



Article

# Political Listening and Podcasting: The Case of Tunisia

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**Abstract:** This paper examines the dynamics of political listening, news processing, and podcasting in North African countries through the case study of Tunisia. The analysis centers on Tunisian President Kais Saied's speech on 25 July 2021, in which he dissolved the Parliament and assumed full control, following widespread public protests against the country's deteriorating conditions. By leveraging the concept of political listening, this study investigates the methods podcasters employ to foster political engagement in Tunisia. The content analysis encompasses five podcasts produced between 25 July and 31 December 2021. The findings reveal that podcasters address the constitutional legitimacy of Saied's actions and criticize the Ennahda party for its power monopoly attempts. The use of interview-based narratives, coupled with emotional elements such as humor and sarcasm, enhances the linguistic impact, conveys optimism, and garners support for the president. This approach signifies the emergence of an alternative public sphere, purposefully crafted to attract political listening, enrich public knowledge, foster cohesion, and encourage civic participation.

**Keywords:** podcasting; North Africa; political listening; Tunisia; public concern



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## 1. Introduction

Since gaining independence in the mid-1950s, Tunisia has been governed by illiberal regimes that maintained strict control over the media, stifling free expression. However, the landscape began to shift dramatically following the Arab Spring in 2011, a movement in which social media played a crucial role. As Tunisians like others across the region turned to social media in unprecedented numbers, these platforms became powerful tools for communication, activism, and the dissemination of information. This surge in digital engagement transformed social media into a significant force, extending the influence of traditional media like radio into the digital realm (Starkey 2017). Amid this digital revolution, podcasts emerged as a new medium, providing a platform for free expression and diverse content in the Arabic-speaking world. Since the Arab Spring, podcasts have carved out a niche in the digital communications landscape, gradually winning over a growing segment of the Arab audience (Khattab 2017).

The focus of this research will be on political podcast news in Tunisia. The content of a sample of political debates will be analyzed to identify the components of the Arabic podcast as an organized portal for free expression that skirts the censorship of organized media institutions targeting a broad audience. To do so, the authors chose Tunisian political issues as a case study, and precisely the address by President Saied on 25 July 2021, which he delivered on Republic Day and in which a number of resolutions were announced. In his address, Saied activated Article 80 of the Tunisian Constitution, suspending the parliament, adding legislative legitimacy to his executive powers, and emerging as the country's most powerful ruler.

To put the case of the study in context, Tunisians, whose protests led to drastic political changes during the Arab Spring, once again resorted to social media to vent their anger

at the government's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic and the worsening economic conditions. Social media posts openly called for nationwide demonstrations on 25 July 2021 to ask for radical change. On 17 July 2021, the High Council for Youth published a statement calling for demonstrations with the slogan "Go out, take your motherland back!" (Dalacoura 2021). Between September and October 2021, many Tunisians took to the streets to demonstrate their loyalty to the president, while others protested against his policies (Ridge 2022). The resolutions decreed by the president caused a wide schism within the Tunisian population. On the one hand, some applauded the president, seeing in him the man attempting to save the country from a triple crisis—economic, political, and health. On the other hand, others accused him of violating the constitution and becoming a threat to democracy (Tamburini 2022).

This research aims to examine the content of a selected sample of podcasts that address political issues in the North African region, with a particular focus on Tunisia. The objectives are to analyze the different elements within this content, and to investigate the emotional strategies that podcasters use to effectively engage and capture their listeners. The analysis includes the titles and abstracts posted on the podcast pages of the studied sample, along with the content of each podcast episode.

The primary question of this research dwells on dominant themes of Saied's speech and resolutions with focus centered on the major topics touched upon, the angles addressed, and the attitudes made explicit. The audience's portrayal of Saied's resolutions is investigated by analyzing their narrative and linguistic features. The authors chose to employ a qualitative analysis to uncover the narrative elements of Saied's resolutions as interpreted within the podcasts under study. Ultimately, the research seeks to unravel the effective practices in the studied podcasts tackling Saied's resolutions. The study attempts to provide answers to the following research questions:

- RQ1: What are the main ideas and attitudes associated with Saied's resolutions that were addressed in the studied podcasts?
- RQ2: How do studied podcasts portray Saied's resolutions?
- RQ3: What affective practices do studied podcasts employ when addressing Saied's resolutions?

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. What Differs Podcasts from Radio

Previous research has highlighted the popularity of podcasts and analyzed their resemblance to radio as an audio medium (Perry and Carter-Long 2016; Tobin and Guadagno 2022; Chan-Olmsted and Wang 2022). The research also pointed out the extreme levels of intimacy, sociality, and flexibility listening to podcasts can offer. Podcasting has become a modern radio with a wide range of news, information, interviews, and stories, both factual and fictional, which audiences can choose from and listen to on demand (Tobin and Guadagno 2022). According to La-Chica Duarte (2022), podcasts have become the trendy medium in the entertainment world. However, podcasts remain podcasts; they cannot be viewed as radio, a YouTube channel, or a distribution medium, although they share some common features with them all. McHugh (2022) explains that the power of voice lies in the knowledge, entertainment, and empathy that the show host builds. These key elements lead directly to thinking about logos, pathos, and the spirit of classical rhetoric, and so the union of knowledge and entertainment would give rise to what we know as stories. Drawing on Louis Althusser's theory of interpellation, Casser (2020) investigates Althusser's concept of socialization, which suggests that sociology as an academic discipline could further its knowledge of the society if it critically studied its social structures by applying "a specular sociology". Casser applies the concept to shed light on the contingent consequences of interpellation on establishments in logical, empirical, and historical terms. The theory of interpellation, though not dealing with podcasting, is relevant to social networking and partnerships, which are essential for listening.

It has to be added that mentioned elements are also present in radio, but McHugh rightly points out that this is because sound has always been the most intimate of media, because in the voice we can feel and not just know. Thanks to tone, timbre, and accent, the listener can acquire information that is not present in the same way in written text. In fact, the emotional specificity of sound in podcasts has been increased especially with “hyper-listening”, since the podcast auditor usually listens privately, and often, through headphones, with the sound going directly to the ears, without physical distance, as is the case with the radio. The listening conditions between traditional radio and podcast as mediums are not the same.

## 2.2. Podcasts for Politics

The podcast, as a type of media content available on the Internet, can be used to discuss current events and politics in the modern era (Lee 2021). Research assessing the political use of digital media including podcasts has consistently confirmed their positive effects on political participation and activism (Bachmann and Ingenhoff 2017; Ekström et al. 2014; Llinares et al. 2018). Political podcasts are claimed to be a new source of information for political issues as contributors to enhancing political involvement, especially among young generations (Lee and Hwang 2013).

