Post-migrant Voices in German and Swedish Podcasts

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Abstract: In the early 2020s, a quarter of the population in both Germany and Sweden had a migrant background. Post-migrants are increasingly claiming the right to participate in the public sphere by producing their own media, which mainstream media (MSM) rarely recognize. This study used the theoretical concept of voice and listening to analyze German and Swedish podcasts that deal with issues of life in a post-migrant society. Which frames are privileged in these podcasts? How do corporate media respond to these media productions? Through the generic frames of human interest and responsibility, the podcasters draw attention to the living conditions of marginalized people, which they argue have an impact on society as a whole. In particular, the recurring theme of racism in society has provoked a certain response from the mainstream media, i.e. the inclusion of these issues in media coverage and the podcasters in MSM production.

Keywords: post-migrant media; podcasts; racism; voice and listening

INTRODUCTION

In the early 2020s, a quarter of the populations of both Germany and Sweden have a migrant background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023; SCB, 2023). Germany and Sweden are thus post-migrant societies, or immigration countries, where migration affects all parts of society (Hill & Yildiz, 2018). Despite this, mainstream news media systematically talk about immigrants, but rarely with them and often in a negative way (d'Haenens et.al., 2019; Esser et.al., 2017; Georgiou, 2018; Georgiou & Zaborowsky, 2017; Szczepanik, 2016), and consequently,

immigrants become an anonymous and „voiceless" group in the broader public sphere (Malkki, 1996).

The technical prerequisites for speech, e.g. for participation in the public sphere, are enhanced by digital communication technologies, which provide spaces where post-migrants can counter the dominant mainstream media (MSM) discourse. Post-migrants are increasingly claiming the right to participate in the public sphere by producing their own media. The challenge for marginalized communities is therefore not necessarily to be denied a voice, but to find a wider audience beyond their own community that will listen.

The aim of this article is to explore the role of post-migrant media in the public sphere by examining selected podcasts that address issues of living in a post-migrant society and whether and how they receive attention from MSM. The article therefore addresses the following research questions: What narratives and frames are privileged in selected podcasts? How do MSM respond to these media productions? Do the examined podcasts matter? The term ‚post-migrant media' refers to the practice of post-migrants creating and controlling their own news content to share their stories and perspectives (Ratkovic, 2019).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature uses several terms, such as ethnic and diasporic media (Georgiou 2005), to describe media produced "by and for (a) immigrants, (b) ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities, as well as (c) indigenous groups living in various countries across the world" (Matsaganis et al., 2011, p. 10). We use the term post-migrant (Ratkovic, 2019) media because it includes both migrants and their descendants and, unlike diasporic and ethnic media, does not focus on a particular diasporic and ethnic group (Georgiou, 2005). Post-migrants include individuals who have not migrated themselves but are still structurally categorized and perceived as migrants or foreigners in public discourse (Yildiz & Hill, 2017), even if they have citizenship and identify as German or Swedish. The prefix ‚post' refers to the "consequences and repercussions of migration" in line with Kruse et. al. (2019, p. xvi). It does not mean that migration has come to an end, but rather that migration has become ‚normal' and affects all areas of life and is a concern for society (Hill & Yildiz, 2018). As societies become more diverse, old and new narratives coexist and are contested.

Whereas some of the study's podcasters would label themselves as post-migrants, most described themselves as people of color (PoC) or belonging to a marginalized group. The term ‚post-migrant voices' is used as an overarching designation to address the process of re-negotiating established positions regarding origin, religion, skin color, as well as sexual orientation. The concept of post-migration

can be regarded as a "code for plurality" as "fundamental negotiations of rights, recognition and equal opportunities as well as of participation and belonging in society" (Foroutan, 2018, p. 25).

Bozdag et al. (2012, p. 97) argue the role of these media fills the gap by addressing "issues that are of specific interest for the members of diasporic communities" or immigrant groups (see also Budarick, 2014, 2019; Kosnick, 2007, Voronova et al., 2019). They therefore play a community role by facilitating a platform for self-expression and representation (Budarick & Han, 2017), which is seen as an alternative to homogeneous MSM. Examining the content of post-migrant media is therefore important for understanding the everyday lives and experiences of post-migrants, who constitute a substantial proportion of diverse societies' populations.

