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Children's political activism

An analysis of news coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement in Norway

Master's thesis in Childhood Studies

Supervisor: Linn Cathrin Lorgen

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Abstract

This thesis provides insight into press coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement. Since March 2019, children and youth all over the world have refused to attend school every Friday and gathered in the streets to demand political actions to solve the climate crisis. This has attracted media attention, and children and youth are both empowered and disempowered in news media. This thesis aims to contribute with new knowledge about the topic and actualize the debate around this issue. Through analyzing news articles from the three biggest newspapers in Norway in 2019, *Aftenposten*, *VG* and *Adresseavisen*, the aim is to explore how children and youth who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in Norwegian news media. To gain a nuanced understanding of the research problem and a rich picture of the news coverage, a mix of both quantitative and qualitative research methods has been used. Through analyzing newspaper articles using a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative frame analysis, research questions regarding whose views are represented, how the news content is framed, and notions about children and childhood are investigated.

The results of these analyses show that the overall orientation towards children and youth who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement is mainly positive and that the media seems willing to let children speak for themselves. The news coverage show three different frames are particularly prominent in the material: *the agents of change frame*, *the event frame*, and *the individual actions frame*. Based on an exploration of these frames, discussions regarding notions of children and childhood in the news coverage are conducted. The analyses illustrate how notions of children and childhood are complex and conflicting. In some ways, children and youth are portrayed as resources and political agents in society today, and in other ways, they are portrayed as innocent, ignorant and in need of adult's guidance and protection. Thus, children and youth receive contradictory signals about their roles in society through the different notions of children and childhood that characterize the Norwegian news coverage about the young climate strikers.

Sammendrag

Denne masteroppgaven gir innsikt i pressedekning om miljøbevegelsen Skolestreik for klima. Siden mars 2019 har barn og unge over hele verden nektet å gå på skolen hver fredag og samlet seg i gatene for å kreve politisk handling for å begrense klimakrisen. Dette har fått mye medieoppmerksomhet, og barn og unge blir både hyllet og møtt med kritikk i nyhetsmediene. Målet med denne oppgaven er å bidre med ny kunnskap om temaet og aktualisere debatten rundt denne saken. Gjennom å analysere nyhetsartikler fra de tre største avisene i Norge i 2019, Aftenposten, VG og Adresseavisen, er målet å utforske hvordan barn og unge som skolestreiker for klima blir fremstilt i norske nyhetsmedier. For å få et rikt bilde og en nyansert forståelse av nyhetsinnholdet, er det brukt en kombinasjon av både kvantitative og kvalitative forskningsmetoder. Nyhetsartiklene er analysert gjennom en kvantitativ innholdsanalyse og en kvalitativ innrammingsanalyse, og undersøker forskningsspørsmål om hvilke synspunkter som er representert, hvordan nyhetsinnholdet er innrammet, og hvilke forestillinger om barn og barndom som kommer fram i nyhetsdekningen.

Resultatene av analysene viser at den generelle holdningen til barn og unge som skolestreiker for klima er positiv, og at media er villige til å la barna snakke for seg selv i nyhetsinnholdet. Innholdsanalysen viser at tre ulike rammer er spesielt fremtredende i materialet. I den første rammen fremstilles barn og unge som aktører som bidrar til ending, i den andre ligger fokuset på klimastreiker som begivenheter og i den tredje rammen fokuseres det på valgene barn og unge tar som individer i hverdagen. Med utgangspunkt i funnene om disse tre rammene diskuteres forestillinger om barn og barndom i nyhetsinnholdet. Analysene illustrerer hvordan forestillinger om barn og barndom er komplekse og motstridende. På noen måter blir barn og unge fremstilt som ressurser og politiske aktører i samfunnet i dag, og på andre måter blir de fremstilt som uskyldige, uvitende og at de trenger voksnes veiledning og beskyttelse. Dermed får barn og unge motstridende signaler om deres rolle i samfunnet gjennom de ulike forestillingene om barn og barndom som kjennetegner den norske nyhetsdekningen om de unge klimastreikerne.

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1 Introduction

This master project investigates news coverage about the School Strike for Climate movement. In Norway, as in many countries around the world, thousands of children and youth have refused to attend school every Friday and gathered in the streets to demand political actions on the climate crisis. The movement strives for a sustainable future by criticizing the way society is organized in terms of power and political responsibility. As opposed to other environmental activist movements, the school strikes are developed and attended primarily by school aged children (de Moor et al., 2020). Because of their age, their credibility and authority to speak on climate issues and engage with political issues are often challenged by political-, media- and public entities (Feldman, 2020). In the mainstream press, children are both empowered and disempowered by journalists and other writers (Jacobsson, 2020). Some researchers, such as Marit Ursin (2019) state that children are discriminated based on age, and that their voices are marginalized in the public debate. However, studies also show that children are presented as young heroes (Bergmann & Ossewaarde, 2020). With this thesis, I want to contribute with new knowledge about the topic, and thus actualize the debate around this issue. The purpose is not to criticize the press, but rather to discuss how the press portrays children in different ways, and thus contributes to ongoing constructions of children and childhood.

This chapter introduces the master thesis and the background for this research project. I will begin with some information and history about the School Strike for Climate movement and the press coverage about the children, before I will explore and explain my positionality and personal interest in the movement. After this, the research questions are presented, as well as the methods and data material. Then I will briefly introduce the theoretical framework for the thesis, followed by a discussion about the relevance of the research project both to society and to the field of childhood studies. Finally, the outline of the thesis will be presented.

1.1 Background

In recent years, there has been increasing attention towards children as political actors (Häkli & Kallio, 2018). When it comes to political questions, adults have much power in defining what children are, what childhood entails, and how children should participate in society (Liebel & Saadi, 2012). Previous research has emphasized the role of families, schools and communities in shaping the political orientations of children and training youth to become engaged in their societies, and that children's political engagement is recognized and accepted mainly when it happens on the premises of adults in well-established arenas run by adults (Gordon & Taft, 2011). The School Strike for Climate movement is initiated and organized by children and youth. When children defy or violate socially constructed rules and conventions, such as school attendance and political activism, the action receives major media attention (Holmberg & Alvinus, 2020).

School-aged children all over the world have been refusing to attend class to focus the attention of political leaders on the global climate emergency. The School Strike for Climate movement was started by the Swedish teenager Greta Thunberg in 2018, and

she has inspired children and youth to both start and participate in school strike in the streets across the world. Ursin (2019) describes her as the symbol of the biggest movement by children and youth in the Global North today. From August 20th in 2018, at age 15, she started the school strike by sitting outside the Swedish parliament building every school day until Sweden's general election on September 9th. As a minor, she was not able to vote in the election herself, so she went on strike to get politicians to prioritize the climate question and treat it like a crisis. "I am doing this because you adults are shitting on my future" (Crouch, 2018) she declared on leaflets that she handed out outside the parliament. After this, she has been striking every Friday to raise awareness of the climate crisis.

The year 2019 was exceptional in terms of the scale and coordination of mobilizations on the climate crisis, as the School Strike for climate became a global movement (de Moor et al., 2020). The strikes have used different banners in different countries, such as *Youth for Climate* or *School Strike for Climate*, as well as *Fridays For Future (FFF)*. In this thesis I do not differ between these banners, and I refer to the strike as the School Strike for Climate movement. On March 15th, 2019, the first Global Climate Strike mobilized about one million protesters. In September the same year, another global event that went on for a week, known as the *Global Week for Future*, mobilized an estimated six million strikers (Taylor et al., 2019). In Norway, the first national school strike for climate happened on March 22nd, 2019. For this first strike the children and youth had the following demands for the politicians:

- No more production of licenses for the oil industry and create new climate-friendly jobs in Norway.
- Increase the Norwegian climate target and cut more than half of Norwegian emissions by 2030.
- Show solidarity with children and youth in the global south affected by the climate change we are to blame for: Provide more support for financing climate measures and climate adaptation. The support must be stepped up to at least 65 billion NOK annually.
- Declare that we are in a climate crisis and follow up with measures to resolve it. (Naturvernforbundet, 2019).

More than 40 000 children from all counties in the country attended the first national school strike for climate (Naturvernforbundet, 2019). In 2020 this series of global street protests was broken by the lockdowns in response to the COVID-19 pandemic (de Moor et al., 2020). However, children and youth all over the world have continued the protests online. As the climate strike has mobilized such a large number of people, these school strikes may indicate that the children do not have alternative channels to be politically active in global political issues (Ursin, 2019). As this is a new form of resistance pursued by children, Holmberg and Alvinus (2020) calls the strikes an abstract progressive resistance. They emphasize that the movement is abstract in both whom it targets and whose interests it protects. Children and youth's political participation reflects their position in society and what possibilities they have to participate (Liebel & Saadi, 2012). Some researchers view this activism as a legitimate expression of their own autonomy, as they are demanding political and social change now and in the future (Ursin, 2019).

The movement has received much media attention, with both praise and disapproval. The children are applauded by some, for example in the news article "There are unfortunately some idiots out there", the politician Nikolai Astrup is interviewed and says: "It seems like the children understand this better than a lot of adults. The climate strike is an expression of impatience that the world needs" (VG, 2019-05-28). By others, the strikers receive criticism in the media, such as in the opinion piece "Do not cut class, take responsibility", a 22-year-old psychology student writes to the children: "Please – go back to school! All of us, including you, need to develop into competent, knowledgeable citizens" (Aftenposten, 2019-02-26). These examples show conflicting positions and arguments about the phenomenon. To understand these positions and the complexity of the debate, it is essential to investigate these public attitudes towards children's political activism further. This way we can get a better understanding of how children and childhood are represented in the news today. As this is a relatively new topic, we know little about how the children are being portrayed on different news media outlets, and little attention has been paid to how children are represented in the mainstream press (Ponte, 2007). Through this thesis, I will add to the existing knowledge by exploring how children and youth's political activism is framed by various actors through the news media. This may give expanded insight into children's possibilities to express their political engagement, the messages they encounter about themselves, and the way they are invited to understand their own position in society.

1.2 Positionality

When conducting research in social sciences, it is important to acknowledge one's positionality as it can impact all aspects and stages of the research process. The term positionality can be defined as describing an individual's world view as well as the position they adopt about a research project and its social and political context (Holmes, 2020). As I am a part of the social world I am researching in this thesis, my social-historical-political location influences my orientations as I am not separate from the social processes I am studying (Malterud, 2001). By locating my views, values and beliefs about the subject and acknowledging personal positions that could influence the research, I am able to engage in a reflexive approach. Reflexivity can be defined as "an attitude of attending systematically to the context of knowledge construction, especially to the effect of the researcher, at every step of the research process" (Malterud, 2001, p. 484). A reflexive approach is necessary to be able to identify and articulate positionality (Holmes, 2020).

My interest in the School Strike for Climate movement comes from my own interest in the climate crisis. When I first learned about global warming as a teenager, I read everything I came across about it. I remember reading an opinion piece in the debate page for youth in the newspaper Aftenposten, about the polar bears being endangered because the ice is melting due to climate change. I put the opinion piece up on the fridge and looked at the picture of the polar bear on a little ice floe every day. This passion for the climate has followed me ever since, and as such it is important for my positionality. First reading about the climate strikes in the news two years ago, made me curious about the focus of the press coverage. My first impression was that the debate mainly focuses on whether the children should be allowed to strike from school or not, and not about the actual case they were striking for. Besides, becoming familiarized with ideas about

children and childhood through childhood studies, I became more interested in exploring how different ideas about children and childhood unfold within the mainstream press.

Throughout the process of writing this thesis, it has been important to combine my personal dedication with the necessary distance. However, doing a research project about a topic that I am passionate about has been helpful in staying motivated and feeling that I am doing something important. By using a reflexive approach, I acknowledge and disclose my own prejudices and taken-for-granted views in my work, trying to understand my influence on and in the research process, instead of trying to eliminate the effect. The concept of reflexivity will be further discussed in the methodology chapter.

1.3 Research questions and project design

The overarching aim of this master thesis is to explore the Norwegian press coverage of children and youth who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement, by analyzing news articles from 2019 in the three biggest newspapers in Norway: Aftenposten, VG and Adresseavisen. The sample of newspapers was drawn based on diversity in their profile, number of readers, and number of news articles regarding the climate strike in 2019 (see chapter 4 p. 29). To focus my analysis of the news articles, I have developed some research questions I attempt to answer throughout this thesis. The main research question that I have investigated and discussed is: *How are children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement portrayed in Norwegian news media?* In order to focus my research better, I have created three more specific sub-questions, to compliment the main research question. I have answered these questions by analyzing the newspaper articles with a mix of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. This way, I have gained a nuanced understanding of the research problem, and the results of my analyses provide a richer picture of the news coverage than would be possible through utilizing just one of the methods.

In the first sub-question I focus on the news coverage in general and the voices that are portrayed in the news articles. The question is: *How is the school strike covered in Norwegian newspapers, and whose views are represented in the news content?* To answer this question, I have done a quantitative content analysis of 158 newspaper articles about the climate strikes. Content analysis is a widely used methodology to study news representations, where the focus is typically on identifying key features in the content of news items (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014). This analysis provides an overview of the news content about the young climate strikers, with focus on which voices and perspectives emerged in the sample of news articles. The results from the content analysis were used as a basis for the next step in the project.