Chadha et al. (2012) consider that podcasts are a strong predictor of online and offline political participation. In the meantime, Lee and Hwang (2013) discuss that individuals may either escape or pursue political facts depending on the content published or the context in which the reception occurs. Analyzing successful journalism podcasts, Lindgren (2023) reveals that podcasters use a personal and subjective narrative style to foster a sense of intimacy and emotional engagement among listeners. Thissen et al. (2021) argue that the informality and intimate style of many podcasters, while addressing political issues, may lead to the formation of para-social relationships with podcast listeners. To the extent that podcasts contain narrative elements, satisfy needs, stimulate curiosity and positive affect, or provide a sense of coherence, listening is expected to be associated with a greater sense of meaning in life (Tobin and Guadagno 2022). Highlighting the political use podcast are put to, Howard (2018) mentions various reasons, including providing information, entertaining, often with sarcasm or comedy, and advocating for a cause.

### 2.2.1. Podcasting and Political Listening

Political listening is a central concept for deliberations in a democracy. It is explored as part of “a social and political process” (Bassel and Bassel 2017, p. 1). Scholars have associated political listening with holding power to account and endowed it as well with the capacity to disrupt the privileges of power and the dichotomies between us and them (Dreher and De Souza 2018). Dreher (2009) argues that listening in general cannot be dismissed as merely a simple gesture of social interaction. Listening, the author adds, has the potential of transforming relationships in different spheres. Dreher maintains that specific forms of conversation meant to bring interlocutors into accord, harmony, or sympathetic relationships. For example, the specific forms of silence and pausing can be interpreted as signals of acquiescing to others or indicating intense interest. Still, Rae (2023, p. 182) in an article on the relationship between podcasting and political listening, says that scholars have yet to explore the potential of political listening and “the opportunities and challenges that podcasts provide in literally hearing voices”. Similarly, Amalia (2023) and Ding (2024) examine selective perception, showing how individuals filter political information based on pre-existing beliefs and biases, influencing their interpretation and acceptance of political messages. Both perspectives emphasize the complex dynamics of how political content is received and processed by audiences. Active listening, discussed by Oslawski-Lopez and Kordsmeier (2021) as well as Andriani and Tama (2024), highlights the attentive and engaged reception of political discourse, fostering deeper understanding and informed civic participation. Concurrently, the phenomena of echo chambers and filter bubbles, explored by Sindermann et al. (2020), and Scott (2023), elucidate how digital environments and

algorithmic filtering can polarize political viewpoints by selectively exposing individuals to information that reinforces their ideological inclinations, potentially hindering exposure to diverse perspectives. These studies collectively contribute to a nuanced understanding of how political communication is received, processed, and influenced in contemporary contexts marked by digital media and personalized information environments.

### 2.2.2. Researching the Case of Tunisia

There is a plethora of literature dealing with the case of this study. The research tackles the issue from different perspectives. However, to the authors' knowledge, the literature is sparse when it comes to the role of political podcasting and listening in the case of Tunisia. For instance, [Tamburini \(2022\)](#) threw ample light on the President of Tunisia Kais Saied's decrees, and how he resorted to the constitution to confer legitimacy on his decree to freeze parliamentary sessions, remove the deputies' immunity, disband the government, and dismantle the constitution. The author investigates whether the president's decrees were constitutional or rather a self-coup. Ennahda has likewise been the topic of research. In a case study of how Tunisia's Islamist Party, the Ennahda Movement, responded to post-2011 Arab uprisings, [McCarthy \(2018\)](#) argues the movement was bent on reversing commitment to constitutional and electoral legitimacy for fear of being marginalized. The author demonstrates Ennahda itself was embroiled in internal struggle over ideology, and how to balance political ambitions with religious tenets. [Albrecht et al. \(2023\)](#) emphasize how new democracies are threatened when people voice support for authoritarian governments, the thing which can lead to the emergence of a weak party system and in turn an authoritarian alternative. Using Tunisia as a case study, the author explores the alienation of the public from established rule and political actors. Research has also attempted to unravel the decision by the Tunisian president to suspend the constitution, disband the parliament and dismantle the government. [Sebei and Fulco \(2022\)](#), for instance, draw on a political party perspective to fathom the reasons Tunisian political parties failed to coordinate stands to prevent presidential decrees from being implemented. [Ridge \(2022, p. 1539\)](#), who describes the Tunisian president's decrees as "an anti-democratic turn" and a "self-coup", uses a survey conducted weeks following the issuing of the decrees and finds little support for democracy. The author points to "democratic backsliding" which may encourage other non-democratic and authoritarian regimes to take similar measures. In a recent study, [Ridge \(2023, p. 69\)](#) draws on a 2021 survey study and cluster analysis and finds that support for liberal values to be different and separate from support for electoral democracy. "There are liberal democrat and liberal non-democrat populations. Overall, the democratic culture outstrips the support for democratic elections", Ridge writes.

Although there is no single well-known or widely recognized theory specifically called "political listening theory", the concept of political listening is a topic of interest in communication and political communication studies. It centers on how individuals engage with and interpret political messages, speeches, and rhetoric. Scholars and researchers have explored various aspects of political listening, including selective perception, active listening, and the phenomenon of echo chambers and filter bubbles. For example, [Rae \(2023\)](#) finds that audiences cherish the aural nature of political podcast. Aural speech helps audiences to "listen with a critical ear", Rae maintains. With the shift to informal speech, the author notes, audiences find aural podcasts friendly and endowed with the capacity to challenge the power of traditional production processes. The author concludes that paying attention to sound only can expand understanding of politics and the media.

This paper explores how the analyzed podcasts employ effective strategies to engage and influence listeners, thereby shaping public opinion regarding Saied's suspension of the parliament and his decision to rule the country by decree.

To sum up, there have been attempts to theorize the use of digitization in media. However, the literature on podcasts and political activism in Tunisia is somewhat scarce. This paper attempts to bridge this gap by focusing on the role of audio podcasting in

exposing and criticizing political issues within this country, and the emotional features used to attract listeners.

### 3. Method

The method adopted to analyze the data is both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative method is not sophisticated as it is limited to the level of frequency counts. The authors resort to the qualitative method in their interpretation of the podcasts, their texts, vocabularies, certain linguistic features, and context. The authors chose to proceed with a thematic analysis in which the coding to texts into thematic categories are merged with frequency counts. An inductive coding approach, allowing a set of codes to arise organically from the data, was adopted (see Table 1).