With the development of digital communication technologies, new media projects are constantly emerging as the threshold for media production is lowered. This has contributed to the rise of a participatory global media culture with user-generated content at its core. With its do-it-yourself approach, the podcast is „an open platform for communication" and „an extension of everyday discussions between hosts", where podcasters „can explore issues that interest or concern them" (Vrikki & Malik, 2019, p. 285). As Markman (2012) demonstrates podcast producers are primarily motivated to give voice to themselves and their community. The medium enables the articulation of intricate narratives in a subjective and comprehensible manner, thereby reaching novel audiences (Schütz, 2020). Fox et al. (2020) identify intimacy and authenticity as essential components of podcasting, with hosts frequently offering insights into their personal experiences and perspectives. Given the alluring nature of podcasting (Berry, 2016), where audiences actively select podcast content, the cultivation of a loyal and engaged audience becomes imperative. This dynamic relationship is fostered by encouraging a participatory culture, where discussions are extended or deepened on other platforms such as Instagram and Facebook.

Immigrants have traditionally benefited from this technological development, using digital communication technologies „to connect within and across communities" (Yu & Matsaganis, 2019, p. 3). Research indicates that podcasters increasingly articulate the lived experiences of people with immigrant backgrounds (Gustafsson, 2023, 2024; Vrikki & Malik, 2019). Yet, there is a lack of in-depth analysis of the content as most studies focus on the producers. Vrikki and Malik (2019) and Uhnoo and Sernhede (2022) suggest that these types of podcasts can be perceived as emergent subaltern counterpublics. Gustafsson (2024) addresses how post-migrant podcasters use their podcasts to resist racist content in MSM and formulate alternatives. However, it is important to note that producing media also involves participating in the broader public sphere and can therefore play a bridging role between the ethnic minority and majority in societies. This

involvement can influence MSM, highlighting the potential for cross-cultural exchange and impact.

Yet, scholars often accuse ethnic media producers of engaging in advocacy journalism by promoting the welfare of their own community, which clashes with the ideals of impartiality and objectivity within Western journalistic professionalism (Budarick & Han, 2017, p. 48ff). "Being labelled as 'community advocates'" can negatively impact on how they are treated by MSM (Matsaganis & Katz, 2014, p. 938). Yu and Matsaganis (2019) argue that further research is needed to examine whether post-migrant media are "connected to broader society and … they actually multiply viewpoints in public discourse" (p. 4). We take on this task by examining the content of post-migrant podcasts and how they are listened to by MSM.

THE CONCEPT OF VOICE AND LISTENING

Voice is often referred to as an essential component in a democratic society (Couldry, 2010). In the public sphere, agency is often synonymous with having a voice, i.e. speaking, and is associated with the right to express an opinion (Tacchi, 2012). Agency is ultimately about inclusion into the public sphere and, hence, about participation as cornerstones of democratic societies. Inclusion in this study refers to whether the voices of post-migrants are part of and recognized and allowed to matter in the public sphere.

Moreover, voice is essential to the ideas of community media and the aspiration of giving a voice to the voiceless by providing a platform where marginalized groups can speak up or talk back to MSM (Dreher, 2012, p. 160; Georgiou 2018; Graf, 2024; Gustafsson, 2012). However, voice as an "opportunity to tell one's story can be seen as a minimum standard which does not necessarily challenge overall inequalities in how voice is valued, nor the unequal distribution of voice as a value within MSM and policy settings" (Dreher, 2012, p. 159). Thus, having a voice is not enough in itself, because voice needs to matter (Couldry, 2010, p. 1; Macnamara, 2013, p. 164) and be valued, which is only possible if it is attended to and recognized (Dreher, 2012, p. 159).

