

## Living Language, Resurgent Radio: A Survey of Indigenous Language Broadcasting Initiatives

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For a demise that has been predicted for over 60 years, radio is a remarkably resilient communications medium, and one that warrants deeper examination as a vehicle for the revitalization of historically marginalized and Indigenous languages.

Radio has not been eroded by the rise of new media, whether that be television, video, or newer multimodal technologies associated with the internet. To the contrary, communities are leveraging the formerly analogue medium of radio in transformative ways, breathing new life into old transistors, and using radio for the transmission of stories, song, and conversation. In this contribution, we highlight effective and imaginative uses of radio for Indigenous language reclamation through a series of case studies, and we offer a preliminary analysis of the structural conditions that can both support and impede developments in Indigenous-language radio programming.

The success of radio for Indigenous language programming is thanks to the comparatively low cost of operations, its asynchronous nature that supports programs to be consumed at any time (through repeats, podcasts, downloads, and streaming services) and the unusual, even unique, quality of radio being both engaging yet not all-consuming, meaning that a listener can be actively involved in another activity at the same time.

**1. Introduction: The remarkable persistence of radio** The notion that each new technology inevitably usurps and replaces whatever medium directly preceded it is an enduringly popular trope. Fueled by a thinly disguised technological determinism in which the co-existence of different ‘generations’ of tools is imagined to be implausible (or even impossible), technological renewal is most often presented as a linear, and at times even evolutionary, process. In 1979, British synthpop band *The Buggles* topped the charts with their hit song ‘Video Killed the Radio Star’ (Hung Medien 1979; Official Charts 1979; RPM 1980). Writing in the *New York Times* in 2007, Richard Siklos asked, “Is Radio Still Radio if There’s Video?”. And, in 2008, the *Victoria Advocate* ran with an article entitled, quite simply, “The Death of Radio?”

(Brandon 2008). In this article, we suggest that for a demise that has been foretold and predicted for over 60 years, radio is a remarkably resilient communications medium, and one that warrants deeper examination as a vehicle for the transmission and revitalization of historically marginalized and Indigenous languages, particularly in relation to conversation, song, and the transmission of oral traditions and stories (cf. Ginsburg 2011).

We argue that radio has not been eroded by the rise of new media, whether that be television, video, or newer multimodal technologies associated with the internet, such as YouTube or SoundCloud. To the contrary, Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities alike have leveraged the formerly analogue medium of radio in creative and transformative ways, breathing new life into old transistors. We illustrate effective and imaginative deployments of Indigenous language radio through a series of case studies from around the world and offer a preliminary analysis of the structural conditions that both support and impede developments in Indigenous-language radio programming.

Radio, particularly when delivered over the internet, is proving to be effective in strengthening, sustaining, and revitalizing cultural and linguistic traditions. The success of radio for Indigenous programming is in no small part thanks to the comparatively low cost of operations, its asynchronous nature that supports programs to be consumed at all hours (through repeats,<sup>1</sup> podcasts,<sup>2</sup> downloads,<sup>3</sup> and streaming services<sup>4</sup>), and its unusual, even unique, quality of being both engaging yet not all-consuming, meaning that a listener can be actively involved in another activity at the same time, such as farming, fishing, driving, and so on (cf. Akanbi & Aladesanmi 2014: 564). In all of these aspects, radio is notably distinct from reading and also from watching or consuming moving images (such as television, gaming, and online video), all of which demand more complete and even singular attention.

This article is a reflection on the endurance of radio, a medium whose death – very much like ‘expert’, if arrogant, pronouncements by journalists and linguists of the attrition of so many Indigenous languages – has been predicted for as long as it has been a medium of communication. Our contribution is structured by form, focus, and method rather than by region or language, an approach that we have used in order to illustrate common themes across the globe that demonstrate how radio has been taken up by Indigenous communities and supported, or impeded, by the State. In conducting the research for this article, we were struck by the absence of an environmental scan such as this of Indigenous-language radio programming and how little focus has been devoted to this important topic. It is our hope that we can shed some initial light on Indigenous language radios worldwide and what lessons can be learned from their creative and innovative approaches.

<sup>1</sup>See <https://mediaklikk.hu/musor/haromszolamra/> (last accessed 2020-07-14).

<sup>2</sup>See <https://ineeyouistchee.com/> and <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/podcasts/-wiihteh/index.html> (last accessed 2020-07-14).

<sup>3</sup>See <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b05mzzhr/episodes/downloads> (last accessed 2020-07-14).

<sup>4</sup>See <http://www.radiobreizh.bzh/en/> (last accessed 2020-07-14).

**2. Methodology** Before turning to the substance of the article, we must address our methodological approach and be transparent about the case studies we chose to include, and the process by which we selected them. Our physical location along Canada's Cascadian coast, and therefore our access to local news media, publications, and the networks of colleagues certainly helped to inform our North American perspective. In addition, corresponding author Turin has been working in collaborative partnership with Indigenous communities in the Himalayan region for over twenty-five years and with First Nations communities in the Pacific Northwest for the last six years, a sustained engagement with community-led research that has helped to direct and shape our inquiry.

While keen to draw on examples of Indigenous-language radio programming from as many continents as we could find, we were necessarily constrained by the resources and publications to which we had access, and the languages in which we can work (English, French, Nepali, Dutch, and basic Spanish). We began with a core set of peer-reviewed research papers that addressed specific instances of radio being used to preserve and revitalize Indigenous languages in different locations. We combed the references of these publications for further leads and compiled a list of radio stations either established by Indigenous communities or with Indigenous-focused programming. We then started the rather laborious task of determining whether Indigenous language broadcasting was indeed an aspect of their general programming, and if so, whether it was the medium or simply a topic about which there was substantial discussion. When possible, we listened to broadcasts and radio stations themselves.<sup>5</sup>

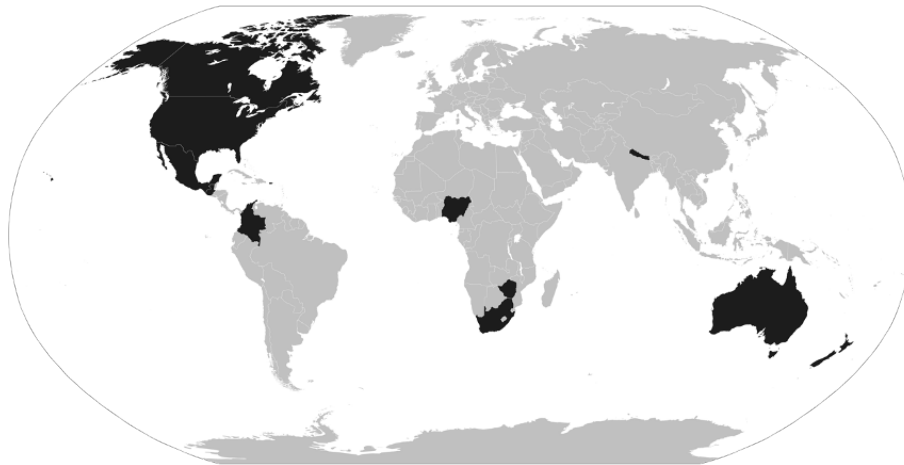
In our study, there were no criteria for exclusion. As a result, our environmental scan is certainly opportunistic rather than comprehensive and reflects what we found within the constraints of our search. Figure 1 offers a graphic overview of the locations of our principal case studies. In addition, we wish to call attention to the context of each language identified in this survey with respect to their health and status. Although linguistic vitality is not discussed in this contribution and remains a contentious topic when written about from an etic perspective, it is an important element of the context in which Indigenous radios operate. While the absolute number of speakers is not directly indicative of vitality, having more speakers does mean a community's radio station – which is not necessarily the community's first priority – can have fluent or semi-fluent speakers present over the airwaves. Personnel, both speakers and not, are a significant resource base to be considered (cf. Murillo 2009: 246; cf. Ndawana 2019: 64).

The resulting contribution offers a starting point for a conversation that we hope will soon be more complete. At the same time, this work needs to be articulated with the central question of how to measure the success and impact of Indigenous language programming in ways that meet community goals, methods, and aspirations (cf. Carpenter et al. 2016). We kindly and respectfully ask the reader to note that the analysis and interpretation we offer in this article derive from our understanding of the published literature and available online resources. On account of temporal and resource constraints, we were not in a position to undertake any original 'fieldwork'

<sup>5</sup>See <http://radio.garden/> (last accessed 2020-06-08).

with Indigenous-language broadcasters, nor did we have an opportunity to interview broadcasters, radio hosts, community members, or national leaders. We hope that we have not misrepresented, underrepresented, or overrepresented any communities in the process of highlighting these inspiring case studies, and in each instance refer the reader to the broadcaster or original source for further information and context.

Through our exploration, a notable distinction has emerged between what we have chosen to distinguish as state-sponsored Indigenous language programming, on the one hand, and community-led and community-based radio broadcasting, on the other. The following case studies are organized according to their location within these categories. The first section focuses on community radio within three Indigenous nations. Thereafter, we turn to a few cases of States that ‘sanction’ community-run radios, and finally, we turn to look at the role and effect that state promotion and restriction have on airwaves.



**Figure 1.** World map indicating (in black) where the principal case studies outlined in this article are located. Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. Accessed July 10, 2020. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BlankMap-World.png>.

**3. First Voices, First Radios** At the outset, we must underscore that ‘radio’ should not be understood as one homogenous technology or medium. What ‘radio’ means and how it works varies considerably across the globe. As will become apparent in this contribution, the harnessing of radio by Indigenous speech communities is a story of successes and challenges, and we provide examples of how States are both facilitating and constraining the growth of such radios.

In this section, we address community-led and community-based radio broadcasting. Distinct from the state-sponsored broadcasters, or information dissemination and public service broadcasting, Indigenous-run community radios provide spaces for important conversation and dialogue. We explore this position through three

case studies – Navajo, Nuxalk, and Poqomam – all three of which are Nations Indigenous to Turtle Island/Abya Yala<sup>6</sup> who broadcast to their communities across vastly different ecological and territorial landscapes.

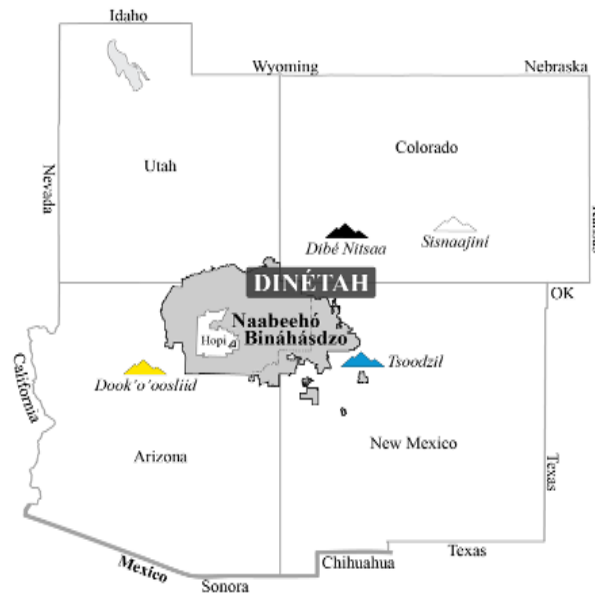
**3.1 KTNN 660 AM** *Naabeehó Bináhásdzo*,<sup>7</sup> the Navajo Nation, is one of the largest Native American nations in the United States with a semi-autonomous territory of 72,000km<sup>2</sup> (only slightly smaller than the Canadian province of New Brunswick) and a population of nearly 174,000 located at the “Four Corners” intersection between Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. According to recent surveys, the speaker base of *Diné Bizaad* (“the people’s language”) is about 56% of the Nation’s total enrolled population (Donovan 2011; Nez & Francisco 2013: 5; Ryan 2013: 3; Siebens & Julian 2011: 2). Within *Diné* or *Naabeehó bikéyah* (or “Navajoland”), several broadcast media outlets function and transmit in both/either English and/or Diné Bizaad,<sup>8</sup> and one well-established nation-wide radio service broadcasts across Dinétah: KTNN 660 AM.

In 1986, KTNN became one of the first radio stations to broadcast over the entire expanse of Navajo Country (Peterson 1997: 215). Adopting the slogan ‘Voice of the Nation’, KTNN has become a focal point for many Navajo citizens as the station operates bilingually in Diné Bizaad and English (Keith 1995: 41–45). Programming takes a variety of forms, including sports and news broadcasts, as well as country, rock, and Navajo music mixes, all of which help to attract a large cross-section of Navajo listeners. While the station has been effective in attracting an impressively wide demographic range, its core programming is tailored to appeal to certain age groups and speaker communities, with younger, semi-speakers allegedly turning away from language-heavy, “pure” Diné broadcasting (Peterson 1997: 216). Such ‘tuning out’ is a widely noted issue in Indigenous language programming, reflecting competing ideologies and understandings of how and when different registers of a language are appropriate and desirable in different contexts.

<sup>6</sup>cf. Keme (2018a), modified and reprinted in *Revista Transas* (2018b). “Turtle Island” originates as a creation story from a variety of northeastern woodland First Nations, depicting a continental landmass atop a turtle’s back. It has since spread from the Anishinaabek, Haudenosaunee, and Lenape (amongst others) to become a moniker for North America as a whole (Robinson 2018). Similarly, “Abya Yala” is a continental name applied to the whole of North, Central, and South America, originating from the Guna Nation and their country, Guna Yala, stretching along the far northeastern coast of Panama (see Appendix 4). The term means ‘land in its full maturity’ or ‘land in bloom’ (Carrera & Ruiz 2016: 12).

<sup>7</sup>The Navajo Nation maintains several names to describe both its people and its country. *Bináhásdzo* means ‘reservation’ (Lee 2020: 76). The word “Navajo” is an exonym coming from the Tewa language meaning approximately ‘large field’ (*nava* ‘field’ and *hu* ‘valley/canyon’ – referring to creeks or canyons where people raise crops) (Harrington 1920: 343) and is rendered as *Naabeehó* in their own language, *Diné Bizaad*. The Nation’s endonym is *Diné* meaning ‘people’ (Goossen 1995). The Nation’s territory or country is known as *Diné* or *Naabeehó bikéyah* (*bi-* ‘his/her/their/its’ and *kéyah* ‘territory, land, country’) (Young & Morgan 1972: 9, 259) with *Dinétab* (*diné* ‘people’ and *-tab* ‘among’) (26) referring to the traditional Navajo homeland (New Mexico Bureau of Land Management 2013; Lee 2020: 76) and *Níbi Kéyah* being the ‘land people live and walk on and call home’ (Lee 2020: 76). The terms Dinétah and Denendeh, the homeland or country of their Na-Dené/Athabaskan relatives across what is now NW Canada and much of Alaska, are related (Dene Nation 2018).

<sup>8</sup>See <https://web.archive.org/web/20161123203557/http://www.obs.navajo-nsn.gov/RadioNetwork/tabid/11222/Default.aspx> (last accessed 2020-06-10), <https://www.kghr.net/> (last accessed 2020-06-10), <http://kndnradio.com/> (last accessed 2020-06-10), and Zah 2011.



**Figure 2.** Map of the US American ‘Four Corners’, the Navajo Reservation, and of the four sacred mountains bounding Dinéyah: the traditional Navajo country. See Appendix 2 for more detailed information and sources.

A tension that has surfaced in KTNN programming is that of a pull towards standardization, on the one hand, and a requirement to reflect local, linguistic variation and be inclusive of the wider speech community, on the other. In his 1997 analysis of the KTNN audience, Peterson points to uneven levels of fluency and language ability across the listenership. Many different communities tune in to listen to local language programming on KTNN, including older monolinguals, young bilinguals whose Diné shows influence from English and slang, semi-speakers, and even non-speakers (Peterson 1997: 217).

While KTNN’s mandate is to provide quality programming, as a commercial station bound by a financial model, it is also shaped by the desires and needs of its economic backers. Peterson notes that “advertisers cater to those they perceive as holding the purse strings [...] in this case parents and grandparents” (1997: 216). Focusing on this target audience, KTNN programming is thus geared towards an older, and generally more fluent, population of Diné Bizaad speakers. The effect of such linguistic and editorial choices is summarized by Krystle Seschillie, who describes how she “would change [from] the [KTNN] station to the popular R & B music station to keep from being bored ... For the most part [she] tuned out what they were saying because it was way too fast for [her] to understand and there was no real interest for [her] to even attempt to understand [...] This stuff is just not interesting to a child or teen” (Seschillie 2011).