**Table 1.** Initial codes identified through inductive coding.

Research Question	Codes	Description
RQ1: Main ideas	Support for Saied's resolutions	Instances of approval towards Saied's actions.
	Criticism of Saied's resolutions	Instances of criticism or challenge to Saied's decisions.
	Legal justification	References to constitutional or legal reasoning.
	Impact on democracy and future of Tunisia	Discussions on effects on democratic institutions.
RQ2: Portrayal of Saied's resolutions	Narrative techniques	Storytelling (anecdotes, personal stories), expert opinions (interviews with analysts, academics), statistical or factual evidence, use of metaphors or analogies.
	Contextual framing	Providing historical, socio-political, and economic context.
RQ3: Affective practices	Fear-inducing language	Language evoking fear or anxiety about Saied's actions.
	Anger and frustration	Expressions of anger or frustration regarding the outcomes or implications of Saied's actions.
	Hopeful tone	Optimistic tone that subtly ridicules unrealistic expectations of Saied's resolutions.

The mixed method allows us to draw insights, make inferences, and understand the underlying messages, ideas, or representations within the analyzed content (Stemler 2000; Drisko and Maschi 2016; Wiedemann and Fedtke 2022).

The study's content encompasses a selection of five podcasts exposing President Saied's speech on 25 July 2021, with the aim of identifying the main ideas and positions expressed, narrative techniques, and affective practices employed to enhance rhetorical effects. The designated period for this analysis spans from the day of the speech until the 31 December 2021, totaling six months. Notably, the authors extended this timeframe due to the limited availability of podcasts addressing President Saied's speech.

#### Sample Selection

When selecting the sample, the following criteria were considered:

- Podcast ownership: Making sure that the podcast enjoyed a high degree of independence in terms of programming, and/or affiliation with any radio station or television channel.
- Podcast language: Only podcasts delivered in the Arabic language are included in the sample
- Podcast Content: Only podcasts that addressed Saied's resolutions were included in the studied sample.

The sample includes five podcasts with a total time of 247 min and 8 s, selected from the most popular podcasts that use the Arabic language and dedicate space to political topics and provided coverage for the Tunisian president's 25 July 2021 address (see Tables A1–A4 in Appendix A for more details). The choice was based on the number of subscriptions outlined on podcast websites as well as views on YouTube. The podcasts selected for analysis are published in an audio format via Google Podcasts, Apple Podcasts, Stitcher, Spotify, Soundcloud, Castbox, Pocket Casts, Copy RSS, Deezer, and Amazon music. The sample includes:

- Tax Justice Network Arabic (4.2K subscribers, 248,106 views in YouTube): A network on tax abuse and the economic damage it causes to societies.
- Kiff Dealer (4.83K subscribers, and 129,922 views in YouTube): A Tunisian podcast with topics considered mostly a taboo.
- InkyFada (740 subscribers, 51,102 views): A Tunisian podcast offering exclusive audio content.
- Ezio Listo (815 subscribers, 38,977 views in YouTube): A Tunisian satirical humorous podcast on social and political affairs.
- Al Awsat (14.5K subscribers, 1,642,607 views in YouTube): A podcast emphasizing USA foreign policy and current political and social topics in the MENA region.

## 4. Findings

### 4.1. Main Ideas and Attitudes (RQ1)

The authors listened carefully to the podcasts to identify the clips, or the major points selected for coverage from the Tunisian president's resolutions. The data show only seven podcast episodes raised the issue of President Saied's address. There are only three podcasts from Kiff Dealer on the subject (two of them on the same day, the third three months later); other networks (Inkyfada, Ezio Lesto, Al Awsat, Tax Justice Network Arabic) broadcast one podcast each about the speech (it is important to clarify that the analysis includes seven episodes produced by a sample of five podcasts).

It is necessary to emphasize that political podcasting in Tunisia is still an emerging form of media and has not yet become a widely adopted practice in mainstream news media. Meanwhile, Al Awsat, a weekly from the Washington-based Middle East Institute, seems to show limited interest in Tunisia's political affairs as it only had one podcast. As for the date and duration of time allocated to the topic in each episode, the results are varied, ranging from 16:45 min to 59:30 min. The findings are listed in Table 2.

The data in Table 2 indicate that Tax Justice Network Arabic was the first podcast to address the topic (after 9 days), followed by Inkyfada (after 14 days), and the third was Ezio Lesto (after 16 days). No podcast referred to the Tunisian president's speech during the first week after it was delivered, probably due to the fact that podcasts may take time and effort to produce (Van Kooten and de Bie 2018). Regarding duration, Ezio Lesto had the shortest podcast at 16 min and 45 s, while Inkyfada had the longest at 59 min and 30 s. Kiff Dealer included two long episodes, 48:50 and 54:55 min, respectively. The remaining episodes of the Tax Justice Network Arabic, Al Awsat, and Kiff Dealer podcasts ranged from 20 to 27 min.

**Table 2.** Timing and duration allotted to the topic.

	Podcasts	Diffusion Date	Nber of Episodes	%	Duration (min)	%
1	Tax Justice Network Arabic	3 August 2021	1	14.28	26:38	10.64
2	Inkyfada	8 August 2021	1	14.28	59:30	23.93
3	Ezio Lesto	12 August 2021	1	14.28	16:45	6.63
4	Al Awsat	20 August 2021	1	14.28	20:32	8.20
5	Kiff Dealer	31 August 2021	3	42.88	48:50	19.57
		31 August 2021			22:30	8.99
		28 October 2021			54:55	22.03
Total			7	100	247:80	100

#### 4.1.1. Support vs. Critique of Saied's Resolutions

In addressing RQ1, related to main ideas and attitudes, the authors conducted a thorough analysis encompassing the titles, and abstracts posted in the podcasts along with the content of each episode. Data revealed several key ideas and attitudes towards Saied's resolutions. These include support for Saied's resolutions, where podcasts expressed approval of his actions, often highlighting the need for decisive leadership in a time of crisis. The endorsement of the decisions appeared to be motivated by a fear that the Ennahda Islamic Party, deemed accountable for the events that occurred, would dominate the government. Podcasts' guests' remarks expose their criticism of the Ennahda Party, attributing responsibility to it for the deteriorating situation in Tunisia. For instance, a guest on the Kiff Dealer Podcast stated, "Ennahda movement wants to rule alone", while another added, "Ennahda Party wants to seize power".