The concept of "listening" involves those who are addressed and embrace response (Dreher & de Souza, 2019). Recognizing the capacity of post-migrants' communicative participation means that their voices become relevant in the public sphere. Bassel (2017) explores the conditions for listening at the political level and states that listening, and thus understanding, is mainly dominated by "us and them" binaries. The challenge of the digital media landscape is, on the one hand, "selective audibility" and, on the other hand, "not being heard on one's own terms" (Bassel, 2017, p. 34). In this article, we conceptualize

and apply listening as the process by which post-migrant voices are recognized and heard by MSM.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

The following criteria were used to select the podcasts in both countries: 1) produced by post-migrants, 2) the content should be relevant to post-migrant and therefore diverse societies, 3) the productions should be fairly well-known or have received some attention from MSM, 4) the characteristics of style, genre, and target audience should not be the same for all three selected podcasts from each country. The decision to examine podcasts (N=6) from two countries Germany (n=3) and Sweden (n=3) does not signify a comparative approach but was an effort to broaden the empirical base.

The selected podcasts belong to the interview type and consist of a mix of short and long-term productions, produced not only by trained journalists, but also by people from various walks of life such as DJs, students, civil society representatives and social workers, as well as organizations. The podcasts mainly target a younger audience. Two of the six podcasts are still active.

The selected podcasts fall into three categories based on their production conditions. The first category are independent podcasts, or at least those that started out as such. Both podcasts in this category started in 2018 and cover topics relevant to Swedish suburbs or immigrant life in Germany. Some episodes are produced in response to current events. The Swedish podcast *Edu Orten* is produced by a young Muslim woman of Eritrean descent who grew up and lives in a socio-economically marginalized suburb of Stockholm. It is still active and has, since 2018, produced 52 episodes. The German podcast *Kanackische Welle* was produced by two professional male journalists of Palestinian and Nigerian origin. This podcast does not focus on a specific geographic area, but on issues relevant to post-migrant Germany. *Kanackische Welle* started as an independently produced podcast but joined the public-service media platform „Funk" in 2021 and produced 64 episodes between 2018 and 2021.

The second category also comprises independent podcasts, but those that either or both collaborate with established institutions and are produced by organizations. These podcasts focus on stories rarely told in the MSM. The Swedish podcast *Talet* is produced by the organization StreetGäris and is an alternative version of the popular radio program on Swedish public radio "Sommar i P1", which gives well-known Swedes the opportunity to tell their stories. The podcast produced 29 episodes between 2020 and 2023. The German podcast, *Halbe Katoffl*, is a pioneer that a journalist of Asian descent started in 2016 and uses co-operations with varied institutions irrespective of their standing or purpose. *Halbe*

Katoffl is an in-depth conversational podcast in which invited post-migrants share their life stories. It is still active with over 170 episodes.

The third category are exclusive Spotify productions that focus on identity, PoC, racism, and taboos in society and comprise *Raseriet* (Sweden) and *Realitäter*innen* (Germany). A pair of female PoCs who had worked in the media industry produced *Raseriet,* which was an „anti-racist feminist" podcast, that between 2016 and 2022 created 233 episodes). Each episode presented the rage that exposes racism in Swedish society. The producers of *Realitäter*innen* were a pair of female DJs, known for their inclusive parties for women and queer people of colour. The podcast was active during the pandemic and produced 28 episodes.

The study's authors read summaries of all the episodes (N=576) of the six podcasts to get an overview of the themes and issues covered. Based on this reading, the authors selected 10–15 episodes from each podcast (n=70) for in-depth analysis and then conducted qualitative content analysis, inspired by framing analysis (Entman, 1993), to examine the construction of meaning. First, the authors mapped the overarching themes. Next, they explored all the frames by identifying the defined problems, responsibilities, and solutions.

The second part of the analysis explored the reaction and response of the MSM. To this end, the authors searched for mentions of the podcasts in the MSM using Retriever Research (2016–2024) and Google, which after removing duplicates and irrelevant hits, produced 68 German mentions in newspaper articles and radio and television programs. A search for Swedish podcasts, via Retriever Research of only newspapers (print and online) yielded 220 mentions, of which half referred to *Raseriet*.[1] To get an overview of the content, the authors first read all the articles and then conducted qualitative content analysis, which multiplied the viewpoints of the podcasts.

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF PODCASTS CONTENT

Identity and belonging are two related and recurring themes that deal with the experience of living in an environment that is different from one's own. Issues of inequality and stigmatization based on appearance (skin color, gender identity, etc.), economic resources, and the religious beliefs that emerge from these discussions. The podcasts highlight that deep-rooted racism is often the cause of these problems, so they address racism at both the individual and the structural levels.