While there have been developments since Peterson’s review, we maintain that the case of KTNN succinctly illustrates how Indigenous-language radio programming

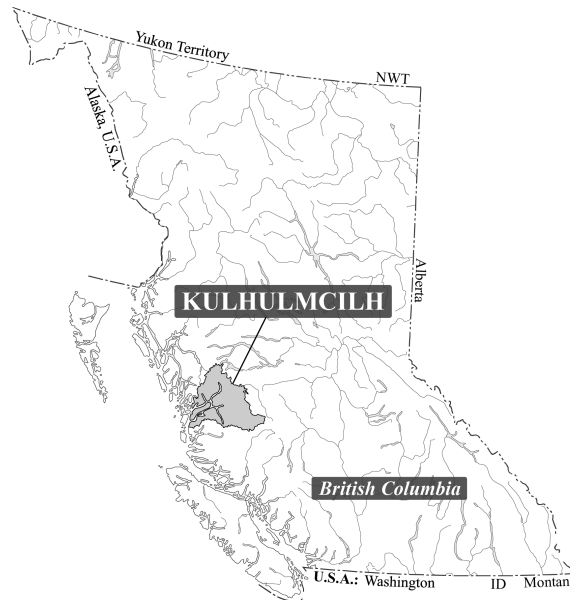
not only reflects the beliefs and ideologies around language use within a community but actually helps to shape the policies and programs by which an Indigenous language is mobilized. As Peterson notes, “Changes in the Navajo language as a result of broadcasting, such as the constant use of English terms, can have wide-reaching implications in language maintenance” (1997: 217). As the timeslots for programming become tighter, and revenue generated through advertising becomes increasingly important for long-term sustainability, more ‘traditional’ Diné is losing ground to neologisms and increasingly prevalent code-switching amongst speakers. The strategic decision by KTNN hosts and DJs to choose terms like ‘Window Rock’ (Arizona) over Tségháhoodzání, since ever fewer listeners and announcers are acquainted with traditional Navajo place names, has drawn ire from more traditional listeners. Dubbed ‘Broadcast Navajo’, speakers take (and vociferously defend) opposing positions around ‘correct’ language use within a single speech community. As Allan Bell notes, “the public is ultra-sensitive about broadcast language [...and] accusations that certain broadcasters speak incorrectly are a familiar listener response” (1983: 38).

Yet, these very same ardently held positions about language choice can also create dialogue and conversation, with listeners calling in to offer advice and suggestions around correct and appropriate use. Peterson offers a case in point: When KTNN newscaster J.B. forgot the Diné kinship term for ‘uncle’ during a live transmission, and incorrectly used *bik’is* ‘brother’ instead, a listener soon left a message advising the presenter that the proper term for ‘uncle’ was *bidá’í* (1997: 219). Such engagement underscores the pedagogical and iterative potential of Indigenous-language radio programming. The dynamic dialogue between host and listener has become a driving and productive force for the maintenance and furthering of Broadcast Navajo, demonstrating how KTNN has developed from broadcasting and disseminating information to a space for community conversation, engagement, linguistic negotiation, and the relearning of language.

**3.2 Nuxalk Radio 91.1 FM** Located some 2,800 kilometers away from the “Four Corners” and the Navajo Nation, along the central coast of British Columbia, Canada, in a territory called Kulhulmcilh (*Nuxalk Territory Maps* Nuxalk Smayusta n.d.), the Nuxalk Nation numbers between 1,700 (INAC 2020) and 3,000 people (*About Nuxalk Nation* n.d.). According to statistics from the First People’s Cultural Council compiled in 2018, Nuxalk has only 11 remaining fluent speakers (down from 40 in 2010 and 17 in 2014) as well as about 600 semi-speakers (Dunlop et al. 2018: 21, 45). The majority of *Nuxalkmc* (Nuxalk people) live in Bella Coola where an innovative and non-commercial community radio station – Nuxalk Radio – was established in 2014.

“Starting a radio station in Bella Coola was certainly not a new idea; however, it was something we felt very determined to achieve as we had heard that radio was a big part of the revival of the Hawaiian language,” remarked station co-founder Slts’lani (Banchi Hanuse) during a 2015(a) interview. Nuxalk Radio provides not only a platform to connect the remaining Nuxalk language speakers with both their language

and with aspiring learners but also transmits a “complex soundscape expressing contemporary ways of being Nuxalk, from Acwsalcta School youth composing rap songs in Nuxalk [(Acwsalcta School 2016)], to ways of achieving environmental sustainability and food sovereignty, to bingo and karaoke” (Kramer 2018: 159–60). In an interview with *The Raven*, the annual publication of the University of British Columbia’s First Nations and Indigenous Studies Program, Slts’lani describes the foundation of Nuxalk Radio as a “way of educating and assisting [the] community in the process of revitalization and resurgence [...] to help keep the Nuxalk language alive” (Hanuse 2015b: 13).



**Figure 3.** Map of British Columbia and the Nuxalk territory: Kulhulmcilh. Adapted from “Nuxalk Territory Maps” Nuxalk Smayusta n.d. and Wikimedia Commons. Accessed July 10, 2020. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canada\\_BC\\_lakes\\_map.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canada_BC_lakes_map.png).

*Lhulhamktulhs ala ts’ktaliwalh alh ti s-kulhulmcilh t’ayc n wa sulutilh ats* (Broadcasting the laws of the lands and waters) is the catchphrase of Nuxalk Radio, positioning the service as an important element in the resurgent strength and sovereignty of First Nations peoples and the languages that they speak. Focused on asserting Indigenous self-determination, the five-part mission of Nuxalk Radio is to:

- Promote Nuxalk language use, increase the fluency of semi-fluent Nuxalk language speakers, inspire new Nuxalk language learners, raise the prestige of the Nuxalk language and reaffirm the fact that the Nuxalk language is relevant today;
- Contribute positively to physical, mental, spiritual and emotional well-being;



- Assert Nuxalk Nationhood by raising up our Nuxalk ancestral government, reclaiming and reoccupying our territory and promoting stewardship of our homelands;
- Share information regarding Nuxalk identity, history, culture and education; and
- Promote the common goals of our neighbouring Nations and other Indigenous groups. (Taken from the Nuxalk Radio website: <http://nuxalkradio.com/about>)

Hosted by the non-profit Alkw Media Society, the station is intimately associated with Nuxalk customs, clearly demonstrated in the tagline's first word, *lhulhamktulhs*, a potlatch<sup>9</sup> word chosen by station co-founder, board member, and occasional host Snxakila (Clyde Tallio) meaning "to tell the news to the guests of the traditions gone through by the initiate" or "to tell the news today" (Kramer 2018: 155). Snxakila noted the significance of asking the *statalmc* for permission before transmitting, reinforcing respect for Nuxalk cultural protocols. The *statalmc* are the hereditary leaders and central authority of the Nation and had ultimate sign off on the station's license, aptly recalling the media society's name: *alkw* or 'speaker for the *statalmc*' (Kramer 2018: 154–55).

Indeed, many Nuxalkmc have drawn attention to the ways in which radio bears structural similarities to potlatching. Chair of the Alkw Media Society board, Alhq'uxlikwana (Dayna Tallio), remarked that:

If you go to a feast or a potlatch, your role, as an invited guest, is to witness, and to remember. Because without that, things don't actually happen. If nobody remembers and tells the story of what they saw, then there's no record of it having happened. So you could argue that the radio station is a contemporary extension of that witnessing and remembering (Kramer 2018: 160).

"Nuxalk history is affirmed through oral narrative" (Kramer 2018: 160) and recorded through witnessing (165). Since there is traditionally no written language in Kulhulmcilh, cultural knowledge is transmitted by art and by voice.

As Alhq'uxlikwana says, "thinking about the radio station as an extension of that oral tradition I think is a really interesting direction" (161). Mimicking a potlatch, "wherein guests legitimize their host's history and rights to land and resources through seeing them ceremonially enacted in speech, song, dance, and materialized crests" (154), radio functions not simply as a tool for the continuation of cultural traditions (168) but indexes a deeper significance. By replicating the "the intergenerational passing on of Nuxalk knowledge through *smayusta*" (166),<sup>10</sup> Nuxalkmc and witnesses affirm not just history but sovereignty itself.

<sup>9</sup>See Gadacz 2019, NoiseCat 2018, *Potlatch* Nuxalk Nation n.d., and *Potlatches the Nuxalk way* Nuxalk Smayusta n.d. for discussions on the meaning of potlatch, specifically in a Nuxalk context.

<sup>10</sup>*Smayustas* are origin or creation stories (*Potlatches the Nuxalk Way* Nuxalk Smayusta n.d.) that are "family-owned [...] and] embodied in regalia marked with ancestral crests and displayed and danced during potlatches to everyday stories that convey ways of living on and from the land, such as how to harvest cedar bark for weaving" (Kramer 2018: 160).

Snxakila understands the work of Nuxalk Radio to be an important element in “healing from the effects of colonialism and assimilation” (Kramer 2018: 169). A core component of the Nuxalk worldview is the term for a human being: *tl'msta* which is not just used for humans but for being(s) in general: “One who awakens themselves to their land, their surroundings, and their culture” (162). The full human experience – *stl'mstaliwa* – thus contains a “cultural totality” (157, 162) and affirms the importance of that reawakening through healing. Radio serves as such a tool that, in the words of Aycts'mqa (Lori George) and Nuhawhawta (Sheldon Tallio), allows the freedom to broadcast thoughts and opinions, promote community wellness through integrating mind, body, and spirit, all the while reconnecting with land, culture, history, and language (162). As Emily Myfanwy Meikle – a museum studies scholar who interviewed Anishinaabeg radio hosts about the impact of Indigenous-run radio in Ontario – notes, “Voice, both in terms of sound and authority, plays an important role in [...] healing and knowledge sharing” (Meikle 2016: 43, as cited in Kramer 2018: 163).

Slts'lani credits the traction and impact of Nuxalk Radio as helping to shape a new trend among Nuxalkmc and non-Nuxalkmc alike, who can now be heard using words and phrases like *yaw* (hello) and *stutwiniitscw* (thank you) in the streets of Bella Coola, where before they would have likely only greeted one another in English (Hanuse 2015b). As Snxakila points out, “We really need to keep encouraging these conversations [...] We need to figure out a way to move forward together. And that's where allies are so important. To have [settler communities] understand the history of this ancient coast, to value what we have here, to be able to see and value what we value” (Kramer 2018: 168).

“The sovereignty of the Nuxalk Nation comes from Tatau, the Creator. It is not granted nor subject to the approval of any other nation. As the Nuxalk Nation, we have the sovereign right to jurisdictional rule within our own territory. Our lands are a sacred gift. The land is provided for the continued use, benefit and enjoyment of our people, the Nuxalkmc, and it is our ultimate obligation to Tatau, the Creator, to care for and protect it” (*House of Smayusta* Nuxalk Nation n.d.).

Snxakila “sees the work of healing from the effects of colonialism and assimilation and returning to sovereignty and stewardship over territory to be not only a Nuxalk-centred endeavour of sonic voice and self-representation but also an endeavour that engages non-Nuxalkmc as witnesses and allies” (Kramer 2018: 169). Within its first year, as with KTNN, Nuxalk Radio began to shape a public debate and discussion around language within the community. Speakers embraced the station and viewed it as a site for conversation in and about the Nuxalk language and culture and as part of a wider upswing and interest in language use.

**3.3 Radio Qawinaqel 98.3 FM** Near the equator, located 40 kilometers from Guatemala City, lies Palín, the traditional home of the Poqomam people. Following years of discrimination and displacement at the hands of Spanish-speaking settlers, Poqomam



**Figure 4.** Map showing Palín, Guatemala. Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. Accessed July 10, 2020. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caribbean\\_map\\_blank.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caribbean_map_blank.png).

speaker numbers have decreased dramatically. In 1997, after the signing of the Peace Accords that gave Indigenous communities the right to establish community radio, Radio Qawinaqel was founded.<sup>11</sup> Since then, Radio Qawinaqel has broadcast bilingually in the Spanish and Poqomam languages (Moscut 2013: 14).

Just as with KTNN and Nuxalk Radio discussed above, Qawinaqel has become a focal point for the community's relationship with their own language, although it did not start that way. Despite the 10-year debt incurred by the purchase of a license and with some "considering it a regression for people to listen to Poqomam music and language," over fifteen years later, this innovative and visionary decision has brought immense positive changes to Palín, especially in terms of de-stigmatization (Moscut 2013: 15). As station director, Carlos Gomez, notes, "Some have even told us that they have learned Poqomam words by listening to the radio" (15). However, distinct from KTNN and Nuxalk Radio, this Poqomam-language radio station has been directly involved in creating a space for resurging language use in the community through partnerships with schools and the Guatemalan Academy of Mayan Languages. Through such strategic partnerships, messages and advertisements are now broadcast bilingually, and the community is witnessing a welcome increase in speaker numbers. Even more revealingly, patients at the local health center are increasingly identifying as speakers of this Mayan language, showing greater confidence and comfort accessing healthcare in their language (15).

Each of the cases outlined above bear witness to the fortitude of radio broadcasting and its powerful potential for the transmission of Indigenous languages. Indeed, all those involved in the preparation of the Radio Qawinaqel article, *A Tale of One City, Two Languages: Palín, Guatemala*, "agree that Radio Qawinaqel has

<sup>11</sup>See <https://soundcloud.com/radio-qawinaqel-98-3-fm> (last accessed 2020-06-10).

contributed greatly to the revival and diffusion of Poqomam” (Moscut 2013: 15). And in Kulhulmcilh, a multitude of programs are creating space in both the Nuxalk and English languages to offer lessons and share information about critical elements of the culture. From the lunch time show *Nukalikutstam*, following the journey Q’xta has taken in learning the language, to *Q’lusm: the Good Morning Run & Dip* (Prayer Bath) Show, to a show hosted by student and mother duo Ts’ilkwalhm and Umq’umklika devoted to exploring Nuxalk’s Language Nest immersion school program – *Alh7alhtsimnaw alh ti imanta tc* (“They’re Talking in the Nest”),<sup>12</sup> – Nuxalkmc are listening to and transmitting their oral traditions and stories – both ancient and modern – in ways that are gaining increasing traction within and beyond the community.

While state sponsorship of Indigenous-language radio broadcasting can offer challenges as well as benefits, it is clear that community-run stations – whether commercial or not-for-profit – have a central role to play in shaping a broadcast medium that is increasingly open to being Indigenized and refashioned by Indigenous communities to serve their needs. Citizens of the Navajo and Nuxalk Nations and community members in Palín are tuning in, not just to their radios, but through the radio shows, to their own languages. The models offered by these radio entrepreneurs demonstrate how Indigenous radio can be a powerful medium of community mobilization and a force for language revitalization, resurgence, and transformation. As Ana Concogua of Palín puts it, “I do not believe that the language will disappear. Each day, more babies are born. My grand-daughter just had her baby, and she must teach him Poqomam. We are not going to forget it. As our grandmothers and grandfathers said, it is our life” (Moscut 2013: 15).

**4. Meeting in the middle: State-sponsored community-run radio** The above section outlined some of the successes enjoyed, and challenges faced, by community-run radio stations. In the following sections of this contribution, we focus on how national policy realignments can articulate with and support community radio broadcasting in ways that nurture language use and build a committed Indigenous listenership. Our examples here are drawn from Nigeria, Colombia, Aotearoa-New Zealand, Canada, and Australia. In each case, what we refer to as ‘state-supported community-run radio’ has become part of the national broadcasting landscape.

**4.1 Nigeria** Orisun FM 89.5, the sponsored radio of the state of Osun, was unique<sup>13</sup> across Nigeria’s radio landscape as it was the first to broadcast solely in the Yorùbá language. After a period of development and restructuring from the locally-relayed programming offered by the BBC to the inception of Orisun in 2005, the predominant language of Nigerian airwaves has been, and continues to be, English. Similar

<sup>12</sup>See <http://nuxalkradio.com/schedule> (last accessed 2020-06-10).

<sup>13</sup>Additional African language radios are emerging, such as Radio Igbo which launched in 2009 (Igbo Radio 2012), Radio Lagos 107.5 FM (Olusola 2010), and the BBC World Service which broadcasts in both Igbo and Yorùbá (BBC 2018). However, Orisun FM led the way in opening up Nigeria’s airwaves to Indigenous language broadcasting.



**Figure 5.** Map of Nigeria and Nigeria’s states, highlighting (in black) both the State of Nigeria, left, and Osun State, right. Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. Accessed July 10, 2020. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Africa\\_on\\_the\\_globe\\_\(red\)-\\_new.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Africa_on_the_globe_(red)-_new.svg) & [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nigeria\\_location\\_map.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nigeria_location_map.svg).

to Navajo’s KTNN and Nuxalk Radio, Orisun FM has become an important axis around which the Yorùbá language revolves and is mobilized. Broadcast primarily in Standard Yorùbá, numerous dialects can be heard, always preceded by *Ìkini lédè Èkìtì \_\_ / Ìkini lédè Ọ̀yọ̀ \_\_ / Ìkini lédè \_\_* ‘Greetings in the dialect of \_\_’.

Orisun FM is dependent on community involvement, and radio hosts and listeners alike contribute to and participate in Yorùbá language maintenance, development, and expansion. Orisun FM is actively involved in developing and promoting Indigenous terms for new lexical domains in what Akanbi and Aladesanmi describe as “Information and Communication Technology (ICT)” (2014: 565). These acts of linguistic engineering can be heard on Orisun’s airwaves through which new words are broadcast and then taken up by local communities. The following two examples highlight the complexity of this task:

Yorùbá (Akanbi & Aladesanmi 2014: 567–69, 571)

- (1) *Àwọn-àsèsè-jáde-ilé-ìwé-gíga*  
*Àwọn à- sèsè jáde ilé ìwé-gíga*  
 NOM.3PL newly just complete university  
 ‘fresh graduates’
- (2) *amúnisin*  
*a- mú (ẹ)ni sin*  
 NOM.3SG take person serve  
 ‘oppressor’

Aladesanmi and Akanbi note that any newly-coined words must be created in such a way that the audience is able to ascertain their meaning without belaboring the explanation. The coinage, then, must follow established Yorùbá syntactic structures. The authors give dozens of examples of this process at work, such as: *Àpèrò* ‘conference’, *Ìtākùn-ayélujára-ojú-rẹ̀-dà-jẹ̀-n-bá-ọ̀-dòrẹ̀* ‘Facebook’, *Ìwé àtẹ̀jìsẹ̀* ‘text message’, and *katakata* ‘caterpillar’ (Akanbi & Aladesanmi 2014: 567–68).