The second sub-question focuses on notions about children and childhood, and I ask: *What notions of children and childhood characterize the news content about the climate strikers?* I have answered this question by analyzing the content of the news articles, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative content analysis gives an overview of both the adults' and children's voices represented in the news content, as well as the orientations towards the School Strike for Climate movement. After I did the content analysis, I followed up with a qualitative frame analysis, going deeper into the content of a selection of the articles. Frame analysis is a form of document study used in media

studies to identify underlying perspectives in news media (Tjora, 2017). With a sample of 26 articles from the content analysis, I conducted an empirical identification of news frames in the news content. This interpretative approach was helpful in getting a better understanding of notions about children and childhood in the news articles.

The third sub-question I ask is: *How is the news content about young climate strikers framed by journalists and other writers?* I have answered this question using the qualitative frame analysis of 26 news articles. Using a frame analysis have been useful in this study, as it has the potential to get under the surface on the news coverage and investigate hidden assumptions (Reese, 2001). Through analyzing how journalists and other writers, including both adults and children, frames the climate strikers in news articles, one can get an understanding of how the press portrays the children in different ways through ongoing (re-)constructions of children and childhood. Since the news genre is closely linked to ideas of citizenship and political participation (Lorgen, 2019), these analyzes have a further relevance, as they can provide insight into ideas about children's positions as citizens and participation in society.

1.4 Theoretical perspectives

This thesis has been guided by theories from two different disciplines: the field of childhood studies and the field of media studies. Using a combination of two different research fields was useful when answering the research questions, as including wider social phenomena and diverse forms of knowledge can improve the understanding of children and childhood (Spyrou, 2019). The project is rooted in the field of childhood studies through an interest in understanding how notions of children and childhood are produced and reproduced in society through investigating news content about the School Strike for Climate movement. The field of media studies is relevant for the thesis as a basis for analyzing news content in newspaper articles. I have used theories of media representations as well as framing theory when investigating the news coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement. The theories from the field of childhood studies and the field of media studies will be elaborated on in chapter 3.

1.5 Relevance of the study

The School Strike for Climate movement receives growing interest from researchers (e.g. de Moor et al., 2020; Feldman, 2020), but it is still a new field of research and an ongoing topic for debate. Therefore, this master project will contribute with new knowledge to the field, and it will be of interest to the public and to producers of news in Norway. The topic is important as it can say something about children's place in today's society and how we interpret children's right to be heard in the public debate. Children's participation is an important aspect of including children in the democratic society. Even though children under the age of 18 are usually not able to participate by voting in elections, they still have their place in society as citizens (Kulynych, 2001). Within the field of childhood studies there are also debates about extending the right to vote to children under 18 (e.g. Wall, 2014). Citizenship as political identity, for both adults and children, is a central part of democracies in the contemporary world. One example of children's perspective on political participation from a Norwegian context is a study by Ursin and Lorgen (2019), that emphasizes that access to comprehensible information about politics and the opportunity to express oneself politically can contribute to children

feeling recognized as citizens. The School Strike for Climate movement show that children and youth can create new political arenas, both in the public sphere and in social media (Ursin, 2019). Whether and how the mainstream media makes room for their involvement in the public debate, says something about children's place in society today.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) recognizes children's position in society, their dignity and equality as human beings, and their rights to participate in their family, at school, and in society in general (UNCRC, 1989). The UNCRC is the most widely ratified international human rights treaty in history, and it became part of the Human Rights Act in Norwegian Law in 2003. With this convention, it seemed like children were finally taken seriously, and not only as subjects but also citizens (Kulynych, 2001). Through the Convention, Norway has committed to ensuring that children's rights are heard in all matters concerning the child (Article 12). In recent years, there has been great agreement on ensuring children's participation in everyday issues (Ursin & Lyså, 2019), but Article 12 in the UNCRC can be read as ensuring children's right to be heard also in political issues. Through children's climate activism, focus is placed on the fact that political decisions also have consequences for children and youth (Ursin, 2019). In this thesis, I will investigate how news media portrays this climate activism and whether children's voices and perspectives are represented in political issues.

How news media presents children and childhood is mainly part of adult culture, not children's culture (Holland, 2008). The news content is about children, but not necessarily addressed to them. However, it can still have a real impact on children's lives, as the media has the power to both highlight and downplay events, institutions, and groups of people (Allern, 2001). This way, how the media presents a certain topic can have consequences for our thoughts and actions. Meaning is constantly produced and exchanged in all personal and social interaction where we take part, including different media (Hall, 1997). Therefore, the media have a central part in the construction, the understanding and the debate about the climate strikes and the children who participate. By focusing on different aspects of a news case, the journalist shapes how the topic will be presented for the readers. This is in media and communication research referred to as news frames (e.g. Kitzinger, 2007; Reese, 2001). This master thesis will shed light upon what news frames are used in the news coverage about children who strike for the climate. Examining this is important as these news frames can influence the debate and understandings of children that dominate in society.

1.6 Thesis outline

This thesis consists of seven chapters which explains this master project, the theoretical framework, methodological choices, and seeks to answer the thesis' research questions.

In chapter 2, I introduce relevant research and literature for the thesis. Previous research about children as citizens and political participants in society is presented, as well as research about the School Strike for Climate movement. I also elaborate on research regarding media's role in society, before presenting previous research about media representations and youth. The aim of this chapter is to position my thesis in the field, by looking at different ways children have been researched, both in relation to media representations and the School Strike for Climate movement.

In chapter 3, the theoretical frameworks which have been used to analyze the data material will be presented. As briefly introduced, I draw on theories from two different disciplines in this thesis. The project is rooted in the field of childhood studies, and in chapter 3, I position my study within the field. As I am researching news content, I also draw on perspectives from media research. Here I present theories of representation and I argue for the benefits of using frame theory to study news content.

In chapter 4, I will explain the methodology and methods which was used to answer the research questions. I present the data material and the methodological choices I made when developing the study. First, the quantitative content analysis, the sampling of newspapers and articles, and the coding process is presented. Secondly, I will describe the qualitative frame analysis, identification of news frames, and the sample of news articles for this analysis. Finally, the quality of the design is explored.

Chapter 5 is the first of two analysis chapters in the thesis. In the chapter, I will explore the results from the quantitative content analysis and give an overview of the news content about climate strikers in the three newspapers. Some of the broader themes and meanings of the news content will be described and explained, with focus on the voices and perspectives that emerged in the sample of news articles. The results will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework for the thesis.

Chapter 6 is the second analysis chapter. In this chapter, I will present and discuss the findings for the qualitative frame analysis. As will be made clear in this chapter, three different frames are particularly prominent in the material: *the agents of change frame*, *the event frame*, and *the individual actions frame*. The frames have different qualities and describing them will give a picture of how children are portrayed in news coverage about the School Strike for Climate movement. I discuss the findings based on theory and previous research.

The final chapter of this thesis is chapter 7, where I present concluding discussions based on the results of the analyses, as well as see the findings in a larger perspective. Finally, I will discuss some suggestions for further research.

2 Relevant research

To clearly understand the topic and the analysis of data in this master thesis, it is important to first have an understanding of the societal context and previous research about similar topics. This chapter outlines an overview of research about children's political activism and the School Strike for Climate movement. As the strikes started less than three years ago, it is a new and thereby underexplored topic of research. However, it has gained increasing attention from several different fields of research with several different approaches. The aim of this chapter is to position my study in the field, by looking at different ways children have been subjects of research, both related to the school strike for climate and related to news media.

The chapter begins with an introduction to research about children as citizens and political participants in society, which are widely studied topics within the field of childhood studies. Secondly, previous research about the School Strike for Climate movement is presented, including studies about media representations of the movement. Finally, I will present research from media and journalism studies about media's role in society as well as media representations of children and youth.

2.1 Children as political actors

To understand how children are portrayed in news media, it is important to recognize that children have a different position in society than adults, both in terms of formal rights and their status as political actors and citizens. In the research literature about children in the news, as well as in other fields of research, there is a growing focus on children as citizens and researchers problematize an exclusion of children in democratic processes. Traditionally, childhood has belonged to the private sphere, where children should be protected against the political life and this way have a safe childhood and development (Wall, 2012). This perspective views children as political *becomings*, instead of *beings*. This can be seen in relation to a perspective of children as incompetent and unable to understand politics and other complex topics (van Deth et al., 2011). For example, within traditional developmental psychology, the focus has been on linking children's changes in behavior and skills to their age (Jenks, 1982). In recent years, more researchers have criticized this perspective for being based on assumptions about lack of competence (Ursin & Lorgen, 2019; van Deth et al., 2011). Some researchers go as far as arguing for extending the right to vote to children under 18 (Wall, 2014). Particularly the field of childhood studies advocates the idea of children as competent and active subjects (e.g. Prout & James, 2015), where researchers argue to recognize children as political actors here and now (Liebel & Saadi, 2012). Liebel and Saadi (2012) point at how children are equal and equally involved in society as adults, and should therefore have the opportunity to help shape it (Ursin & Lorgen, 2019). In the next chapter, about theoretical framework, I will elaborate on these theoretical perspectives.

When it comes to political questions, it is largely adults who decide how children should and can participate in society (Liebel & Saadi, 2012). In a discussion about democratic theory and the exclusion of children, Jessica Kulynych (2001) argues that to include

children's voices in the public sphere is a normative requirement of democracy, and that the key to bringing their voices into public debate is to recognize children as relevant beings. Kulynych refers to this as "the establishment of a recognized political identity for children" (2001, p. 250). Children's political rights are the most controversial aspect of children's citizenship (Cohen, 2005). Kulynych (2001) argues that the logic that is used about the exclusion of children, are similar to the arguments that were previously used to exclude women and slaves. Therefore, she uses inspiration from feminist theory to argue that children should be seen as political citizens. She draws on Iris Young's ideas about achieving a deliberative democracy through including perspectives from all social groups (Lorgen, 2019). Young argues that democracy should be institutionalized as a process for discussion, debate and critique that seeks the most just solutions to common problems. The ideal about a deliberative democracy is dependent on including perspectives from everyone who is potentially affected by the problem. Kulynych (2001) argues that this ideal includes children's voices, because children offer a unique social perspective that must be included in public deliberation. This way, the recognition of children's perspectives is seen as crucial to achieve social justice. The focus on including children's perspectives has increasingly influenced research about children and childhood, including research about children in the mainstream press. I will return to this later in the chapter.

In an editorial in the journal *Barn*, Marit Ursin (2019) discusses how children's political activism is met by adults and that it is anchored in different discourses of children and childhood. A discourse can be understood as interconnected ideas that work together to construct thinks in particular ways and offers explanations to how the world works (Mongomery, 2003). For example, discourses about children and childhood can entail views of children as innocent and close to nature, children as immature and belonging only in the private sphere, or children as the future. Children's right to participation is often presented as a dichotomous understanding of the child as either vulnerable or as a competent social actor (Kjørholt, 2008). Kulynych (2001) claims that the exclusion of the voices of children from the public sphere is deepened by a categorization of children as disorderly. She argues that "there is much historical evidence that our cultural attitude toward children has been characterized by a profound ambiguity, vacillating between a view of children as vulnerable and a view of children as disruptive and dangerous" (Kulynych, 2001, p. 259). Researchers within the field of childhood studies argue for the recognition of children as political agents in the present (Liebel & Saadi, 2012). Children's political activism through the School Strike for Climate movement show a political engagement that goes beyond children's private sphere. However, they are often discriminated in the public debate on the basis of age, rooted in the notion of childhood as characterized by play and fun rather than responsibility (Ursin, 2019). In this thesis, this will be investigated when analyzing how children are portrayed in news coverage about the climate strikes in Norway. Through my analyses, I will both look at which voices are represented in the news coverage, as well as how the children are represented, and this can say something about children's position in society today.

Norway has long been considered a pioneering country when it comes to recognizing children as competent actors and citizens (Ursin & Lorgen, 2019). For example, children right to be heard and to make their own decisions became regulated in the Children's Act (*Barneloven*) in 1981, and this same year Norway was the first country in the world to have an Ombudsperson for Children. Based on studies of participatory projects in Norway in the 1990s, Anne Trine Kjørholt (2002) discusses how discourses on children and participation are linked to both international and universal children's rights discourses

and to a specific Norwegian cultural context. One of her findings is that children in Norway are constructed as resources. She argues that “belonging to a local community, play and the right to participate in society are core issues in the construction of a good Norwegian childhood” (Kjørholt, 2002, p. 71). As such, children are recognized as competent actors and citizens in society. A more recent study by Ursin and Lorgen (2019), aims to explore how Norwegian children themselves experience their position as citizens. Their results indicate that children see themselves as valuable citizens and recognize their right to be heard. However, they also highlight limitations and reasons not to give children too much political responsibility and power. This reflects the tendency in the UNCRC to balance children’s right to protection and care with rights to participation (Ursin & Lorgen, 2019). In the School Strike for Climate movement, children and youth show political engagement and use the strike as a way to be heard in society, and with this thesis, I will investigate whether this tendency is present in Norwegian news coverage about the climate strikers.

