

The Organizational Culture of Broadcasting in Asia

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Abstract

This study examined the industry-wide organizational culture of broadcasting in 14 nations of Asia, analyzing values held by 233 senior radio and television staff members. Participants ranked a set of core values related to ideational organizational culture. Spearman correlation coefficients indicated that a few values were considered important across all nations, but other values varied sharply from country to country. A factor analysis identified three distinct groupings of value orientations: 1) socialist and former socialist nations, 2) Islamic and Roman Catholic nations, and 3) a single democratic monarchial Buddhist nation, this diversity indicating an absence of a common organizational culture in the region's broadcasting field while suggesting the predominant role of politics and religions in shaping the region's professional culture. Thus values held industry-wide appeared to interact with local cultures within nations producing sub-regional patterns.

Keywords: Asia, Broadcasting, Radio, Television, Organizational Culture

บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษาครั้งนี้สำรวจวัฒนธรรมองค์กรกิจการกระจายเสียงจำนวน 14 ประเทศในภูมิภาคเอเชีย โดยการวิเคราะห์ค่านิยมที่ผู้ปฏิบัติงานวิทยุกระจายเสียงและวิทยุโทรทัศน์ระดับอาชูโสให้ความสำคัญ ทั้งนี้ ผู้เข้าร่วมการวิจัยจำนวน 233 คน ได้จัดเรียงอันดับชุดค่านิยมหลักที่เกี่ยวข้องกับวัฒนธรรมองค์กรในอุดมคติการวิเคราะห์ค่านิยมที่สัมประสิทธิ์สหสมพันธ์แบบสเปียร์แมนระบุว่า มีค่านิยมหลักบางประการที่ทุกประเทศจัดลำดับว่าสำคัญ และมีค่านิยมบางประการที่แต่ละประเทศให้ลำดับความสำคัญแตกต่างกันไป การวิเคราะห์องค์ประกอบบ่งชี้ว่า ชุดค่านิยมที่ได้รับการจัดเรียงลำดับเหล่านี้สามารถแบ่งเป็นกลุ่มหลักๆ คือ 1) กลุ่มประเทศสังคมนิยมและประเทศที่เคยใช้ระบบสังคมนิยม 2) กลุ่มประเทศนับถืออิสลามและโรมันคาทอลิก เป็นหลัก และ 3) กลุ่มประเทศประชาธิปไตยอันมีพระมหากษัตริย์ทรงเป็นประมุขและนับถือศาสนาพุทธ ซึ่งสะท้อนให้เห็นว่า แท้จริงแล้วไม่มีวัฒนธรรมองค์กรกิจการกระจายเสียงและกิจการโทรทัศน์หนึ่งเดียวในภูมิภาคเอเชีย และยังชี้ให้เห็นว่า การเมืองและศาสนาหลักมีบทบาทต่อการให้ความสำคัญในค่านิยม ดังนั้นอาจเป็นได้ว่าการที่ผู้ปฏิบัติงานให้ความสำคัญค่านิยมแตกต่างกันนั้น เป็นผลจากวัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่นนั้นๆ อันนำไปสู่การสร้างรูปแบบค่านิยมในระดับอนุภูมิภาค

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Introduction

In the 1980s, interest in the concept of organizational culture grew among scholars and researchers, chiefly because of its power to explain complex human interactions in the workplace. Martin (2002) examined different ways of defining organizational culture and found they fell into two types—ideational and materialistic approaches, the former based on patterns of thinking and the latter on the material aspect of work environments. The following reports on a study of the ideational organizational cultures present in the field of broadcasting in Asia, analyzing values held by radio and television professionals in 14 nations. Data for this study were drawn from archival data collected over more than a decade in workshops conducted for mid-level and senior radio and television managers.

Organizational Culture

While culture is seen as “the set of important understandings (often unstated) that members of a community share in common” (Sathe, 1985, p. 6), Davis (1984) defined organizational culture as the “pattern of shared beliefs and values that give members of an institution meaning, and provide them with the rules for behavior in their organization” (p. 1). Additionally, Shein (1992) described organizational culture as the “shared basic assumptions” that are employed to respond to external forces and to bring about internal integration. These are “taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel . . .” (p. 12).