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[1]   Citations from the podcasts by name and numbered: German podcasts are numbered #1-#68; Swedish podcats are numbered #1-#220.

The discussions in the podcasts start from a mutual understanding of the issue, i.e. „us", the affected people, the experts on the issue based on either or both „our" own experiences and scientific expertise, and „them", the ethnic majority in society, including the institutions that maintain discriminatory structures. Hence, the traditional binary opposition of „us" and „them" used by MSM is reversed. Solutions are offered to empower the community to raise its voice against inequality, especially racism.

Based on the above themes, we identified five common frames. Two were generic: (i) the human-interest and (ii) the responsibility frame, which cut across the various issue boundaries mentioned above. Three were issue-based frames: (iii) media failure, (iv) the we-the-experts, and (v) self-empowerment. The last two frames express the notion that „we," the affected, are not victims, but agents who can stand up for ourselves to demand justice.

GENERIC FRAME: HUMAN-INTEREST

As a personalized way of dealing with issues, most topics are generally approached from a human-interest perspective. Hosts and invited guests told their stories, often in an intimate style, and expressed their emotions. They encouraged each other, which made the content compelling, authentic and insightful. The intimacy of the audio media format allowed a design, in which personal feelings gained access to broader issues.

For example, a German podcaster reflected on her emotions after the Hanau shootings in February 2020, in which a far-right extremist killed 11 people in Germany:

> „I felt very depressed for many days after Hanau. But it's good to show that we are not untouched and that we are taking a stand. We are not alone. Don't be defeated" (*Realitäter*innen* #18).

Similarly, in *a* guest of a Swedish podcast explained how she dealt with her emotions after her children were shot.

> "Somewhere, I have actually forgotten my own sadness. I have somehow been able to move it. I am fighting this battle for our children, for our suburbs, for all the mothers who lose their children. So, the sadness came to me this summer when we buried him. Because I had him at home, but I decided that he should be buried and that was it, that was it. I had to let him go" (*Edu Orten* #23).

Personal experiences and feelings are at the forefront and are given importance and recognition. Moreover, in both cases, the personal connects to a larger collective, us. This generic human-interest framework provides space for moral claims by stating what is good and what is bad, which mobilizes emotions, which Wahl-Jorgensen (2013, p. 129) views as a „strategic ritual of emotionality" (2013, p. 129). However, while Wahl-Jorgensen prescribed emotions to the subjects, ours narrated their feelings.

The language the podcasts used reflected the main target audience of the younger generation. The language is informal, playful, and often full of anglicisms, incomplete sentences and abbreviations. Quotes in English from popular culture are also very common. The Swedish *Edu Orten* used *ortensvenska* – an urban slang version of Swedish, which reflects and celebrates diversity.

The podcasts created an intimate relationship with the audience by first mimicking unscripted and authentic back-and-forth conversations between friends, and secondly by inviting the audience to listen. The podcasts maintained and strengthened this relationship by encouraging the audience to participate in discussions on social media and by reading audience comments on the podcasts. Several of the podcasts devoted special episodes to answering audience questions and organized live podcasts and events to facilitate audience interaction, which enhance a feeling of a *community*.

GENERIC FRAME: RESPONSIBILITY FRAME

The personal experiences of racism that featured in the podcasts were mostly linked to the "structural level" (*Edu Orten* #35) because members of the ethnic majority of society often cannot understand this link between Essed's everyday racism (1991) and structural racism. By focusing on the structural aspects of racism, the podcasts emphasised the responsibility of both society and its institutions and often picked on politicians for their, extant or lack of, responsible actions:

> "Yes, they [politicians] have been involved in creating a social climate where people think it is okay to incite against Muslims. … They propose bills that restrict Muslims' religious freedom and demonize Muslims or people who live in the suburbs and so on" (*Edu Orten* #13).

Other podcasts view society in a general sense is the problem. In *a* Swedish commentary was formulated as a letter from a mother to her unborn child.