Conversely, criticism of Saied's resolutions emerged as a significant code, reflecting concerns over potential overreach and the undermining of democratic principles. The decision to freeze the House of Representatives and transfer legislative powers to himself sparked wide coverage and a heated debate all over the world (Hali 2020; Ridge 2022). In Tunisia, many people primarily considered it a way out of the severe political crisis embodied in political corruption, financial bankruptcy, and inability to contain the COVID-19 pandemic. In fact, the title 'Tunisia: Bartering health for economy' that the Tax Justice Network Arabic podcast posted 3 August 2021 to announce the episode addressing the topic, contains a keyword with a nuanced meaning (bartering). The authors perceive a potential negative connotation in the tradeoff between 'health' and 'economy', suggesting a cumbersome and time-consuming process that may imply inefficiency. Bartering is not always conducive to economic progress and development, and it is often associated with challenging economic conditions (Taskinsoy 2020). Additionally, the title Inkyfada has podcasted on 8 August 2021 '25 July: One-way communication', introduces confusing vocabulary related to one-way communication, a communication style that neglects the receiver as a crucial component of an effective communication process (Aronson 2004), thereby overlooking the concept of feedback.

Denunciation of Saied's resolutions have been detected using certain vocabularies in the abstracts of three podcasts that might be attributed to their stance towards Tunisia and its president. The critique is displayed in Tax Justice Network Arabic as follows:

*"In this month's episode, we conducted a dialogue with the researcher in public policies, Sirin Ghannouchi, to talk about her paper on how Tunisian governments dealt with the COVID-19 pandemic and how it contributed the worsening situation of the vulnerable groups. The paper discusses how the conditions negatively affected the internal authorities in a country already suffering from weak infrastructure and high cost of treatment amid a decline in government spending in the health sector".*

A negative tone is evident in the paragraph discussing the COVID-19 pandemic and its significant role in exacerbating the challenges faced by vulnerable groups and the country's internal authorities.

The Inkyfada podcast also conveys a negative tone in the following extract:

*“This first episode of Inkytalk, looks back on 25 July 2021, a date that has already made history with the decision of President Saied to apply Article 80 of the Constitution, and to (**temporarily**) assume full powers. Eight days following this event, Inkytalk’s guests examine the **one-way** communication of the presidency, the **tumultuous** relationship between the government and the media, and the access to information and its **Kafkaesque universe**”.*

The abstract conveys skepticism, particularly by using terms like “temporarily?” with brackets and a question mark, questioning the timeliness of the resolutions. It also describes the events as historical and unprecedented:

*“The date that has already made history with the decision of the President of the Tunisian Republic, Kaïs Saied, to apply Article 80 of the Constitution”.*

A negative perception of the communication process between the Tunisian president and his people is reflected in the podcast title: *“the one-way communication of the presidency”*. In addition, the relationship between the government and the media is described as *“tumultuous”*.

In Kiff Dealer (3), the producer announced that the episode would focus on discussing police brutality in Tunisia following the events of 25 July:

*“In this episode (#6), we invited Louay Cherni and Henda Chennaoui (Activists) to discuss politics, youth, liberties, and police brutality in Tunisia After 25 of July, trying to answer a main question: Is Better Tunisia Possible After 25 July 2021?”*

In short, the theme of support versus criticism emerges prominently in relation to Saied’s decisions on 25 July 2021. Supporters strongly criticized Ennahda, blaming it for the country’s deteriorating conditions and emphasizing the necessity of Saied’s actions, despite questions about their legality. On the other hand, opponents expressed concerns about potential presidential overreach and the expansion of powers beyond the initially stated timeline, fearing that this could lead the country toward dictatorship.

#### 4.1.2. Legal Justifications of Saied’s Resolutions

Regarding the legal rationale for Saied’s resolutions, Kiff Dealer guests considered them essential, irrespective of their legitimacy. According to an interviewee, regardless of constitutional legitimacy, a coup plot was being prepared by the Ennahda Movement Party. Guests added that Saied saved the country by activating Article 80 of the Tunisian Constitution (Kiff Dealer 1, and Kiff Dealer 2). To address the delicate political situation of the country, guests recommended the imperative of unity and rallying around the president (Ezio Listo; Kiff Dealer 2). They emphasized the need for Tunisians to support the president’s resolutions to safeguard the country from internal strife and division.

#### 4.1.3. Democracy and Future of Tunisia

The *Impact on Democracy and Future of Tunisia* code reflects broader concerns about the long-term effects on Tunisia’s political landscape. On 12 August 2021, the Inkyfada podcast posted a provocative question, ‘25 July coup????’, as a title of its podcast on the subject, reflecting uncertainty about the future impact of Saied’s resolutions. Similarly, Kiff Dealer posed a title on 28 October 2021, asking, ‘Do you think the claim of ‘better Tunisia’ is possible?’. This indicates ongoing skepticism regarding the effectiveness of Saied’s measures. It is noteworthy that Kiff Dealer had previously employed sarcasm and irony in their episodes posted on 31 August 2021, presenting a markedly different tone compared to the more direct questions posed later (Tunisia 14 January–25 July 2021: Papa dear, where are we going?).



Some of the guests on Inkyfada deemed them ineffective, observing that the nation was in a state of division and confronting a difficult situation (Ezio Lesto; Kiff Dealer 2). However, uneasiness could be felt when reference was made to the potential for the president adopting a course of tyranny and extending his consolidation of power far beyond the initially declared timeframe (Kiff Dealer 1 and 3). The consequences of Saied's resolutions for the future were mainly viewed as mitigating. However, the guests seemed to maintain hope, noting the fear many Tunisians harbor if Ennahda grabbed power once again, or if it managed to assassinate the president (Kiff Dealer 2). There were concerns that Tunisians might lose the democratic rights they have gained in the event of Ennahda assuming power (Inkyfada). Additionally, there was discussion about the determination of Tunisians to change the course of events if such a scenario unfolds (Kiff Dealer 1).

#### 4.2. Portrayal of Saied's Resolutions (RQ2)

The podcasts analyzed in this study employed various narrative strategies to portray Saied's resolutions, with a strong emphasis on storytelling. Most podcasts relied on the insights of experts and political activists, who were interviewed to discuss the political climate, the Tunisian president's measures, and the implications of his resolutions. Sarcasm was a notable feature, particularly in the commentary of guests and the satirical one-man show podcast, Ezio Lesto. In addition to narrative techniques, the conceptual framing strategy was also evident, especially in the "Tax Justice Network Arabic" podcast, which provided a comprehensive socio-political and economic context for understanding the broader impact of Saied's actions.

##### 4.2.1. Narrative and Linguistic Features

Podcasts often utilize various narrative techniques to capture listeners' attentions and effectively convey their messages, as noted by [Berry \(2016\)](#). These techniques include talks, monologues, and documentaries. However, the Tunisian podcasts examined in this study lack depth and richness of analysis when addressing Saied's resolutions. Only one podcast falls under this category: Ezio Lesto's.