Much early research was aimed at controlling organizational culture so as to enhance work performance. Deal and Kennedy (1982) proposed that with the proper culture, a “company can

gain as much as one or two hours of productive work per employee per day” (p. 15). Application of such principles led to excesses. Kunda (1991, p. 219) reported on efforts to manipulate corporate culture within a high-tech company, where he found a “pervasive, comprehensive, and demanding system of normative control based on the use of symbolic power.” Parker (2000, p. 1) criticized early work on organizational culture as “unreflexive about its core assumptions” and proposed a more complex formulation that defined these cultures “as ‘fragmented unities’ in which members identify themselves as collective at some times and divided at others.” Later studies have turned more toward understanding and accommodating organizational cultures rather than focusing on its manipulation.

The viewpoints and “rules of the game” found within particular fields have been the interest of a number of researchers. According to Reynolds (1986, pp. 333-334), organizational cultures develop within industries so that “relative success in a given industry may be associated with a distinctive organizational culture, but may be quite different from the culture found in successful organizations in other industries.” A number of studies have examined, for instance, the organizational culture of banking (Aksoy, Apak, Eren, & Korkmaz, 2014; Liao, Chang, Hu, & Yueh, 2012). Ovidiu-Iliuta (2014) looked at the link between organizational culture and management practices in Romanian IT companies, and Acar and Acar (2014) examined the performance of hospitals having different organizational cultures in Turkey.

Radio and television demand specific sets of technical skills and specialized problem-solving abilities, and over time, these

“approaches” could become the basis of an industry-wide organizational culture for broadcasting. Alvesson (2002) attributed the recent interest in organizational culture to the “expansion of high-tech and other knowledge-intensive companies employing a large number of professionals” (p. 7). However, Martin (2002) has emphasized that cultural boundaries are “moveable, fluctuating, permeable, blurred, and dangerous” (p. 315), thus suggesting that cultures within an industry may vary according to geographic location and across time. Garner et al. (2016) in a meta-analysis of organizational communication, noted that over the decades of research on organizational culture, there had been a decline in field studies in actual organizational settings.

A number of studies have reported on aspects of organizational cultures within broadcasting. For example, Phelan (2000) studied the particular experiences of women in coping with the field’s culture; Wahl berg (2017) studied Swedish broadcasting’s organizational culture that promoted programming sympathetic to Vietnam during the late 1960s and early 1970s; Lauzen and Dozier (2002) looked at the influence of television networks’ corporate culture on scheduling of programs featuring female characters; Hollifield, Kosicki, and Becker (2001) examined tensions between organizational and professional culture in newsrooms; and Stavitsky (1995) analyzed the implications of public broadcasting’s culture on audience research. Within the past decade, technology change and its impact on broadcasting’s organizational culture has emerged as a dominant research interest (Larson & Pepper, 2011; Moyo, 2013; Nassanga, Manyozo, & Lopes, 2013; Salehi, Mirsepasi, & Farhangi, 2015). None of the previous

studies have attempted to ascertain whether broadcasting’s organizational culture spans multiple nations.

A central problem of the concept of organizational cultures is how they interact with surrounding social cultures. Enterprises do not exist within a vacuum, but are enclosed within external social systems that offer separate sets of values and sustain different behavior patterns. Scholars have studied the interplay between these two sets of norms—one operating within an industry and another within society—in various ways over the years. Examples include the study of public sector organizations in India (Nayak & Barik, 2013), the business process outsourcing sector in India (Dwivedi, Kaushik, & Luxmi, 2014), as well as various organizations in Canada (Marchand, Haines, & Dextras-Gauthier, 2013) and Nigeria (Ezirim, Nwebere, & Emecheta, 2010). In one early essay on this matter, Wilkins and Ouchi (1983, p. 468) proposed that “the existence of local organizational cultures that are distinct from more generally shared background cultures occurs relatively infrequently.” If this were so, then a number of important implications would follow. For example, multinational organizations could not enjoy a single corporate culture, but one for each of the individual societies in which they operated, something that might interfere with their coordination at an international level. Scheffknecht (2011) studied this very problem and concluded that even if multinational organizations put in place extensive training programs, “national cultural influences cannot be avoided” (p. 77). More importantly, if national cultures tend to be superimposed on an organization, this would decrease the likelihood that organizational cultural norms

could operate within an industry across national boundaries. What is not clear is whether the background culture simply overwhelms the organizational culture as suggested by Wilkins and Ouchi, or whether a system of contention and negotiation with local cultures operates. Thus, our study posed its first research question as follows.