> "It was the second time I saw you, my dear baby, and you looked like any other 20-week baby. I looked at the ultrasound image after the appointment and

was amazed that your parents' facial structures, skin colour and hair type were dark. 'Any child', scary thought! But that you have always been and will always be, regardless. It is the society that you are born into, which is not just any society." (*Talet* #13).

Referring to society as "not just any society" in comparison to "any child" suggests that there is something wrong with the society as it will not perceive this child as any child. It is society's need to label and differentiate people, which is the underlying problem. Another societal problem the podcasts highlighted was the societal inability to acknowledge the existence of racism:

> „If you had called something racist 10 years ago, there would have been a big debate… A lot of people in Germany still think that racism has something to do with Nazis. But Nazism has been abolished. They think it has nothing to do with their life in Germany today" (*Realitäter*innen* #5).
> „In Sweden you can do racist things, but to be a racist or to say that you did something racist, it's like it doesn't work […] This self-image that we are so equal casts a pretty big shadow over it [racism] […] And this thing about Sweden being colourblind, so not talking about white and black. That people still don't see themselves as white, so it makes the conversation very difficult" (*Raseriet* #178).

The reason it is difficult to fight racism or even discuss it constructively lies in the self-image of these countries. Sweden sees itself as a humanitarian superpower and a champion of equality, while racism in Germany is conflated with Nazism, which has been abolished. Consequently, people assume that racism does not exist in these societies.

In this context, the podcasts in both countries referred to the concept of color-blindness as "the set of ideologies and discourses that uphold contemporary racial inequality by denying either its presence or its significance" (Burke, 2017, p. 857). Discussing racism becomes almost impossible in the public sphere if the definition of the term and the materialization of racism are not agreed upon in society. The podcasts underlined the unwillingness of the ethnic majority to listen and learn and how white people have yet to recognize their whiteness and privilege. These podcasts therefore aimed to educate their listeners on racism to combat this ignorance.

ISSUE FRAME: MEDIA-FAILURE FRAME

As part of the who-is-responsible frame, we identified the media-failure frame. Often, these podcasts position themselves as an alternative to MSM and criticize the journalistic practices of the MSM. For example, they were critical of MSM's use of language, which was described as „verbal violence" that „dehumanizes people" (*Edu Orten* #22). One episode of a German podcast examined racist attitudes in sports journalism and highlighted the use of racist attributions in sports journalism, such as „white players are level-headed and intelligent" and „black players are good runners but hot-headed", which reduce black players to physical virtues (*Kanackische Welle* #36).

Even the debate culture of MSM talk shows, i.e. the demand for balance, was criticized as „totally stupid" (*Realitäter*innen* #5*)* because the concept was understood as an invitation to people with opposing viewpoints. In addition, personalizing racism prevents informed discussions about it:

> "We believe, or have believed, that any opportunity to talk about it [racism] on different platforms that reach different types of people is a win for anti-racism in general, but what it also does is it keeps the conversation about racism at a very basic level. Because people who have not experienced racism always want to talk about the same things. And when you talk about racism with these people, for example, it is a focus on your own experiences" (*Raseriet* #178).

The lack of diversity among those working in the MSM was also regularly highlighted. An entire episode of a German podcast was dedicated to this issue and concluded: „Diversity in talk shows and in the media in general is a rarity. This is a structural problem that starts with the internship" (*Kanackische Welle* #38). Lack of diversity impacts how media covers migration, and racism because the latter „affects people who are not usually in newsrooms" (*Realitäter*innen* #5). Interviewees also stressed the role model function of migrants who are visible in media because „visibility and representation of people with a migration background has its own value and that is very important" (*Halbe Katoffl* #85).

The podcasters clearly distinguish themselves from the MSM by criticizing its journalistic practices and showing alternative ways of dealing with issues as the next section will show. Podcasters question the ability of MSM to deal with the ambiguity and ambivalence of post-migrant society without negative devaluation. They have suggested MSM change their positions and listen to marginalized groups.

ISSUE FRAME: WE-THE-EXPERTS FRAME

The rationale behind this frame is the claim that "we", post-migrants and people of color, know what it means when speaking about immigration and racism. "We" as a collective or community have experience of stigmatization and the the ethnic majority should therefore consult us.