Storytelling techniques in Ezio Lesto's podcast are key to engaging listeners and making complex issues more relatable. As the sole podcast featuring sketches and irony through a one-man show format, Ezio Lesto is described by its producer as *where we talk about little things in Tunisia*. The podcaster employs anecdotes and real stories about the Ennahda Party, which he considers the primary cause of the declining circumstances, using sarcasm to convey its perspective on Saied's resolutions and the broader context in Tunisia.

##### 4.2.2. Expert Opinions (Interviews with Analysts and Academics)

Incorporating expert opinions adds credibility and depth to the analysis. Podcasts may include interviews with analysts, academics, or policy experts who provide insights and evaluations of the resolutions. These expert perspectives can help contextualize the resolutions within broader political, economic, or social frameworks and offer informed critiques or endorsements. The data show that the podcast tackled the topic using mainly interviews. Two podcasts have multiple interviews. Kiff Dealer holds two interviews while Inkyfada conducts four. It has to be highlighted that choosing interviews as a narrative style in podcasting creates a human connection, shares diverse viewpoints, and enhances audience engagement through a conversational approach. Podcast interviews leverage the power of the human voice to connect with audiences and provide valuable insights, making them an effective communication tool. Podcast interviews are important because they provide an intimate space to have a conversation with a celebrity, expert in a given field, or someone who has an important story to share, as [Dodd \(2014\)](#) has explained.

The time allotted for each interview likely reflects variation in consistency of political content provided by interviewees (16:32 to 59:30 min). Thus, the authors found it useful to track guests' area of expertise (Table 3).

**Table 3.** Formats, guests, and their domain of expertise.

	Podcasts	Duration (min)	Formats	N. of Guests	Domain of Expertise
1	Tax Justice Network Arabic	26:38	Interviews	1	Civil society activist
2	Inkyfada	59:30	Interviews	4	Journalist and Commercial Director of Inkyfada Journalist and editor-in-chief of Inkyfada Activist and member in the Bowsala Association Researcher in the Almoukhakkera Althakafya
3	Ezio Lesto	16:45	Comedy –	0	1 man talk show (the podcaster)
4	Al Awsat	20:32	Interviews	1	Director of North Africa and Sahel (NAS) Program at the Middle East Institute
5	Kiff Dealer (1)	48:50	Interviews	1	Journalist and blogger
6	Kiff Dealer (2)	22:30	Interviews	1	Civil society activist
7	Kiff Dealer (3)	54:55	Interviews	2	Social media influencer Civil society activist

The data reveal 10 guests, of which four are civil society activists, three are journalists, one is a researcher, one is a social media influencer, and one is the director of the North Africa and the Sahel Program at the Middle East Institute. The political podcasts under study mostly include guests with apparently limited experience in political affairs. This could be an effort to appeal to a younger audience, typically similar in age and intellect. In fact, using the same jargon and dialect as those used by young people in Tunisia creates a distinct atmosphere, providing listeners with the sense that they are participating in a friendly conversation facilitated by the intimate delivery of the host's voice, which is delivered primarily via smartphones and headphones. Podcast literature has demonstrated that award-winning podcasts in journalism are the ones which offer the personalized journalistic content that is afforded by the intimacy of the audio form (Lindgren 2023, p. 704).

Regarding linguistic characteristics, the data indicate that the language used in the podcasts is the Tunisian dialect (a local Arabic dialect mixed with French and sometimes English terms). On the other hand, the Al Awsat podcast uses formal Arabic exclusively.

The authors suggest that the informal nature of the Tunisian dialect resonates with listeners on a personal level, fostering a sense of ease and connection to the content. This linguistic choice creates a relaxed conversational atmosphere, encouraging engagement and a deeper connection to the podcast's message. Ultimately, it makes it a more engaging choice for listeners.

#### 4.2.3. Contextual Framing

The contextual framing code was identified in the "Tax Justice Network Arabic" podcast, particularly in the episode titled "Tunisia: Bartering Health for Economy", posted on 3 August 2021. This episode skillfully connects Saied's resolutions with the broader economic and health conditions in Tunisia, offering a comprehensive socio-political and economic context. The discussion delves into how the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated the already fragile situation for vulnerable groups and strained the internal governance of the country. The guests on the podcast highlight the pandemic's role in worsening economic disparities and the overall deterioration of living conditions, which set the stage for Saied's subsequent actions and public address. Through this analysis, the podcast provides a nuanced understanding of how Tunisia's health crisis is intertwined with economic decisions, illustrating the complex factors that have influenced Saied's policies.

#### 4.3. Affective Practices (RQ3)

To address Research Question 3, which explores the affective practices employed by the studied podcasts when discussing Saied's resolutions, an inductive coding approach

was used to identify various emotional strategies. This analysis revealed codes related to fear-inducing language, expressions of anger and frustration, as well as the use of an optimistic tone.

#### 4.3.1. Fear-Inducing Language, Anger, and Frustration

Audio sound has the unique ability to create a deep sense of intimacy and affection with its audience through the power of the human voice. The audio medium is a sustainable and durable outlet with the power to connect speakers and listeners (Hoover 2022). When we listen to someone speak, we connect on a deeply personal level, where the sound carries not only words, but also emotion, nuance, and authenticity. The gentle cadence, warmth, and expressiveness in a speaker's voice can make the listener feel like they are having a one-on-one conversation, creating a bond of trust and familiarity (Tobin and Guadagno 2022). This intimate connection attracts people, making them more receptive to the content and more likely to engage with the message being conveyed, whether it is an honest story, an informative discussion, or a soothing narration.

In this regard, the authors note that with the exception of Ezio Lesto, the traditional style of mainstream media prevailed in the podcasts selected for analysis. The interviews had a semi-formal tone, leaning more towards the listener-friendly style of spoken Tunisian accent. However, the overall atmosphere retained a serious demeanor, resembling stringent journalistic interviews, with jokes or smiles being infrequently incorporated.

Fear-inducing language was primarily identified in the statements of the interviewees. For instance, a guest on Inkyfada openly expressed his fear by stating, 'It is worrying; we are afraid of losing democracy!' Meanwhile, another guest on the Tax Justice Network Arabic podcast conveyed his concerns more subtly, noting, 'The country is in a state of division, and the situation is unclear.' Moreover, a guest in Kiff Dealer (2), has explained: 'There is a fear that Ennahda will rise to power again if it manages to assassinate the president'.

