Electronic Drums: Aboriginal and Native Radio in Canada and the USA

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1. Electronic Drums: Aboriginal and Native Radio in Canada and the USA

Recent decades have brought great technological change to the media, which are, of course, products of technology. In radio, changes have included satellites for program distribution, and digital equipment and software programs for program production. Internet streaming also ensures widespread program dissemination.

These changes have had a tremendous impact upon Native communities in the USA and Canada. Radio has traditionally played an important communication role in Native communities, since program production costs are relatively low compared to television, and the new technologies are now greatly enhancing communications among and between the disparate and geographically divided Native and Aboriginal peoples. This paper traces the development of Aboriginal and Native radio in both the USA and Canada, and examines how technology has transformed the way the medium is used to serve these communities.

In Canada, the terms Aboriginal and Native are often used when referring to all types of radio programming produced by or programmed for indigenous peoples. In the USA, Native-American or Indian radio are more commonly-used terms.

2. Canadian Radio

Much Canadian Aboriginal radio is funded by the federal government, either directly or indirectly. This support generally comes from two sources: the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the Department of Canadian Heritage. Advertising, however, has become an increasingly-important source of revenue.

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Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)

The CBC has provided the most resources for Aboriginal radio. Funded directly by the federal government, it has had the most money for equipment and personnel. The CBC’s early Aboriginal service was in the north, via short-wave radio in the 1950s, later replaced by radio transmitters. The Northern Service was established in 1958, with the first Inuit-language programming heard two years later (“First Peoples’,” n.d).

CBC North currently operates four services. CBC Yukon is based in Whitehorse and has broadcast since 1958. In addition to providing national programming, it offers locally-produced shows, mostly information or public affairs, usually hosted by non-Native Canadians. CBC Northwest Territories broadcasts from Yellowknife and also airs locally-produced shows as well as network programs. However, it broadcasts in six different languages, with a number of Aboriginal hosts. CBC Nunavut is based in Iqaluit on Baffin Island and has several bureaus throughout the Territory. Its programming is mostly news and public affairs, hosted by Aboriginal broadcasters. CBC Northern Quebec broadcasts in French and Cree from Nunavik in Northern Quebec. Appendix A contains more details about CBC North.

3. Federal Support Programs

The Department of Canadian Heritage’s Northern Native Broadcast Access Program funds the production and distribution of Aboriginal radio and television, with programs reflecting Aboriginal cultural and community issues. It has been crucial to the development of native radio; stations licensed to non-profit communications societies serve some 400 communities across Northern Canada.

In 1974, the federal government established the Native Communications Program (NCP) which, until its termination in 1990, provided funding for more than a hundred community radio stations. Budgetary cutbacks forced cancellation of the program and most of the community stations now rely on fund-raising events to remain operational, since their communities cannot provide sufficient advertising revenue (“First Peoples’,” n.d.). As non-profit organizations, many operate bingos to raise additional monies.

In 1981, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) approved the operation of a satellite radio network by two First Nations groups to deliver programming across the North in various languages (“The Development,” n.d). Two years later, the CRTC presented a northern broadcasting policy outlining the goal of access by native Northerners in the production and distribution of programming. Thirteen regional Native Communication Societies were approved and
received government funding under an initiative known as the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP). Some $40 million was provided for the production of twenty hours of regional native radio and five hours of Aboriginal television per week (“First Peoples’,” n.d.).

In 1990, a CRTC Native Broadcasting Policy defined “native” licensees. Such stations must be “owned and controlled by a non-profit organization whose structure provides for board membership by the native population of the region served. Its programming can be in a native Canadian language or in either or both of the two official languages, but should be specifically oriented to the native population and reflect the interests and needs specific to the native audience it is licenses to serve” (“Native,” 1990).

Shortly thereafter, the Broadcasting Act of 1991 noted for the first time that Aboriginal broadcasting is an integral part of the national broadcasting system, stating that Canadian broadcasting should “recognize ... the special place of aboriginal peoples within [Canadian] society” (“Milestones,” n.d.).