By demonstrating how a societal problem can be dealt with, the podcasts offer a solution to combat racism. It starts with the use of language. For example, the hosts of *Realitäter*innen* (#10) argued that the often-used label „Fremdenfeindlichkeit" (literally: hostility towards foreigners) when referring to hostility, discrimination and supremacist practices was wrong because the people affected, despite having a history of migration in their families, are no longer foreigners but fellow citizens. Therefore, it is more correct to call it racism.

Including the whole of society emphasizes that racism is not just an issue for those who experience it, but a concern for everyone (Hill & Yildiz, 2018):

> "There are always two sides. There are no unaffected ones. That's our problem, because those white people, who are the potential perpetrators, often tend to argue for white people in the case of doubt, because they say: of course, that can't be racism, because in my house, in my office, in my team racism doesn't exist. They are already affected when saying: it is not our concern." (*Realitäter*innen* #5).

Racism affects everyone and podcasters urge 'white' listeners to be aware of potential racist behavior and how they are part of the problem. Some of *Raseriet* episodes were labelled as *folkbildning 2.0* (non-formal adult education), where guests discussed different aspects of racism. In one episode, a journalist and a comedian, both PoC, discussed the use of the word "negro". By labelling these episodes *folkbildning*, the intention of teaching and informing the listeners about racism is explicit. Implicitly, it targets white people or people with limited previous knowledge and experience of racism.

The podcasts also showed that post-migrants have expertise beyond racism and migration. For example, the guests of a German podcast included a sociology professor of Arabic background, a psychologist PoC, a writer and activist of Polish background, and a journalist of Turkish background (*Realitäter*innen* #20). The concept of *Edu Orten* is to bring local expertise into the podcast. The guests were often young people from marginalized suburbs who were active in civil society, inspiring listeners to follow their dreams and get involved in various organizations.

This framework emphasizes that post-migrants should be involved, consulted, and listened to more, to contribute with new useful knowledge. The podcasts

illustrated the diversity of post-migrant society and what inclusive representation might look like.

ISSUE FRAME: SELF-EMPOWERMENT FRAME

A general solution to the problems of the individual in contemporary society is to be found in self-empowerment. Issues of identity and belonging were often discussed in relation to self-empowerment, self-confidence, and self-determination, as this missive to an unborn child shows:

> "Never forget that you have a family tree whose branches won't fit on the paper at school. That most of the experiences and the lessons are there. Climb [upwards] and squeeze out the wisdom of the resin. Go ahead my dear child" (*Talet* #13)

Heritage is perceived as strength, and there is nothing wrong with being different: "I've just been in the wrong rooms, in ones that didn't appreciate me" (*Talet* #10). However, being different can be advantageous: "I know baklava, but I also know currywurst – and that's really cool. It broadens my horizons" (*Halbe Katoffl* #14).

Even producing a podcast is a challenge that can be overcome by believing in yourself. A German podcaster reflected on her motivation to produce episodes despite her initial lack of confidence when she compared herself with the co-producer who "always knew a lot". But she wanted "to be that person who still goes to the front and says something… we (PoC) have to dare to form an opinion" (*Realitäter*innen* #6).

The podcasters and their guests encouraged each other as individuals and their listeners to believe in themselves and stand up for their cause. By including their own hesitations and feelings in the narratives and setting an example, they show assorted ways to succeed in a post-migrant society.

MAINSTREAM MEDIA RESPONSE

Post-migrant media do not usually belong to the preferred field of coverage of MSM (Graf 2009). Mostly, they go unnoticed. However, our study demonstrates that the podcasts do receive some attention from MSM. As Altheide and Snow (1979) demonstrate, the MSM's coverage is influenced by its logic, which is shaped by the structures, formats, and practices inherent in media production.

Based on the coverage in MSM we have identified three types of media attention:

1. Media coverage
2. Involving the hosts in media production in various ways
3. Nomination for awards

The first type of media attention the podcasts receive is media coverage, which is often characterized by personalization, i.e. by focusing on the podcasters, their biographies, experiences, and purposes. For example, a German daily newspaper in a report about *Kanackische Welle*, stressed the podcaster's childhood experience of otherness:

> "Palestine is not Pakistan. In the first episode of the new podcast *Kanackische Welle* you will learn that this is not always entirely clear. There, Marcel Nadeem Aburakia, half-Palestinian, half-German, says that when he was in school, his classmates often mistook Palestine for Pakistan when he told them that his father was from Palestine" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung* 24.10.2018).