RQ1: Operating together, does industry-wide organizational culture tend to act in concert with or in opposition to key local values held by broadcasting managers of Asia?

Broadcasting's Organizational Values in an Asian Context

Throughout history, broadcasting in Asia has tended to be carried out under strict governmental supervision. In many cases, national broadcasting organizations were actually departments within governmental ministries. One example is Radio Television Malaysia which functions as a division of the Ministry of Information, Communication, and Culture. These national organizations were often the only authorized broadcasters in the nation and were, in effect, media monopolies operated by their governments of the day. This gave authorities in these countries effective control over information disseminated within their borders (McDaniel, 1994, 2002).

Because of these conditions, broadcasting in Asian countries has tended to be politicized, with political leaders drawing their authority from ideology and religion. In countries such as China, Marxist principles were applied as guides for control of information, whereas in Brunei and Afghanistan guidance came from Islamic principles. In most countries, this led to tensions,

with political figures seeking to maintain their control over broadcast outlets and activists seeking reforms providing greater diversity of opinion and public openness (McDaniel, 2002).

While operating as public service broadcasters, very few were non-commercial, and advertising has played an important role in funding most Asian radio and television services. There were a few exceptions to this general outline: the Philippines' broadcasting system has remained largely privately owned and commercial in nature, though owners tend to have close ties to politically influential individuals (Rosales, 2006). In Thailand, though either the government or military own frequencies, actual broadcasting is conducted by corporations that hold concessions for use of those frequencies (Magpanthong, 2007).

Beginning in the late 1990s, this pattern began to change as satellite and Internet technologies began to break governments' hold on information channels. Spurred by neo-liberal economic policies, restrictions prohibiting or limiting private broadcasting organizations were loosened across the region, though in nearly every case strict government oversight was maintained (McDaniel, 2002). In the process of this change, broadcasting became more localized, moving away from nationwide broadcasting to regional and local outlets, and in countries such as Thailand, highly localized community radio stations (Magpanthong, 2007).

In recent decades some Asian social theorists have advanced the notion that Asian cultures share a single set of common core values, ones that are fundamentally at odds with those from cultures of other world regions, especially the West. Several Asian political leaders have championed this idea, using it to

explain their governments' practices in areas such as media regulation, censoring, electoral rules, and especially in information policies. They argued that tendencies in these fields reflect a special Asian cultural sensibility, and although they may conflict with values held elsewhere, they are broadly accepted and should be respected by the rest of the world. In particular, former Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohammad led a drive to validate the Asian values concept, speaking frequently on the subject ("Rely on Asian Values," 2000).

A vigorous debate has surrounded the "Asian values" thesis from the outset, however, and experts have been unable to agree on which values are peculiar to the region. In 2000, at a conference on "Sustainable Urban Development in the New Millennium" in Kuala Lumpur, the then Prime Minister Mahathir advocated Asian values as an antidote to economic problems experienced in Asia beginning in 1997. According to him, cultural value characteristics of the region included "an absence of extreme individualism, a sense of responsibility for the community, belief in strong family, reverence for education, frugality, hard work, national teamwork, a social contract between the people and the state, moral wholesomeness, a free but responsible press, a belief in citizens as stake holders, and last but not least respect for the environment" (Hollis, 2008). Chen (1977) was among the first scholars to critically examine the theory when he attempted to identify the cultural attributes that promoted rapid economic growth in certain Asian countries during the 1970s. His list of attributes included: 1) group spirit and paternalistic employer-employee relationship; 2) mutual assistance and community life; 3) parent-child relationship and cohesive

family life; 4) friendship patterns; and 5) normative ideology and value concepts (pp. 30-38). Chen stressed that his findings were restricted only to "those [values] of the East Asian culture, mainly Chinese and Japanese cultures, which are familiar to me" (p. 29).