In the case of Orisun FM, broadcasters have assumed a central role in the creation and dissemination of new words and the development of neologisms. Since Orisun FM’s broadcasters are community members themselves, it is worth noting that the act of lexical creation and deployment has fallen not to a national language academy such as the Académie française or the *مجمع اللغة العربية* (Academy of the Arabic Language), but rather to a community-run state-sponsored FM radio station (Akanbi & Aladesanmi 2014).

**4.2 Colombia** Following the restructuring and rewriting of its Constitution in 1991 – which affirmed the multicultural and plurilingual nature of the country – Colombia’s relationship with the Indigenous communities living within its contemporary borders changed. While in following sections, case studies from Australia and Canada illustrate communities’ reactions *after* widespread deployment of radio-television technology, in Colombia, by contrast, “indigenous leaders had a rare opportunity to discuss if and how their communities would welcome radio *before* this technology was simply dumped in their territories” (Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 455; emphasis added).

A key player in crafting the Colombian *tejido de comunicación* (communication quilt) is the ‘Office for Radio’ or *Unidad de Radio* (Murillo 2008: 146). Since 1995, the Unidad de Radio has launched a “series of initiatives to strengthen Colombian citizens’ media [...where it] facilitated the conditions for a national and regional dialogue about the role(s) and potential for citizens’ media in the Colombian context” (Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 454).

Five years later in 2000, two important events transpired. First, the Unidad de Radio’s parent organization – the Colombian Ministry of Culture – and the Ministry of Communications launched the ‘Community Program for Culture and Diversity’ (*Programa Comunidad Señal de Cultura y Diversidad*) (Murillo 2009: 243). Second, in May of that same year, the first International Meeting on Indigenous Radio in the Americas<sup>14</sup> was convened by the Unidad de Radio in Villa de Leyva in the Colombian department of Boyacá (CONCIP 2020; Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 455). Alongside speakers from the non-Colombian Shuar, Mapuche, and Hopi Nations, 28 leaders from Indigenous communities within Colombia were present. A key aspect of the success of this gathering was that Indigenous leaders returned to their territories and conducted discussions across the countryside with community members. The result was a heterogenous community decision-making process, reflecting a collaborative approach to information gathering and policy making that respected nations’ *Planes de Vida* or “Life Plans” (Murillo 2009: 243; Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 457, 460).

<sup>14</sup>*Encuentro Internacional de Radios Indígenas de América.*



**Figure 6.** Map of the Colombian mainland, denoting two departments: Cauca and Boyacá, as well as the rough locations of the Awá, Nasa, and Wayuu Nations and the Sierra Nevada de Santa Madre mountainous region, homelands of the Kogui, Arhuaco, Kankuamo, and Wiwa Nations. For sources and information, see Appendix 6.

In those communities that choose to welcome information and communication technologies (ICTs) into their territories, the methods and reasoning behind their deployment was as varied as the languages and landscapes themselves. Built by Nations themselves with their own laws, traditions, and histories at their foundation, the Life Plan of each *Cabildo Gobernador* (Indigenous Council) directly influenced whether and how technologies were introduced (LifeMosaic 2015; Mininterior 2019; Territorio Indígena y Gobernanza 2019). For example, the Awá developed a communication plan to connect to their two principle communities: an FM station broadcasting in Spanish to reach the “more *mestizo* Awá living in the regional urban centers,” and an Indigenous-language AM station “for the more rural and less acculturated Awá in the territory” (Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 458). In the Wayuu Nation, after the first International Meeting on Indigenous Radio, productive deliberations were held throughout their country to determine how to make best use of the technology. Establishing radio stations with the framework of Wayuu worldview and deriving their objectives accordingly,<sup>15</sup> communities were “looking at their ancestral communication and information modes and systems and ‘plugging in’ the newly arriving technology” (Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 459).

The Colombian government made an early decision to reject a “new legal category for ‘indigenous radio’ [...deciding instead] to assign the licenses as ‘public interest radio’” and assign Cabildos as the “legal indigenous authorities recognized by the central government” (Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 451–52). This resulted in challenges for cash-strapped stations because a license of this nature precludes raising revenue through advertising, forcing stations to rely solely on grants and sponsorships. Additional economic and technical problems that plague Indigenous radio stations include personnel and resource constraints (Murillo 2009: 246), challenges in terms of pre-recording broadcasts, insufficient internet access, and inadequate equipment to cover the licensed territory, and all of that despite both the license and the tools being provided to the station by the government (Cuesta Moreno 2012: 177).

While guerrilla groups and paramilitary militias remain a cause for concern (Murillo 2009: 242), the difficulties that stations and communities now face are in some ways more manageable than before the constitutional reform of 1991. Before ‘91, “the administration of all education, health, and community development issues within indigenous territories was governed by [*El Concordato* – the alliance between the Church and Colombian State –] and controlled by Catholic priests, nuns, or government officials” (Padilla 1996: 81–82; Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 450). However, paternalism and colonization have been actively resisted since the earliest days of in-

<sup>15</sup>As cited in Rodríguez & El Gazi (2007: 459): “The Wayuu have articulated their radio stations as new incarnations of *laülayuu* and *püchmajachi*, two foundational Wayuu notions meaning, respectively, ‘elder Wayuu, or uncle-on-the-mother-side who possesses the information’ and ‘one who travels with the word-news’. Also, traditional notions of ‘everyday communication system’ (*aniüiki*) and ‘daily message deliverer’ (*chercha*) are brought in as pivotal markers that shape how the station will be used. Furthermore, the Wayuu are beginning to design the goals and objectives of their radio stations. One of these goals, for example, calls for *sükua ‘ipa waniüiki*, or an investigation of the sounds of the Wayuu culture; thus, the stations are envisioned as facilitators of ‘an investigative process that will reveal the main sounds of the Wayuu culture and bring them into the stations’ programming’ (Fajardo et al. 2000: 10) [...interestingly and, certainly, importantly], the Wayuu process is unique in that it is led by indigenous women.”



vasion through to the present day. In northern Cauca (a department in Colombia's Southwest), galvanization of Indigenous communities solidified in the 1960s and 70s during a period where resistance to displacement and colonialism manifested in the occupation of lost territories, which ultimately culminated in the 1991 Constitutional Assembly (Murillo 2009: 241). Prior to that, radio across Colombia predominately "served as an echo chamber" for the "elite" intent on imposing a singular, national "Colombianness" (Murillo 2008: 151; 2018: 131), and, when opposition and alternative media arose, leaders would often be "physically silenced through assassination, forced disappearance, or exile" (Murillo 2008: 152).

In 1995, four years after the relative freeing of Indigenous communities from the shackles of both Church and State, and supported by the *Cabildo ACIN* or "Association of Indigenous Councils of Northern Cauca,"<sup>16</sup> one of the largest Indigenous nations within Colombia – the Nasa – started transmitting in the town of Toribío, Cauca (Murillo 2018: 141). Originally broadcasting without a license due to the slowness of bureaucracy (León 2019; Redaccion El Tiempo 2005), Radio Nasa broadcasts alongside its sibling stations Radio Payu'mat<sup>17</sup> and Voces de Nuestra Tierra<sup>18</sup> in a structure best exemplified by the *tejido de comunicación*, a fabric or quilt that "not only describes ACIN's communication program [...] but is the rubric that explains the structure of the Indigenous movement and its relationship to other sectors both within and outside of Colombia" (Murillo 2018: 139). Anything but static, the *tejido* designates an active weaving process between and amongst communities, interlacing traditional and historic forms of dialogue and deliberation with modern forms of information exchange. This includes community development programs like the three-year "School of Communication" out of Jambaló in 1999 (Murillo 2009: 243) and the recent and popular training session hosted by community station Tayrona Estereo in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Madre region, reaching participants from the Kankuamo, Kogui, Wiwa, and Arhuaco Nations (Staff 2019).

While Cauca and the ACIN are the source of the organizational structure, its core messaging is disseminated across all of Colombia's 26 licensed Indigenous radios and dozens of other, smaller community stations (Murillo 2018: 138). Furthermore, the interdependent nature of this woven network manifests itself in a broadcasting format best understood as an "alternative public sphere" (Murillo 2009: 244), one that consistently critiques and opposes government policies, direction, and decisions (Murillo 2008: 150–51, 155). From reporters on *radio-cicletas* transmitting atop a tandem bicycle with a loudspeaker attached (Murillo 2008: 146) to interconnected radio complexes, the Colombian airwaves have been transformed by the intentional and mostly consensual inclusion of Indigenous voices and leadership (Cuesta Moreno 2012: 179; cf. UNESCO Diversity of Cultural Expressions 2017; 2018). While di-

<sup>16</sup>*Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca*.

<sup>17</sup>Sometimes rendered Radio Pa'yumat (ACIN 2018).

<sup>18</sup>*Voces de Nuestra Tierra/Pueblo* or 'Voices of Our Land/People' is a "licensed community station in the town of Jambaló that first went on air in 1997" (Murillo 2008: 152) and Radio Payu'mat – meaning "welcome" or "permission to enter" (ACIN 2018) – was launched in 2000 by the Ministries of Culture and of Communication through the *Programa Comunidad Señal de Cultura y Diversidad* 'Community Program for Culture and Diversity' (Murillo 2009: 243).

verse in deployment and broadcasting strategy, the shift in public policy to one that incorporates Indigenous voices into public spheres has introduced welcome diversity and breadth in the Colombian broadcasting landscape.

**4.3 Aotearoa-New Zealand**<sup>19</sup> While in Colombia, the redrawing of the Constitution resulted in the creation of a more pluralistic and inclusive space in which Indigenous-language and community radio programming would emerge, in Aotearoa-New Zealand, it was a change in linguistic policy that led to the emergence of a viable Māori broadcasting atmosphere in the form of community-run, state-supported radio through its national broadcasting policy.

Entrenched in the Treaty of Waitangi, the country's foundational document, a 1986 tribunal decision expanded the Crown's obligation to the Māori community in relation to language. Brought to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1984 and resulting in the Māori Language Bill three years later (Matamua 2006: 52), the tribunal decision was a momentous turning point. The Tribunal found that the Crown's duty stemmed from the Treaty's second article which (in a blending of the English and Māori languages) "confirms and guarantees [...] the full exclusive and undisturbed possession [...] *o ratou taonga katoa*," which translates to "all the things they value highly" or "all their valued customs and possessions" (Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1840; Treaty of Waitangi 1840; Waitangi Tribunal 1986: 20, 22). The bilingual interpretation – hinging on the English version's use of "guarantee" and the significantly broader Māori text – expanded the Crown's duty to include "intangible possessions [...] not listed in the Treaty" (Matamua 2006: 52). These "possessions" encompass radio broadcasting, a point addressed directly by the Tribunal report (Waitangi Tribunal 1986: 7–8, 10–11, 39–42), and contributed directly to the formation of the Māori-language and broadcast-funding agency, Te Māngai Pāho, which remains a vitally important Crown entity operating on a nearly \$60 million NZD budget (Te Māngai Pāho 2019: 12, 66). It is not an overestimate to say that Te Māngai Pāho – or its predecessors Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi and New Zealand on Air<sup>20</sup> (Matamua 2006: 49) – are critical to the visibility of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language),<sup>21</sup> on air and online (Te Māngai Pāho 2019: 26–29).

Te Māngai Pāho and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission) were both created as a result of the Waitangi Tribunal's decision and, as autonomous Crown entities, are integral parts to the country's governance and funding structure (Matamua 2006: 53; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori n.d.). The inclusion of *te reo Māori* on Aotearoa's airwaves was a hard-won victory – a series of battles against piecemeal offerings (Beatson 1996: 76–81; Matamua 2006: 33–48);

<sup>19</sup>There are two commonly used aural-language names for the country, and there is variation in formats. Across readings and governmental departments, we have noted "Aotearoa New Zealand" (cf. Auckland Law School n.d.; cf. University of Otago n.d.) and "Aotearoa/New Zealand" (cf. de Bruin & Mane 2016; cf. Stuart 1996), amongst others. We have opted to use a hyphenated form in this text, believing that it helps with clarity and denotes the two related yet distinct names for the islands.

<sup>20</sup>NZoA, or NZ On Air *Irirangi Te Motu*, is still in existence as a parallel Crown entity to Te Māngai Pāho, acting as an independent funding agency responsible for public broadcasting (NZ On Air n.d.).

<sup>21</sup>Often simply *te reo* or *reo* for '[the] language'.

a “manifestation of many years of hui [(meetings/conferences/gatherings)], tribunals, commissions, proposals, litigation and work by Maori on broadcasting” (Matamua 2006: 50). There are now twenty-seven Māori stations broadcasting on sixty-eight frequencies, twenty-one of which are Te Māngai Pāho-funded at \$500,000 each (Te Māngai Pāho 2019: 89), up from \$384,000 in 2011 (Te Puni Kōkiri 2011a: 1–2). Of these twenty-one stations, two are pan-Māori (Te Ūpoko o Te Ika<sup>22</sup> in Wellington and Radio Waatea<sup>23</sup> – formerly Radio Aotearoa – in Auckland) while the rest are *iwi* (or tribal) stations broadcasting a minimum of ten and a half hours of te reo content daily; as of 2019, that is a yearly sum total of 92,000 hours of Māori language content (Te Māngai Pāho 2019: 24–25).

With \$13.5 million NZD allocated to radio (Te Māngai Pāho 2019: 5), Aotearoa-New Zealand’s Indigenous-language broadcasting is an outlier compared to other countries. While this financial investment contributes to the relative strength and visibility that te reo maintains (Stuart 2003: 46), as of 2006, Māori radio still only received approximately \$30.50 per listener, as opposed to the \$44.50/listener for the broader country-wide audience, amounting to around \$14 less per person (Matamua 2006: 158). The disparity in investment does, however, appear to be decreasing (NZ On Air 2019: 4; Stats NZ 2018; Te Māngai Pāho 2019: 66, 89; Te Puni Kōkiri 2011a: 2), despite ongoing financial concerns (Johnsen 2020).

Still, there remains a “disconnect between the level of funding allocated to *iwi* stations and the goals they [are] being asked to pursue in the context of media transformation” (McEwan 2019: 148–49). In this era of convergence, where radio and television are increasingly accessed online (Te Puni Kōkiri 2010: 2–6), *iwi* stations are being pressured to compete with mainstream commercial radio stations, which produce content that includes on-demand podcasting (McEwan 2019: 148) and have strong web presences (141). In addition to funding challenges, training deficiencies have also been documented as a systemic issue that hobbles Māori broadcasting (Beatson 1996: 81, 88–9; Matamua 2006: 147–50, 154–61; McEwan 2019: 147–50; Te Puni Kōkiri 2006: 8; Webb-Liddall 2020). This is why Te Puni Kōkiri is, as of June 2020, actively seeking feedback in understanding and planning for shifts within the Māori media sector (Te Puni Kōkiri – Ministry of Māori Development 2020).

Another important issue that has been raised is that of accommodating listener fluency. There is a “strong relationship between speaking proficiency and engagement in language and culture” with proficient speakers usually more active in accessing Māori language materials, including radio broadcasts (Te Puni Kōkiri 2010: 7). As seen in the Navajo case, listeners tend to disconnect from media more readily when their needs are not appropriately addressed. Boredom and lack of age-specific programming are strong factors that lead to people tuning out (de Bruin & Mane 2016: 778–81; Matamua 2006: 113–17), an issue that Te Māngai Pāho is actively pursuing as they “[ensure] that the needs of fluent audiences are not lost in the rush to grow receptive audiences” (Te Māngai Pāho 2019: 47). Programming balance is a real concern; and to this end, Te Māngai Pāho targets three different audience groups

<sup>22</sup>See <http://teupoko.co.nz/> (last accessed 2020-06-11).

<sup>23</sup>See <https://www.waateanews.com/> (last accessed 2020-06-11).

(fluent, learners, and those deemed “receptive”) (55) as well as gathering data under the ZePA model outlined below (44–45).

The ZePA model, standing for Zero—Passive—Active, is a metric focused on the direction people are headed in terms of their cultural and linguistic engagement (Te Māngai Pāho n.d.). Historically, both the Māori and *Pākehā* (Euro-descended New Zealanders) communities have seen a dramatic “left-shift” away from active engagement toward passive and eventually zero engagement with *Māoritanga* (Māori culture) (Addis et al. 2016: 34; Matamua 2006: 66–71; Te Māngai Pāho n.d., citing Te Puni Kōkiri surveys and reports). Rather than focusing energy on moving people from zero to active engagement, “right-shifting” communities from zero to passive “can generate increased awareness and support for language revitalization more broadly, and the subsequent right-shift from Passive to Active is then easier to achieve” (cf. Oh et al. 2020; Te Māngai Pāho n.d.). The ZePA model has been useful in gauging radio’s role in the revival of te reo, as direct quantitative measurements have found radio to have minimal impact on Māori-language revitalization (Matamua 2006: 205). Despite Matamua’s quantitative findings, his work and the qualitative research of others do indicate widespread support for Māori language radio (de Bruin & Mane 2016: 772, 779–80; Matamua 2006: 121–38, 140–47, 205, 213; Te Puni Kōkiri 2011b: 2–4).