In recent years, government financial support for Native radio has declined. The Native Communications Program was cancelled and funding by the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program has decreased. In the face of these cutbacks, the CRTC in 2001 changed its regulations regarding advertising on native radio stations. Such stations had been limited to no more than an average of four minutes of commercials per hour, with no more than six minutes in any given hour. These restrictions were lifted, upon condition that the stations increase the amount of Canadian-content music programmed from 30 to 35 percent (“Public Notice,” 2001).

Appendix B outlines relevant excerpts of the 2001 public notice regarding advertising, Canadian music content, and other program content.

4. Community and Commercial Radio

In the face of federal monetary cutbacks and loosened regulations on the amount of commercial content, many stations have turned to advertising; many now rely upon the sale of commercial time to wholly or partially finance their operations.

In the Yukon, Northern Native Broadcasting was originally funded by the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program. It now broadcasts across the Yukon from its Whitehorse studios twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and is supported by advertising. Its programming is a combination of music, news, sports, and other features with both Anglophone and Aboriginal air personalities. It also operates CHON Productions, an advertising production house, and a television facility (“Northern Native Broadcasting,” n.d.).
CKNM-FM Yellowknife was begun to provide programming to the twenty-eight communities comprising the Dene Nation. Original funding came from the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program and the government of the Northwest Territories. The station evolved into a country music format with Anglophone announcers, but in the mid-1990s was re-named CKLB-FM and returned to its original mandate of providing Aboriginal music and information. Most shows are hosted by Aboriginal announcers (Zellen, 1998).

The Aboriginal Multi-Media Society (AMMSA) was formed in 1983 to disseminate information about Aboriginal culture through print, and later, electronic, media. It produces several publications such as Windspeaker, Alberta Sweetgrass, and Ontario Birchbark. In 1986, it established CFWE-FM as a community radio station in Lac La Biche, Alberta, broadcasting for twelve hours a day. Studios were moved to Edmonton in 1993 and CFWE now broadcasts twenty-four hours a day via satellite to some 200 communities across Canada. Programming is distributed by local community stations.

Wawatay Native Communications Society operates radio and television networks as well as a newspaper and print service (“Wawatay Native,” n.d.). It serves Northern Ontario and its radio programming is heard on a variety of community stations throughout the area. Its two production centers in Sioux Lookout and Moose Factory Island produce programs in Cree and English.

CKON-FM, near Cornwall, Ontario, serves parts of Southern Ontario and Quebec and northern New York State. Started in 1984, its goal is the “preservation and promotion of Mohawk culture, and to broadcast information, entertainment, and music in a way very unique to the community where it began” (“CKON Facts,” n.d.). Its programming includes music, news, and sports, including, most recently, the national aboriginal hockey championships.

CFNR-FM, owned by Northern Native Broadcasting, is a commercial station based in Terrace, British Columbia. Transmitters throughout Northern and Central B.C. send a variety of programming, including music, sports, and Native public affairs shows to more than 150 thousand people.

MBC Network Radio, operated by the Missinipi Broadcasting Corporation, was founded following the advent of the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program. MBC Radio operates twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, from studios in La Ronge, Saskatchewan. It broadcasts in English, Cree, and Dene and offers music and information programming, including talk shows. Its programs are heard throughout Saskatchewan via satellite. Advertising and copywriting is handled by a sales office in Prince Albert, and commercials are produced in La Ronge.
Native Communications Inc. (NCI) of Manitoba, although registered as a non-profit organization and receiving some federal funding, also carries advertising. It began broadcasting in 1971. Its programs, which include considerable Aboriginal music, reach the Manitoba native community twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week from forty-seven transmitters across the province.

On December 8, 2002, Aboriginal radio in Canada took a huge step forward when Aboriginal Voices Radio (AVR) hit the airwaves in Toronto, the country's largest city. The non-profit station was formed in 1998 to develop a national Aboriginal radio service. Its mission is to present the Native perspective through music and information programming such as news, talk shows, and public affairs programs. The CRTC initially granted licenses to operate a flagship station in Toronto, with re-broadcasting facilities in Ottawa, Calgary, and Vancouver. Long-range plans call for expansion to twenty-seven Canadian markets, news bureaus in fifteen centers and stringers in twelve others, and a second network in French ("Aboriginal Voices Radio," 2002).