The proposition that a single set of values could be shared by peoples of such a broad geographic expanse, making up a huge proportion of the world's population, has been dismissed by many scholars. Ho (1976) termed the Asian values proposition "stereotypical," and at a University of Singapore faculty seminar specifically suggested that the supposed "non-aggressive, non-violent and non-militant" core Asian value was "false" and pointed out that "non-violence is hardly a national trait of any nation in Asia when its interests are at stake" (p. 11). Chandra Muzaffar, a prominent Malaysian intellectual, pointed out that values believed to distinguish Asia were actually widely held, noting that "even in the West, values such as hard work continue to be cherished by important segments of society" and suggesting that "Asian values are as diverse and as complex as Asia itself." Consequently, he rejected Asian cultural values as a basis for the political systems found in the region (Chandra, 1997, 6). Finally, Rošker (2016) has found that despite commonly held assumptions to the contrary, the notion of Asian values has almost no connection with modern Confucian philosophy.

Much discussion on this subject has focused on the media, because national leaders on grounds of their fit with Asian values have justified contentious media policies in countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. Rigorous media censorship, licensing, and codes of conduct for journalists have been defended

as “natural” and “appropriate” in the Asian cultural context (Masterton, 1996). The key concept cited by many authorities was Asian values’ adherence to the principles of a “free and responsible press,” although exactly what was meant by these terms was not clear (McDaniel, 2002). Therefore, a second research question was posed as the following.

RQ2: Do broadcasting workers from different portions of Asia express a common set of values? If agreement does exist among personnel from different nations on the values important in their national societies, then either the universal pattern proposed by the Asian values thesis or the presence of a powerful organizational culture spanning the region would be suggested.

Methods

Cultural Measures. From 2000 to 2012, more than twenty training seminars and workshops organized by the authors were hosted by the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development and the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union. As part of each training activity, participants were asked to rank-order 18 cultural values according the importance of each “to your society.” The 18 items were adapted from the work of Kohl and Knight (1994) and represented fundamental values that are known to provide contrasting cultural judgments. The resulting rankings were useful in raising cultural awareness, sensitizing training participants to differing cultural perspectives, and in providing them an opportunity to discuss and analyze their own organizations’ cultures.

In each course, participants were instructed to choose from a list the single cultural value they considered most important and to give it a ranking of 1. Then they were asked to select the second most important, giving it a rank of 2, and continuing until all 18 values on the list were ranked. Ties in ranking were not permitted. The values included the following: Informality, Equality/Egalitarianism, Personal control over the environment, Security/Safety and freedom from threats, Action/Work orientation, Time and its control, Materialism/Acquisitiveness, Familism/Close kinship ties, Practicality/Efficiency, Religion/Spiritualism, Change/Mobility, Self-help, Knowledge/Wisdom/Understanding of nature, Directness/Openness/Honesty, Individualism/Privacy/Independence, Competition/Free enterprise, Future orientation/Optimism, and Conformity/Harmony with group norms.

After collection, the data were aggregated within each country group to produce a composite ranking for all persons attending each workshop. This was done by simply summing all the participants’ rankings of individual values and then ranking these sums. It is important to note again that the composite rankings did not examine materialistic organizational culture from the narrow professional perspective of issues related to their jobs or radio and television, but rather they summarized the worldviews of the individuals in the field of broadcasting within their nation, or in other words what Martin (2002) would term an ideational summary of organizational culture.

Composite rankings from each workshop were archived for use in subsequent training courses and were later made available for use

in this study. By exploratory comparative analysis, we sought to capture the contrasting basic cultural values expressed among broadcast managers of various countries. As noted earlier, organizational culture can be described as focusing on the material aspects of work or it can focus on the ideas and values that are accepted within an organization. This study was based on the latter perspective in which the list of core social values could be used as a tool to assess the ideational organizational culture of broadcasting within each participant group.