Indeed, radio broadcasting has been highlighted as occupying a central position in the revitalization of te reo Māori. The report of the Waitangi Tribunal dedicated four pages to broadcasting concerns (1986: 39–42), and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo (the Māori Language Board) affirmed “their commitment to using broadcasting as a tool to preserve *Te Reo*” (Beatson 1996: 87). A 2011(b) report from Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development) entitled “Impact of Iwi Radio on the Māori Language” highlights the link between active language learners and listenership and, in particular, the tuning-in rate amongst the population whose proficiency in te reo has increased (2–4, see table 1). Joost de Bruin and Jo Mane underscore the point that context is of great importance and that accessing media in specific settings can stimulate language learning (2016: 772).

With the ZePA model advocating a gradual right-shift, and in light of de Bruin & Mane (2016) focusing on the contextual nature of revitalization, it is important to highlight the foundational role that *kaupapa Māori* now holds in the broadcasting realm (Cram n.d.). Described as being the “Māori way,” kaupapa Māori is an approach or paradigm grounded in *tikanga Māori* (or Māori practices/customs) (Cram n.d.; Moorfield 2020). Unlike earlier Māori-focused broadcasts which were oftentimes simply translations from English, the growing presence of kaupapa Māori on (and off) Aotearoa-New Zealand’s airwaves means that not only is te reo Māori heard over the air developed from the ground up by and for Māori in Māori, but an entire sector of broadcasting is now approached in this manner. Viewed in this light, broadcasting has now become a domain that truly incorporates a kaupapa Māori focus (de Bruin & Mane 2016: 771; Mane 2009: 1–4; Matamua 2006: 85–86, 108).

Since the beginning of Māori broadcasting, the role and space for an iwi-lead or pan-Māori model has been at the heart of discussions. Te reo Māori dialects and po-

Listened to iwi radio in the last seven days (15+ years old)	Listened to iwi radio in the last twelve months (15+ years old)	
<b>28 %</b> <b>122,100</b>	<b>16 %</b> <b>69,800</b>	<b>Māori population numbers (percentage &amp; total)</b>
11 %	22 %	Respondents with <i>unchanged</i> te reo Māori usage
23 %	36 %	Respondents with <i>increased</i> te reo Māori usage
11 %	22 %	Respondents who are <i>not learning</i> te reo Māori
25 %	40 %	Respondents who are <i>learning</i> te reo Māori
11 %	23 %	Respondents who have <i>no change</i> in proficiency
21 %	35 %	Respondents who have <i>increased</i> their proficiency

**Table 1.** Iwi radio listenership and use/proficiency of te reo Māori. Source: Data from the 2011 Te Puni Kōkiri report titled “Impact of Iwi Radio on the Māori Language – Te Tautoko a ngā Reo Irirangi mō te Reo Māori” (2–4).

litical associations are distinct between *rohe* (territories), and the persistence of these differences over radio is understood as not only important but in fact an extension of Māoritanga itself, not unlike Nuxalk Radio’s engagement with potlatching outlined previously (Mane 2009: 1–7; Matamua 2006: 146–49; McEwan 2019: 143–47). Today, across the sixty-eight Māori-prioritized frequencies, just two stations are pan-Māori, leaving iwi radio to play a “significant role in [the country ...] In some areas, [they are] the only radio station that local listeners can access” (Te Puni Kōkiri 2011a: 2). The licensing agreements that are in place highlight “the role of local iwi as kaitiaki [(guardians/stewards)] of their reo [... creating] opportunities for iwi to connect the Māori language plans with other community language initiatives” (4).

With a consistent reach to more than a quarter of all Māori – half of whom listen to iwi radio on a daily basis – and securely-funded Crown entities dedicated to both Māori language broadcasting and to the health of te reo Māori itself, the successes and continued challenges that Māori broadcasting faces offer important lessons for radio stations worldwide, not just broadcasters working in Indigenous languages. And while Māori music is still not entirely mainstream (Sheehan 2016: 77), the emergence of a parallel form to *Tauīwi* (or non-Māori) broadcasting is creating space for decolonized storytelling and identity-crafting (Stuart 1996; 2002; 2003). Through all of these coordinated actions and interventions, the visibility and presence of *mātauranga Māori* (or Māori knowledge/wisdom/skill) is growing in ways that are timely and indeed necessary (Roy 2018; Waitangi Tribunal 1986: 17). As McArdle writes in Cultural Survival’s 2013 issue on community radio’s role in Indigenous language revitalization:

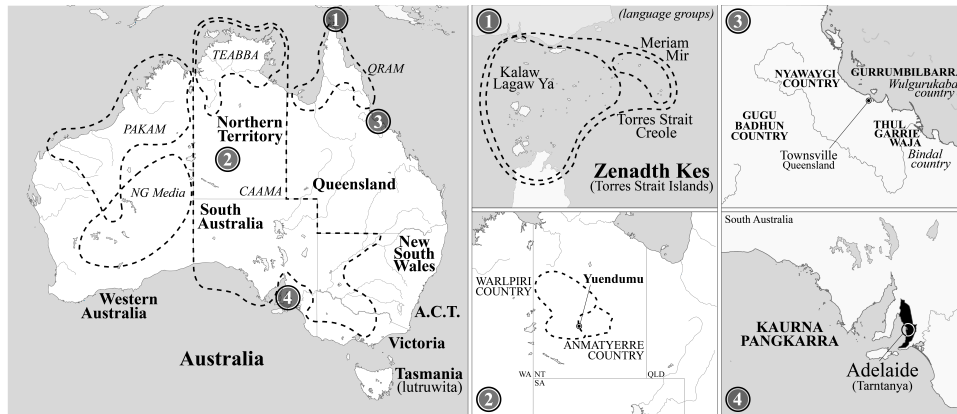
No longer does the Māori language resemble a priceless and sacred yet slightly dusty artifact one might find locked away in a museum. This language is now fluid, pouring out of radios nationwide in the useful and relatable form of music, media, sports, and current events. There is a new counterculture that young people feel they can relate to and understand in a way that no classroom could reach them (2013: 19).

**4.4 Australia** Australia’s “Indigenous broadcasting policy has not been updated since 1993” (FNMA 2019a: 7). This ominous comment from First Nations Media Australia’s (FNMA) 2019 report sheds light on the disconnect between the lack of supportive State structures, on the one hand, and the significant if hard-won successes that communities have had in establishing radio across many Indigenous countries in Australia, on the other (Aboriginal Broadcasting Australia 2020; CAAMA 2016; 2020b; Gardiner-Garden 2003; Meadows & Molnar 2002: 10; 15 *Ngaanyatjarra communities* NG Media n.d.; NIMAA 1999). As the chairperson of FNMA, Dot West, puts it, “The lack of policy and inadequate funding is compromising our ability to upgrade equipment, expand employment for our young people and tell the stories that are vital to the well being of our peoples and communities” (West 2018: 2).

This disconnect is not entirely unexpected. Along with Canada, New Zealand, and the United States, Australia was one of the four settler-colonial nation-states that initially rejected the United Nation’s monumental Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), continuing their ongoing denial of Indigenous rights (CBC News 2007). While in the previous section, we examined the role that Aotearoa-New Zealand’s foundational Treaty occupies; in Australia, there are continued and sustained calls to *begin* treaty negotiations (ANTaR 2019; Uluru Statement from the Heart n.d.). Although UNDRIP’s text and implications extend far beyond Australian borders, the settler state’s later adoption (in 2009) of the Declaration brings its calls to Australian shores (Lamensch 2019), stating in the preamble that “control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs” (United Nations General Assembly 2007).

Following this is Article 16, which notes that “(2) States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity. States, without prejudice to ensuring full freedom of expression, should encourage privately owned media to adequately reflect indigenous cultural diversity” (14–15). In a later section of this article, we touch on the Australian State’s general failure to adhere to this measure. Notwithstanding all of these profound challenges, community radio in Australia has, where able, flourished since its debut in the 1970s.

Two Indigenous radio operations emerged in 1972 in Australia. One was in the continent’s Northeast, at the intersection of Nyawaygi, Gugu Badhun, Wulgurukaba, and Bindal countries just outside Townsville in Queensland (Korff 2020a). The other was in Kurna Pangkarra on what would become Radio Adelaide 101.5 FM (formerly called 5UV) (*Australian Indigenous media historical timeline* FNMA 2020;



**Figure 7.** Five maps of Australia. The whole of the continent shows the catchment areas of several media groups: NG Media, PAKAM, TEABBA, CAAMA, and QRAM. The first (1) of the right-hand maps shows three language groups of Zenadth Kes; the second (2) shows the Yuendumu community; the third (3) shows the region where one of the first Indigenous radios launched; and the fourth (4) shows Adelaide (or Tarantanya) in relation to Kurna Country, where 5UV – later Radio Adelaide – took to the air. See Appendix 8 for more information and sources.

Gardiner-Garden 2003). Since then, the “community radio sector has remained the fastest-growing segment of the broadcasting environment” (Meadows & Molnar 2002: 11; *Radio services FNMA 2020*). Indeed, Indigenous broadcasting roots run deep. Zenadth Kes (or the Torres Strait Islands) were host to a short-lived experiment with two-way radio just before the onset of World War II (Meadows & Molnar 2002: 11). Although transmissions waned across the islands shortly thereafter, this early intervention ultimately resulted in the founding of the Torres Strait Islander Media Association (TSIMA) in 1986. Now, TSIMA broadcasts throughout seventeen communities in four languages: Torres Strait Creole, Kala Lagaw Ya, Meriam Mir, and English (TSIMA Radio 4MW 2016).

One year after TSIMA’s establishment, the federal government introduced the Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme, or BRACS. Created to provide community-level radio broadcasting and transfer control over media to the communities themselves, many have cited its inherent flaws and suggested that “it was set up to fail, despite its empowering possibilities” (Meadows & Molnar 2002: 16). As of 2001, with 80 stations operating on community radio-television licenses, there were a total of 101 BRACS stations. “However, an ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) survey revealed that only about 50 of the stations produce some local material (radio and/or video)” (Meadows and Molnar 2002: 16). And, as is the case with so many Indigenous broadcasting operations, BRACS stations were plagued by funding shortfalls. Initial recommendations from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA) described plans to spend \$250,000 Australian dollars per site, later reduced to approximately \$30,000 (NSW Department of Education and Training n.d.).

In addition to BRACS' funding problems, Australian schemes or projects<sup>24</sup> targeting the Indigenous broadcasting sector tend to be ad-hoc, short term, dependent on connections with and between parent organizations, and very often project-based, requiring staff "to move away from their own communities" (FNMA 2019a: 25). In spite of this, organizations, associations, and independent stations maintain their critical role of being a central tool for sustaining cultures and languages and providing necessary access to information as the state broadcaster does not always reach remote communities (CAAMA 2020b; Gardiner-Garden 2003; NIAA n.d.).

The Top End Aboriginal Bush Broadcasting Association (or TEABBA) is one example of a compelling success story. Along with CAAMA (or the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association), the association blossomed by making use of equipment installed by BRACS; BRACS has itself since rebranded as RIBS: the Remote Indigenous Broadcasting Service (CAAMA 2020a; *About us* TEABBA n.d.). TEABBA provides operational support to 29 communities across the Top End of the Northern Territory, from training to technical services as well as translation work (*About us; Training; Technical; Translations* TEABBA n.d.). Similarly, CAAMA plays a central role across a vast coverage area, from the Top End to just outside Birrarung-ga.<sup>25</sup> Established in 1982, its stated goals include developing and promoting Indigenous languages and cultures through radio (CAAMA 2020a), with a heavy emphasis on local ownership, training, and production (CAAMA 2016: 11). CAAMA has an excellent track record over its 30 years, steadily earning CBAA (Community Broadcasting Association of Australia) awards yearly from 2012 to 2016 (CBAA n.d.). In 2019, Radio Adelaide, Yolŋu Radio, and Ngaarda Media, amongst others, won the CBAA's 'Excellence in Indigenous Broadcasting' award (Hughes 2019), and – in the case of Yolŋu Radio – community members had nothing but glowingly positive remarks for the station (ARDS 2011).

Despite the widespread success and resilience of Indigenous broadcasting, the Australian government remains fixed in opposition to sector-wide calls for greater support, even though many of the accomplishments have come from the work of RIBS – previously BRACS – and as responses to various government funding strategies (cf. NIAA 2014; n.d.). In fact, almost every website thanks the Australian government, its departments, and its schemes for support (Aboriginal Broadcasting Australia 2020; *About us* TEABBA n.d.; NIRS n.d.; PAKAM 2019; *Partners* NG Media n.d.; QRAM 2012; Victoria Daly Regional Council 2018). Calls for improved and sustained government backing grow ever louder (CAAMA 2010: 1–6; Henry 2016) thanks to the creative growth of the Australian Indigenous broadcasting sector, from

<sup>24</sup>Examples – both governmental schemes and broadcasting associations – include the Indigenous Advancement Strategy, Indigenous Broadcasting Services, Indigenous Remote Communications Association (IRCA), Top End Aboriginal Bush Broadcasting Association (TEABBA), Australia's First Nations Broadcasting and Media Sector (AFNBMS), the National Indigenous Radio Service (NIRS), Aboriginal Broadcasting Australia, and the Media RING ('Reconciliation Industry Network Group').

<sup>25</sup>Birrarung-ga is the Woi Wurrung name for Melbourne, Victoria, situated alongside Birrarung (Yarra River) and Nairm (Port Phillip Bay, also spelled Naarm or Narrm). Birrarung-ga sits at the intersection of Woi Wurrung and Boon Wurrung speakers' countries ("biik"/"barerarerungar") within what Europeans/Euro-descendants would later call the "Kulin Nation": the alliance of peoples who speak five related languages around and just north of Naarm (Ball 2019; [N'arweet] Briggs n.d.).



the above-mentioned awards, collaborative and educational media festivals (FNMA 2019c; Liddicoat 2017), and to now over 230 radio broadcast sites reaching around 320,000 First Nations people (FNMA 2019b: 2), or nearly 50% of the Indigenous population within Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

The historical introduction of radio-television to Australian countries was haphazard at best. As in the case of Canada, the deployment of these technologies was undertaken with little community input and no real strategies tailored to the needs of Indigenous communities. It has since become a race for First Nations to fight “fire with fire,” as those in the Yuendumu community state, in order to harness these technologies for their benefit (PAW Media n.d.; Social Ventures Australia 2017). Operating within the colonial context of ever-present challenges to Indigenous cultural and linguistic vitality, community-run radio in Australia is perceived to be a source of empowerment (Meadows et al. 2007: 17, 23), education (15), cross-cultural dialogue (16), a structure for sharing and recording music and dances (16), and, centrally, as a distinct and critical aspect of democracy (5, 23–24, 27). Indigenous Elders continue the fight of ensuring that their cultures, languages, laws, and stories are represented their way (West & FNMA 2018: 2). As First Nations Media Australia states, “Our Media Matters,” and its members are actively calling upon the Australian governments to support Indigenous media.

**4.5 Canada** In Canada, where the co-authors of this contribution live, there is federal recognition and support for only English and French – both colonizing languages – but almost no national acknowledgement and resourcing for the State’s many Indigenous languages.<sup>26</sup> That is, until 2019 when federal Bill C-91, entitled “an Act respecting Indigenous languages,” was passed. The Act explicitly seeks to support efforts to revitalize, reclaim, maintain, and strengthen Indigenous languages (Bill C-91 2019a). In addition, the bill introduced by Minister Pablo Rodriguez supports the creation of the Office of Commissioner of Indigenous Languages (Bill C-91 2019b), analogous to the foundational role that the Office of the Commissioner of *Official Languages* has played since 1970, promoting and supporting both the francophone and anglophone communities from coast to coast to coast (Théberge 2018). However, over a year after the passage and royal assent of Bill C-91, the Office has no online presence and no Commissioner, nor have directors been appointed. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Bill has stirred controversy about equity and financial support, most notably articulated by Natan Obed, the president of the ITK or Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (‘Inuit United in Canada’ – the Inuit central political body) (Aiello 2019; CBC News 2019). Indeed, C-91 continues a legacy of well-intentioned (or perhaps just well-worded) policy and legislation aimed at “supporting” Indigenous communities within Canada that have had, at best, mixed results.

<sup>26</sup>There is, however, recognition at the territorial level. Many Indigenous nations sustain the use of their languages as active languages of governance (cf. Epekwitk Assembly of Councils & L’nuey n.d.; cf. GCC(EI) & CNG 2020; cf. Tšilhqot’in National Government 2020; cf. Nunatsiavut Kavamanga 2020), and two of Canada’s three territories (the Northwest Territories and Nunavut) collectively maintain over a dozen languages as co-official *de jure* languages alongside French and English. (Cloutier n.d.; Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 2018).

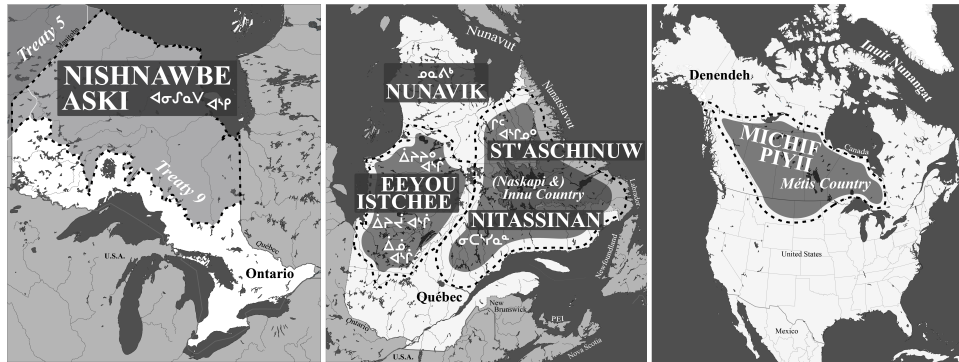


**Figure 8.** Map of Inuit territories / countries. See Appendix 9 for more detailed information and additional sources. Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. Accessed July 10, 2020. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arctic\\_%28orthographic\\_projection%29.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arctic_%28orthographic_projection%29.svg).