5. American Radio

American Native radio has also developed in recent years, although more slowly and less extensively than in Canada due to lack of direct financial support by the federal government and legislative action by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Unlike Canada, where the government has provided specific resources for Native radio from the CBC and the Department of Canadian Heritage, relatively little federal support has been given directly to Native broadcasters.

Corporation for Public Broadcasting

There are thirty Native-owned and operated public radio stations in the USA, including Alaska and Hawaii. Some funding comes from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), which is a private non-profit corporation created by Congress in 1967. Its mandate is to provide financial and other support to public radio and television stations, and for FY 2004 was allocated $380 million ("FY 2004," 2003). It awards grants both to organizations and to producers of radio and television programs. In 1995, it created Future Funds to provide assistance to public television and radio stations in raising money ("Television," n.d.).

Examples of projects that have received CPB funding include an Inter-Tribal Native Radio Summit, designed to "establish ways to work together toward building stronger and more sustainable public service—not just for the relatively small percentage of Native Americans who have access to reservation-based Native-controlled public radio stations, but to the majority of Native Americans who live elsewhere and might employ new..."
media to listen to the array of Native programming produced around the country” (“Funded Radio,” n.d.). In 2001, the CPB financed the production of a 26-week series of music and storytelling, Wisdom of the Elders Radio (“CPB Funds,” 2001). These are just two of many examples of Native radio grants; the cost of each of these projects exceeded $225 thousand.

The Future Funds have recently become embroiled in controversy and their future is in doubt. In May, 2004, the General Accounting Office released a report stating that the corporation illegally diverted funds designated for station grants to the Television Future Fund. While CPB management disputed the findings, it announced that it will discontinue the television fund after this year and return some of the unspent monies to the station grant pool. Some members of Congress have called for all of that money to be spent on station grants (Everhart & Egner, 2004).

Despite the television funding problem, the radio fund appears solvent for the foreseeable future. On May 14, 2004, management announced that its financing would continue at least through 2005 and awarded more than $7.5 million dollars for various projects. Included were $1.2 million for Koahnic Broadcasting of Anchorage, Alaska, to continue production of the daily talk show Native America Calling, and $125 thousand for the Native music project Earthsongs (Janssen, 2004).

6. Native American Public Telecommunications

Another major supporter of Native radio is the Native American Public Telecommunications (NAPT). This non-profit organization receives funding from the CPB as well as foundations such as the Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, as well as organizations like the Institute of American Indian Arts and the Nebraska Humanities Council (“Empowering,” n.d.). The NAPT does not operate stations, but rather produces and distributes both radio and television programs and operates a production training program for American Indians and Alaska Natives. One of its services is American Indian Radio on Satellite (AIROS), which began in 1994. Its flagship program, Native America Calling, is a live hour-long daily call-in show distributed to more than 40 stations via satellite free of charge by National Public Radio (“This Week,” n.d.). Appendix C contains the AIROS coverage map and a list of stations airing its programming.


Besides national programs, a number of stations produce their own Native programming. Following are three examples. KTNN, The Voice of the Navajo
Nation, is a commercial station broadcasting from Window Rock, Arizona. It has a clear-channel 50 thousand-watt signal, which is unusual for a station programming to the Native-American community. Its signal covers a huge area of the western USA and Canada. It produces many news and information shows as well as music programs that include Native artists ("KTNN Online," n.d.).

KEYA-FM in Belcourt, North Dakota, licensed in 1974, was one of the first non-commercial educational stations in the USA. Its signal originates on the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation and also reaches Southern Manitoba. Its stated goal is "to unite the people of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation and the surrounding communities, by providing entertainment, education, news and community information." The non-commercial station supplements CPB funding with bingo revenues ("KEYA," n.d.).