2.2 The School Strike for Climate movement

This part of the chapter focuses on previous research about the School Strike for Climate movement. Environmental movements have been, and are still, fundamental in bringing about change in both public opinion and media reporting (Emilsson et al., 2020). Consequently, environmental movements are heavily debated and are some of the most well-known forms of social movements. For the last couple of years, researchers from different fields have been interested in researching the climate strikes movement. At the time of conducting this thesis, I have not been able to find any research about the climate strikes from Norway. However, as the movement was started by Greta Thunberg in Sweden, several of the papers I found is research based in Sweden (de Moor et al., 2020; Emilsson et al., 2020; Holmberg & Alvinus, 2020; Jacobsson, 2020). As Sweden and Norway are close geographically and are both Nordic welfare states, these have been an important inspiration for my own research project. In the research literature about the movement, I found two studies about news coverage of the climate strikes: one study of Swedish newspapers (Jacobsson, 2020) and one of German newspapers (Bergmann & Ossewaarde, 2020). These papers were important as a basis for my own analysis of Norwegian newspaper coverage. In this section, I will go into some of the research about the climate strikes that is relevant for my thesis. First, I will go through the studies to get an overview of the research and their observations and conclusions. Then, I present the two studies about media representations of the movement that are more directly relevant for this thesis more in depth.

A recurring research topic in the research about the School Strike for Climate movement, is the children’s knowledge about climate change and how they use their knowledge in the movement. Feldman (2020) argues that the climate activists use science to boost their credibility in the school strikes. She draws on research findings and theories from the fields of science communication, youth studies and political science to examine the rhetorical ways the climate strikers use science evidence and emotion in their campaigns. Her results are similar to the study by Holmberg and Alvinus (2020), that through a thematic analysis of speeches by Greta Thunberg concludes that “children possess knowledge, engagement and power to act on environmental issues” (p. 88). These findings may contradict a study by Corner et al. (2015), who found a fairly low level of knowledge about the scientific concepts that underpin climate change among young

people. However, this study is from before the School Strike for Climate movement, and it could be that children are now more knowledgeable due to the increasing focus on climate change among youth. Other researchers have examined questions regarding what has motivated youth to mobilize (Han & Ahn, 2020). They found that the participants in the movement portrayed themselves as heroes and agents of change who speak on behalf of the earth and its future. However, they were limited in their moral authority and lacked the power to bring immediate policy changes. In my research I will also investigate how the climate strikers portray themselves through opinion pieces in newspapers and in interviews by journalists.

Another recurring point in the research studies is the argument that the children do not get recognized for their knowledge. Similar to what Han and Ahn (2020) found about climate strikers being limited in their moral authority and lacking the power to bring immediate policy changes, Feldman (2020) argues that climate strikers in Australia are criticized by politicians and the media for being politically inexperienced as an attempt to silence them from speaking out about Australian climate change policy. The critics of the strikers focus on their age and lack of perspective or education. Instead of listening to the children and recognizing what they know, the critics are able to attack them for their (in)ability to speak about the issue through an attitude toward young people as immature and lacking knowledge. This is similar with what I briefly presented in the introduction chapter, about how Ursin (2019) states that children are discriminated based on age and marginalized in the public debate about the climate crisis. However, Holmberg and Alvinus (2020) found that even though the children do not always get recognition for their knowledge and power democratically, they can express major resistance and political agency. Children have managed to take place and stand side by side with world leaders, talking about their concerns regarding climate change. The prime example being Greta Thunberg's speak to world leaders at the 2019 UN Climate Action Summit in New York. The results from several studies demonstrate the emergence of children and youth as agents of change in the global climate change arena (e.g. Han & Ahn, 2020; Holmberg & Alvinus, 2020). The young climate activists can be acknowledged as influential science communicators, rather than dismissing them as "too young" to participate (Feldman, 2020). The tendency in all of these research studies is to promote a perspective of children as competent and as actors, in line with views that are often promoted within childhood studies.

The present School Strike for Climate movement has also been compared to previous climate movements in the research literature. By reviewing previous studies and their own research, de Moor et al. (2020) concludes that the main change in the movement now is the use of a more politically "neutral" framing of climate change that is directed more strongly at state than non-state actors. In line with the findings discussed in the previous paragraph about children being knowledgeable and using the science to boost their credibility (Feldman, 2020; Holmberg & Alvinus, 2020), the movement demands that politicians "listen to the science". This way of using science as the main argument have not been seen in previous climate campaigns (de Moor et al., 2020), and is thereby one of the main differences between previous campaigns and today's movement.

The same Swedish study also found that the present climate movement has mobilized a historically large number of people, particularly people who have never demonstrated before, school pupils, and girls (de Moor et al., 2020). Hence, a notable impact of the school strikes is their ability to mobilize so many young people who experience activism

for the first time. This environmental movement has been found to be very inclusive and gives voice to different groups, such as poor people, endangered species and future generations (Holmberg & Alvinus, 2020). In her speeches, Thunberg invites everyone to participate, and this is interesting to see in relation to my research questions. Are the news media as inviting as Thunberg in whose voices are heard when talking about the movement? Another Swedish study by Emilsson et al. (2020) point to how previous climate change protests occurred in direct correspondence to international climate summits, while the School Strike for Climate movement has turned into an international phenomenon with strikes and demonstrations on a global scale. These findings suggest that as the climate strikes has mobilized such a large number of people, it is important with further research about this phenomenon.

2.2.1 Climate strikes in news media

I will now move on to look at the two studies that are more directly relevant for this thesis, about media representations of the School Strike for Climate movement. The first study is a critical discourse analysis of 32 news articles from the fall of 2018 to May 2019, published in the four largest Swedish national newspapers (Jacobsson, 2020). The aim of this study was to examine how the agenda and actions of the young climate strikers were understood and constructed in Swedish mainstream press. The article argues that journalism contributes to disempowering the climate activists by means of evasive, transformative and emptying discursive strategies. In the analysis, Diana Jacobsson (2020) describes the main discourse topics as:

shallow stories about enthusiastic young people waving signs, feeling inspired and being admired by the political elite for their courage and engagement, and debates about the pseudo-conflict of whether it is morally defensible to skip school, and how the students' absence could be managed to satisfy societal obligations (p. 13).

She argues that the journalists highlight certain parts of the movements' demands, while neglecting others. In the case of Sweden today, mainstream media focus on what solutions are needed to meet the challenges of the climate crisis, but avoids seriously putting issues of capitalism and class on the agenda as part of the problem (Jacobsson, 2020). As Sweden and Norway are neighboring countries, it will be interesting to see if news content about the movement focus on the same issues, and if the climate strikers are constructed in the same way.

Even though the aim of this article is quite similar to mine, the analyses are very different as they have different focuses and research methods. Jacobsson (2020) uses journalism studies as her basis of research and focuses on the role of media and problematizes the journalistic ideal of objectivity. Her main focus is not on how children are portrayed and ideas about children and childhood. With a focus on how the children participating in the movement are portrayed in news media, this thesis will contribute further to this research. The sample I used for my analysis is also different in that I included not only articles written by journalists, but opinion pieces written by both children and other adults. Therefore, this thesis will show the perspectives of other writers and not just the journalists employed by the newspapers.

Another similar study was done on German newspapers by Zoe Bergmann and Ringo Ossewaarde (2020). The aim of their paper was to find out if and how German newspaper coverage of the *Fridays For Future* movement reveals an ageist bias towards the young activists. Similar to Jacobsson's (2020) article, this study is also a critical discourse analysis. The sample consists of 59 newspaper articles from a conservative newspaper and 39 articles from a left-wing newspaper. They found that both newspapers use ageist language which reproduces the domination over the young climate activists and their interests. The central narrative the newspapers present is that the activists are ignorant pupils who still need to learn and that they are obliged by law to go to school (Bergmann & Ossewaarde, 2020). They discuss how this ageist language contributes to and maintain an exclusive and orthodox global environmental discourse, and how this is connected to the context of the German environmental governance regime. The discussion about the climate activism is diverted by media representations of young climate activists as not yet fully educated people who needs to go to school (Bergmann & Ossewaarde, 2020). This may contradict the findings by Holmberg and Alvinus (2020), who found that children are knowledgeable, and have engagement for and power to act on environmental issues. However, these studies also have methodological differences, as the study by Bergmann and Ossewaarde (2020) investigates media's representations of the movement, and the study by Holmberg and Alvinus (2020) is a study of Greta Thunberg's speeches, thereby looking at a child's representations of children and youth's capabilities and characteristics. The results by Bergmann and Ossewaarde (2020) fit with the findings from Jacobsson (2020), which is also a study with a similar methodology. She argues that journalism contributes to disempowering the climate striker's voices and demands.

The studies by Jacobsson (2020) and Bergmann and Ossewaarde (2020) focus on media representations of the School Strike for Climate movement, and my research project will contribute to their findings with a more specific focus on the children participating in movement. Children and childhood are continuously (re)constructed all the time, also in the media, and this thesis will contribute with this focus with the viewpoint from the field of childhood studies. Also, by using different methods than critical discourse analysis and combining quantitative and qualitative methods, this thesis will contribute with new knowledge about how young climate strikers are portrayed in news media.

2.3 Media's role in society

In this section, media's role in shaping public opinion and in society in general will briefly be examined. This is followed by a section going into research about media representations of children and youth. Media plays an important role in shaping public perception of youth and public opinion in general (Levinsen & Wien, 2011). Several studies have argued that media coverage influences society and vice versa (Allern, 2001), and therefore it is important to analyze how media portrays children and youth.

Journalism can be described as a practice of producing and spreading information about events and affairs of public interest and importance (Schudson, 2003). Another important aspect of the information that spreads through journalism is that it claims to be true (Eide, 2011). This is especially important for news journalism. However, the field of news sociology rejects that the news simply reflects reality. News production also contributes to constructing reality through active interpretation and processing. Through

the news we get access to stories and explanations that structures reality and opens up for specific ways to understand and interpret the world we live in. The news sociologist Schudson (2003) writes that news is part of a daily "rethinking and reconstructing of a common social world" (p. 212). The news plays a role in our ability and will to understand collective problems, and for discussions and negotiations about how to solve these. As this view is central for my theoretical positioning in this thesis, this will be further elaborated on in the theory chapter.

Journalism is ideally seen as beneficial to society (Eide, 2011). To ensure this, there are codes of ethics in journalism about truthfulness, objectivity and public accountability, among other things. There is no universal code of ethics, but most of them share these common elements. The ethical norms for media in Norway are regulated by the Ethical Code of Practice for the Norwegian press (*Vær Varsom-plakaten*). The editors and editorial staff members are required to be familiar with these ethical standards and to base their practice on this code. The ethical practice covers the complete journalistic process from research to publication (Norwegian Press Association, 2015). The first headline is "The Role of the Press in Society", and I want to highlight the second point here.

1.2 The press has important functions in that it carries information, debates and critical comments on current affairs. The press is particularly responsible for allowing different views to be expressed (Norwegian Press Association, 2015).

This point is relevant for my analysis of news coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement, as one of the things I will investigate is whose views are represented in the newspaper articles. As the Ethical Code also emphasizes, the press is an important arena for public debate and influence. Allern (2001) highlights that the news media influences what we are concerned with, they provide premises for political and economic decisions and thus exercises a defining power in society. A research report about critical media understanding from the Norwegian Media Authority (Velsand, 2019) show that Norwegians trust the press, where 83 % said that they have faith in the media. This indicates that the news media have the power to set the debate and that people trust and emphasize the perspectives that are conveyed through the media. This strengthens the claim about media having power of definition, and the knowledge of this power shows that it is important to research news coverage of different affairs and debates, as well as how different groups are represented in news media.

2.3.1 Media representations of children and youth

Due to the fact that globalized and digitized media plays a crucial role in the social construction of reality, the relationship between the media and children is complex. Christina Ponte (2007) points out that research about children and media has mainly focused on possible media *effects* on children, and that little attention has been paid to how children are *represented* in the mainstream press. More research on this topic started to be published in the late 1990s. Most of the studies have been carried out in British or American contexts, and they indicate a general negative bias in the media representations of children and youth (e.g. Cushion, 2007; Moeller, 2002; Such et al., 2005). Levinsen and Wien (2011) points at how rates of youth crime are significantly higher in UK and America than in Denmark (and this is also true for Norway), and therefore, results from these studies cannot be uncritically generalized to settings such

as my study. Because of this I have focused on reading research literature from all of Europe, including studies from the Nordic countries. This provides a broader picture of the previous literature, and not just studies from British and American contexts. In this part of the chapter, I will go through this research about the way children and youth are represented in the media.

The concept of "media representation" refers to how various groups, based on age, sex, race, etc., are presented by the media, usually in a way that activate ideas already in the minds of the audience (Levinsen & Wien, 2011). This way, media uses representation when re-presenting ideas or images that the audience already know and can relate to. The concept of representation will be further explored in the theory chapter. Media researchers emphasize the framing function of the media, claiming that repeated presentation of particular groups or issues in connection with certain attributes could result in audience members drawing on the same attributes in evaluating the groups or issues presented, also called stereotypes (e.g. Lepianka, 2015; Levinsen & Wien, 2011). Specifically, when it comes to the portrayal of minority groups, such as various age groups or ethnic minorities, media seems to be a main source of knowledge, as the direct contact with the group is very limited (Lepianka, 2015). In a study entitled "Identifying and challenging the negative media representation of children and young people in Northern Ireland", children themselves stated that the media fails to engage with them, and they argued that the media should do more to involve children, rather than just talking about them (Gordon et al., 2015). As the presentation of research about medias construction of children and youth will show, a number of studies argue for a need for a more nuanced representation of children in news media.