To evaluate the reliability of our ranking procedures, we compared rankings within the same country in workshops presented at different times but not included in our sample. For example, rankings made by broadcast workers in Vietnam in 2002 which we used in this study were compared with those made in 1993 when the methodology was being pretested but was in its final form. (Arguably, this country experienced the most dramatic social and economic changes in all of Asia during the 1990s). It was reasoned that a comparison of these two samplings would indicate how consistent values remained over an extended time in a period of social transition, and to what extent individual variation would affect composite rankings. The Spearman rank order correlation coefficient was 0.802. The same comparison was made of 2012 rankings of groups of Malaysian broadcast staff that were used in this study with ones made in 2000. This analysis produced a Spearman *rho* value of 0.858. In addition, the 2003 rankings in the Philippines used in this study were compared with those of 2000, producing a Spearman coefficient of 0.695. All three coefficients were

significant at the $p < .01$ level. The fact that rankings in these countries among different groups of senior broadcast staff and in different years exhibited a high degree of correlation suggest not only that rankings are reliable over time but that variations resulting from the mix of different participants did not cloud the underlying cultural value structures, thus validating methods employed in the study.

Data Collection. This was a longitudinal research project in which data were collected during the period of 2000-2012. From among many training courses conducted during this period, we selected fourteen for our study. These were chosen based on providing a suitable representation of East, Southeast, and South Asian regions while including the most recent workshop in each country. Each of these offered a sample within a different Asian nation and in total included 233 participants. The number of persons participating varied from location to location, from a high of 27 in Indonesia to a low of 9 in Malaysia, but most groups were in the range of 14 to 25 participants.

These seminars and workshops covered varied topics, but focused mainly on issues facing broadcasting organizations of the region. Such issues included technological change, mounting revenue pressures from privatization of radio and television, changes in the structures of organizations, the changing workforce character, and so on.

The enterprises from which study participants were drawn were all public service broadcasting organizations, with the exception of the Philippines where, as previously noted, there was a mix of private commercial and public service broadcasters. In some cases—for example Malaysia—all participants were from the same

organization (Radio Television Malaysia), whereas in others there were multiple organizations represented (for instance, separate organizations for radio and television, or separate national and provincial broadcasters as in Vietnam). All workshops were of short duration, ranging from

three days to a week, thus the creation of a group “culture” was unlikely to be a confounding issue in this study. Table 1 presents a summary of the training courses from which data were collected.

Table 1 Data Collection Details

Country	Year	Host Organization
Bangladesh	2004	National Institute for Mass Communication
Brunei	2000	Radio Television Brunei
Cambodia	2005	National Television of Cambodia TVK
China	2004	Guangdong Television
Indonesia	2003	Radio Republic Indonesia
Lao PDR	2010	Lao National Radio
Malaysia	2012	Institute Penyarian Tun Abdul Razak
Maldives	2009	Maldives Broadcasting Corporation
Nepal	2000	Radio Nepal
Pakistan	2007	Pakistan Television
Philippines	2003	Philippine Broadcasting Service
Sri Lanka	2005	Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation
Thailand	2005	Public Relations Department of Thailand
Vietnam	2002	Vietnam Television

Data Analysis. In order to explore correspondence among values sets more closely, Spearman rank correlation coefficients were computed for participants from all countries. Spearman *rho* correlation coefficients showed the degree of agreement between pairs of national groups’ sets of ranked items and can be interpreted in roughly the same way as Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients. Coefficients were calculated by the use of SPSS, which employs procedures that make corrections required for computations when there are ties in composite rankings, something that arose on a few occasions. Ties occurred when two ranked values produced an

identical sum within a group, and were resolved by giving the two sums the same mean ranking. An explanation of the computation and interpretation of the Spearman *rho* coefficient can be found in Siegel & Castellan (1988).

To determine the underlying structure of the cultural judgments, a factor analysis was performed on the matrix of Spearman rank correlation coefficients. Normally, a factor analysis utilizes matrices of Pearson product moment correlation coefficients, but recent work shown that the technique can be extended to rank order coefficients. According to Raghavachari & Richie (2001) analyses using ranked data “produced results that are

similar to the ones obtained by the classical methodology of using the Pearson correlation matrices."