KGVA is the only Native-owned and operated public radio station in Montana (Selden, 2003). Its FM signal carries a variety of music, including pow wow singing and drumming, as well as news and NPR programming.

Besides stations carrying primarily Native-American programming, a number also broadcast weekly shows aimed at this audience. Examples include Indian Uprising, hosted by Chris Spotted Eagle and carried by Minneapolis/St. Paul community station KFAI ("Indian Uprising," n.d.), and alterNative Voices, a music/interview program heard on Denver public station KUVO ("alterNative Voices," n.d.). Appendix C also contains a list of stations that broadcast some Native programming.

Many of the stations carrying Native programming also stream their signals on the web. Another useful web site is Native Streams, which programs new age, traditional pow wow, and Indian rap/hip hop on different streams ("Native Streams," n.d.).

The Native American Music Awards were started in 1997 and NAMMYs are presented in various categories. Their website is www.nativeamericanmusic.com. A comprehensive list of Native American music and arts organizations, with links to individual musicians and record companies, can be found at www.nativeculture.com/lisamitten/music.html.

7. Conclusion

Aboriginal or Native radio in both Canada and the USA is growing, despite cutbacks in federal funding. Stations in both countries are increasingly turning to private sources to supplement federal funds, and a few rely wholly or in large part upon advertising to meet their financial needs. Satellite and Internet technology mean that Native programming can be distributed efficiently internationally. Thus, electronic drums now carry the voices and stories of Aboriginal and Native peoples to the four corners of the continent, and to the world.
CBC/Radio-Canada reaches out to Canadians through a multitude of platforms to ensure that all have access to its services. It operates six networks which broadcast in English and French, television and radio on the AM and FM bands, as well as three full-service web sites. The network operations are located in Toronto and Montreal with regional offices located in each province and the North West Territories/Yukon/Nunavut where services are broadcast in eight Aboriginal languages. The Corporate Office is located in Ottawa. The CBC's shortwave service, which broadcasts in seven different languages around the world, is headquartered in Montreal.

CBC North has staff in ten locations, broadcasts 180 hours a week in ten languages, spread across four time zones. Roughly half of its workforce is aboriginal Canadians.

CBC North has Inuit community reporters in every Nunavut and Nunavik community, and almost every community in the Dene and Gwich'in communities. It is the only broadcaster in most of the area, and often the only signal available. It provides an essential service and crucial link for people scattered across thousands of kilometers and provides the forum for political and cultural discussion that could otherwise not take place, providing a voice to thousands of Canadians where otherwise their views would not be heard, and a place where their languages are spoken and supported. This incredible commitment of resources, unique to the CBC, allows the Corporation to reflect back the diversity of Canada's North to all Canadians—and this commitment has grown markedly over the past couple of years.

In CBC North, almost half of the staff are indigenous, and as there are no journalism schools and few other media to provide the talent, CBC has to find promising people and develop the skills and the expertise internally. CBC North Television has undertaken a number of initiatives to develop aboriginal talent in the area of television production, journalism, performing arts and visual arts. These include significant ongoing investment in training, development and mentorship of Inuit staff for reporter/editor positions in Television; training of an Inuit anchor/host in Yellowknife as backup for the current anchor/host; a number of workshops put on or sponsored by CBC North TV to increase opportunities for Northern filmmakers over the past two years, held in Whitehorse, Yellowknife and Dawson City.

CBC Winnipeg established a First Nations morning show panel. Rotating members of the panel also act as consultants to the program regarding Aboriginal affairs coverage. They also created a ground-breaking nine-part series called Original Citizens—Spring 2002. It is a history of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg and the way their lives have shaped the character of this community. A CD Rom of the series is being created for community leaders and schools. The province of Manitoba is currently considering the series for inclusion in the social studies curriculum. The series is also being incorporated into a larger series on Aboriginal Peoples for ‘Sounds Like Canada.’
Two Aboriginal reporters were recently hired in Winnipeg. One recruit is now capable of chasing, reporting and show directing while the other can report and function as a chase producer. Both recruits required considerable training.