As previously discussed in this chapter, children's right to participation is often presented in a dichotomous understanding of the child as either vulnerable or as a competent social actor (Kjørholt, 2008), and the research literature shows that this tends to be the case in the press as well. Previous research holds that the media is not engaging children and they are representing them in a negative or victimizing manner (e.g. Moeller, 2002; Ponte, 2007). In my analysis, I will examine whether this is the case for children in news content about the School Strike for Climate as well. Children tends to be constructed ambivalently, either as demons and black sheep who rebel against the law in societies, or as innocent and dependent victims of wars and other catastrophes (Ponte, 2007). When media portrays children as victims, they present a position of non-participation and dependent actors, and when children are represented as demons, they are paralleled with adults (Moeller, 2002). In their study about representation of youth protests against the Second Iraq War in the British national press, Such et al. (2005) emphasize that when children and youth are politically active it is often questioned in news coverage because society is used to non-threatening child-adult dichotomies. Moreover, children themselves are usually not heard in the news, but they are portrayed as objects of risky situations, parental control, or crime and lawbreaking (Ponte, 2007).

Although my study focuses on printed news media, research on media representations of children on TV can also give valuable insight. Kaziaj (2016) explored the representation of children in television news in Albania, and he introduces the term "adult gaze" to describe how children are pictured through adults' perspectives in news media. This ties in well with the studies of representations of children in newspapers discussed above. Another study of children and television news in Albania emphasizes that the media excludes and fail to recognize children as citizens who are capable of expressing their

views (Kaziaj & Van Bauwel, 2017). This is in line with Ponte's study (2007) of a Portuguese newspaper, that argues that that the media does not follow the principles enshrined in the UNCRC when not including children as active participants. Keeping in mind these dichotomies, contradictions, and positions of children who are represented in the media, it will be interesting to explore how children's views are represented in the School Strike for Climate movement.

While most research is based on data collected over relatively short periods of time, there are also analyses from more long-term data collections that explore trends in media representations of children. For example, a content analysis by Levinsen and Wien (2011) focused on how Danish newspapers portrayed youth between 1953 and 2003. Their results shown a tendency toward increasingly neutral media representations of youth, and that young people were quoted more frequently in the newspapers during the 50 years. These findings may contradict a study by Mustola et al. (2019), who found a decrease in representation of children's voces in news stories. Their study looked at the representation of children's views in Finnish newspaper media in 1997, 2007, and 2017. However, it should be noted that Mustola et al. (2019) used a relatively small sample for analyzing trends over three decades, with a sample of 220 newspaper articles. In comparison Levinsen and Wien (2011) analyzed a sample of 1174 news items.

A number of studies have explored in which news cases children's voices are represented. For instance, concern about the civic disengagement of young people is found to be prominent in the media (e.g. Cushion, 2007). Ponte (2007) found that the themes of the news concerning children focused most often on conflicts, accidents, polemics, advice for parents, and education. This is in line with the study by Mustola et al. (2019), that found that children's views were not often represented in relation to macro-level issues such as politics and that these kinds of issues were considered arenas of adulthood and adult power. However, children's voices were represented in micro-level topics, such as playing and going to school. This finding corresponds with the traditional view of children as only being interested in "children's matters" and not as being a part of macro-level decision-making (Moeller, 2002; Ponte, 2007). In this regard, it is relevant and important to explore how the Norwegian media writes about children in the news coverage on the school strike for climate, as this has never been done before in Norway. This master project explores how children and childhood are viewed in a macro-level issue, that is the climate crisis.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter I have presented tendencies in research literature that is relevant for this master thesis, and this summary of research shows that analyzing how media portrays the young climate strikers is important. If the predominant media description of the children and youth is oriented towards a specific notion about the group, then both researchers, young people themselves, and journalists should be aware and take it under consideration. The summary of research literature shows a particular need for researching this with a focus on the School Strike for Climate movement, as it is a rather new topic for research and children are still participating in the movement today. Several of the articles about the climate strike presented in this chapter, point at the importance of more and diverse research about this new and underexplored topic (e.g. de Moor et al., 2020; Han & Ahn, 2020; Holmberg & Alvinus, 2020). In this thesis, I built on

insights from the previous research literature when conducting my research project. In the next chapter, I will elaborate on the theoretical framework that is the basis of this thesis.

3 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the theoretical concepts and frameworks I have used in this thesis are explained. As my study is rooted in theories from two different fields, the chapter is divided in two parts. The first part is theoretical frameworks from the field of childhood studies. First, the field will be outlined, before focusing on the perspective of social constructionism. The second part is theoretical frameworks from media and journalism studies. In this section, relevant theories from the field will be described, including theories of representation and framing. These theoretical concepts and frameworks are relevant for my thesis as they relate the study to existing knowledge in the two theoretical perspectives. The relevant theory gives a basis for the choice of research methods and analyses of news content about children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement.

3.1 Childhood Studies

Theories from the field of childhood studies is an important basis of this master thesis, and this section first gives an overview of the emergence of the field of childhood studies. The research tradition is called social studies of children and childhood, sociology of childhood, or simply childhood studies, and it is often referred to as a paradigm shift or a “new” research paradigm within sociology of childhood (Tisdall & Punch, 2012). In this thesis, I use the term childhood studies. My project is rooted in this tradition through an interest in understanding how notions of children and childhood are produced and reproduced in society through investigating news content about a movement run by children and youth. After introducing and giving an overview of the key features of the field, discussions within childhood studies today will be presented. Finally, the perspective of social constructionism within the field of childhood studies is presented, as this is an important theoretical basis for this master thesis.

The field of childhood studies emerged in Europe in the 1980s and 90s, as a critique of how children and childhood were portrayed historically (Tisdall & Punch, 2012). Researchers from different disciplines and scientific environments discovered common interests in children and childhood that differed from the dominating theoretical perspectives and “mainstream” research (Prout & James, 2015). Instead of focusing on the norms of child development, childhood studies researchers emphasize the social construction of childhood, as well as a focus on children and childhood in the present rather than adults and adulthood being a “golden standard” (Tisdall & Punch, 2012). It is argued that children should be perceived as social actors and holders of rights instead of seeing them as passive and dependent of the private family (Mayall, 2002; Prout & James, 2015). Since the 80s, childhood studies has grown into a wide field of research in numerous countries around the world. It is an interdisciplinary research field, combining history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, feminist and developmental studies, and more (Prout & James, 2015).

Childhood studies aimed to provide more nuanced perspectives on children’s development and everyday lives, compared to earlier dominant research like classical

development psychology approaches and functionalist sociology (Prout & James, 2015). From the beginning of the twentieth century, developmental psychology was the dominating research field for carrying out research with children. Within this field, the focus is on connecting children's changes in behavior and skills to their age (Jenks, 1982). This approach is heavily influenced by Jean Piaget's work in the 1920s. In his theories, he describes how children go through development stages in a linear process of biologically based changes (Jenks, 2009). These stages eventually lead to achieving logical competence, marking the access of adult rationality. Childhood studies researchers argues that within classical development psychology, children are being marginalized as just waiting for temporal passage by acquiring cognitive skill, with the end goal of gaining access to the social world of adults (Prout & James, 2015; Qvortrup, 2009).

Functionalist sociology was the mainstream approach within sociology for several years. This field is connected to the concept of socialization by Talcott Parsons (Jenks, 2009). Parsons was concerned with what conditions makes the social systems continue and survive. His view of society builds of a "model of harmony" with consensus in values, norms, accepted behavior, etc. between the members. The concept of socialization was used to describe the process where children learn social norms, and the theories looks at people as shaped by society. However, childhood studies researchers have pointed out that within this theoretical framework, children are usually only considered under the broad concept of the sociology of the family and thereby neglects the topic of childhood (Jenks, 2009; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). Parsons and other functionalist sociologists did not recognize that children have agency and childhood as an active segment in the social structure was not on their minds (Qvortrup, 2009). This understanding of children as passive and incompetent beings is strongly critiqued by researchers within childhood studies, who argue for viewing children as social actors and participants (Prout & James, 2015).

In their book *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, originally from 1990, Alan Prout and Allison James (2015) outlines what they define as the six key features of the paradigm. These principles are still central in the field of childhood studies today. The first key feature is that childhood is understood as a social construction (Prout & James, 2015). This means that childhood is neither a natural nor a universal feature of human groups, but a structural and cultural component of most societies. Furthermore, childhood studies researchers argues that ideas about children and childhood depend on the culture where the child is born, and culture varies across time and space (Mongomery, 2003). This is in contrast with earlier dominant understandings of children and childhood, where children were seen as universal, equal and fundamentally identical beings that behave, think and develop equally regardless of where and when the individual child lives (Gittins, 2009). When understanding childhood as a social construction, it provides an interpretative setting for contextualizing the early years of human life, where children and childhood are understood and made meaningful through culture (Prout & James, 2015).

The second feature of the paradigm is that childhood is a variable in social analysis, and it can never be entirely separated from other variables, such as gender, class, and ethnicity (Prout & James, 2015). This emphasizes how there is a variety of childhoods across cultural contexts, rather than childhood being a single universal phenomenon.

The third feature defined by Prout and James (2015) is that “children’s social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspective and concerns of adults” (p. 7). As mentioned above, one of the main critiques of earlier dominant research is of the idea that childhood is understood as a period for preparing as children are valued as tomorrow’s adults (Jenks, 2009; Qvortrup, 2009). Within childhood studies, children are seen as human “beings” instead of human “becomings” (e.g. Prout & James, 2015) The focus is moved away from the idea that a child is solely in the process of becoming an adult, and children and childhood are valued in the present. This also links to the view of children as right holders, as discussed in the chapter 2, there is a tendency in the UNCRC to balance children’s right to protection and care with rights to participation.

The fourth feature of the paradigm is that children must be seen as active social actors (Prout & James, 2015). Children are not just passive subjects, but acting in the construction and determination of their own lives, the lives of people around them and of the societies they live in. Previous understandings of children and childhood have been criticized for having an individualistic perspective on children, meaning that they were more interested in individual people than in society as a whole. Childhood studies promotes an understanding of children as social active participants with agency, instead of passive and incompetent beings (Prout & James, 2015).

The fifth feature is that ethnography is a particularly useful methodology for studying children and childhood (Prout & James, 2015). They argue that ethnographic methods allows for children to participate and have a more direct voice, compared to traditional experimental or survey styles of research. Within childhood studies it is recognized that developmental psychologists carried out research on children, and that sociologist had given some attention to the socialization of children. However, researchers within childhood studies have argued that this research was carried out unethically and that it was both theoretically and methodologically inadequate (Hammersley, 2017). Childhood studies are associated with a child-centered perspective that emerged from the critique of dominating research being created from the adult ideological viewpoint (Corsaro, 2009). This is often referred to as the shift from doing research *on* children to doing research *with* children. Many childhood studies researchers focus on including children in the research, creating space for children’s participation and involvement throughout the research process (Abebe, 2009; Ennew et al., 2009).

The last key feature defined by Prout and James (2015) is that proclaiming a “new paradigm” engage in and respond to shaping reconstruction of childhood in society. That is to say that childhood theorists and researchers also play a role in reconstructing children and childhood.

Even though the principles defined by Prout and James (2015) still are central in the field of childhood studies today, there is still an ongoing debate about what childhood studies is or what it should be (e.g. Hammersley, 2017). Researchers within the field have argued that focusing on children’s perspectives, agency and participation is no longer sufficient. There is a need for greater emphasis on the “intricacies, complexities, tensions, ambiguities and ambivalences of children and young people’s lives across both Majority and Minority World contests” (Tisdall & Punch, 2012, p. 159). Tisdall and Punch (2012) argues that the theoretical discussions in the field have only recently become richer, more nuances and varied. One of the discussions within childhood studies is about

broader engagements with the world beyond the field. Researchers see a need for engagement with parent disciplines and social theory at large (Spyrou, 2019). Connecting childhood studies with wider social phenomena and diverse forms of knowledge will improve the understanding of children and childhood. In my master project, I have used both theories from childhood studies and media studies to gain a further understanding of representations of children in the media. Connecting childhood studies theories with theories from the field of media studies when investigating news content, may give more insight into how notions of children and childhood are produced and reproduced in society.

3.1.1 Social constructions of children and childhood

As described above, children and childhood have been understood differently throughout history, and within the field of childhood studies there are also diversities. Alanen (2001) has divided the field into three main perspectives that have a somewhat different direction in their research interest and focus. The perspectives are also overlapping and can be combined. The first is the actor-oriented perspective, with a focus on emphasizing children as social and active subjects (e.g. Clark & Gallacher, 2013; Corsaro, 2009). Within this perspective, researchers study children's everyday life and their childhood experiences by aiming to grasp children's perspective and their way of acting by learning from children themselves. Children are seen as the experts on their own daily life experiences. Ethnographic research methods are preferred within the actor-oriented perspective (Clark & Gallacher, 2013; Ennew et al., 2009). The second perspective within childhood studies is the structuralist conflict perspective. This approach is rooted in macro-oriented research and focusing on childhood as a structural form in society (e.g. Qvortrup, 2009). Within the structuralist perspective generation is seen as a relational concept, and researchers study interrelations between children and adults in daily life. These theories are inspired by feminist theory and gender studies. The third approach is the constructionist perspective, based on the idea that childhood is a social construct (e.g. Prout & James, 2015). This last perspective is an important theoretical framework for my thesis, as researching how children participating in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in media says something about how childhood is socially constructed in today's society. When using a social constructionist approach in this study, I highlight how notions of children and childhood, which are created and negotiated through everyday practices, scientific paradigms, and economic and political processes, are important in how children are portrayed in news media. Now follows a further description of social constructionism.