When radio first reached the shores of Inuit Nunangat, the adaptability and flexibility of Inuit culture was tested. Mittimatalik (or Pond Inlet), on the northern reaches of Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island), was host to a radio service in the late 1960s (Hamlet of Pond Inlet n.d.) which was rapidly told “to shut down unlicensed operations once they were ‘discovered’” by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (or CRTC) (Szwarc 2018), requiring compliance with “normal” processing procedures to acquire a license (Roth 2005: 68). Shortly after the deployment of satellite Anik B<sup>27</sup> and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s passage of the 1975 Accelerated Coverage Plan (ACP), the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation – or IBC – was established to combat the “electronic tidal wave of alien images and information [that] would lead to the deterioration of Inuit language and culture, and could disrupt the structures of traditional community life” (IBC 2020).

The penetration and uptake of radio and television in northern communities, including Inuit Nunangat, Nishnawbe Aski of northern Ontario, the vast Denendeh, and others, was fast. The Anik satellites – from series A starting in 1972 (*Public Notice 1985-274* CRTC 1985) to the F and G series which are currently active (Telesat 2020) – beamed radio-television to all corners of the Canadian State. The Accelerated Coverage Plan brought with it well over \$25 million Canadian dollars to secure “over-the-air transmission[s] of [...] English and French radio and television services to all

<sup>27</sup>Anik (ᐱᓯᓂᐅ) means ‘little brother’ or ‘brother of a female’ in Inuktitut (Pirurvik (ᐱᓯᓂᐅ) 2020). The irony remains that Telesat and the CRTC launched this satellite with no meaningful input from Inuit on the decision to connect Inuit Nunangat to Canada’s radio-television complex (Harbron 1972; IBC 2020; Valaskakis 2005: 107).



**Figure 9.** Three maps of Turtle Island (North America). The left-most shows where Nishnawbe Aski is in relation to both Treaties 5 and 9 in the province of Ontario. The center map shows Québec, the Labrador Peninsula, and several Indigenous homelands thereon. The right-most shows a rough approximate of the Métis homeland. For more detailed information and sources, see Appendix 10.

communities with a population of 500 or more” (*Public Notice 1985-274* CRTC 1985; Roth 2005: 113). Northern populations faced a flood of French and English programming into their communities thanks to the quick implementation of radio networks, in many ways supported by the CRTC.

Inuit communities and their broadcasting corporations (including, but not limited to, Nunavut’s IBC, Nunavik’s Taqramiut Nipingat Inc., and Nunatsiavut’s OKâlaKatigêt Society) leaned into that rapid deployment. Throughout the 70s and 80s, various community radio stations (in addition to state-created radio stations through CBC networks) emerged across the Arctic and sub-Arctic. To this day, Inuit Nunangat remains relatively well-connected through radio-television. Lessons learnt over the years have made Inuit broadcasting – be it from Kuujuaq, Nunavik (Taqramiut 2020), Nain, Nunatsiavut (Mercer 2019), or Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvialuit Nunangit (Arnold 2017: 24–29) – a robust cornerstone of the Canadian media landscape. Indeed, Inuit media remains on a trajectory of steady growth and expanding pervasiveness: Montréal (samcc 2016) and now Ottawa (Miron 2019) are home to two Inuktitut radio shows, the first consistent Inuit radio presence in Canada’s South. This southern presence, coupled with the reliability of northern broadcasts, is not only offering throwbacks to childhood music and stories heard across Inuit Nunangat (Last 2019) but also helping to broaden the domains in which *Inuktitut*<sup>28</sup> and Inuit culture is expressed, particularly in the politically-charged Canadian capital: Ottawa (Bell 2015; Gordon 2017: 30–35; KRS n.d.; Miron 2019).

At the time of writing, the Wawatay Radio Network also continues to beam across Nishnawbe Aski and beyond, with about 67.5 hours of programming in the Ojibway, Oji-Cree, and Cree languages per week (Wawatay Communications Society 2020); and ten years after the 1974 launch of ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ‘Wawatay News’, the

<sup>28</sup>Defined by Pirurvik’s dictionary (*Inuktitut Tusaalanga*) as representing “all of the Inuit dialects spoken in Nunavut, including Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun” (Pirurvik (ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ). n.d.). Used here as a gloss to mean all Inuit languages, including Inuvialuktun, Inuktitut, and Atgangmuurngniq.

“Voice of Denendeh” CKLB 101.9 FM took hold in Yellowknife (*Decision 85-1274* CRTC 1985). Originally broadcasting with the call sign CKNM-FM, shows were in Gwich’in, Tłı̄chǝ Yatı̄, Dēnēsų́hné Yatı̄, Dene or Got’ine Yatı̄, and Dene Zhatı̄/Yatı̄<sup>29</sup> as well as English. As of 1992, a commitment was made to offer 22.5 hours of Native-language programming per week, compared with 32.5 hours in English (History of Canadian Broadcasting 2020).

Canadian radio waves fall under the jurisdiction and licensure of the CRTC. While “the CRTC itself avoids strict regulation of ‘native’ stations because of the extreme financial instability that they face,” systemic issues remain (Szwarc 2018). These include funding difficulties tied to the lack of an advertising market for Indigenous stations, government cuts to the NNBAP (Northern Native Broadcast Access Program) (CRTC 1990-89), and their remote locations (Szwarc 2018). Julia Szwarc’s 2018 study considered 61 CRTC ‘Native Radio’ license decisions, of which 65.5% or 40 stations “were found to be in non-compliance with their license agreements.” Rigorous Canadian licensing requirements, even when relaxed for Indigenous radios, present persistent hurdles for community broadcasters to overcome.

**4.6 Comparing and contrasting state-sponsored community-run radios** The five cases described above offer quite different approaches to Indigenous community engagement through radio broadcasting services. Where Australia’s relationship may best be described as constrained by government policy and resourcing, the Māori radio landscape in Aotearoa-New Zealand appears quite robust and centrally situated in the country’s broadcasting ecosystem. Colombia follows a more community-directed approach: Through Unidad de Radio, Indigenous nations are first consulted about their interest in establishing radio stations and are then, only with their consent, allocated resources by the central government to establish a sustainable service (Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 454). While Canada maintains and supports some Indigenous-language broadcasting through its national broadcaster – the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) – its licenser, the CRTC, has overseen (and come into repeated conflict with) much of the implementation of community-run stations. Policies, programs, legislation, and reports like those of the *Broadcasting Act* (Act B-9.01 1991), the various *Native Broadcasting Policies*, *Public Notices*,<sup>30</sup> the *Northern*

<sup>29</sup>There is great diversity and variation within the original languages of Denendeh. Given such variation, it becomes both more difficult and more important to use accurate and appropriate terminology to refer to these languages. As of writing, the most widespread name for the two language groups around Denendeh’s largest eastern lakes is the unsavory ‘North and South Slavey’, coined by European fur trappers and explorers. North Slavey is concentrated around the Sahtú or Great Bear Lake, giving rise to Sahtúgot’ine Yatı̄, Sahtúot’ı̄ne Yatı̄, and Sahtúot’ı̄ne Gokedó (underlined emphasis ours). Connected are the Hare and Mountain Dene whose languages (K’ashógot’ı̄ne Yatı̄ / Goxedó and Shı̄hgot’ı̄ne / Shúhtaot’ı̄ne Yatı̄, respectively) are closely related. In the South, just west of Tı̄deè / Tı̄nde’e / Tu Nedhe / Tucho (or, colonially, the ‘Great Slave Lake’) (Cohen 2020), the language Dene Zhatı̄ or Yatı̄ is spoken (Kaulback 2009: 61). Similarly, Dēnēsų́hné can be rendered as Denesuline, Dēnēsų́hı̄né, Dēne Sų́hné, etc. Given the many orthographic differences across each of the languages/dialects, we compromised and chose the forms above (cf. Blake 2020; Government of Northwest Territories 2018; Gullberg 2020; Indigenous Languages and Education Secretariat n.d.).

<sup>30</sup>*Public Notices* 1984-310; 1985-60; 1985-67; 1985-274; 1986-75; 1990-12; and 1990-89 (CRTC) amongst others.

*Native Broadcast Access Program* (Whiteduck Resources Inc. & Consilium 2003), and the Therrien Report (CRTC et al. 1980) have been helpful in ensuring that Inuit, Dene, Michif, Cree, and other First Languages ride Canada's radio airwaves (see Department of Canadian Heritage 2020). However, the constitutionally-sanctioned hegemony and political entrenchment of English and French continues to pose challenges for Indigenous communities in Canada.

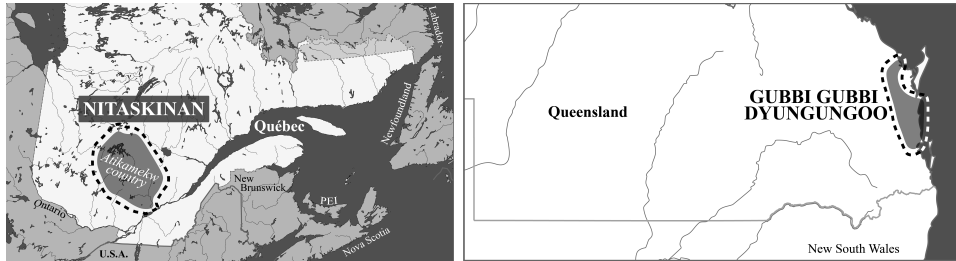
In Nigeria, in light of the suffocating dominance of English in the public sphere, and especially on airwaves, the approach has been slow and steady. Inheriting state-controlled broadcasting from the British, only modest steps have been taken to decolonize Nigeria's airwaves (Ojebode & Akingbulu 2009). Despite the challenges, Osun State's Orisun FM has shown leadership in Indigenous-language radio. Broadcasting fully in the Yorùbá language, the station offers Yorùbá speakers the opportunity to engage in both over-the-airwaves community building as well as language engineering, development, and maintenance.

The listening landscapes of Colombia and Nigeria demonstrate that there is no need for a central broadcasting apparatus to run language-specific radio programs to achieve success at the community level. In Colombia, each Nation assesses their own needs and level of interest, with some communities opting for widespread adoption of radio services and others eschewing radio altogether because of its association with State overreach and legacies of colonization. According to Kogi leader Arregocés, to introduce a radio station in the middle of a Kogi community would be like “stabbing the motherland with a weapon directly connected to processes of globalization and Westernization” (Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 457). In contradistinction, Yorùbá-speaking residents of Osun devised and hosted their own network, even though it was initially established through the state government. In the Australian context, while a relaxation in national broadcasting law allows for the emergence of community-run radio stations based on the interest of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander peoples, a lack of resources and secondary policies have so far resulted in little uptake despite a demonstrated high demand and need.

Initially, Canadian broadcasters failed to connect with Indigenous communities when they simply placed physical “receiving dishes in nearly every northern community with no thought to or provision for aboriginal content or local broadcast” (Larkin et al. 2002: 41). The eventual leader of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation likened the onslaught of southern media to the neutron bomb:<sup>31</sup> “This is the bomb that kills the people,” she noted, “but leaves the buildings standing” (Kuptana 1982; MediaSmarts n.d.). Notwithstanding the challenges, communities from across the Canadian landscape have taken to radio as a critical medium to bridge geographic gaps between communities and their members who may live far away for work, education, or medical reasons. Radio has become an invaluable tool of connection – as seen in Patrick Boivin's *Territoire des ondes* ‘Land and Airwaves’ (original translation) (Boivin & Flamand 2006), an award-winning short film out of Nitaskinan,

<sup>31</sup>This is a view shared by a Gubbi Gubbi Elder and Australian linguist, Dr Eve Fesl, who described in 1985 the imminent mainstream satellite television as a “cultural nerve gas” (Gardiner-Garden 2003; *Spirituality* Gubbi Gubbi Nation n.d.; Meadows & Molnar 2002: 13).

the Atikamekw country in eastern Québec – and a powerful instrument for language maintenance, reclamation, and resurgence, such as CFNK 89.9 FM Minahik Achimowin Inc.’s programs in the Michif and Cree languages (Department of Canadian Heritage 2015; EFN Staff 2018; Raine 2017) or the Gwich’in-language radio programming in Denendeh (Morin 2015).



**Figure 10.** Two maps showing Nitaskinan, homeland of Atikamekw filmmaker Patrick Boivin, and Gubbi Gubbi Dyungungoo, the country of Elder Eve Fesl (see: footnote 31). For more detailed information and sources, see Appendix 11.

Finally, we must note that te reo Māori radio broadcasting functions quite distinctly from the examples described above. As an official language, te reo is accorded rights not paralleled in Australia, Canada, Colombia, or Nigeria. Te Māngai Pāho was established, recognized, and funded as a Māori-operated Crown entity, guaranteeing a degree of consistent support, security, and autonomy not seen in other settler-colonial states.

**5. Voices through the State: Promotion and restriction** The above section highlights the logistics of community-run radios as these are supported by the State, in some cases at the direct insistence of Indigenous communities. Māori, for example, assert that the Treaty of Waitangi grants them sovereignty over airwaves (Drinnan 1989; Waitangi Tribunal 1994) the consequence of which has been fairly broad support, both in terms of financing and infrastructure (Ministry for Culture and Heritage n.d.). In other cases, state-supported radios are understood as a threat to culture and sovereignty itself, as demonstrated by the Kogi community in Colombia (Rodríguez & El Gazi 2007: 457), and, in Canada, many Nations identify the threats that broadcasting capabilities and infrastructure pose. However, notwithstanding Audre Lorde’s (1984) ever-prescient comment that “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house,” Indigenous populations are using the “master’s” tools to bolster their cultures, histories, and languages in ways that they hope *will*, in time, dismantle the edifice and arrogance of colonialism. In this section, we explore the role that the State plays in Indigenous-language radio broadcasting. In some cases, space is created for languages to grow and thrive; in others, restrictions and constraints pose challenges to communities struggling to stay afloat in a sea of oppressive policies and constraining legislation.

**5.1 Creativity in settler-colonial contexts** The histories of Canada and Australia share structural similarities despite their very different geographies. While in Canada the state broadcaster engages significantly with Indigenous-language programming, the Australian State’s support for Indigenous-language content is more conflicted and compromised. In each country, a crown corporation operates as the national public radio and television broadcaster: ABC and CBC for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, respectively.

Acknowledging that “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages are the first language spoken at home in many parts of Australia,”<sup>32</sup> ABC has been trialling a new service since 2015 in the Northern Territory through which broadcasts are translated by the Aboriginal Interpreter Service into Warlpiri, Yolŋu Matha, and Kriol. Similarly restricted to the northern reaches of the State, CBC has been delivering services to the North in a multitude of languages since the mid-to-late 1900s under the names CBC North (English), *Radio-Canada Nord* (French; though now called “ici Grand Nord”), ᐱᐅᐱᐅ ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ ‘Siįpiįsiį Akiaqtaqtumi’ (Inuktitut) and ᐱᐅᐱᐅ ᐱᐅᐱᐅ ᐱᐅᐱᐅ ᐱᐅᐱᐅ ᐱᐅᐱᐅ ‘S̨ip̨is̨į Ch̨iwet̨in̨ūt̨ą̄h̨ch̨’ (East Cree).<sup>33</sup>

CBC North carries Indigenous-language programming in eight languages. In Nunavut and Nunavik, the station broadcasts from early in the morning until the evening in Inuktitut; in the Northwest Territories, the station broadcasts in 6 Indigenous languages (Inuvialuktun, Gwich’in, Dene/Got’ine Yatı̨, Dene Yatı̨é/Zhatı̨é, D̨ę̄n̨ēs̨ųh̨né Yatı̨é, Tł̨ich̨q Yatı̨ı̨); and in northern Québec (south of Nunavik), CBC broadcasts in Cree.<sup>34</sup> While CBC North certainly deserves recognition for delivering news, weather, and entertainment to the diverse peoples of northern Canada in their own heritage languages, the fact that such programming is restricted to CBC North does rather reinforce the persistent and erroneous belief that Indigenous peoples live only in the North of Canada. And indeed, over the duration of researching and writing this article (2015–2020), Indigenous-language radio services have only become harder to access on CBC and Radio-Canada websites.<sup>35</sup>

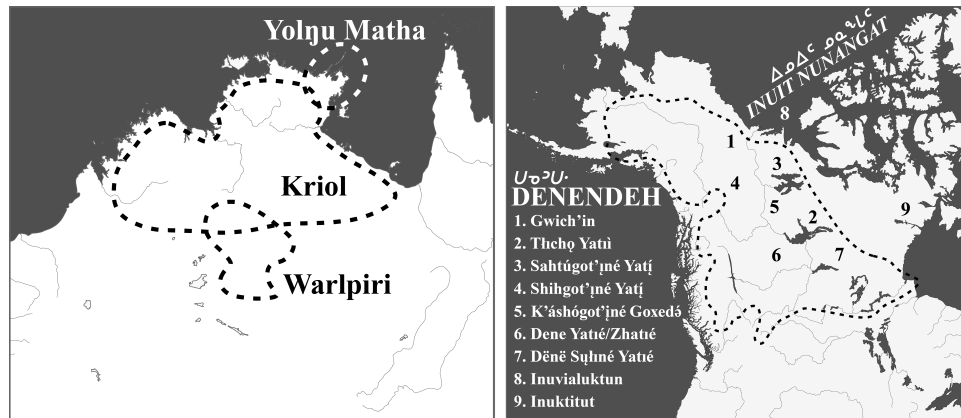
And while ABC has started some broadcasts in Warlpiri and Yolŋu Matha, Radio Australia – an international shortwave, satellite, and internet radio service featuring programming in Mandarin (Voutas 1980: 179), Indonesian (RG 2017), Vietnamese, Khmer, French, Burmese, and Tok Pisin – has been on the airwaves for decades (although much of their multilingual coverage has been cut) (Maclellan 2014). Aus-

<sup>32</sup>See <http://www.abc.net.au/news/indigenous/> (last accessed 2020-06-11).