CBC Saskatchewan hosted a “Learn at Lunch” for all their radio and TV journalists on the subject of reporting on the Aboriginal community. A panel of three Indian professionals shared their experience and insight on the subject. A young Cree woman has been interning as an associate producer for the past several months with the assistance of the HELP fund. She has been instrumental in the development of a data bank of new aboriginal contacts. Two CBC staff members were guest instructors at a month-long Communications course sponsored by the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in Regina.

A CBC Thunder Bay manager came up with The Top 10 Diversity Tips and The Aboriginal Recruitment Challenge drawn from his experience of recruiting, training, and integrating designated group members. This information was shared with other English media directors for radio and TV across the country.

The National Aboriginal Achievement Awards Show continued to provide targeted training and mentorship opportunities to Aboriginal people in a variety of roles including director, camera and hosting.

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### Aboriginal Peoples in the CBC/
### Personnes autochtones à la SRC

- **0.0%**
- **0.5%**
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Appendix B

Excerpts from Public Notice CRTC 2001-70:

Canadian content

In PN 2000-105, the Commission sought public input on a proposal to increase the required level of Canadian content in popular (Category 2) music, from 30% to 35%, for the affected native radio undertakings.

Most of the licensees stated that they would be willing to accept a condition of licence requiring the broadcast of a minimum of 35% Canadian content in popular music. Some stated that they already devoted a percentage higher than that to Canadian music.

The majority of public comments received on this matter supported an increase in Canadian content for native radio stations. Commercial radio licences argued that non-exempt native radio stations could and should be expected to meet the same Canadian content requirements as other broadcasters. Following recent policy reviews, the Commission increased from 30% to 35% the minimum percentage of all popular music that commercial, community and campus radio stations are required to devote to Canadian selections.

After reviewing all comments and input, the Commission is satisfied that a 35% level of Canadian content in Category 2 music is feasible for non-exempt native radio stations. A condition of licence will be applied to the licences of each of the affected undertakings, requiring that a minimum of 35% of the musical selections from content category 2 during each broadcast week be devoted to Canadian selections. “Canadian selection” and “broadcast week” are defined in the Radio Regulations 1986.

Advertising

Currently, non-exempt native radio undertakings may broadcast no more than an average of 4 minutes of advertising per hour, with no more than 6 minutes of such material in any given hour. As part of this process, the Commission also sought comment on whether the current restriction of advertising on such undertakings was still appropriate.

Some native licensees stated that the current restrictions are not problematic, since they either do not broadcast advertising at all, or they are not able to sell enough advertising to fill the time currently allowed.

Other licensees disagreed, and were of the opinion that the restrictions should be lifted. These native licensees argued that, given diminishing resources for funding, advertising is of utmost importance, representing their best hope for growth. These licensees were of the opinion that the ability to access more revenues from advertising would allow for greater self-sufficiency and less reliance upon financial support from governments and band councils.

The Commission notes that the broadcast of advertising material is no longer limited for commercial and community radio licensees, and the removal of such restrictions on native licensees would put them on the same footing as most other Canadian radio broadcasters. The Commission has, therefore, decided not to impose conditions of licence limiting the level of advertising material broadcast on native radio stations.
Non station-originated programming

The public notice also asked parties to comment on the appropriateness of "wrap-around" programming. This term describes blocks of programming that originate from other radio stations. The source is often a distant commercial station, and the practice eliminates the need for the native station to sign off at the end of limited daily programming.

Many native radio stations broadcast only station-produced programming. For the most part, the ones that broadcast non station-originated programming do so in very limited amounts. A small number of native radio stations do, however, carry large amounts of wrap-around programming, especially in the evening hours. For example, some native licensees complete their local programming at 6:00 p.m. and then rebroadcast a popular urban commercial station until local broadcasting resumes the following day.

The Commission sought comments from interested parties on what remedies might be appropriate in cases where wrap-around programming has a negative impact on other broadcasters in their market.

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) was of the view that wrap-around programming can have an impact and is particularly harmful in areas where there is more than one commercial radio station in the market. The CAB recommended that native radio undertakings wishing to carry wrap-around programming should be required to use programs that originate either from another native radio station or an aboriginal network located in the same province or region.