The interview format is frequently used to provide an insight into the backgrounds of the podcasters and the subjects they cover. The tone of the coverage is generally positive, emphasizing the importance of the podcasts and the topics they addressed. An article in ETC, a left-wing and independent Swedish newspaper, emphasized the importance of public education for young people in suburban areas (ETC/Dagens ETC, 15/05/2020) through platforms such as *Edu Orten*, which enabled marginalized voices to speak on their own terms.

Both *Edu Orten* and *Talet* mostly receive attention from local Swedish newspapers. The former primarily featured in local suburban press in Stockholm, which reflects the focus of the podcast, while *Talet* received coverage by local newspapers reflecting the location in which the guest in each episode resides. An article in *Vetlanda-Posten Plus* (9.7.2022) focuses on a talk about the importance of networks, mentorship, and inclusion and explains the aim of the podcast while giving space to the guest to tell their personal story. Similarly, an article in *Östersunds-posten* (30.6.21) features the local librarian's participation in a *Talet* episode about her dream of making libraries more inclusive. The coverage can thus be perceived to celebrate local profiles and give them an opportunity to tell their stories to encourage and inspire the local audience.

The coverage of *Realitäter*innen* suggests that the more unusual the aspects of the podcasters and the stories, the better. Most of the MSM coverage focus on the insider parties that the two female DJs organize. The MSM also emphasized the singularity of the topics discussed in the podcast by stating that „they offer a very unique way of looking at the world" (*RBB Kultur* 23.10. 2021) and in a nod to the broader audience that the podcast was „inclusive but not insidery" (*TAZ* 31.03.2020).

In other words, the media coverage of the podcasts focus not only on the ordinary and the life journeys of the podcasters, which the audience might be able to relate to, but also the strange and exotic to attract the attention of the audience.

Another way the podcasts find their way into the limelight of MSM is when the content of the podcasts accords with and speaks to current debates and events. In the context of hostility, racism, and feminism there have been several references to the study's selected podcasts. For example, several German media discussed a popular children's rhyme that the podcaster of *Halbe Katoffl* labelled as racist, which initiated an examination of racist cultural heritage by showing other examples, explaining what the problem is and how it could be solved. Echoing the argument of the podcast, one MSM article reads: "It's about understanding how hurtful certain ways of addressing people or images can be, even if they are connected to good memories of childhood and fun songs" (*Tagesspiegel* 16.01.2021).

During 2020, when racism was on the public agenda thanks to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement several of the podcasts became resources for MSM. *Raseriet* not only increased its audience by 600 % in 2020, it also received much more attention from MSM. The MSM not only interviewed the podcasters of *Raseriet, Kanackische Welle,* and *Halbe Katoffl* but also recommended their audiences listen to the podcasts to learn more about the subject. The producers of the podcasts were no longer just podcasters but positioned as experts:

> "Especially in these weeks, when the topic 'Black Lives Matter' also dominates the German media, Malcolm Ohanwe changes from journalist to expert. After this interview he has to go straight to the next one with the RBB media magazine. Precisely because he is black and does a podcast about it, his perspective is in great demand" (*Deutschlandfunk* 11.06.2020).

This leads us to the second type of attention from MSM, involving the podcasters in MSM productions in various ways, for example, by inviting them as experts. In 2020, the podcasters of *Raseriet* were regular guests and experts in MSM to discuss BLM and racism. Their experience of these productions, the questions they were asked and how the MSM framed racism caused them to publicly state that they would no longer discuss racism with white journalists. This statement also received attention in several Swedish articles. In a Swedish MSM's article the rationale behind the duo's decision was explained and the hypocrisy of Swedish media houses was revealed by quoting the podcast's Instagram account: "The same media houses that claim to protect and work for diversity, inclusion and representation still do not hire outside the white homogeneous group" (*Dagens ETC* 12.02.2021). An article by *Dagens Nyheter* elaborates further by stating that the decision partly stemmed from the podcasters' perceived need to protect

themselves from negative interview situations, and was also related to the ongoing debate concerning racism on Swedish radio. The article continued: "This is just an attempt, as a practitioner, to put pressure … to influence in some way. And what would happen if several people did the same?" (Dagens Nyheter, 13.03.2021). In other words, the podcasters used their position to criticize negative media practices and stand up for colleagues who might not be in a position to do so.