<sup>33</sup>Note the lack of languages by both the ABC and CBC. For a service intended to have a wide reach, using just four languages to cover an area with dozens of languages is clearly inadequate. Further, when looking through Australia’s *Broadcasting Services Act* – which has not been meaningfully updated since 1992 – there are only ten instances of the word “Indigenous”. Notably, the only obligation comes at the very end of §3 “Objects of the Act” (subsection (n)) which reads: “to ensure the maintenance and, **where possible**, the development of diversity, including public, community and indigenous broadcasting, in the Australian broadcasting system in **the transition to digital broadcasting**” (our emphasis) (Act No. 110 1992: Part 1 § 3n).

<sup>34</sup>See <http://www.cbc.ca/north/features/indigenous-radio/> (last accessed 2020-06-11).

<sup>35</sup>Compare <https://web.archive.org/web/20170706223912/https://www.cbc.ca/north/features/indigenous-radio/> (archived 2017-07-06; last accessed 2020-06-11) and <https://www.cbc.ca/listen/search?q=cree> (last accessed 2020-06-11) where listeners need to search for specific shows. There is no such availability through a francophone lens on <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/> (last accessed 2020-06-11).



**Figure 11.** Two maps showing northern Australia and northwest Turtle Island. The left-hand map shows the rough extent of three language [groups]: Yolŋu Matha, Kriol, and Warlpiri. The right-most map shows broadcast languages in the NWT within the vast Dene country and the non-delineated Inuit Nunangat. See Appendix 12 for more detailed information and sources.

tralia’s notorious state-sponsored monolingualism continues to exist in stark contrast to the 250+ languages with origins on the continent and historically spoken across hundreds of unceded countries (McDonnell 2020; RMIT University 2020; Browning 2017; Lentini 2017). According to the ABC, the goal of the Aboriginal Interpreter Service is to improve access to ABC news and celebrate the importance of Aboriginal languages and cultures. The three translated daily ABC news bulletins are hosted online for free through SoundCloud and can be easily downloaded, thus making them available for rebroadcast by Indigenous-community radio broadcasters.<sup>36</sup> These news bulletins, however, are simply translations of the English-language content, leaving little room for news developed within, by, and for local First Nations communities.

**5.2 Response and resistance in Africa** Similar tensions exist across Africa where radio is “considered the only truly mass medium [...for it] has become such a vital and indispensable tool for governing in Africa, that it is difficult to imagine how modern African societies could be run without the use of radio” (Kijana 2012: 128). Its ubiquity is marred by “irregularities as many states [continue] to use the language of the former colonizers even in radio broadcasting” (Ndawana 2019: 66), and ownership of most African radio stations remains in the hands of the ruling elite and under the control of governments (Mbaine 2003; Ndawana 2019: 52; Nyamnjoh 2003; 2005).

Two linguistically related landscapes, Zimbabwe and South Africa, offer contrastive case studies in post-colonial broadcasting. South Africa was a late decolonizer and was thus able to “learn from the errors that had happened in other post-colonies” (Ndawana 2019: 43). The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)

<sup>36</sup>See <https://soundcloud.com/darwinabc> (last accessed 2020-06-11).



has moved away from being the mouthpiece of the apartheid government (Ndawana 2019: 50) and is a leader on African airwaves for successfully broadcasting to its diverse national landscape, despite ongoing growing pains (Govenden 2009: 85–88; Ngwenya: 266–96; Sebego 2015: 106–07; Qhobosheane 2018: 67–71). Leaning on the “rainbow nation” narrative and in the unique constitutional context as a State-of-many-Nations, South African voices are promoted within the mandate of the SABC (Hart 2011: 150, 160), which must:

encourage the development of South African expression by providing, in South African official languages, a wide range of programming that-(a) reflects South African attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity; (b) displays South African talent in education and entertainment programmes; (c) offers a plurality of views and a variety of news, information and analysis from a South African point of view; (d) advances the national and public interest (Act No. 4 1999: Ch. I, § 2).

As such, South Africa’s national broadcaster gives support to its eleven official languages as well as the Khoi, Nama, and San languages in ways that Zimbabwe and others do not (Hart 2011: 12; Sebego 2015: 100–01, 105, 107). Indeed, despite many scholars agreeing that the use “of vernacular languages promotes audience participation” (Bosch 2011; Musau 1998; Ndawana 2019: 57), Zimbabwe has retained the colonial vestiges of the formerly Rhodesian airwaves. In 1980, the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation became the ZBC – the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation – changing in little but name (Moyo 2004; Zaffiro 2002). With the eventual passing of the Broadcasting Services Act in 2001 (Chapter 12:06), the already limited diversity of the Zimbabwean airwaves was further constrained. David Coltart, former Zimbabwean Member of Parliament for the Movement for Democratic Change, argues that the Broadcasting Services Act reinforced the strength of the ZBC which acted as a “propaganda mouthpiece of the ZANU–PF government” (Coltart 2001). Instead of a “rainbow nation” (Mhlanga 2011), the nation-state apparatus of Zimbabwe portrays all discussion of ethnicity as “divisive tribalism” (Mhlanga 2012; 2013).

In Zimbabwe, Public Service Broadcasters (PSBs) are still harnessed and conscripted as mouthpieces of the State in ways that continue to be harmful and exclusionary. “During [the post-independence] period radio was not only used to disseminate government propaganda but it was also used to broadcast hate speech [...] targeted towards the Ndebele people and those who sympathized with them” (Ndawana 2019: 18, including citations to Eppel 2004; Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007). Similarly devastating uses of public broadcasting were felt during the Rwandan genocide (Des Forges 1999) and during conflicts in Nigeria, Somalia, Angola, Sierra Leone, and Cameroon (Ndawana 2019: 62).

Then again, radio across the African continent has also been leveraged in service of liberation movements. “Clandestine” – or “pirate,” as governments often refer to them – radios have emerged in spaces abdicated by state broadcasters (Ndawana 2019). Many PSBs within Zimbabwe and beyond are further weakened by a lack of resources and poor working conditions, leading to talented and creative person-

nel leaving them to work for “better equipped [...] commercial entities” (Ndawana 2019: 64). Recent research has shown that when resources flow and governments are permissive, radio can assist in conflict resolution and prevention (Ndawana 2019: 63), especially when content is broadcast in local languages. Use of local languages directly contributes to the popularity of radio (such as in Ghana, Mali, and Senegal) (Prah 2005), and even increases participation in poverty-alleviation programs, as noted in Ethiopia (Mohammed 2013).

It will not surprise readers to learn that radio can support the revival of traditional cultures, as shown by Radio Zimbabwe (Mano 2004: 315) and by Shona-language stations in two of Mozambique’s provinces (334). In Zimbabwe, the programs *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* (Shona) and *Ihlupo Zanamuhla* (Ndebele) act as traditional courts, continuing the age-old Shona *dare*,<sup>37</sup> which entails a regular on-air panel and audience. The producer/presenter/facilitator begins each week’s program with “‘*Tinawo vadare wedu wemazuva ose...*’ (‘We still have our usual dare...’) before asking the panelists (*vadare*) to individually send a greeting to the absent listeners” (321). Chakafukidza’s panel is made up of three culturally-invested individuals who were, as of the early 2000s, the producer Jabulani Mangena, Elizabeth Serima-Tinofirei taking the role of the *Tete* (aunt), and Maxwell Nyamangara as the grandfather, or *Sekuru*. The *Tete* and *Sekuru* “are handpicked but very ordinary persons,” substituting the figures of home-life *dare*. Nyamangara, with six years of ZBC experience, is “a family man in his 50s and a former adult literacy materials writer,” and in the world outside of radio, Serima-Tinofirei (also in her 50s) occupies a role similar to her Chakafukidza personality where she works in the Magistrates Courts (Mano 2004: 321–22). Wearing two hats, Serima-Tinofirei often provides arguments and perspectives from both sides of Euro-descended Roman-Dutch law and customary Shona law. In their roles as *Tete* and *Sekuru*, mediation is crucial “between two viewpoints: one steeped in a culture of tradition and the other based in modern institutions” (Mano 2004: 322; Rønning 1997). The impact of Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga goes beyond the airwaves, where Winston Mano “witnessed first-hand clear solutions freely offered to the programme’s listeners off-air. The producer links up listeners with reputable traditional health and social services providers [...as well as acting] as a matchmaker for some of his unmarried listeners” (Mano 2004: 330–31).

Even though Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga and *Inhlupozanamuhla* have been extremely popular since Chakafukidza’s launch in 1981, “Radio Zimbabwe seems to command a low social status among the country’s four radio stations” (Mano 2004: 333), something Memory Mambika and Abiodun Salawu acknowledge in their 2014 study. Since Zimbabwean culture places “economic value on the language according to the prestige it is given nationally” (Mambika & Salawu 2014: 2396), stations

<sup>37</sup>In the Shona dictionary, *dare* is defined as: “(1) a place in which men sit alone during leisure time to eat (*sadza*) and talk around a fire; (2) a (legal) court presided over by a *Mambo* (king) or a judge; and (3) citizens presiding over a case under the guidance or leadership of a *Mambo* or a *Sadunhu* (chief)” (Chimhundu 2001: 198, translation from Mano 2004). This definition effaces the important role women play in the *dare*, having their own male-free forum or discussion space that “goes beyond gossip to issues of common interest” (Mano 2004: 316) and is headed by female figures of authority such as an *Ambuya* (grandmother) or *Tete* (aunt) (318).

broadcasting in any local languages – especially languages other than Shona and Ndebele – are perceived to be rural, inferior (Mano 2004: 333), and shameful (Mambika & Salawu 2014: 2398). Despite these negative value labels that adhere to traditional languages, a “majority of participants [...] agreed that they understood issues better in their indigenous languages” (Mambika & Salawu 2014: 2398).

Zimbabwe’s radio operating environment remains constrained. Of the four ZBC-sanctioned radios, only one broadcasts in languages other than Ndebele and Shona: National FM. Such a density<sup>38</sup> of languages on one station combined with the prestige and authority that English still commands has resulted in a fair share of problems. Since many Zimbabweans are multilingual, back-to-back broadcasts of the same show rendered in different languages can result in listeners tuning out, and quite a few programs title and label their shows in English, attaching foreign cultural concepts to productions made entirely in Indigenous languages and resulting in listener confusion (Mambika & Salawu 2014: 2397). In the Zimbabwean broadcasting landscape, this disconnect between intended strategy and actual implementation underscores the tension between language programming as a symbolic form, on the one hand, and effective practical programming drawing on local cultural and linguistic content, on the other. However, this tension can be mitigated with appropriately implemented policy measures as seen in post-Apartheid South Africa.

**5.3 Indigenous language radio space in Nepal and Mexico** In Mexico, implementation of Indigenous-language radios has been mostly successful. Following the affirmation that “Mexico is a pluri-cultural and multilingual nation” by its *Declaración del Congreso Nacional de Comunicación Indígena* (‘Declaration of the National Congress on Indigenous Communication’) (2007), the rollout of over twenty stations in more than 30 languages has been described as having the potential to reach half the Indigenous population of Mexico (Rodríguez 2005: 157).

According to Teresa Mioli and Silvia Higuera, June 2, 2016 marked the date that Mexican broadcasters could legally transmit information in any of the native languages of the country that are recognized as national languages. Mioli and Higuera note that this legislative change was set in motion after Indigenous poet and journalist Mardonio Carballo, who works in Spanish and Nāhuatl, won a case in Mexico’s Supreme Court in January of that year which decreed that Article 230 of the Federal Law for Telecommunications and Radio Broadcasting was unconstitutional. A paragraph concerning the languages permitted in Mexican broadcasting has now been amended to read: “In their broadcasts, stations of concessionaires may use any of the national languages in accordance with the applicable laws. Concessions for indigenous social use may use the language of the indigenous people concerned” (Mioli & Higuera 2016).

The *Sistema de Radiodifusoras Culturales Indigenistas* (SRCI), known in English as the Indigenous Cultural Broadcasting System, is a network of Mexican radio stations whose mission is to strengthen the multicultural nature of the nation by promot-

<sup>38</sup>National FM broadcasts in thirteen other languages, alongside Ndebele, Shona, and English, whereas Power FM and Spot FM only broadcast in English (Mambika & Salawu 2014: 2395).

ing the use of Indigenous languages. The SRCI website<sup>39</sup> maintains a comprehensive and dynamic list of stations, call signs, coverage, and frequencies of transmission, as well as links to online streaming services in Mexico's Indigenous languages. According to user comments and a comprehensive Wikipedia article about SRCI's work, many of these stations are hosted by bilingual presenters, offer civic information, and promote various government assistance programs in the areas of health, education, and human rights. Further, they regularly broadcast collections of traditional music from *in situ* field recordings.

The Republic of Nepal is internationally recognized for its ethnolinguistic diversity, with well over 120 officially recognized languages from four different language families that correlate with Indigenous ethnic communities known locally as *janjāti* (Sonntag & Turin 2019; Turin 2007). Following Nepal's 1990 restoration of democracy, the growth of community radio in this landlocked nation has been remarkable, with no other country in the Asia Pacific region witnessing comparable rollout and reach. Yet despite these successes, combined with creative programming and innovative strategies for long-term sustainability, only a small percentage of community radio programs are broadcast in local languages and usually no more than 15 minutes a day or one hour per week (Pringle & Subba 2007: 30). Radio Makalu and Radio Namobuddha are examples of specialized community radio stations that serve the needs of two of Nepal's Indigenous communities, the Athpahariya and Danuwar, respectively. Radio Makalu broadcasts news and other programs in the Rai Bantawa, Limbu, Athpahariya, Yakkhya, and Tamang languages (Dahal & Aram 2013: 13), while Radio Namobuddha, which was formally launched in 2007, is on air thirteen hours a day in eight ethnic languages, including Nepali (Dahal & Aram 2013: 19). Both stations are committed to Indigenous language revitalization and what is known in the Nepali context as 'identity strengthening'. As Dahal and Arum note, "producing a radio program in [one's] own language not only helps in attaining immediate advocacy goal[s] but also advances social and cultural empowerment for indigenous rights" (2013: 23).

Yet, Nepali – the national and official language – continues to be the main broadcasting medium, even in areas where other languages are widely spoken and where Nepali literacy rates are low. To that end, analysts have called on community stations to increase community representation and participation by widening and deepening Indigenous-language programming (Pringle & Subba 2007: 31). While mostly focused on public advocacy and women's issues, training courses for Indigenous women in 2017 hosted by Cultural Survival, Radio Namobuddha, and Nepal's Indigenous Media Foundation in the capital city, Kathmandu, have helped to reignite interest in Indigenous-language broadcasting (Rao 2017: 24–25). As the Nepali case study illustrates, the presence of an effective and popular community-run radio station does not necessarily lead to the widespread adoption of local-language programming. The supportive context for both Nepali and Mexican community stations has generated opportunities to expand into new linguistic domains, and, in the case of Mexico in particular, offered important resources not otherwise easily available.

<sup>39</sup>See <http://www.cdi.gob.mx/ecosgobmx/> (last accessed 2020-06-11).

**6. Conclusion** Did video really kill the radio star? Although we offer only a brief overview of various approaches and initiatives worldwide, the case studies included in this article indicate that radio is not only an important communicative and broadcast medium, but increasingly a tool for Indigenous language resurgence and cultural pride (Turin & Pine 2019). A common theme that emerges from our survey is that national policy plays a key role in ensuring (and, in some cases, impeding) the vitality of both Indigenous languages and the broadcasting landscape. Communities whose languages are not only recognized through official channels, but who are empowered with the resources to chart their own course in broadcasting spaces, are stronger for it. Indeed, genuine “community radio supports successful revitalization [...] promotes language use and halts further language decline, builds awareness of language loss and inspires new learners and serves as a source of alternative media for broadcasting in Indigenous communities” (Camp & Portalewska 2013: 13) and across diverse populations (Hanuse 2015b; cf. Oh et al. 2020).

In each case that we have discussed, the impact of Indigenous-language radio on communities has been different. In some cases, Indigenous-language radio programming functions to bolster languages that are widely spoken, as among the isiXhosa-speaking communities of South Africa (see Satyo & Jadezweni 2001), helping to extend a language into new domains of use. In other instances, as with KTNN and Nuxalk Radio, one of the main functions of the radio station is to serve as a tool for language maintenance and reclamation through community dialogue.