Social constructionism is a broad theoretical perspective in several research fields, such as gender and disability studies, political science, literary studies, critical psychology as well as childhood studies (Burr, 2015). As such, there are many positions within social constructionism, but there are also some common premises. One of the basic ideas in social constructionism is that our knowledge of the world is shaped by how our categories are constructed and how we represent the world varies in different social and historical contexts (Burr, 2015; Montgomery, 2003). Social constructionists within childhood studies look at how childhood and adulthood are seen and understood in society (Montgomery, 2003). The processes of how we represent the world provide a basis for critique of taken-for-granted and objective knowledge, for example knowledge about children and childhood.

Within social constructionism, language is seen as important in the construction of people and events, and this has led to discourse analysis being a widely used method (Burr, 2015). Therefore, a key concept when researching children and childhood from a social constructionist perspective is the concept of discourses (Montgomery, 2003). Discourse means a system of ideas, images, metaphors and so forth which are used to construct things in particular ways (Howitt, 2013). The term discourse is inspired by post-structuralist theories and the philosopher Michel Foucault, and it can be defined as “a whole set of interconnected ideas that work together in a self-contained way, ideas that are held together by a particular ideology or view of the world” (Montgomery, 2003, p. 47). A discourse draws upon its own knowledge base and assumptions, and this way offers its own explanation of how the world works. Discourses of children and childhood may be contrary, as ideas about childhood are being constructed on every level by both children themselves, their parents and other adults. Ideas about and representations of what a child is and what is a good childhood are linked to what position children have in society.

It is from the social constructionist perspective of children and childhood that the analysis in this thesis will be conducted, as studying how children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement are represented in the media can say something about how children and childhood are constructed in society. A social constructionist perspective on childhood thus entails an increased focus on social, cultural and historical contexts. Parallels to this can be found in media research, which I will elaborate on in the next section of this chapter.

3.2 Media and journalism studies

In chapter 2, I briefly introduced how media and journalism plays an important role in society by shaping public opinion. In this part of the theory chapter, I will elaborate on theories within media and journalism studies I have used in this research project. The main theoretical framework relevant for the thesis is media representations and framing theory as these theories were used when investigating the news coverage about the climate strikes. In this section I will elaborate on these two topics as well as explain how they are relevant for this research project. First, I begin with a brief introduction of the field of media and journalism studies and define some of the relevant terms for this thesis.

One of the main reasons why people are fascinated with the role of the media in society, is the process of making sense of the world and taking meaning from things that surround us (Fenton, 2007). Through the media meaning is communicated, consensus is achieved, and change is considered. How to come to terms with and understand the place of the media in our world draws on various theories from different disciplines that sometimes disagree on the emphasis given in each approach; the power balance between the producer, the audience and social and economic structures; the centrality of the media in social processes; and how to carry out research (Fenton, 2007).

Two key approaches within the field of media studies are political economy and cultural studies (Fenton, 2007). The political economy approach of the analysis of the media are concerned with how the media are organized and funded. By focusing on issues of economic distribution, studies using this approach prioritizes the relationship between the

economy and forms of democratic politics. Approaches within the tradition of cultural studies focuses on the analysis of popular cultural practices over dominant or elite cultural practices. It is often concerned with the ways in which cultural opinions are produced and circulated in society, how both individuals and groups use and interpret cultural texts, and the role cultural practices play in the construction of human social identities (Buckingham, 2008; Fenton, 2007). This thesis is rooted in the cultural studies approach through an interest in understanding how particular media texts contributes to a continuous process where notions of children and childhood's role in society are produced and reproduced.

In this thesis, the focus is on news media, as the aim is to investigate how children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in three different newspapers. Allern (2001) defines news as the editorial material that newspapers, radio and television present to the public on news sites or through news broadcasts. This definition provides little insight into what events are newsworthy or how news content is created. Nevertheless, it is a useful definition as a reminder of that events and facts first become news through a journalistic interpretation, facilitation and prioritizing. The news media can be seen as a window to the world (Allern, 2001). As presented in chapter 2, news media plays an important role in our ability to understand collective problems and to discuss how to solve them (Schudson, 2003). The field of news sociology rejects that the news is simply a reflection of reality, but that it constructs reality through active interpretation and processing (Eide, 2011). Journalism is a modern institution that collects, processes and disseminates information that claims to be true, and that can be democratically relevant. We, as consumers of media content, want knowledge about the world because we are meant to be involved in determining its development. Therefore, journalists have an important task in providing knowledge that is relevant to such participation. By constructing news, journalists have the power to highlight and downplay aspects of the event or news story (Eide, 2011). The term framing is often used to describe this process, and the concept of framing will be further elaborated on in a later section of this chapter.

3.2.1 Representation

In the chapter 2, I presented the concept media representation as how various groups, based on age, sex, race, etc., are presented by the media, usually in a way that activate ideas that the audience already know and can relate to (Levinsen & Wien, 2011). In this thesis, the concept of media representation is used when investigating how children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in Norwegian news media. In this section, I will elaborate on theories about representation, as explained by the cultural theorist Stuart Hall.

A constructionist understanding of communication is fundamental in cultural studies, which implies that "things don't mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs" (Hall, 1997, p. 25). Meaning in media texts emerge through the interaction between the text and the reader, and the producers' intentions and the readers understanding of the text it is not consistent (Eide, 2011). Representations are described by Hall (1997) as "the production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language" (p. 17). It links concept with language, and this makes it possible to refer to either the material world of objects, people or events, or the imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people or events. As such, representation is an

essential part of the process of how meaning is produced and exchanged between people (Hall, 1997). As the word suggests, representation suggests that something was already there, and has been *re-presented*, for example by the media (Levinsen & Wien, 2011).

Hall (1997) defines three approaches to explaining how representation of meaning through language works: 1) the reflecting or mimetic approach, 2) the intentional approach, and 3) the constructionist approach. The reflective approach explains that meaning is thought to lie in the things themselves, the object, person, idea or event in the real world. This approach says that language functions like a mirror, by simply reflecting or imitating the true meaning that is already there and fixed in the world. However, the second approach, called the intentional approach, argues the opposite case. It explains that representation of meaning through language lie in the speaker of the author. The individual user of language imposes his or her unique meaning in the world through language. The third approach is the constructionist approach, and it argues that neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can explain how representation of meaning through language works. As social actors, we *construct* meaning, and representation involves making links between things in the world, the conceptual world, and the signs and language used to communicate these concepts. Thus, the meaning of objects doesn't already exist, but social actors use linguistic or other representational systems to actively construct meaning, and thereby make the world meaningful and communicate with others meaningfully.

The constructionist approach to representation has been highly influential within the field of cultural studies (Hall, 1997). I find this approach most useful for my analysis of Norwegian news media, based on the assumption that media representations are a result of social construction of reality rather than merely a reflection of already existing meanings (Yan, 2020). The concept of representation is essential in media studies, as news coverage is a form of representation, where meaning is produced through language and signs (Hall, 1997). As the concept of media representation refers to the ways in which various groups or topics are presented by media, Levinsen and Wien (2011) suggests that the media should activate already existing ideas in the minds of the audience in order to communicate efficiently.

The concept of representation is also used within the field of childhood studies, usually when critiquing how adults are in control as producers of most representations of children and childhood (e.g. Burman, 1994; Holland, 2008). Holland (2008) used the term representation when investigating children as objects of imagery in the context of childhood studies, by exploring the cultural environment which contributes to children's competences, expectations and social experience. In the article, she concludes that children are usually the objects of imagery, very rarely its makers, and their voices have limited access to channels that produce public meanings. Burman (1994) uses some of the same arguments when exploring images from charity appeals and representations of southern children. She argues that the representation of childhood as characterized by protection and freedom from responsibilities is a specific and geographically distributed. Both of these studies use representation when investigating how children and childhood is constructed in public imagery. This is similar to the aim of this thesis, where I seek to investigate what notions of children and childhood characterize the news content about the School Strike for Climate movement and how children are portrayed in Norwegian news media.

3.2.2 Framing Theory

In order to investigate and understand how young climate strikers are portrayed in the Norwegian media, the concept of framing will be useful as an analytical tool. In media and communication studies, framing theory is particularly beneficial in understanding media's role in political life (Reese, 2001). Yan (2020) argues that any research that aims to understand media representations of a certain topic should consider how it was framed and why particular frames rather than others were used. The point of framing analysis is to both prove that news framing is used and how these news frames are social constructions of the reality that invites some interpretations to be presented at the expense of other (Ihlen, 2007). Therefore, framing analysis will be helpful for analyzing news articles about children who participates in the School Strike for Climate movement.

There is no widely accepted definition of frames and framing, however, the definitions that have evolved since the term was first used strongly resemble one another (Linstrom & Marais, 2012). The sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) is often credited with introducing the concept of the "frame". He used the term to describe social interaction and everyday cognitive structures, when he studied how people rely on expectations to make sense of their everyday social experiences. Other researchers have defined frames as cognitive windows that stories are seen through (Pan & Kosicki, 1993) or as maps that help us to navigate through a forest of multiple realities (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

Since the term was first introduced, framing theory has become increasingly attractive in several disciplines, such as linguistics, sociology, political science and media research (Reese, 2001). A broad range of perspectives of framing and a diversity of research approaches has been used by different researchers. Robert Entman (1993) applied the framing concept to the media and communication perspective. He stated that "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendations" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). This is a widely used definition within the field of media and communication.

By using a particular frame, certain definitions, interpretations, and moral evaluations are promoted (Entman, 1993). The choice and communication of a frame can be the result of a systematic choice or something the actor does not reflect on at all. The critical point is not that frames are used, as we all have to use them to make ourselves understood. The critical point is to show how the frames are a social construction that invites some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements (Ihlen, 2007). In its broadest sense news framing concerns how events are turned into news stories and how reality itself comes to be defined and understood (Kitzinger, 2007). News framing can be used in a wide variety of ways and researched with a diverse range of methods. As an analytical tool, framing is flexible, and this makes framing is a very useful way to think about how representations of the world are shaped (Linstrom & Marais, 2012).

For the last five decades, media researchers have applied the concept of framing when explaining how media structure their delivery of news. In journalism and media research, framing analysis thus refers to when researchers try to unpick the processes of how a frame is presented (Kitzinger, 2007). It links how frames produce meanings and organize experience to broader structural and ideological processes involving journalists, their news organizations, and their sources (Reese, 2001).

As briefly mentioned previously in the chapter, journalists are doing more than just presenting information report an event (Kitzinger, 2007). They decide which features to present, and thereby directing attention to some aspects and not others. The frame the journalists use, sets the agenda and the terms of the debate when selecting who should be interviewed, what questions to ask, and how they are introduced and edited. This all help to shape the story in a particular way. Reese (2001) highlights that ideally, framing research examines four aspects of frames; 1) how the frames are sponsored by political actors, 2) how journalists employ frames in the construction of news stories, 3) how these stories articulate frames, and 4) how audience members interpret the frames. However, few researchers are able to examine all four aspects, as it is a comprehensive process and one needs to include different sources of data, such as interviews with journalists and audience members. Due to limitations in time and recourses, I was not able to include interviews in the research process.

The concept of framing is a useful approach for my analysis of media coverage of the School Strike for Climate, because it can be used to get beneath the surface of news coverage and exposing hidden assumptions (Tankard, 2001). In the methods and methodology chapter, I will describe how I use framing theory in my analysis of how children who attend the climate strikes are portrayed in Norwegian news media.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the theoretical perspectives used throughout this project. In light of these perspectives, news media such as newspapers are understood as one of many contributors in an ongoing construction and reconstruction of notions about children and childhood. Theories from the field of childhood studies are especially relevant for investigating the research question about the notions of children and childhood in the news content. To combine theories from the field of childhood studies with the field of media studies offer a different approach to focusing on children's experiences and voices, which is some of the main focuses in childhood studies. My study will shed light on news media as an institution that help shape children's everyday lives and experiences.

When investigating how children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in Norwegian news media, the concept of media representation is used. I have also argued for the use of framing theory when analyzing media representations of climate striking children and youth. These perspectives are especially relevant for my study when I attempt to answer the research questions about whose views are represented in the news content and how the news content about the young climate strikers is framed.

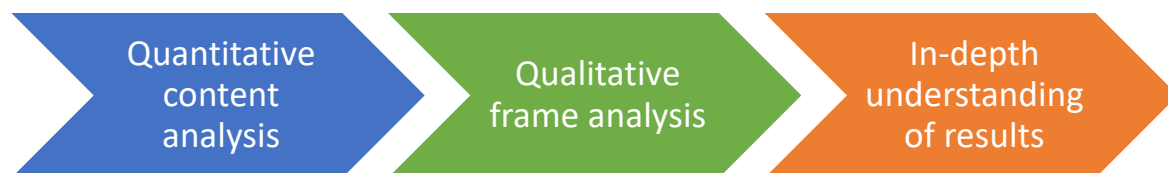
Guided by these relevant theories, I concluded on the choice of methods and methodology. Given the subjectivists epistemology of this study it is emphasized that knowledge is generated from and exists within a particular perspective and the focus is on understanding social practices and phenomena through interpretations from the specific perspective (Ravenek & Rudman, 2013). This is a basis for the choice of methods and methodology, and in the next chapter the methodology and methods used in this thesis are described.