Several of the podcasts demonstrated their competitive edge and ability to keep listeners tuned in, which caught the attention of MSM. *Raseriet* has strengthened the hosts' brand and thus their position in the media industry. The two main German public-service broadcasting organizations, Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ARD) and Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), co-developed their own podcast platform called *Funk* and invited the producers of *Kanackische Welle* to move their podcasts to this platform. The move led to an increase in the funding of the podcast. Since public service media has lost touch with younger people, the platform specifically targets a younger audience. Meanwhile, Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR), a regional broadcaster within ARD's network, invited the producers of Realitäter*innen to produce a live podcast, which is available on YouTube. Both *Realitäter*innen* and *Raseriet* became Spotify exclusive podcasts, which reflects their success and increased their resources.

Thirdly, several of the podcasts have been nominated for awards, and some have won. This has led to more media coverage and recommendations of the podcast. For instance, *Halbe Katoffl* was nominated for the Grimme Online Award (2018) and the German Podcast Award (2021/2022); *Raseriet* was nominated for *Stora Feministpriset* (a major feminist award) in 2017 and for *Guldöra* (Golden Ear) for best podcast of the year in 2021. In 2020, they both received *Veckorevyn*'s equality award.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the findings of the analysis we will discuss the implications of these podcasts on the individual, the community, and the public sphere level.

On an individual level, the podcasts provide a platform for individuals (producers and guests) to articulate and share their life experiences often using personal stories to discuss structural social problems. Podcasting opens career doors and can be seen as a stepping stone experience. For example, the two producers of *Kanackische Welle* now work in the MSM with permanent contracts. The producer of *Halbe Katoffl* can make a living off the podcast and has established several co-operation projects. The co-producers of *Raseriet* have, thanks to the success of their podcast, quit their jobs in the MSM to work more

independently and choose which projects to work with. One of them is now a well-known media personality who hosts various galas.

On a community level, these podcasts undoubtedly offer a space of recognition. The podcasters emphasize commonalities when discussing inequality, for example, and seeking alliances in society, between groups of post-migrants but also with allied members of the ethnic majority. In this way, the podcasts strengthen the community and lay the foundation for cooperation between groups within the post-migrant society.

In the public sphere, there is a wide range of media productions, especially podcasts, that address issues of migration and its social consequences from a variety of angles. This underscores the relevance and timeliness of the issue. The global „Black Lives Matter" movement provides a significant platform for raising awareness of racism, with producers asserting that this issue is not limited to the USS but extends to countries like Germany and Sweden as well.

The issue of racism is now widely discussed not only within the post-migrant community and its media, but also within MSM, which has for example, influenced the political system in Germany. In July 2022, a journalist with a Turkish background, who has extensively covered issues of racism, was elected as the Independent Federal Anti-Discrimination Commissioner. In 2023, the Federal Government presented a report on racism in Germany and acknowledged:

> "… that racism in all its manifestations has for far too long been swept under the carpet… Too little has been done, in politics as elsewhere, to protect people affected by racism…" (Minister of State 2023, preface).

Thanks to the many bottom-up initiatives, of which these podcasts are only one example, racism is currently being addressed on all levels of society.

It is also important to underline that at the same time as debates that acknowledge the prevalence of racism in our society have emerged, a parallel development is on the rise. Due to increased popularity of the right-wing populist parties Alternative for Germany (AfD) and the Sweden Democrats (SD) racism has also become more socially acceptable. Sweden Democrats (SD), the second largest party in Sweden, is actively collaborating with the sitting government and has suggested several policy changes that specifically target post-migrants in Sweden, for example, the proposition to abolish Sweden's anti-discrimination law. This clearly illustrates the element of conflict that often characterizes post-migrant societies and highlights the importance of these podcasts today.

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