Findings

Because our first research question required an understanding of which values shared a similar importance among broadcasters from different nations, we began analysis with the second of our research questions: Do broadcasting workers from different portions of Asia express a common set of values? If agreement does exist among personnel from different nations on the values important in their national societies, then either the universal pattern proposed by the Asian values thesis or the presence of a powerful organizational culture spanning the region would be suggested.

Table 2 presents the composite rankings for the groups of broadcasters in countries included in this study. Perhaps the most striking pattern that emerges from figures in Table 2 is that knowledge and education never ranked lower than fifth and the majority ranked it first among cultural values held by broadcasters of different nations. All other values fluctuated in rankings from country to country—in some cases quite markedly. The value of materialism tended to be ranked near the bottom, and the same was generally true of individualism. Future orientation and religion were values that showed wide variation; both had rankings from near the top to near the bottom.

Table 2 Ranking of Asian Broadcast Staff Members' Cultural Values by Country

	Thailand	Philippines	Vietnam	Bangladesh	Brunei	Indonesia	Cambodia	Laos	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	Nepal	Maldives	China	Malaysia
Informality	10.5	17	17	18	15	18	18	14	17	16	17	13	18	12
Equality	2	2	15	9	8	6.5	17	4	13	6	9	1	15.5	8.5
Control	6	16	13	10	13	13	6	12	16	17	12	10	8.5	18
Security	4	3	10	1	5	2	4	9	7	1	2	5	2	2
Work orientation	7	7	3	2	4	7	2	2	6	7	3	6	5	7
Time control	9	13	6	5	9	16	3	3	3	3	4	12	10	11
Materialism	18	18	16	16	17	14	12	16	18	18	18	11	13	16
Family orientation	8	1	7	3	10	3	15	10	11	12	8	8	7	8.5
Practicality	5	9	2	12	6	10	5	5	5	6	9	6	6	6
Religion	17	4	18	7	2	1	13	18	2	15	15	2	17	1
Change	14	15	11	15	12	12	11	13	12	13	13	18	11	10
Self-reliance	10.5	10	5	8	14	11	9	8	10	9	5	15	12	17
Knowledge/ education	1	5	1	4	1	4	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	4
Honesty	3	6	4	5	3	5	7	7	4	4	7	4	4	5
Individualism	15	11	14	13	16	15	16	17	8	10	16	7	14	15
Competition	16	12	12	17	13	17	10	15	15	14	11	16	8.5	14
Future orientation	12.5	14	8	14	11	9	8	6	9	8	10	14	3	13
Conformity	12.5	8	9	10	7	8	14	11	14	11	14	17	15.5	3

Note. A rank of 1 represents the most important value and a rank of 18 the least important value among participants from each country.

The Spearman *rho* correlation coefficients are presented in Table 3. At the intersection of columns and rows are the coefficients for the rankings of pairs of participant groups from each nation. For example, a correlation coefficient of 0.510 was found between Thailand and the Philippines, indicating a moderate but statistically significant similarity in cultural values among

participants from these two countries. Significance is noted in two levels: $p < .05$ and $p < .01$. Of the 91 comparisons, 37 yielded correlation coefficients significant at the $p < .01$ level of significance, and another 25 were significant at the $p < .05$ level. Several broad consistencies seem to emerge from the matrix, though careful inspection is required to uncover these.

Table 3 Spearman ρ Correlation Coefficients: Asian Broadcast Staff Members' Cultural Values by Country