And beyond these, there are many other successful and creative uses of radio for language mobilization, such as *Radio Ixchel* broadcasting Kaqchikel from Sumpango, Guatemala (Cabrera 2013: 17), Nepal’s Indigenous Media Foundation (2018), and the Yuchi KCFO-AM 970, with programs like *hUda: yUdjEhalA nŌ’wAdA* ‘Listen: We Are Speaking Yuchi’ (Camp & Portalewska 2013: 14). There is also KUYI 88.1 FM which follows the traditional Hopi calendar for music choices and annual storytelling (Dukepoo 2013: 22), the indigiTUBE resource for First Nations stories from the Australian deserts to the seas (FNMA 2020b), the U.S. Federal Communications Commission’s (FCC) work offering rural communities free airwave licences (ONAP 2020; Reid 2020), the Ayajuthem-language ‘Raven’ radio (Auger 2021), the Lakota KLND-FM 89.5 (Camp & Portalewska 2013: 13), the work the Asur Nation is doing in the Indian state of Jharkhand (Asur Adivasi Wisdom Akhra 2020; Barik 2020), and *Ka Leo Hawai’i*’s legacy in instilling pride for ‘Ōlelo Hawai’i – the oral language spoken by Kanaka maoli of Hawai’i – over the previous decades (Barcarse 2013: 20).

In this short survey article, we have had no space to reference the powerful impact that other bands within the electromagnetic spectrum have on communities (cf. Ginsburg 2011: 244–53). Taiwan’s 1998 “Education Act for Indigenous Peoples” helped ensure that broadcasting channels – specifically television – were made available to Indigenous populations. Signing communities, be they Deaf or with a history of manual communication, have also leveraged visual media to advance and protect their cultures (see Oneida Language and Cultural Centre 2017; RTBF n.d.; Société des sourds du Nunavut 2017; The Daily Moth 2014). Mobile phones and the rollout of broadband internet has been of great importance for Indigenous and historically-

marginalized communities around the world (Pew Research Center 2015; Singh et al. 2017), especially regarding technology-assisted language reclamation and digital access (Turin & Pine 2019).

The adoption, deployment, mobilization, and Indigenization of radio within Indigenous communities challenges commonly held and deeply entrenched beliefs about the future of radio and the currency of Indigenous languages (Ginsburg 2011: 236–38; Pine & Turin 2017). In this review, we have looked beyond such predictions to investigate expressions of vitality that demonstrate that radio – both online and on air – can be a highly effective tool for cultural revitalization and linguistic resurgence. We would do well to recall the words of the writer Isaac Bashevis Singer. In reply to a question about why he insisted on writing in Yiddish – a ‘dying’ language – Singer is alleged to have said that there was an important distinction to be made between dying and dead, and that Yiddish had been dying for centuries. In his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize in Literature which he was awarded in 1978, Singer went on to note that:

“There are some who call Yiddish a dead language, but so was Hebrew called for two thousand years. It has been revived in our time in a most remarkable, almost miraculous way... Yiddish has not yet said its last word.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>See [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/literature/laureates/1978/singer-lecture.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1978/singer-lecture.html) (last accessed on 2021-01-20).

**Abbreviations**

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ACIN	Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca (‘Association of Indigenous Councils of Northern Cauca’)
ACP	Accelerated Coverage Plan
AFNBMS	Australia’s First Nations Broadcasting and Media Sector
ANTaR	Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation
ARDS	Aboriginal Resource and Development Services
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BRACS	Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme; later RIBS
CAAMA	Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association
CBAA	Community Broadcasting Association of Australia
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CRTC	Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission
DAA	Department of Aboriginal Affairs
FCC	Federal Communications Commission
FNM(A)	First Nations Media (Australia)
IBC	Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (ᐃᐅᐃᑦ ᑕᐅᑦᐱᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ; <i>Inuit Tautungnaqtuliqiyiit</i> )
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IRCA	Indigenous Remote Communications Association
ITK	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami ᐃᐅᐃᑦ ᑕᐱᑦᑕᑦ ᑲᐱᑕᑦ, formerly the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
KUYI	Hopi 88.1 FM’s call letters; means ‘water’ in Hopilavayi, the Hopi language
KTNN	<u>K</u> <u>T</u> he <u>N</u> avajo <u>N</u> ation; Navajo 660 AM’s call letters
MP	Member of Parliament
NG Media	Ngaanyatjarra Media
NIRS	National Indigenous Radio Service
NNBAP	Northern Native Broadcast Access Program
NT	Northern Territory, Australia
NWT	Northwest Territories, Canada
NZoA	New Zealand on Air <i>Irirangi Te Motu</i>
PAKAM	Pilbara and Kimberley Aboriginal Media
PAW Media	Pintubi Anmatjere Warlpiri Media
PSB	Public Service Broadcaster
QRAM	Queensland Remote Aboriginal Media
RBC	Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation, currently the ZBC
RIBS	Remote Indigenous Broadcasting Service(s); previously BRACS
RING	Reconciliation Industry Network Group
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SRCI	Sistema de Radiodifusoras Culturales Indigenistas (‘Indigenous Cultural Broadcasting System’)
TEABBA	Top End Aboriginal Bush Broadcasting Association
TSIMA	Torres Strait Islander Media Association





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David Danos

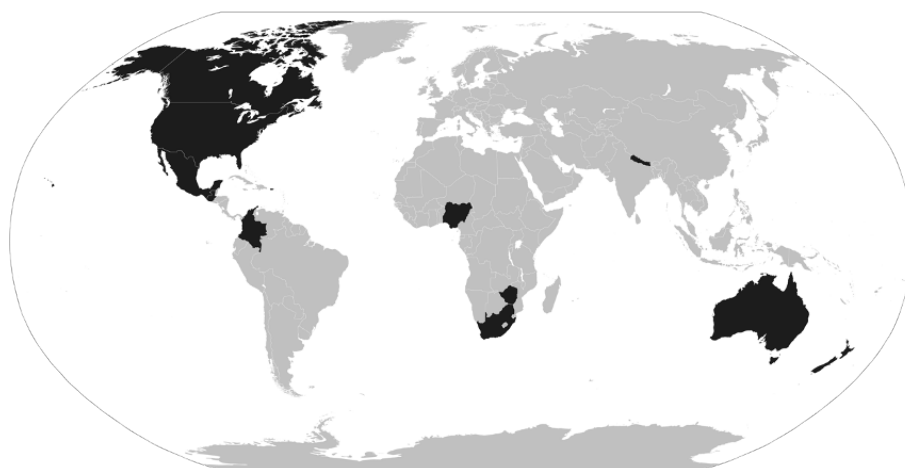
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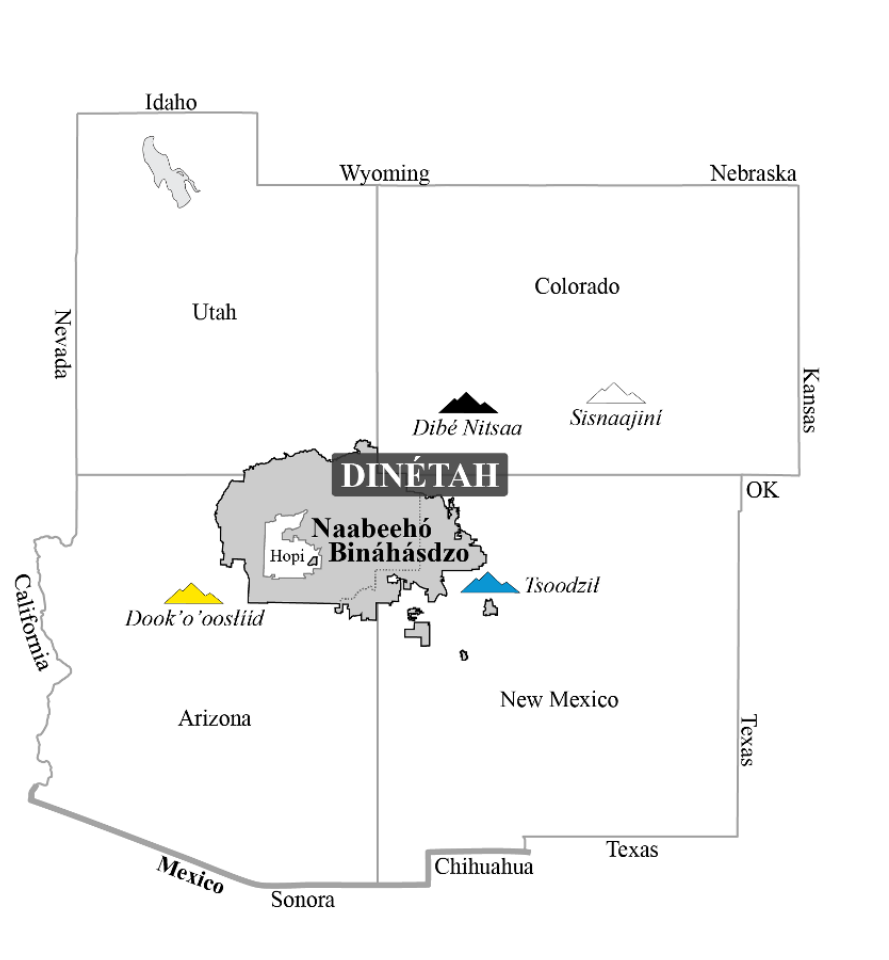
## Appendix 1



**Figure 1.** World map indicating (in black) where the principal case studies outlined in this article are located.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)  
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BlankMap-World.png>.

## Appendix 2

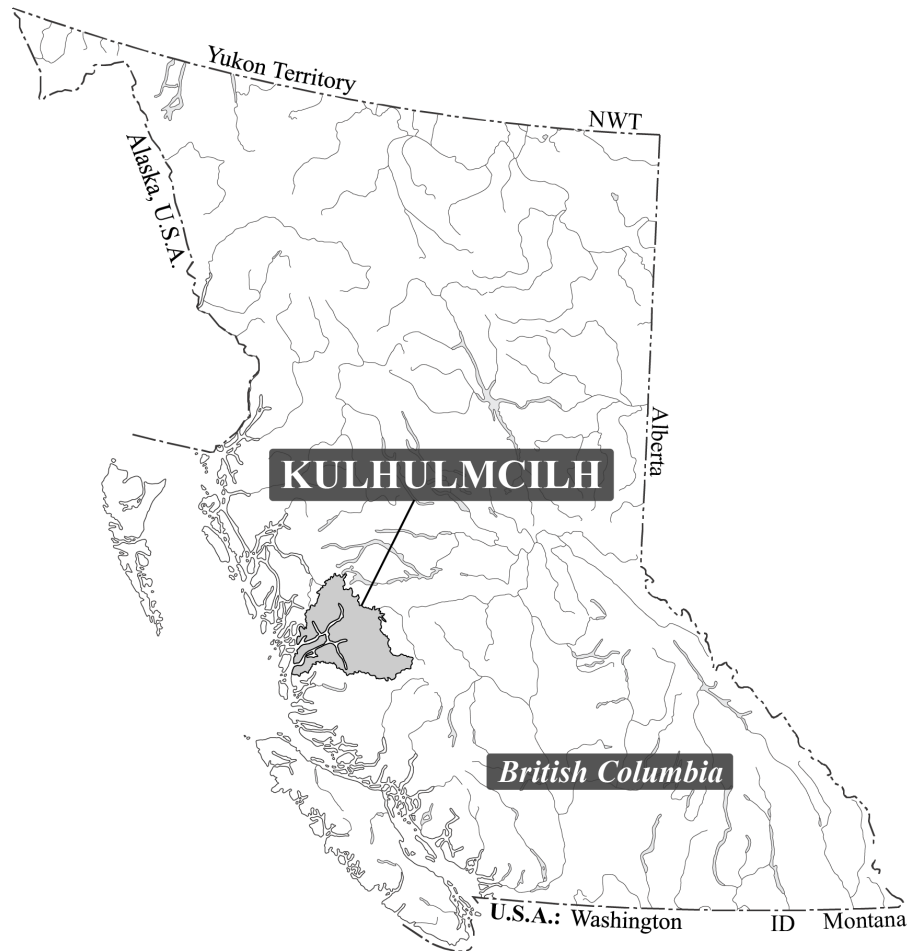


**Figure 2.** Map of four US states – Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico – and the Navajo Reservation (Naabehó Bináhásdzo), noting both the Hopi Reservation enclave and the four sacred mountains that bound the traditional Navajo country: Diné'tah. The mountains correspond to the four directions and four colors (white, blue or turquoise, yellow, and black).

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)  
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DineBikeyahBe%27elyaigii.svg>.

Sources: Aronilth, Jr. n.d.; Department of Information Technology 2011.

## Appendix 3



**Figure 3.** Map of British Columbia, Canada and the Nuxalk territory: Kulhulmcilh.

Adapted from *Nuxalk Territory Maps* Nuxalk Smayusta n.d. and Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canada\\_BC\\_lakes\\_map.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canada_BC_lakes_map.png).



## Appendix 4

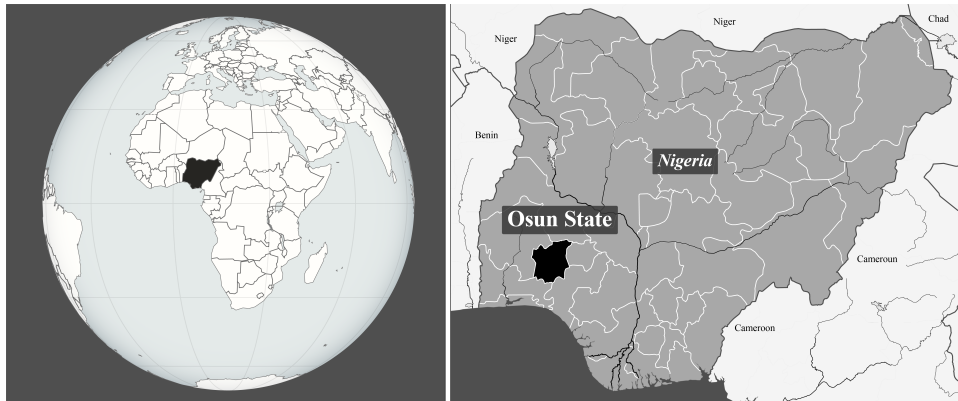


Figure 4. Map showing Palín, Guatemala.

Additionally, from footnote 6, the originating nation (Guna) and country (Guna Yala) of the continent-describing term “Abya Yala” can be seen – although not labelled – just under “Panama” along that northern coastline, bordering Colombia and the Darién Gap.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caribbean\\_map\\_blank.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caribbean_map_blank.png).

## Appendix 5



**Figure 5.** Maps of the globe centering the African continent and of the Nigerian State, its internal states, its neighboring nation-states, and notable (though unlabelled) river systems. On the left, Nigeria is highlighted in black; on the right, Osun State is highlighted in black.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Africa\\_on\\_the\\_globe\\_\(red\)\\_new.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Africa_on_the_globe_(red)_new.svg) &

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nigeria\\_location\\_map.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nigeria_location_map.svg).

## Appendix 6



**Figure 6.** Map of Colombia's mainland showing the discussed locations, nations, and their approximate homelands.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Colombia\\_departamentos\\_otros.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Colombia_departamentos_otros.svg)

Additional sources: ABColombia 2019; Garabide 2020; Mingorance 2014; Redacción ELHERALDO.CO 2015.

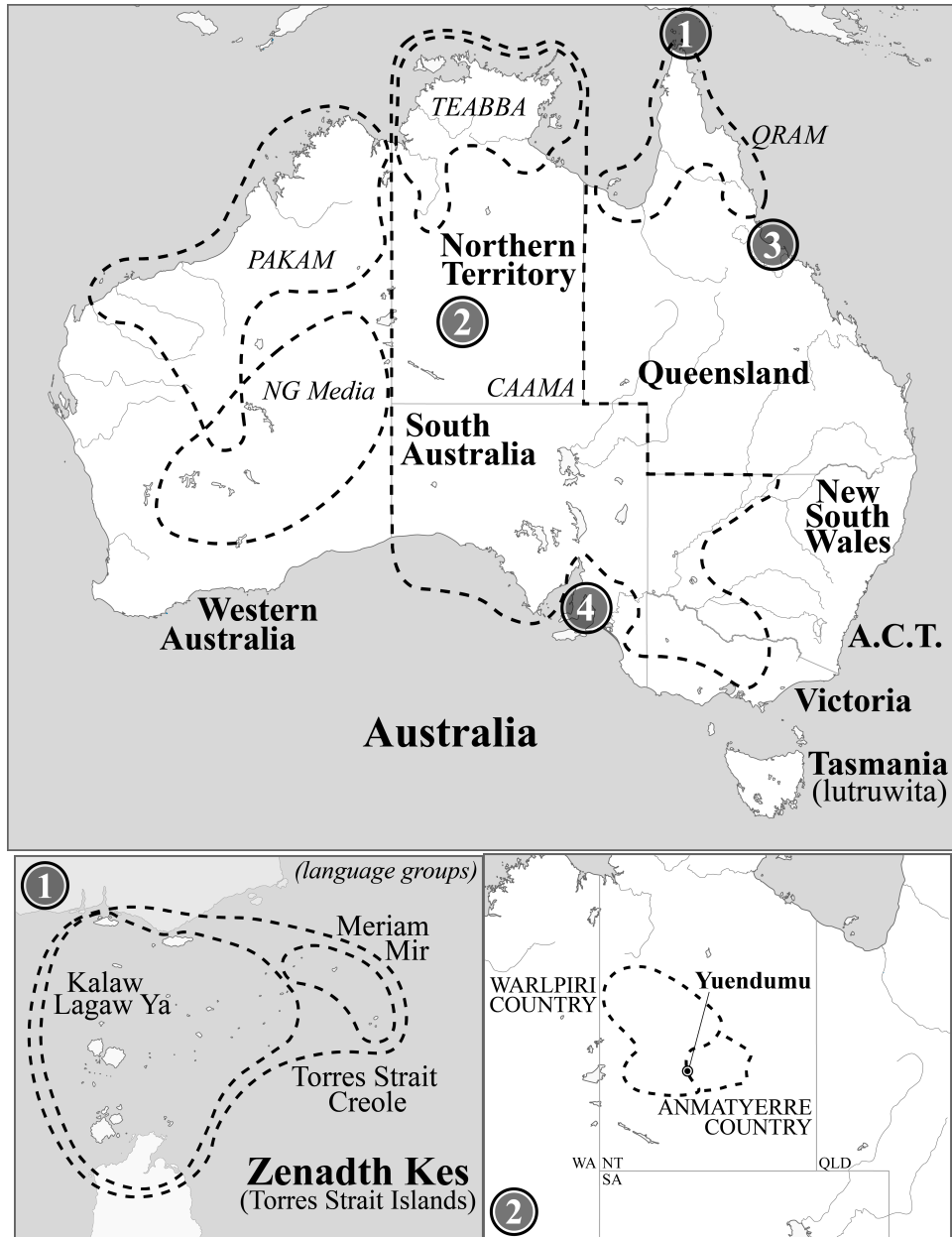
Appendix 7

Listened to iwi radio in the last <b>seven days</b> (15+ years old)	Listened to iwi radio in the last <b>twelve months</b> (15+ years old)	<i>Māori population numbers (percentage &amp; total)</i>
<b>28 %</b> <b>122,100</b>	<b>16 %</b> <b>69,800</b>	
11 %	22 %	<i>Respondents with <b>unchanged</b> te reo Māori usage</i>
23 %	36 %	<i>Respondents with <b>increased</b> te reo Māori usage</i>
11 %	22 %	<i>Respondents who are <b>not learning</b> te reo Māori</i>
25 %	40 %	<i>Respondents who are <b>learning</b> te reo Māori</i>
11 %	23 %	<i>Respondents who have <b>no change</b> in proficiency</i>
21 %	35 %	<i>Respondents who have <b>increased</b> their proficiency</i>