The Commission is of the opinion that the scenario suggested above would be compatible with the definition of a native undertaking as outlined in the Native Broadcasting Policy. That policy stipulates that the programming available on a native undertaking "should be specifically oriented to the native population and reflect the interests and needs specific to the native audience it is licensed to serve."

For the reasons set out above, at the time of licence renewal, native stations wishing to carry wrap-around programming will be either encouraged or required to use programming from another native station or network. The approach taken may depend upon whether complaints or interventions related to wrap-around programming are received.

AIROS coverage map and stations carrying its programming

1. CIUT - Toronto, ONT - 89.5 FM
2. CKMR - Morley, AB - 88.1 FM
3. COKI - Siksika, AB - 103.1 FM
4. KABR - Alamo, NM - 1500 AM
5. KABU - Fort Totten, ND - 90.7 FM
6. KAXE - Grand Rapids/Brainerod/Bemidji, MN - 91.7, 89.5, 94.7 FM
7. KBBI - Homer, AK - 890 FM
8. KBRW - Barrow, AK - 680 AM
9. KCIE - Dulce, NM - 90.5 FM
10. KCUK - Chevak, AK - 88.1 FM
11. KDLG - Dillingham, AK - 670 AM
12. KDLK - Kenia, AK - 91.9 FM
13. KEYA - Belcourt, ND - 88.5 FM
14. KGHR - Tuba City, AZ - 91.5 FM
15. KGPL - Gallup, NM - 91.7 FM
16. KGNU - Boulver, CO - 88.5 FM
17. KGOU - Oklahoma City/Norman, OK - 106.3 FM
18. KGVA - Harlem, MT - 88.1 FM
19. KIDE - Hoopa, CA - 91.3 FM
20. KILI - Porcupine, SD - 90.1 FM
21. KISU - Pocatello, ID - 91.1 FM
22. KLND - Little Eagle, SD - 89.5 FM
23. KMHA - New Town, ND - 91.3 FM
24. KNBA - Anchorage, AK - 90.3 FM
25. KNNB - Whiteriver, AZ - 88.1, 89.9, 99.1 FM
26. KNSA - Unalakleet, AK - 930 AM
27. KOTY - Toppenish, WA - 1490 AM
28. KOTZ - Kotzebue, AK - 720 AM
29. KPFA, KPFB, KFCF - Berkeley, CA - 94.1 FM
30. KRBD - Ketchikan, AK - 105.9 FM
31. KROU - Oklahoma City/Spencer, OK - 105.7 FM
32. KRZA - Alamosa, CO - 88.3 FM
33. KSDP - Sand Point, AK - 830 AM
34. KSFC - Spokane, WA - 89.3 FM
35. KSJD - Cortez, CO - 91.5 FM
36. KSKO - McGrath, AK - 870 AM
37. KSUT - Ignacio, CO - 91.3 FM
38. KSWS - Sisseton, SD - 89.3 FM
39. KTDB - Pinehill, NM - 89.7 FM
40. KTOX - Fresno, CA - 90.5 FM
41. KUHB - St Paul, AK - 91.9 FM
42. KUNM - Albuquerque, NM - 89.9 FM
43. KUVO - Denver, CO - 89.3 FM
44. KUYI - First Mesa, AZ - 88.1 FM
45. KWSO - Warm Springs, OR - 91.9 FM
46. KYUK - Bethel, AK - 640 AM
47. KZPA - Ft. Yukon, AK - 900 AM
48. KZUM - Lincoln, NE - 89.3 FM
49. WLNZ - Lansing, MI - 89.7 FM
50. WLUW - Chicago, IL - 88.7 FM
51. WOJB - Hayward, WI - 88.9 FM
52. WYMS - Milwaukee, WI - 88.9 FM
53. WYSO - Dayton, OH - 91.3 FM
References


This week on AIROS. (n.d.) AIROS web site: <http://www.airos.org/audio.html>.


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