Direct expressions of anger and frustration regarding the outcomes or implications of Saied's actions were evident in the guests' interpretations on various platforms. For instance, a guest on the Tax Justice Network Arabic podcast voiced his frustration by shouting, 'The people are angry and want urgent solutions, but the state treasury is empty.' Similarly, a guest on Kiff Dealer (1) expressed his combined frustration and anger while analyzing Tunisia's situation and political future, stating, 'There is a fear of the president's tyranny and his seizure of all powers for a longer period than announced, but the Tunisian people are capable of changing the situation if that happens!'. This comment implied that Tunisians could remove Saied from power, just as they did with Ben Ali in 2011. Another guest of Kiff Dealer (3) answered the questions on whether the Tunisian police were brutal with an irritated demeanor: 'Yes, I can swear that there is huge brutality of the police after 25 July 2021'.

#### 4.3.2. Optimistic Tone

An optimistic tone that subtly ridicules unrealistic expectations or overly positive views of Saied's resolutions is present in one podcast only: Ezio Lesto, the only audio performance in the study sample to trace reported affective practices.

In Ezio Lesto, the young podcaster used the Tunisian dialect, and frequently mixed three languages in the same sentence (Arabic, French, and English). For example, in the opening sentence, he started with "oh yah" (English), then switched to Arabic to indicate that the episode is dedicated to the events of 25 July 2021. He then used the French linking tool "donc" meaning "thus" to conclude in Arabic with the word "تابعوني", which means "follow me". Throughout the episode, the French and English languages were merged in the Tunisian dialect, reflecting the variety of spoken Arabic commonly used in the capital Tunis.

The podcast also incorporated expressions in currency among Tunisians. The style was intimate, mixing humor, and sarcasm. For example, the podcaster was talking about the Ennahda movement project with enthusiasm, insisting that the aim of this party was only

to improve the country's economic and political conditions. Then, he suddenly interrupted his story by a loud, long, sarcastic laugh. In the meantime, he injected a number of fatalistic expressions in an ironic manner, such as "الله أكبر", which means "God is victorious", in the belief that all events are predetermined and therefore inevitable. The podcast also included excerpts with a sad tone, revealing the difficult situation that Tunisia is experiencing due to the rule of the Ennahda.

The Ezio Lesto podcast included sarcasm and comedy to enhance rhetorical effect while expressing the political position of the podcaster on what happened on 25 July 2021. The podcast host appears to be seeking to motivate listeners to adopt specific positions and urge them to agree with his political ideologies. This highlights the interactive relationship between political podcaster as influencer and the listeners as independent identities.

## 5. Discussion and Conclusions

The findings indicate that, of the seven podcast episodes discussing President Saied's speech on 25 July 2021, six were aired in August 2021. No podcast referred to the Tunisian president's speech during the first week after it was delivered. Additionally, only one follow-up episode was released in October by Kiff Dealer. The authors highlight that, despite the significance of the political event, deemed by some as historical (Hali 2020), and irrespective of people's perspectives, political podcasts in the region appear to insufficiently address it.

Moreover, the results confirm the prevailing themes about the motives for Saied's decisions on 25 July 2021, and their direct and future consequences for Tunisia. The Ennahda movement faced significant criticism, being holding responsible for the worsening of the situation, while the urgent necessity of Saied's decisions was emphasized, regardless of its legal status. Hannah Ridge (2023) reiterates that similar apprehension was felt internationally about what happened in Tunisia. The author argues that after a decade as the preeminent democracy in the Middle East, Tunisia took an anti-democratic turn in July 2021 with what she called "the self-coup" of President Kais Saied. She also points to the possibility of democratic backsliding in Tunisia through the strategic implementation of liberal but anti-democratic actions. Tamburini (2022) refers to the interference of the leaders of the Islamic Party in all matters of governance and their attempt to monopolize power as what led to the current political suffocation in Tunisia, adding that the Tunisian public opinion, weakened by years of governmental inefficiency, political chaos, and corruption, blamed the Islamic party Ennahda as solely responsible for the crisis.

In the meantime, McCarthy (2018) and Pargeter (2016), argue that Ennahda showed a lack of political culture and expertise, failing in the long run to balance political pragmatism and ambitions with the creation of an "Islamic alternative". In September 2021, Ennahda leadership even admitted its failure to manage the affairs of governance in Tunisia and acknowledged the mistakes it had committed in running the economy and internal affairs of the country since its entry into power, which contributed not only to fuel street anger against it, but also resulted in its loss of seats in subsequent elections (Al-Arabiya 2021). According to ex-Tunisian president Moncef Marzouki (2022), people blame Islamists for betraying their promise to deliver clean and efficient governance, for prioritizing a politics of petty agreements and backdoor deals with parties from the former regime, and for catastrophically mismanaging deadly health and economic crises. Jrad (2021) finds that some experts and jurists testified that Saied acted within the framework of Article 80, because he simply froze the parliament's activity instead of dissolving it. This wave of support for the Tunisian president was reflected in the studied sample through the interviewees' tolerance of violating the provisions of the Tunisian constitution so long as this step saves the country from the Tunisian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood movement. Similarly, Albrecht et al. (2023) highlighted the fluctuations in Tunisians' perceptions of political options in the country. They found that one in five Tunisian adults reported contrasting preferences for authoritarian alternatives and civil society. This indicates that many Tunisians want something other than what they see in the current political situation.

The findings affirm that despite apprehensions regarding potential presidential overreach and an extension of powers beyond the initially declared timeframe, there is a prevailing sense of optimism, coupled with a clear call to unite around Tunisia's president. This contradicts the conclusions of [Sebei and Fulco \(2022\)](#) who find that Tunisians reject President Saied's resolutions of 25 July 2021, noting that many political activists advocated the formation of a united front against his unilateral takeover of state institutions. Sebei and Fulco even point to the negative perception of the events taking place in Tunisia, characterizing them as "Saied's presidential coup".

Regarding the narrative features, interviews emerge as a dominant style in the podcasts studied, enhancing listener engagement, and leveraging the power of the human voice to connect with audiences and provide valuable insights, making them an effective communication tool. Likewise, the Tunisian dialect prevails over classical Arabic. It seems to be a linguistic choice aimed at attracting a larger audience by using the same jargon, sarcastic expressions, and jokes to become closer to listeners and interact with them in an intimate and para-social audio interaction. This is in line with [Hali's \(2020\)](#) argument that the podcasts in the Tunisian spoken dialect are more accessible to those who read and speak both French and Arabic, bringing their Tunisian audiences together. Podcast creators also use emotional practices, including sarcasm and humor, to enhance rhetorical impact and effectively engage listeners.