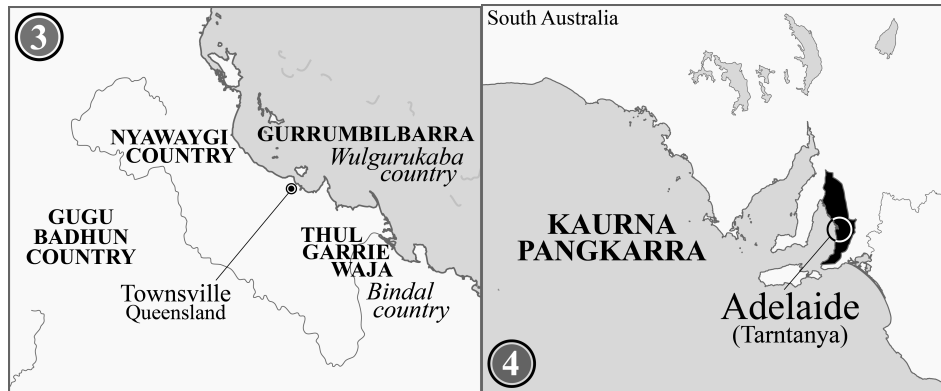
**Table 1.** Iwi radio listenership and use/proficiency of te reo Māori.

Source: Data from the 2011 Te Puni Kōkiri report titled “Impact of Iwi Radio on the Māori Language – *Te Tautoko a nga Reo Irirangi mo te Reo Māori*” (2–4).

Appendix 8



## Appendix 8, cont.



**Figure 7.** Five maps of Australia. The first, top-most shows the states and internal territories of the Commonwealth of Australia. Included is the name for Tasmania in palawa kani, the reconstructed language from the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre: lutruwita. Labelled by number are the four preceding maps as well as the rough extent of five media associations: PAKAM and NG Media in Western Australia, TEABBA in the Top End of the Northern Territory, QRAM in across Queensland's northern cape region, and CAAMA covering all of the Northern Territory, most of South Australia, and large parts of both New South Wales and Victoria.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Australian\\_River\\_system.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Australian_River_system.svg).

Additional Sources: 15 *Ngaanyatjarra Communities* NG Media n.d.; *About us* TEABBA n.d.; CAAMA 2010: 1; PAKAM 2019; palawa kani Language Program 2019; QRAM 2012.

Map 1 shows the Torres Strait Islands (also known as Zenadth Kes) marking the rough extent of three language [groups]: Torres Strait Creole, Meriam Mir, and Kalaw Lagaw Ya. Sources: Shnukal 1988: 1; Torres Strait Traditional Languages n.d.

Map 2 shows the Yuendumu community in relation to the Warlpiri and Anmatyerre countries. Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Warlpiri\\_map.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Warlpiri_map.png).

Additional source: *Warlpiri Drawings* The National Museum of Australia n.d.

Map 3 shows Townsville in Queensland, just south of which was where one of the first Indigenous radio stations was established atop what is now called Mount Stuart. Mount Stuart roughly falls at the intersection of four countries: Nyawaygi's, Gugu Badhun's, Wulgurukaba's (also called Gurrumbilbarra), and Bindal's (also called Thul Garrie Waja).

Sources: Dixon & Blake 1983: 432; Petray & Gertz 2019; Townsville City Council 2020.

Map 4 shows Adelaide in South Australia, which is situated in Kaurna Country (called Kaurna Pangkarra). Tarntanya is the local placename for the plain atop which Adelaide has been built: *Tarntanya Wama* (plain of the red kangaroo).

Sources: City of Adelaide 2020; University of Adelaide 2020.

## Appendix 9



**Figure 8.** Map of Inuit lands (and associated waters and ices). Predominately discussed in the article is the use of Inuvialuktun and Inuktitut, languages spoken in Inuvialuit territory and the territories of Nunavut and Nunavik. The Inuvialuit region can be called Inuvialuit Nunungat, Inuvialuit Nunangat, or Inuvialuit Nunangit, all three of which have been used by the Inuvialuit Settlement Agreement. *Nunaat* means ‘land’ (as seen in Greenland where the three former county boundaries are used in relation to the three distinct Inuit cultures present: Inughuit, Tunumiit, and Kalaallit). In Inuktitut, and similarly across the various Inuit languages (together called *Inuktitut*), the word *Nunangat* means ‘land, waters, and ices’ and became the word to represent Inuit Country as a whole in Canada. Thus, Inuvialuit Nunangit, Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut are the four regions or territories of Inuit Nunangat.

Other Inuit territories include the Inuit Nunaat of Greenland, Iñupiat Nunañat (name uncertain) in northern Alaska as well as NunatuKavut. NunatuKavut overlaps with parts of Nunatsiavut and covers the majority of Labrador in Canada, but it is not officially considered a part of Inuit Nunangat.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arctic\\_%28orthographic\\_projection%29.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arctic_%28orthographic_projection%29.svg).

Additional sources: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami ᐃᐅᐃᑦ ᑕᐱᐱᑦ ᑲᐅᑕᑦ 2020; Nasogaluak 1979; NunatuKavut 2020; Paul 2018: 3; Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 2003.



Appendix 10



**Figure 9a.** Map of Ontario, Canada. Shown are two (of several more) treaties – five and nine – covering all of northern Ontario and a number of Cree, Oji-Cree, and Ojibwe communities. Nishnawbe Aski – combining the Ojibwe and Cree words, respectively, for ‘people’ *Nishnawbe* or *Anishinaabe* and ‘land’ *Aski* – is the shared territories, marked by the dotted black line, of the Nishnawbe Aski Nation (formerly Grand Council Treaty No. 9) representing 49 First Nation communities of around 45,000 people.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canada\\_Ontario\\_location\\_map.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canada_Ontario_location_map.svg).

Additional sources: Filice 2016; Leslie 2020; Nishnawbe Aski Nation 2020.

## Appendix 10, cont.



**Figure 9b.** Map of Turtle Island (North America) highlighting the rough approximate extent of the Métis homelands. The Métis identity is a topic for much debate, and so Michif Piyii (or the Métis country) could be as limited as around simply the Red River in Manitoba and between North Dakota and Minnesota, or it could be as wide as stretching from northwest British Columbia, much of the southern Northwest Territories and, contentiously, east into Québec (perhaps even into the Maritimes/Acadia).

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:North\\_America\\_map\\_with\\_states\\_and\\_provinces.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:North_America_map_with_states_and_provinces.svg).

Additional sources: Monkman 2018; O'Toole 2017.

Appendix 10, cont.

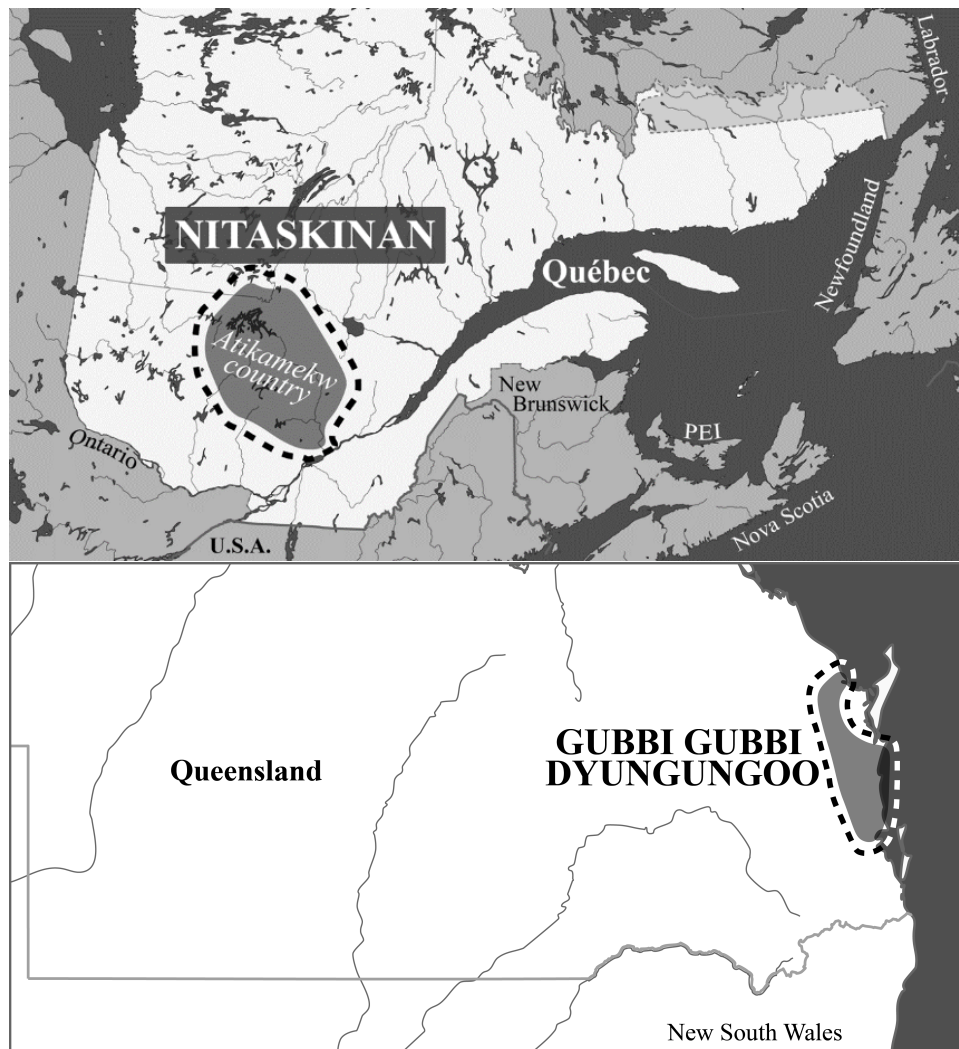


**Figure 9c.** Map of Québec, Canada highlighting three territorial groups. In the North is the non-delineated Nunavik, part of the wider Inuit Nunangat, which overlaps significantly with St’aschinuw. The Innu Nation comprises of the southern Innu (also called Montagnais) and the northern Innu (also called Naskapi). Naskapi Country is called St’aschinuw whereas the southern Innu country is Nitassinan. Overlapping with and neighboring to the West is Eeyou Istchee – the East Cree country – home to three primary dialects of their language.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)  
[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Quebec\\_localisation\\_carte.svg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Quebec_localisation_carte.svg).

Additional sources: Grand Council of the Crees (Eeyou Istchee) 2010; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami ᐃᐅᐃᑦ ᑕᐱᐱᑦ ᑲᐱᑕᐅ 2020; Jancewicz 2013: 15; Tanner & Parrot 2018.

## Appendix 11



**Figure 10.** The above map shows Nitaskinan – or the Atikamekw country – in relation to Québec, Canada, and the below shows the Gubbi Gubbi country (*dyungungoo*) in southeastern Queensland, Australia.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)

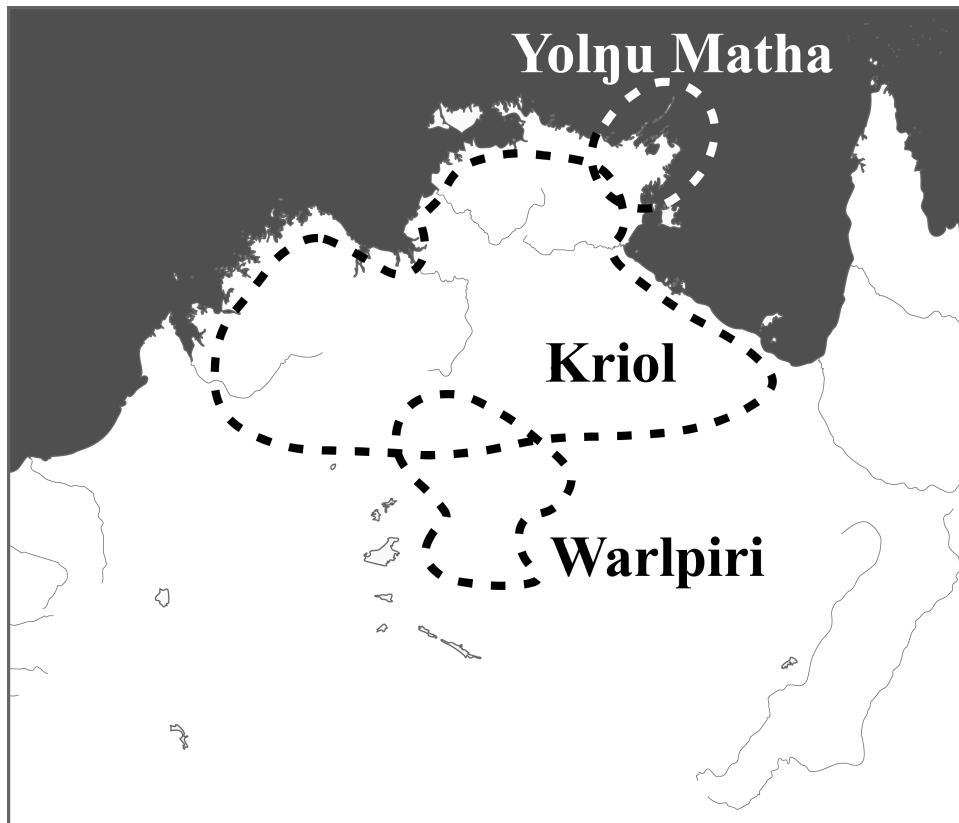
[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Quebec\\_localisation\\_carte.svg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Quebec_localisation_carte.svg),

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nitaskinan\\_Map.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nitaskinan_Map.png) &

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Australian\\_River\\_system.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Australian_River_system.svg).

Additional sources: *A guide to Gubbi Gubbi culture* Gubbi Gubbi Nation n.d.; Radio-Canada 2014.

## Appendix 12



**Figure 11a.** Map of northern Australia showing the rough extent of three language [groups]. In Arnhem Land, Northern Territory the Yolŋu (or Yolngu) languages are spoken. In south-central Northern Territory is Warlpiri Country overlapping with the fairly widespread Kriol language.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Australian\\_River\\_system.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Australian_River_system.svg) &

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Warlpiri\\_map.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Warlpiri_map.png).

Additional sources: AuSIL 2011; Yiakiwuy Dhäwu Miwatjŋurunyjdja 2017.

Appendix 12, cont.



**Figure 11b.** Map of northwest Turtle Island (North America) noting the approximate extent of Denendeh, the Dene country, neighboring the northern Inuit Nunangat (labelled but not delineated). Shown are the languages broadcast in the Northwest Territories and in Nunavut: Gwich'in, Tłı̨chǫ Yatı̨, Dēñēsųhñé Yatı̨é (amongst other spelling variants), Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun as well as North and South Slavey. The South Slavey language is either called Dene Yatı̨é or Dene Zhatı̨é whereas the North Slavey language is a group of closely related dialects, all with unique and sometimes multiple orthographic variations. Shown on this map are the three predominant dialects: Sahtúgot'ı̨né Yatı̨ (around the great lake Sahtú), K'áshógot'ı̨né Goxedá (also called the Hare Dene), and Shihgot'ı̨né Yatı̨ (in the mountains west of the Sahtú).

Not shown on this map is ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ / nēhiyawēwin (the Plains Cree language spoken and co-official in the NWT), the Métis language (Michif), nor more nuanced dialectal variations within the Dene languages, of which there are plenty.

Adapted from Wikimedia Commons. (Accessed 2020-08-25.)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:North\\_America\\_map.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:North_America_map.svg).

Additional sources: Government of Northwest Territories 2018; Gullberg 2020; Indigenous Languages and Education Secretariat n.d.; Kaulback 2009: 61.