4 Methodology and methods

In this chapter, the methodology and methods used in this research project are presented, as well as the choices made to answer the research questions. As explained in the introduction chapter the main aim of this study is to explore how children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in Norwegian news media. More specifically, this study will investigate three research questions: 1) *How are the school strikes covered in Norwegian newspapers, and whose views are represented in the news content?* 2) *What notions of children and childhood characterize the news content about the climate strikers?* and 3) *How is the news content about young climate strikers framed by journalists and other writers?* Answering these research questions requires methods that study the overview of the news coverage, as well as methods that explore the properties of the news content more in depth. Therefore, I have used a mixed method approach including both quantitative and qualitative methods.

The chapter is structured the same way as the analyzes were conducted and how they are presented in the analysis chapters in this thesis (see Figure 4.1). I started with a quantitative content analysis of newspaper articles, and this analysis forms the basis for the first analysis chapter (Chapter 5). Therefore, I start with explaining the quantitative content analysis, the sampling of newspapers and articles, and the coding process. After this, I conducted a qualitative frame analysis of a smaller sample of newspaper articles, and this is the basis for the second analysis chapter (Chapter 6). In this chapter, I will describe the qualitative frame analysis, as well as how I chose the sample of news articles I used for this analysis. Finally, the quality of the design will be discussed, including methodological challenges, reliability, validity, and generalization. Before explaining the two analyses used in the thesis, the chapter starts out with a brief account for the mixed methods approach.

Figure 4.1: Overview of the research process



Throughout this chapter, I manage both questions about methods and methodology. Methods can be defined as the different techniques and specific choices made to answer the research questions, whereas methodology can be defined as the “theory of method” (Collins & Stockton, 2018). The way human beings are viewed – as either objects in or subjects of their lives – determines the methodology, which determines the methods or techniques used in the research process (Beazley, 2006). The two levels are thereby closely linked, as the methodological position on which the project is built plays an

important role in choices regarding methods that are made throughout the research process. Through thorough explanations of the methods used and the choices made during the research project, the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate reliability and validity of the research design, as well as provide insight into the basis for the interpretations in the analyzes.

4.1 A mixed methods approach

Overall, the research aim of this study can be described as taking a qualitative approach, as the goal is to produce in-depth information and contribute to rich understandings of the topic being explored. Through empirical research one does not get conclusive evidence of what social reality is like, but one can argue for ways of understanding social practices and phenomena through interpretations from a specific perspective (Ravenek & Rudman, 2013). Even though this thesis is generally qualitatively oriented, the methodological approach of the study does not exclude quantitative methods. In media studies, the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is widely used, and the approaches are often considered complementary (Linstrom & Marais, 2012). Quantitative methods focus on numbers and counting, whereas qualitative methods can be defined as methods that uses non-numerical approaches to attain meaning from research data (Thomas & Hodges, 2010). In order to convey a comprehensive picture of how the young climate strikers are portrayed in news media, I used a mixed methods approach. Creswell (2015) defines mixed methods research as:

an approach to research in the social, behavioral, and health sciences in which the investigator gather both quantitative (closed-ended) and qualitative (open-ended) data, integrates the two, and then draws interpretations based on the combined strengths of both sets of data to understand research problems (p. 2).

By using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, the results could provide a better understanding of the research problem (Creswell, 2015). As explained in the introduction chapter, I use the different methods to answer the different research questions. By combining the results from the two analyses, I give a richer picture of the news coverage about the climate strikes, compared to if I had only used one of the methods.

In both analyses, I use newspaper articles as my data. I began with a quantitative analysis of a larger sample of news articles where I focused on descriptive information, including what orientations and whose voices were found in the articles. Then I moved on to a qualitative framing analysis, going deeper into the content of a smaller sample of newspaper articles. As such I get both an overview of the news coverage as well as width and depth of the content. The quantitative analysis involves a deductive approach, where I define variables and values in advance (Terry et al., 2017). This is a completely different approach than the qualitative analysis, where I use a more inductive approach and generate findings based in close readings of the data material. My focus when combining quantitative and qualitative methods, has been to work towards enriching and completing the knowledge I get from one individual method.

4.2 Quantitative content analysis

The aim of the first analysis is to answer the research question: *How are the school strikes covered in Norwegian newspapers, and whose views are represented in the news content?* To be able to provide an overview of the news content about the children participating in the School Strike for Climate movement, I started with a mapping of categories and variables in a sample of news articles, using a quantitative content analysis. In media research, content analysis is a widely used method to study news representations (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014). This analysis allows for a systematic mapping of a bigger sample of texts, and it can therefore be used to explain some of the broader themes and meanings in the news articles that are being analyzed. When using this method, the focus is typically on identifying key features of a body of news items. Typical key features are sources for information, positive or negative orientation, settings, etc. (Krippendorff & Bock, 2008). The analysis is suitable for researching samples from particular periods of time, and the approach is widely used for analyzing ongoing issues. Content analysis involves categorizing using coding, based on a research question (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014). Through this systematic coding of a sample of newspaper articles, it is argued that a quantitative content analysis can provide a reliable picture of the content in the news.

However, there are limitations to this method, as a content analysis cannot give insight into what the readers make of news items or what meanings they take away from the news articles (Hall, 1997). The meaning of media content is often constructed differently by different readers or viewers (Hodgetts et al., 2006). Because of this, researchers need to document and justify their interpretations, as well as to outline how they arrived at an interpretation and why it is useful (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014). Further, content analysis can only to a limited extent provide a detailed understanding of the content of news coverage, but it gives an overview of across a large number of news articles.

For my master thesis, I did a content analysis to identify patterns in the news coverage of children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement. To avoid interpretations that can be interpreted in different ways, I used a quantitative analysis only for mapping out broader categories and variables. Because of the complexities of how climate strikers can be portrayed in the news media, a qualitative frame analysis was used for the getting beneath the surface of the news coverage. Using a content analysis was helpful for answering the research questions, as it can give an overview what voices are represented and the orientations that is unfolded in the different newspapers. Being able to systemize this to something that can be quantified is useful for achieving an overall view of how children are represented in the news media regarding certain pre-defined aspects.

The units in this analysis are the news articles being analyzed. The variables and the values will be explained in the section about coding. Before I go on to explaining how I systemized and coded the news articles, I will describe the process of finding a suitable sample and collecting the data for my analysis. The sample is important as it needs to be relevant to answer the research question.

4.2.1 Sampling

The collection of data for the quantitative analysis was done in the autumn semester of 2020. I sought advice from a librarian from the University library at NTNU and decided to use the sources from the National Library of Norway (www.nb.no) to search for news articles. The National Library was useful for data collection, as they digitalize all Norwegian newspapers. The collection of newspapers can be viewed online and accessed through the University library at NTNU. When searching in this database, I used only one search word at a time as it is not designed for more advanced searches. After some test searches, I decided to do two different searches using the search words *climate strike** (*klimastreik**) and *school strike** (*skolestreik**). By using an asterisk symbol (*) at the end of the search words the search also included all the different endings to the search words, for example, *climate strikers* and *school strikes*.

In June 2020, I carried out test searches to decide on search words and make sure I found the relevant material. When trying different searches, I got an overview of how many news articles included the search words divided into years and months. I used this information, combined with my previous knowledge of the school strikes in Norway, to set a time frame for my sample. In 2019, there were several big school strikes all over Norway, including the very first national strike on March 22nd. This was also the year with most news coverage about the strikes, according to my test search. Therefore, I decided to use the entire year of 2019 as the time frame for collecting the sample. By using news articles from the whole year, I got to include media coverage of different strikes both in the spring and in the autumn, as well as coverage of international strikes in the year of 2019.

While doing the test search, I also decided which newspapers to collect articles from. I ended up using three different newspapers, as this was a realistic sample for the available time and resources considering the large number of hits in the preliminary searches. I included newspapers with the most readers and with different profiles (for details, see later paragraphs). I chose the three biggest Norwegian newspapers in 2019 measured in circulation of printed newspapers (Medienorge, 2021): *Aftenposten*, *Verdens gang (VG)* and *Adresseavisen* (Table 4.1). Moreover, these newspapers came out with a comprehensive amount of hits in the database using my search words.

Table 4.1: Sample of newspapers

Newspaper	Circulation in 2019	Type
Aftenposten	119 199	Nationwide
VG	55 587	Nationwide
Adresseavisen	38 284	Regional

The search gave a total of 270 news articles. To narrow down the number of articles and only use the ones relevant for my study, I did a screening of all the news articles before conducting the content analysis. The inclusion criteria were that the article had the climate strikes or climate strikers as a main focus. This way, I excluded all articles where the words climate strike or school strike was just mentioned and not the main theme. When going through the articles, I discovered some articles that my initial search did not cover. This was debate posts that were referred to in the screened articles. It was one

from *Aftenposten* and one from *Adresseavisen*. I decided to find and include these two articles, as they seemed relevant for my study. The low number of articles I had to add, indicated that my database search found most of the relevant articles. After the screening I ended up with a sample of 158 newspaper articles, 77 from *Aftenposten*, 29 from *VG* and 52 from *Adresseavisen* (see Appendix 2 for list of news articles with Norwegian titles). This was a realistic analytic sample for the available time and resources estimated for this thesis. Now follows a short description of each newspaper.

Aftenposten was the most read newspaper on paper in Norway in 2019, with 119 199 printed newspapers circulating daily. It is a nationwide newspaper that is based in Oslo. Since 2005 *Aftenposten* has had a debate page for youth called *Si ;D*, that is dedicated to debate posts from youth between the ages of 13 and 21. *Aftenposten* also publishes a newspaper for children, *Aftenposten Junior*. As this is its own newspaper, it is not included in my sample.

VG was the second biggest newspaper in 2019. It had a circulation of 55 587 printed newspapers daily, and it is the only tabloid newspaper included in the sample. In tabloid newspapers the articles have an easy-to-understand form, often with large images and headlines that take up most of the space (Allern, 2001). Similar to *Aftenposten*, *VG* is a nationwide newspaper that is based in Oslo. *VG* also has a section dedicated for youth called *25 under 25*.

Adresseavisen was the third biggest newspaper in Norway in 2019, with 38 284 printed newspapers circulating daily. It is the only regional paper included in my sample. The newspaper is based in Trøndelag and published in Trondheim. *Adresseavisen* does not have a section dedicated for children and youth.

4.2.2 Coding

The coding of the sample of newspaper articles was done in the autumn semester in 2020 using IBM SPSS Statistics for Mac, Version 27.0.1. In order to analyze the news articles in a way suitable to answer my research questions, I developed a codebook (see Appendix 1). A codebook is a summary of the instructions I used to convert the information from the news articles into a measurable format (Pallant, 2016). The process of making a codebook includes defining and labelling each variable needed for the analysis, and then assigning numbers to each of the possible responses. The units investigated in this content analysis are newspaper articles, and the variables are the measurable concepts that holds different values for different individual units. I will now go through the variables coded in each of the newspaper articles.

Each of the newspaper articles are categorized by which newspaper the article was published, the date of publications, and on which page in the newspaper the article appeared. These variables provide an overview and a way to categorize the news articles. I also included a variable registering whether the news article was mentioned on the front page of the newspaper or not. For each of the news articles, the length of the articles was categorized by three values: less than half a page = "1", from half a page to a whole page = "2", and more than a whole page = "3". The units were also categorized by whether it was a domestic or international news case. The genre of the newspaper articles was categorized by four values: Editorial, opinion piece, article/reportage and other.

Even though this coding is a quantitative method, the variables do not only measure what is clearly measurable (Allern, 2001). Some of the codes presume a qualitative evaluation of the content in the news articles. For example, every news article has been categorized by the orientation towards the School Strike for Climate movement and the children who participate. This variable is called *orientation*, and it is categorized into three values: positive orientation = "1", neutral orientation or both positive and negative orientation = "2", and negative orientation = "3". As the coding is based on just one readthrough of the news articles, which will give a first-impression overview of the orientation towards the climate strikes. The qualitative frame analysis is based on a more comprehensive reading of the articles and will give a more in-depth picture of the content (see next subchapter).

Furthermore, *voices* (who's voice is heard) is an important variable in the content analysis. Here, each person who is interviewed or speaks in the news articles is coded. For the opinion pieces, the author or authors of the pieces are coded as voices in the article. Journalists were not coded, my focus was on voices from outside of the institution of the newspaper. The categories were based on the role of the voice, such as politician, organization, researcher, and climate activist. I also distinguished between male and female and children/youth and adults. For this variable, I coded up to six voices per article. This was able to include the majority of voices, as only six of the 158 news articles included more than six voices.

4.3 Qualitative frame analysis

After conducting the quantitative content analysis, I carried out the qualitative frame analysis on a smaller sample of news articles. With the frame analysis, I have investigated and discussed the research questions regarding *what notions of children and childhood characterize the news content about the climate strikers and how the news content about young climate strikers is framed by journalists and other writers*. The qualitative analysis aims to create more depth and a better understanding of *how* children who attend school strike for climate are portrayed in the newspapers, and not simply *what* the texts states. I used my findings and experiences with the data from the content analysis as a starting point for the frame analysis. As I had already read through all the 158 newspaper articles from the sample from the content analysis, I had an overview of the news content both in general and regarding the variables coded in the quantitative analysis. Furthermore, when reading the articles for the content analysis, I also wrote down any thought and reflections that might be useful later in the research process. This means that when I started the frame analysis, I had an overview of the news content about the School Strike for Climate movement in the three newspapers.