	Thailand	Philippines	Vietnam	Bangladesh	Brunei	Indonesia	Cambodia	Laos	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	Nepal	Maldives	China	Malaysia
Thailand	1.000	0.510*	0.560*	0.603*	0.556*	0.435	0.452	0.773**	0.367	0.701**	0.732**	0.533*	0.535*	0.356
Philippines	1.000	0.294	0.760**	0.718**	0.851**	0.055	0.350	0.519*	0.538*	0.519*	0.674**	0.245	0.715**	
Vietnam		1.000	0.522*	0.487*	0.267	0.719**	0.785**	0.564*	0.695**	0.812**	0.030	0.731**		0.251
Bangladesh			1.000	0.707**	0.743**	0.505*	0.554*	0.651**	0.638**	0.758**	0.599**	0.483*	0.558*	
Brunei				1.000	0.786**	0.495*	0.537*	0.752**	0.624**	0.601**	0.585*	0.445	0.885**	
Indonesia					1.000	0.185	0.298	0.525*	0.420	0.434	0.643**	0.363	0.760**	
Cambodia						1.000	0.633**	0.571*	0.583*	0.771**	0.131	0.789**	0.185	
Laos							1.000	0.484	0.789**	0.841**	0.261	0.590**	0.265	
Pakistan								1.000	0.715**	0.626**	0.529*	0.456	0.585*	
Sri Lanka									1.000	0.841**	0.404	0.606**	0.490*	
Nepal										1.000	0.317	0.743**	0.347	
Maldives											1.000	0.193	0.481*	
China												1.000	0.203	
Malaysia													1.000	

Note. * = $p < .05$ and ** = $p < .01$.

As previously noted, to more clearly bring forth patterns within the cultural values, factor analyses were conducted of the rank order correlation matrix. This also allowed us to address the project's first research question: Operating together, does an industry-wide organizational culture tend to act in concert with or in opposition to key local values held by broadcasting managers of Asia? Factors were extracted using a principal components solution,

and a Varimax rotation of the factors was employed. Reagan (2000) offers some prudent advice on the use and interpretation of factor analyses, cautioning that the approach is "amorphous" and proposing that the best solution is the one that "predicts best." Following this suggestion, and based upon an examination of scree plots, a three factor solution was selected. Table 4 shows the results.

Table 4 Rotated Factor Matrix: Asian Broadcasters' Values

Country	Factor		
	1	2	3
Thailand			.769
Philippines		.830	
Vietnam	.892		
Bangladesh		.660	
Brunei		.847	
Indonesia		.882	
Cambodia	.916		
Laos	.750		.658
Pakistan			
Sri Lanka	.695		
Nepal	.824		.676
Maldives			
China	.822		
Malaysia		.895	

In an effort to make the factor structure more readily understandable, we attempted to identify common national attributes of the three sets of nations. Among the countries included in our analysis there are historical and political similarities that may help explain the structures of common value patterns.

The first grouping was made up of all socialist countries and former socialist nations in the study—China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos,

Sri Lanka, and Nepal. A socialist value orientation was clearly evident in participants' responses to the ranking exercise. For example, in this group each country's broadcast managers tended to rank religion at or near the bottom. The second grouping was made up of Islamic and Roman Catholic nations, including the predominantly Islamic nations of Maldives, Indonesia, Brunei, Malaysia, and Bangladesh, plus the Roman Catholic Philippines. In these

societies, religion was rated very important, but acquisitiveness received a low ranking. It might seem odd that Philippines would be included with Muslim nations, but this is perhaps a result of that country's strong Christian traditions the central values of which are quite similar to those of Islam. Thailand as a democratic monarchial Buddhist nation stood alone in the third factor because it is a democratic constitutional monarchy where the majority of citizens practice Buddhism. Thailand has never had a socialist government and its Buddhist values are quite different from Islam and Catholicism. Also, its political history is different from others in that it has never been colonized or occupied by a foreign power.

In response our first research question, the factor solution shows that there are three different sets of values among these broadcast workers from across the region, not just one. What appears to be evident is an interaction between local cultures and the organizational culture of broadcasting, resulting in sub-regional groupings. Similarly, somewhat greater importance was attached to time control and future orientation among these staff members.

As for our second research question, there was some degree of agreement among broadcast workers from all countries on certain cultural values, even though correlation coefficients attained significance only in about two-thirds of the countries compared as just noted. Most coefficients were positive, meaning that the rankings tended to place values in the same portions of the ranking scale. A negative value would indicate that the highly rated values of workers in one country were lowly ranked by the other, but there were only a handful of these and none achieved significance. The most

consistent agreement occurred in the ranking of knowledge and understanding, as previously observed. There was also broad agreement on materialism and individualism, both of which were values placed near the bottom among all participant groups.

