission to fit their personal views and values. Otherwise, they will leave. Thus, such organisations always compete for their core resource, qualified and knowledgeable people. They constantly need to market membership and attract, hold, recognise, reward, motivate and satisfy people. Especially within an organisation that does not provoke pay, people's loyalty must be obtained by proving that it provides them exceptional opportunities for putting their knowledge to work. (2009: 63-65.) As survival is key to every organisation, such organisations focus primarily on internal

focus and integration, though through creative inputs, they differentiate and remain flexible (Cameron & Quinn 2011).

Finally, even though OCAI proves to be a helpful tool in the student radio context, labelling mostly voluntary organisations that live in highly volatile environments is challenging. Student radio stations must deal with a significant amount of uncertainty and change. According to the findings, they cope with this through various partly competing cultures. Typologies help to simplify and guide the analysis of cultures by providing categories. Still, by doing so, they also oversimplify the complex realities of organisations that include dimensions outside the stencil of a given instrument of analysis (Schein 2004: 199-200). To sharpen the view of the organisational culture depicted here and to delve into the deepest level of basic underlying assumptions of a given culture that makes the espoused values more understandable and interpretable (see Schein 2004: 36), this study encourages more studies on this subject with both quantitative and qualitative data-gathering and analysis and with more recent data.

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