As mentioned in the theory chapter, researchers employ different methodological approaches to the frame analysis. Some studies use a systematic, quantitative content analysis or computer-assisted frame analysis, while others use a qualitative approach resembling discourse analysis. A combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches is also possible and used by several researchers (e.g. Ihlen, 2007; Yan, 2020). Van Gorp (2007) suggests a mixed method approach to frame analysis. This can be done by using quantitative techniques to examine general trends in large data sets, and qualitative techniques to examine subtle framing effects in a smaller sample. Considering that I

started with doing a quantitative content analysis of the data set, I already had an overview of overall trends in the news articles. Therefore, using an interpretative, qualitative approach on a smaller sample for my frame analysis, was useful in getting a better understanding of how the young climate strikers were portrayed in the news content.

In media studies, a qualitative frame analysis is a document study that aims to identify underlying perspectives that works as the basis of media's presentation of a specific case (Tjora, 2017). Doing a qualitative frame analysis of news media involves repeated and extensive engagement with the texts, and it looks holistically at the texts to identify frames (Connolly-Ahern & Broadway, 2008). This is done by examining key words and metaphors in the texts, recognizing both what was included in the frame and what was left out. This way, the frame analysis is similar to a critical discourse analysis as a method. Critical discourse analysis view language as a form of social practice and is used to investigate hidden power relations and ideologies within discourses (Johnson & McLean, 2020). Reese (2001) emphasizes how a qualitative approach to frame analysis helps resist the urge one might have to sort the news texts into containers and count their size or frequency. To see frames as a qualitative construct, entail that one must capture the meanings embedded in the internal relations within texts, which could be obscured by quantitative measures. The frame analysis relies on an interpretative approach, identifying frames by looking beyond obvious elements to consider more latent content (Yan, 2020).

4.3.1 Identifying news frames

When identifying frames, it is important to be sensitive and detailed when reading the texts that are being analyzed (Kitzinger, 2007). Different frames can be identified when using different perspectives, and it is crucial to be open to testing one's own assumptions and expanding one's understanding of the frames. I used a technique inspired by the approach by Tankard (2001) to investigating frames in news media. He argues that a qualitative, text-analytical approach, with one individual researcher working alone with the data to identify the frames, one may tend to find the frames one is consciously or unconsciously looking for. Therefore, the process of reflexivity has been important when identifying news frames. By acknowledging my views, values and beliefs and the personal positions that could influence the identification of news frames, I am able to engage in a reflexive approach and identify and articulate positionality (Holmes, 2020). Tankard (2001) recommends a systematic and empirical driven approach, consisting of a thorough examination of the data, to avoid an unduly subjective process. This consists of looking at headlines, introduction, sources of information and who is quoted, and concluding statements and paragraphs. This is a structured way of working with the data, and according to Tankard (2001), it will contribute to identifying frames.

The identification of frames could be de done inductively, where frames emerge as the research progresses, or deductively, inspired by standard news frames identified in previous framing analyses (Linstrom & Marais, 2012). For my analysis, I used an abductive approach, which is a coherent epistemological process that focuses on the relationship among theory, method, and observation (Tavory & Timmermans, 2014). It starts as an empirical driven process, such as an inductive approach, but then accepts the importance of using theories and perspectives before or during the research process (Tjora, 2017). According to Tavory and Timmermans (2014), an abductive approach is a

creative process, where one tries to answer the question “What is this a case of?”. Using an abductive approach to framing analysis, made me able to be more creative, by moving away from prejudiced views and look for new “stories” about what I was investigating. This approach combined with Tankard’s (2001) systematic and empirical approach, will help avoid an unduly subjective process. This is explored further below, when I elaborate on conceptual generalization (section 4.4.1).

Some researchers categorize media frames in categories such as “positive” or “negative”. This kind of categorization may be useful to give a crude overall indicator of patterns of coverage, in the same way I did in my quantitative content analysis. I coded the orientation towards the children who strikes for the climate as either a positive orientation, a negative orientation, or a neutral orientation. This gives an overview of the news coverage but is not sufficient as a basis for news frames, as this approach has a number of limitations. Kitzinger (2007) argues that reducing the frames to a “pro” or “anti” position complicates rather than clarify the actual framing process. To reduce frames to issue positions neglects the concern of how issues are defined which is the main point of frame analysis. Researchers also often adopt a binary approach by identifying only two opposing frames. Although the media often do adopt this approach, one should be sensitive to the fact that most problems can be frames in more than two ways. However, Kitzinger (2007) also emphasizes that if the media coverage prioritizes just two frames and marginalizes a third perspective, it is in itself worthy of comment.

4.3.2 Sampling

When defining the selection of newspaper articles to use for the frame analysis, it was important to consider that it could not be too comprehensive. I used the sample from the content analysis, and systematically narrowed it down by setting a smaller time frame. The time frame for the qualitative analysis included all news articles from 22nd and 23rd of March. The first national school strike for climate in Norway was on March 22nd, and this is also the day with the most news coverage in the three newspapers. I also included 23rd of March, as all three newspapers did interviews or reportages from the strikes the previous day. The sample from the content analysis included 26 news articles from these two days. With the available time and recourses for this thesis, this was a realistic sample for the qualitative frame analysis.

Table 4.2: Sample of newspapers for framing analysis

	Editorial	Opinion	Article	Total
Aftenposten	1	3	2	6
VG	1	4	1	6
Adresseavisen	1	9	4	14
<i>N</i>	3	16	7	26

The sample consist of news articles from all three newspapers and with different genres (Table 4.2). There is a skewness in the sample, in that there are more articles from Adresseavisen, which is not the case for the sample from the content analysis. As shown in Table 4.2, there are 9 opinion pieces from Adresseavisen, compared to 3 from Aftenposten and 4 from VG. On the 22nd of March, Adresseavisen had one double page of

opinion pieces about the climate strike. Several of these opinion pieces were short, only three or four sentences. Even though Adresseavisen has more articles in total, Aftenposten and VG has longer articles, and this makes the sample more even than it initially looks like in the table.

4.4 Quality of the design

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the goal of empirical research is not to provide conclusive evidence of what social reality is like, but to argue for ways to understand social practices and phenomena through interpretations from a specific perspective. An important part of this is to demonstrate the study's reliability and validity, through explanation of the methods used and the choices made during the research process. This has been one of the main goals of this chapter, in addition to provide insight into the basis for the interpretations I make based on the results of the analyses. In this section of the chapter, I will elaborate on the quality of the research design, by reflecting on the concepts of reliability, validity and generalization.

Reliability, validity and generalization are terms used in both qualitative and quantitative research, but they can be used differently in the two approaches and in different research paradigms. Before discussing the quality of the research design, I will briefly introduce general debates about quality in qualitative and quantitative research. While some in qualitative research suggest retaining but adapting validity, reliability and generalization, others suggest using other criteria that better reflect interpretative qualitative approaches (Ravenek & Rudman, 2013). Quality assessment in qualitative research is considered a continuous issue, and the literature contains a diversity of opinions on criteria for quality. In this research project I use the term's reliability, validity and generalization. As I conducted this research using a mixed methods design, it was convenient to use terms that can be applied in both quantitative and qualitative research. In addition to these three indicators for quality of the design, I also use the terms transparency and reflexivity regarding the qualitative method (Tjora, 2017). In the next section, I will first reflect on the reliability, validity and generalization in the quantitative content analysis. Then quality criteria regarding the qualitative frame analysis are elaborated on, including transparency and reflexivity.

4.4.1 Reliability and validity

The term reliability refers to whether other researchers using the same method or methods as you, would get the same research results as the research project in question (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). In quantitative research, reliability is often evaluated using scales that indicate how free the method is from random error (Pallant, 2016). The most common way to measure this in content analyses, is to measure intercoder reliability (e.g. Cushion, 2007; Levinsen & Wien, 2011). This is done by using two different coders on the same data and measure the correlation between the two scores obtained. However, it is important to highlight that within social constructionism some of these assumptions can be problematic, as in this perspective one argues that there is not one correct objective truth (Ravenek & Rudman, 2013). Intercoder reliability is based in a thoroughly positivist conception of reliability, where success is determined based on different individuals achieving the same outcome (internal coding) through the

administration of the same measure (the codebook) (Terry et al., 2017). Terry et al. (2017) argues that this approach to coding is founded in four problematic assumptions:

1) that it is possible – and desirable – for qualitative coding to be “accurate” and “objective”, 2) that your findings already exist in the data, waiting to be discovered, 3) that researcher subjectivity is flawed, and 4) that minimizing the influence of researcher subjectivity leads to better analysis (p. 20).

These assumptions can be seen as problematic in qualitative based research. As there is no one single truth, there is no right way to analyze data, and therefore, it can be argued that intercoder reliability can only show that two coders have been trained to code data the same way, not that the coding is somehow “accurate” (Terry et al., 2017). As this is a master thesis, I did not have the opportunity to hire someone to be a second coder of my data. However, I did a test of the codebook with a smaller sample, and then improved the codes based on this test. The development of the codebook and the different variables was thoroughly discussed with my supervisor before the coding started. Any problems and uncertainties during the coding was also discussed with my supervisor. This openness and seeking of advice potentially led to a more reliable coding.

Validity refers to whether the analysis measures what it is supposed to measure (Pallant, 2016). As validity deals with several aspects of the data collection and research process, the concept has a large scope. In content analysis, validity is often evaluated on to the degree that they demonstrate that patterns in the content of texts are accurately measured and reflect reality (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014). As with reliability, this can be problematic in the aim of this social constructionism study is not to find one correct objective truth (Ravenek & Rudman, 2013). However, one way to ensure validity of the coding process is to be consistent and coherent in the codes. As I made a codebook and followed this when coding the news articles, I ensured that the coding measures what I was supposed to measure.

Reliability and validity in qualitative research cannot be measured in the same way as when using quantitative methods. Linstrom and Marais (2012) highlight reliability and validity as two major problems regarding framing research. As frame analysis relies on an interpretative qualitative approach, reliability and validity depend on the transparency when identifying the frames (Yan, 2020). One way to do this is to use quoting to claim empirical validity or facticity (Linstrom & Marais, 2012). Throughout the analysis chapter for the frame analysis, I use quotes from the news articles to show the reader my analysis process. All the quotes are translated from Norwegian to English by me. When translating the quotes from newspaper articles into English, I focused more on staying close to the original form than making well formulated English sentences. As the frame analysis focus on the content of the news articles, it was important to stay as close to the original quotes as possible. To avoid that some sense might be “lost in translation” as a result of how words and sentences can change between languages, I did my best to maintain the original meaning of the quotes.

Considering the abstract frame may be embedded in latent structures that it is not possible to measure directly, it is challenging is to guarantee the validity of the results, as in all qualitative research (Yan, 2020). I argue that this points to a positivist view of research that is not in line with an interpretive paradigm that is dominant for childhood studies, as well as other fields. The frame analysis is developed through the writing

stage, and therefore, using previous literature and theory to reinforce the findings was an essential part of the validity of the findings (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

Finally, I will reflect on the generalization of the study regarding the research design. Generalization is taking something specific and applying it more broadly beyond the cases that have been explored (Tjora, 2017). The concept of generalization can be understood in different ways, both in different research fields and in different methods (Ravenek & Rudman, 2013). Quantitative researchers mainly use a statistical form of generalization where features in the sample versus a whole population is estimated (Tjora, 2017). Because of the empirical basis of this thesis, I have mainly focused on conceptual generalization.

In this thesis, I have used previous research and theory in conjunction with my own process of conceptualization in order to identify patterns. This is referred to as conceptual generalization. Tjora (2017) presents three questions to ask to help broaden the perspective from the empirical cases: 1) If you look at this more generally, what is it about? 2) Are there any concepts that capture key features of observations and findings? 3) Are there any dimensions that can be used to outline variations in the material? Throughout the process of identifying frames in the data material, I used these questions to be able to see the findings in a broader perspective.

In all empirical research, interpretation of data must be followed by a form of reflections about how this interpretation occurs (Tjora, 2017). This is because empirical data in itself are not a mirror of reality, but it is an interpretation of data that is shaped by different conditions. In the frame analysis, the frames are based on my interpretation of the news content, and they are not revelations of the truth (Ihlen, 2007). As presented in the introduction chapter, a reflexive approach is necessary to be able to identify and articulate positionality (Holmes, 2020). To apply reflexivity, I reflected upon my own interpretations and what aspects could influence the interpretations. The frames and the reasoning behind them were discussed with my supervisor throughout the entire process. Tjora (2017) emphasizes how it is important that research is not conducted in a social vacuum, and the importance of students and their supervisors working together. The reflexivity can be increased through dialog between student and supervisor who both understand the empirical, methodological and theoretical foundations of the study (Tjora, 2017). It is also important that the researcher's arguments are explicit, so that the reader can decide for themselves if the generalizations are good enough or not (Ihlen, 2007). To show transparency about the choices I have done and the frames I found in the data, I show sections and quotes from the news articles in the analysis. This way, it is easier for the readers to be able to evaluate the interpretations I have done (Tjora, 2017).