Ezio Lesto is the only podcast that was aired on a one-man talk show format. Affective practices throughout this podcast are evident in the use of French and English languages along with the Tunisian dialect, occasionally mixed with humor and mockery to enhance the linguistic effect, express optimism, and call to rally behind the president. In fact, via the intimate medium of audio, the podcaster skillfully incorporates emotions, such as empathy, enthusiasm, sarcasm, and jokes, to create a nuanced and engaging story. Infusing content with emotion, the podcast creator aimed to make a connection with his listeners and influence their views and attitudes. It is important to mention that affective practices act as a persuasive tool, fostering deep connection and resonance with listeners. Whether by conveying the urgency of a social issue, evoking sympathy for certain viewpoints, or using humor to criticize, podcasters leverage these practices to craft a narrative that not only informs, but also shapes public sentiment about the topics discussed.

Borrowing the concept of "interpellation", as defined by Louis Althusser ([Casser 2020](#)), the authors assert that the podcaster attempts to invite listeners to take certain positions and encourages them to conform to their political ideas. This may highlight the dynamic relationship between the podcaster as influencer and the self-identity of listeners, without neglecting the potential for resistance and negotiation as the process unfolds. In the same vein, [Franzén et al. \(2021\)](#) assert that affective practices encompass various psychological states and feelings, including happiness, anger, sadness, fear, and other emotional reactions to different political stimuli and positions addressed by the podcaster. [Robson \(2023\)](#) also notes that emotional practices also involve performative acts and auditory emotional effects. In this way, sound turns the listening process into an unforgettable emotional experience.

To sum up, the authors highlight the power of podcasting as distinctive communication tool for political listening in Tunisia. Podcasts may serve as an affective audio medium to address key issues of public interest in a way that helps raise civic responsibilities among the audience. This awareness-rising role that the political podcast may play in the region makes it possible to consider it an alternative public sphere aimed at increasing public knowledge, cohesion, and mobilization ([Clark and Aufderheide 2009](#)).

In such a context, the concept of the "pseudo-public sphere" ([De Zeeuw 2024](#); [Snoussi et al. 2023](#)) becomes effective in engaging political listeners on crucial issues, providing them with information, and stimulating public debates. Delivering more emotionally based podcasts could be a strategic approach to raise awareness and encourage political participation in Tunisia and the North African region. The authors suggest that future research should involve more systematic coding of recent podcasts related to political issues in Tunisia, especially with the upcoming presidential elections in October 2024. This

approach could help in understanding how podcast listening might influence or reflect public opinion.

## 6. Research Contribution

This paper investigates the role of political podcasts in shaping public opinion in Tunisia. It analyses a sample of podcasts discussing President Kais Saied's speech on 25 July 2021, in which he suspended parliament and assumed executive powers.

The study offers a valuable contribution to understanding the impact of political podcasts in Tunisia. By addressing a timely and under-researched topic, it illuminates how podcasts influence public opinion. Further research with a larger sample size and a broader timeframe would enhance the analysis and provide a more comprehensive understanding of this emerging media landscape.

Additionally, this paper introduces a novel perspective to political listening theory. Traditionally, the theory emphasizes understanding opposing viewpoints. This contribution suggests reframing disagreement as a catalyst for deeper listening. By recognizing the inherent value in contrasting perspectives, it advocates for moving beyond mere comprehension to genuine curiosity and exploration. This shift promotes a more engaged and empathetic form of listening, potentially leading to the identification of common ground and the creation of new solutions.

However, the research is not without limitations. One basic limitation is the scope of the data, which only includes five podcasts. This limitation restricts the findings to the data involved in the analysis, hindering the generalization of the results to the whole scene of political podcasting and listening in Tunisia. Also, the findings and implications of the study are confined to one particular event, that is, the Tunisian president's speech and the way it was handled by the five podcasts at a particular junction of the country's political transformation. For a generalized view of podcasting in Tunisia, a longer period needs to be selected, and more podcasts added to the data.

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## Appendix A

**Table A1.** The language used in the podcasts.

Podcasts	Diffusion Date	Language	%
1	20 August 2021	Standard Arabic	8.20
2	Tax Justice Network Arabic 3 August 2021	Standard Arabic and Tunisian dialect	10.64

Table A1. Cont.

	Podcasts	Diffusion Date	Language	%
3	Inkyfada	8 August 2021		
4		12 August 2021		
5	Kiff Dealer (1)	31 August 2021	Tunisian dialect	81.16
6	Kiff Dealer (2)	31 August 2021		
7	Kiff Dealer (3)	28 October 2021		
Total	5 podcasts 7 episodes	-		100

Table A2. Titles of the studied podcasts.

	Podcasts	Diffusion Date	Title
1	Tax Justice Network Arabic	3 August 2021	Tunisia: bartering health for economy.
2	Inkyfada	8 August 2021	25 July: One-way communication
3	EZIO LESTO	12 August 2021	25 July coup????
4	Al Awsat	20 August 2021	President Saied and the future of Tunisia
5	Kiff Dealer (1)	31 August 2021	Tunisia (14 January–25 July 2021): Papa dear, where are we going? Part 1 ( <i>ironic title</i> )
6	Kiff Dealer (2)	31 August 2021	Tunisia (14 January–25 July 2021): Papa dear, where are we going? Part 2
7	Kiff Dealer (3)	28 October 2021	Do you think the claim of “better Tunisia” is possible?

Table A3. Abstracts of the studied podcasts.

	Podcasts	Abstract
1	Tax Justice Network Arabic	In this month’s episode, we had a tour of the sporadic news from Libya, Lebanon and the development of the political situation in Tunisia. Then we conducted a dialogue with the researcher in public policies and international affairs, Sirin Ghannouchi about a paper issued by the Tunisian Forum for Economic and Social Rights. The paper deals with the treatment of Tunisian governments of the COVID-19 pandemic and how it contributed the worsening situation of the vulnerable groups and how the conditions negatively affected internal authorities of the country already suffering from weak infrastructure and high cost of treatment amid a decline in government spending in the health sector.
2	Inkyfada	This first episode of inkytalk, looks back at 25 July 2021, a date that has already made history with the decision of the President of the Tunisian Republic, Kaïs Saïed, to apply Article 80 of the Constitution, and to (temporarily?) assume full powers. Eight days following this event, inkytalk’s guests examine the one-way communication of the presidency, the tumultuous relationship between the government and the media, and the access to information and its Kafkaesque universe.
3	EZIO LESTO	A podcast in which we talk about Tunisia and what happened in it in a critical and satirical way. Today we will talk about little things in Tunisia, about riots and presidential resolutions. Is there not a coup? Where is the country heading?
4	Al Awsat	Episode questions: What prompted the Tunisian president to freeze parliament and assume executive power, and what has he been doing since 25 July? What are the internal actors in Tunisia and what are their current positions? What is the future of the elected institutions in Tunisia and the future of the constitution? What positive role can external parties play to help Tunisia? What are the possible scenarios for the near future in Tunisia and what must we follow to know where Tunisia is heading? Follow us in this episode with Ibrahim Al-Aseel and Intisar Fakir

Table A3. Cont.