Broadcasting staff from Thailand had value sets that distanced them from the groupings in Factors 1 and 2. Not surprisingly, Thailand's strongest similarity was found with neighboring Lao PDR, with which it shares many cultural and linguistic traditions. Other strong correlation coefficients for Thai participants were evident with Sri Lanka and Nepal. Curiously, Thai participants' rankings did not correlate significantly with those from neighboring Malaysian or Indonesian broadcasting workers. One possible confounding factor was that the Thai group of participants was predominantly female, the only group having this gender balance. Most groups were male dominated, as much as three-fourths male in the Maldives and Indonesia.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study offers three primary findings: First, the results clearly show that in Asia the power of national cultures exceeds that of broadcasting's organizational culture. This is demonstrated by the fact that a large proportion of coefficients in Table 3 were not significant, suggesting that organizational culture within the region was not so important in shaping the value systems of people working in electronic media. This conclusion supports the previous work of Scheffknecht (2011) and extends it to the field of radio and television.

Moreover, perhaps the best known example of the research into multi-sited organizational culture was Hofstadter's study of IBM's

organizational culture in 64 countries. Although not the principal aim of his study, he found four common problems in the corporation across the world. These problems had a range of solutions in different countries (1991, p. 12ff). Thus, we should remind ourselves that Hofstede's (2001) finding of differences from country to country in IBM's organizational culture also supports the thesis that surrounding cultures triumph over the culture of organizations.

Secondly, it appears that ideology and religion play a powerful role in determining the pattern of values evaluated in this study, even in a professional setting such as the media. Sharp differences from country to country were observed even though the 233 individuals who did the ranking were all working in the same field of broadcasting, most had comparable levels of education, were at middle to senior levels in their job responsibilities, were mostly of an age 35 to 55 years old, were mostly male, and enjoyed similar urban lifestyles. People possessing this much similarity in backgrounds could be expected to exhibit some degree of similarity in value systems, even if they come from diverse cultures. Nevertheless, factor analysis showed that different value orientations existed among these professionals.

Finally, because the factor analysis revealed at least three sets of value systems having numerous points of contrast, we believe our findings offer little support for the Asian values thesis. Although groupings of countries may have closely affiliated cultural systems, even within groups their uniformity was not great. There are a few cultural patterns that do seem consistent across Asia, such as the high importance attached to knowledge and education

and the lack of emphasis on materialism, but other supposedly common values such as religion, strong family ties, and work orientation were not at all constant.

Whether knowledge and education and the low value attached to materialism are unique Asian traits is not known because this study did not compare Asian participants with those from other regions³. Other researchers have pointed to large differences in measured cultural orientations among Asian nations, and to the fact that the values that are most familiar in Asia are also similar to cultural values found in other parts of the globe. For example, Charles Wolf (1999) reported on his study of these cultural questions, noting that "on only two of nine value dimensions did Asians significantly differ from Westerners. . . . Moreover, variance within the Asian and Western groups' responses was quite similar," with just two exceptions: "Asian respondents vary more widely among themselves in the importance they assign to good relations with 'others,' as distinct from families, and in the importance they assign to leisure activity than did their Western counterparts."

In conclusion, one should note that this study made no effort to compare the individuals providing the rankings, nor is there any attempt to assess the consistency of ranking among persons within groups. This is purely an effort

³ Although not reported in this study, one of the authors once collected data among managers of commercial broadcasting organizations in Ohio. Their rankings did not significantly correlate with any of the Asian countries and about half of the comparisons between the US managers and participants from Asian countries were negative. This result needs further exploration.

to compare cultural values as seen in composite form through the eyes of senior broadcast workers from organizations of different countries. It is true that among the workshop participants of some nations, on some values, there were notable differences in their rankings. This potentially could render some of the ratings unstable. Also, since this study employed a convenience sampling method, the question of whether these individuals were representative of staff members at similar levels in their stations and networks was raised. In all cases, there was a vetting process within the organizations to select employees for training, but the rationale for selection varied greatly. Some participants were chosen on the basis of their strong job performance and others were selected due to their need for job improvement.

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