Podcasts		Abstract
5	Kiff Dealer (1)	We invited Haythem El Mekki, Journalist/Blogger, to discuss the exceptional political situation in Tunisia. We talked about what happened on 25th July 2021 with a clear vision as young Tunisians and the type of future awaiting us. We also talked about Thawra 14 January, the media, and hard politics, trying to respond to many questions that we have in mind.
6	Kiff Dealer (2)	
7	Kiff Dealer (3)	In this episode (#6), we invited Louay Cherni and Henda Chennaoui (Activists) to discuss politics, youth, liberties, and police brutality in Tunisia After 25 of July. Answering a main question: Is Better Tunisia Possible After 25 July 2021?

Table A4. Communication content attitudes by questions raised.

Podcasts		Questions Raised
1	Al Awsat	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What prompted the Tunisian president to freeze parliament and take over the executive power? And what has he been doing since 25 July?</li> <li>2. What are the internal actors in Tunisia? And what are their current positions?</li> <li>3. What is the future of the elected institutions in Tunisia? And the future of the constitution?</li> <li>4. What positive role can external parties play in helping Tunisia?</li> <li>5. What are the possible scenarios for the near future in Tunisia? And what/who should we follow to know where Tunisia is heading?</li> </ol>
2	Inkyfada	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Is the activation of Article 80 of the Constitution and the singling out of all powers, according to you, a temporary measure?</li> <li>2. After eight days have passed since 25 July 2021, what do you think of the unilateral communication imposed by the power system?</li> <li>3. How do you visualize the relationship of the floundering power with the media?</li> </ol>
3	EZIO LESTO	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What are the reasons for 25 July 2021?</li> <li>2. Why were the resolutions made?</li> <li>3. What did Saied do on 25 July 2021?</li> <li>4. Is Saied a dictator?</li> <li>5. Is it a coup?</li> <li>6. What will happen after the resolutions? Scenarios?</li> </ol>
4	Tax Justice Network Arabic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How have Tunisian governments dealt with the COVID-19 pandemic?</li> <li>2. What is the extent of the pandemic's contribution to the worsening situation of vulnerable groups and the country's interior? Is it a reason for what happened on 25 July 2021?</li> <li>3. How did the decline in government spending in the health sector affect the high cost of treatment? What are the repercussions on the political situation?</li> </ol>
5	Kiff Dealer (1)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What are the reasons for 25 July 2021?</li> <li>2. Are resolutions constitutional and necessary to save the country?</li> <li>3. What are the future scenarios?</li> </ol>
6	Kiff Dealer (2)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What do you think of the resolutions of 25 July 2021?</li> <li>2. What are the reasons for these resolutions?</li> <li>3. Are resolutions necessary to save the country?</li> <li>4. What are the future scenarios?</li> </ol>
7	Kiff Dealer (3) (Oct. 2021)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What is the state of freedoms in Tunisia after 25 July 2021?</li> <li>2. Can you talk about police brutality in Tunisia after 25 July 2021?</li> <li>3. Is Tunisia better after 25 July 2021?</li> </ol>



**Table A5.** Communication angles according to guests' responses in the podcasts.

Podcasts		Answers
1	Al Awsat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The Islamic Ennahda Movement Party is responsible for what happened on 25 July 2021;</li> <li>■ The Tunisian people must support the president's resolutions to save the country from strife and division;</li> <li>■ It is difficult to predict the future, but the initial indicators are in the country's interest;</li> <li>■ The reason behind what happened is a political attempt to exclude the Ennahda Movement from the government and put the implementation of constitutional reforms that establish a true democracy on the back burner.</li> </ul>
2	Inkyfada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● The activation of Article 80 of the Constitution and the singling out of all powers may not be a temporary measure;</li> <li>● It is worrying, we are afraid of losing democracy;</li> <li>● Communication imposed by the power system is not effective;</li> <li>● The relationship of the floundering power with the media is certainly negative.</li> </ul>
3	EZIO LESTO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The reasons for 25 July are due to the Ennahda Movement party;</li> <li>■ The resolutions are necessary and came at the time because a coup plot was being prepared by Ennahda Movement Party;</li> <li>■ Saied saved the country by activating Article 80 of the Tunisian Constitution;</li> <li>■ Saied is not a dictator and he did not carry out a coup;</li> <li>■ The country is in a state of division and the situation is unclear;</li> <li>■ We have to support the president.</li> </ul>
4	Tax Justice Network Arabic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Tunisian governments have failed miserably in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic</li> <li>● The pandemic contributed widely to the worsening situation of vulnerable groups and the country's interior;</li> <li>● Yes, it is the reason for what happened on 25 July 2021;</li> <li>● The decline in government spending pushed to increase the cost of treatment and taking into consideration the financial condition of a large group of the Tunisian people, there is no longer the ability to pay for medicine and hospital accommodation;</li> <li>● The repercussions of this are great for the future; the people are angry and want urgent solutions, but the state treasury is empty.</li> </ul>
5	Kiff Dealer (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The reasons for 25 July 2021 are due to the Ennahda Movement Party, which wants to seize power;</li> <li>■ The resolutions are not constitutional but are political and also necessary to save the country;</li> <li>■ There is a fear of the president's tyranny and his seizure of all powers for a longer period than what was announced, but the Tunisian people are able to change the situation if that happens.</li> </ul>
6	Kiff Dealer (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Al-Nahda movement wants to rule alone;</li> <li>■ The resolutions are not constitutional but are political and can be accepted in the current situation;</li> <li>■ Tunisians are divided and it is necessary to rally around the president and support his resolutions to save the country;</li> <li>■ There is a fear that Ennahda will rise to power again if it manages to assassinate the president.</li> </ul>
7	Kiff Dealer (3) (Oct. 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● It seems that we cannot speak about freedoms in Tunisia after 25 July 2021;</li> <li>● Yes, I can swear that there is huge brutality of the police after 25 July 2021;</li> <li>● Tunisia seems to be better after 25 July 2021 for now, but nothing is guaranteed.</li> </ul>

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