In this thesis, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches has ensure a more systematic and reliable exploration of how media portrays the children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement. This will be further elaborated on and discussed in chapter 7, when summarizing the findings.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I have looked at key methodological perspectives in which the study is rooted, and I have explained and reflected on the choices of methods. The chapter has been structured the same way as both the research process and the structure of the thesis. The next chapter (chapter 5) is the first analysis chapter, where I analyze media representations of the children participating in School Strike for Climate movement using the quantitative content analysis. Chapter 6 is based on the qualitative frame analysis, and media framing of the young climate strikers is investigated. Finally, in the concluding chapter (chapter 7), I sum up the findings and combine the results from both analyses.

5 Media representations of the School Strike for Climate: Findings and discussions from the quantitative content analysis

The results from the quantitative content analysis will be presented, analyzed and discussed in this chapter. The content analysis is used to describe and explain some of the broader themes and meanings in the sample of 158 newspaper articles from the three newspapers. The analysis was conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics for Mac, Version 27.0.1 and Microsoft Excel, Version 16.49. The main focus for this analysis is to answer the first research question: *How are the school strikes covered in Norwegian newspapers, and whose views are represented in the news content?* With this analysis, I provide an overview of the news content about the young climate strikers, with a focus on which voices and orientations emerged in this sample of news articles.

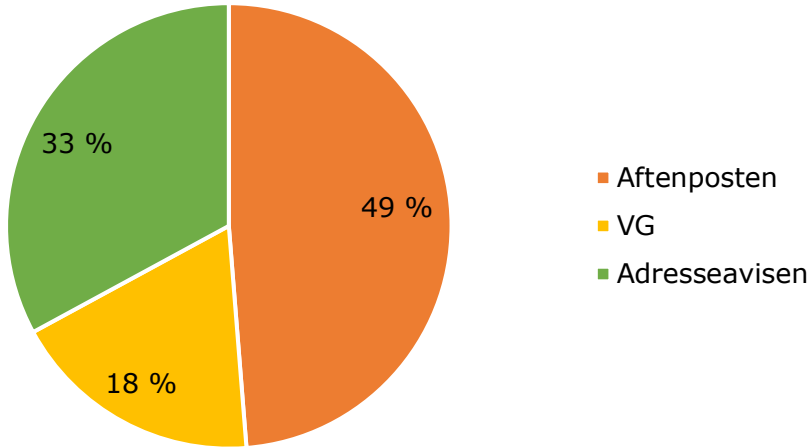
The chapter begins with some descriptive statistics describing the characteristics of my sample, including number of articles from each newspaper, the length of the articles, if the article is mentioned on the front page, and if the news content is based on domestic or foreign events and issues. Then I will investigate how the news coverage of the Climate Strike for Climate spread through the year 2019 and look into some events that was covered by the media. This is followed by a section about the newspaper genres used in the coverage. After this, I will look into the variable about the orientation towards the children who school strikes for the climate. Finally, I will use the content analysis to explore whose voices are represented in the news articles.

5.1 Descriptive statistics

The distribution of news articles about the School Strike for Climate across the three newspapers can be seen in Figure 5.1. Aftenposten has the most news articles, with almost half of the total sample (N = 77), and the regional newspaper Adresseavisen has the second most articles, with 33 % (N = 52). VG has the least articles about the climate strikes of the three newspapers in the sample, with 18 % (N = 29). Later in this chapter, I will look into the different newspaper genres in the three newspapers, and this will give a further understanding of the distribution of news articles between the newspapers.

Most of the news content about the School Strike for Climate are domestic news cases from Norway (75 %, N = 118). Foreign news content was 17 % (N = 27), while 8 % (N = 13) were coded as *other*. These results indicate that the three newspapers mainly focus on the movement in Norway. This is in line with research about news content in Norwegian newspapers, that found that only 8 % of the news content are international news (Allern, 2001). Newer research about Norwegian television news found similar results with 26 % of the news content being international news (Waldahl et al., 2009). My impression from the process of coding the articles is that several of the foreign news was about Greta Thunberg, as she was travelling around the world participating in climate strikes in the year of 2019.

Figure 5.1: News articles about the School Strike for Climate across newspapers



N = 158

The news articles were sorted based on how much space the article got in the newspaper. Of the total sample of 158 news articles, 44.9 % (N = 71) were less than half a page in length, including headlines and pictures. 41.1 % (N = 65) were between half a page and one page. Only 13.9 % (N = 22) were more than one whole page.

Generally, newspapers put the most important news stories on the front page, and it can therefore say something about the degree of importance the media assigns the event. News stories on the front page also attract the greatest number of readers and many are likely to see a newspaper’s front page while going about their daily activities (Slakoff & Brennan, 2019). In the sample for the content analysis, 6.3 % (N = 10) of the articles were mentioned on the front page of the newspaper. However, some of the news articles were from the same day and newspaper and mentioned together on the front page. Therefore, there were five newspaper editions that mentioned coverage about the climate strikes on the cover. Four of them from Aftenposten, on Thursday March 14th, Saturday March 23rd, Tuesday May 21st, and Friday May 24th, and one from Adresseavisen, also on Saturday March 23rd.

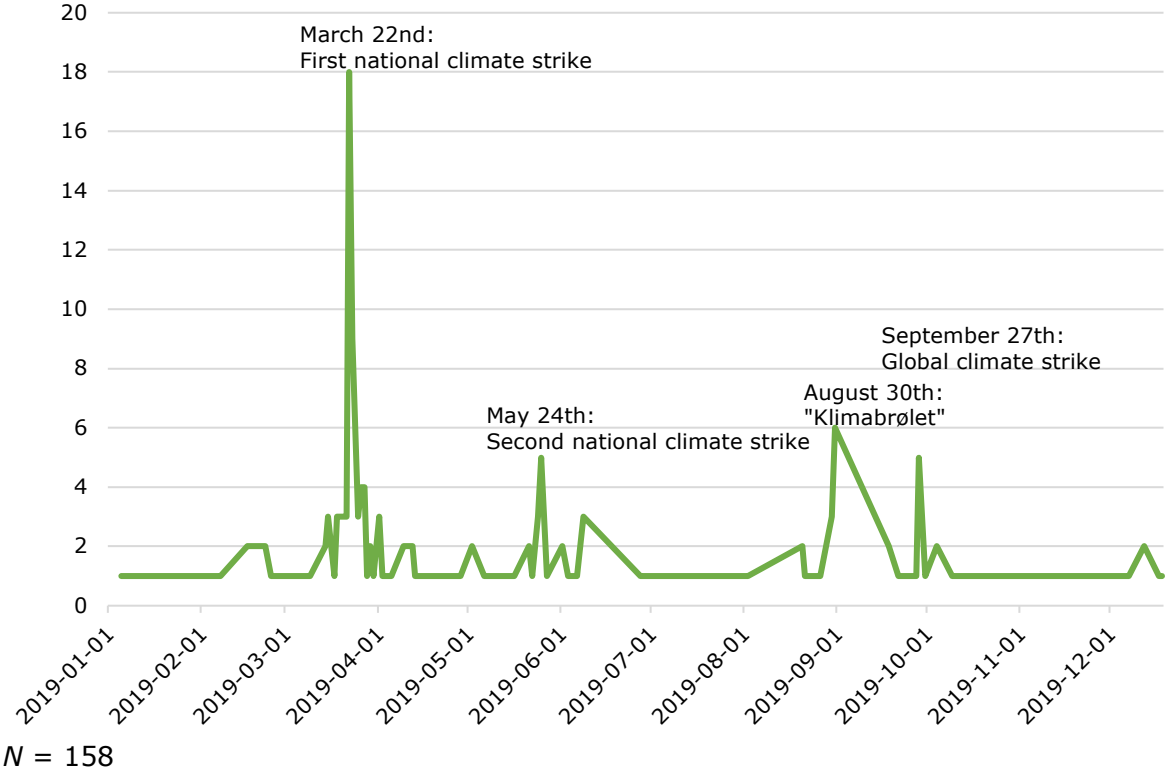
5.2 News coverage over time

Figure 5.1 shows the news coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement over the year of 2019. The high peaks correspond with climate strikes or similar events. The first and highest peak is the first national climate strike in Norway on March 22nd, that gathered children all over Norway. The database search found that 18 articles about the strikes were published in the three newspapers that day, and 9 articles the following day. These two days all three newspapers included one editorial piece and several opinion pieces and articles by journalists about the School Strike for Climate. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Aftenposten also mentioned the news coverage about the climate strikes on the front page the day after this strike, Saturday March 23rd. The second peak

in the line chart is following the second national school strike on May 24th, with 3 articles this Friday and 5 articles the following Saturday. This strike also included children from all over Norway.

On August 30th, there was an event in Norway called *Klimabrølet*, and following this event there was also a peak in the news coverage in the three newspapers. I found 3 articles from the day of the event and 6 articles from the following day. This event was organized by adults, but as it happened on a Friday, many children and youth combined it with a school strike for climate. For example, Adresseavisen writes on August 31st in an article about the event that children in Trondheim gathered to strike earlier the same day, before they joined *Klimabrølet*. Even though the event was organized by adults and everyone was welcome to join, my impression from going through the news articles is that a lot of this news coverage focused on children and youth. However, this could be explained by the sample consisting of news articles that includes the words "climate strike" and "school strike". If there was news coverage about *Klimabrølet* that did not write anything about the school strikes, it was not included in this sample for the content analysis.

Figure 5.2: Number of news articles in 2019



The last peak in Figure 5.2 is following the global climate event Global Week for Future during 20-28 September. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, this global event mobilized an estimated six million strikers worldwide. In Norway, there was a strike on Friday September 20th and on Friday September 27th. The highest peak around this event

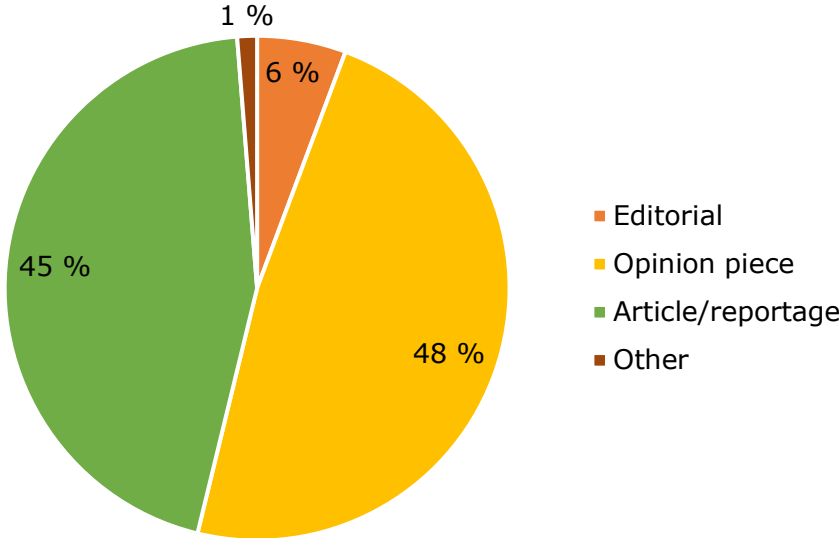
is on Saturday September 28th (N = 5), suggesting that most news articles were published at the end at the *Global Week for Future*.

The news coverage in the three newspapers is clearly centered around specific events in the School Strike for Climate movement, as illustrated in Figure 5.2. Media attention was highest at the beginning of the movement, especially around the first national strike. The peaks following events after the first strike are about the same height, meaning that they include a similar number of news articles. In general, there are few articles not surrounding any of the events mentioned above.

5.3 Genre

In the content analysis, I have divided the variable *genre* into four categories: *Editorial*, *opinion piece*, *article/reportage* and *other*. Editorial is articles written by senior editorial people or the publisher of the newspaper published on a dedicated page, usually the first or second page after the front page. Opinion pieces are written by someone not employed by the newspaper, and it includes debate pieces, letters to the editor and specific opinion pages for youth. Article/reportage includes pieces written by journalists working for the specific newspaper, and other are the articles that did not fit in any of the other genres.

Figure 5.3: Genres in the coverage of the climate strikes



N = 158

Figure 5.3 illustrates the division between these genres. This shows that 45 % (N = 71) of the sample are news articles written by journalists, and 6 % (N = 9) are editorial pieces written by the senior editorial staff or the publisher of the newspaper. 48 % (N = 76) are opinion pieces that are written by someone who does not work for the newspaper. It is interesting how almost half of the news articles are pieces sent in by the readers of the newspaper, in that these pieces reflect the author’s opinion about the

subject. This shows that there are a lot of opinions out there about the School Strike for Climate in that people are engaging with the subject in the newspapers.

In Aftenposten, there is a predominance of opinion pieces with 60 % (N = 46) of the total number of news articles in Aftenposten, whereas VG and Adresseavisen have a similar amount of opinion pieces in relation to the total number of articles in the newspapers (see Table 5.1). In VG, 35 % (N = 10) of the articles are opinion pieces and in Adresseavisen it is 38 % (N = 20). This might be explained by the fact that Aftenposten has a debate section for youth between the ages of 13 and 21, so when the school strikers write an opinion piece for a newspaper, they might choose to send it to Aftenposten. Furthermore, in Adresseavisen more than half of the news articles are articles or reportages written by journalists (N = 29). Aftenposten has the least amount of articles with 36 % (N = 28) of the total number of news articles in Aftenposten, and in VG 48 % (N = 14) of the news articles are written by journalists. However, as the different newspapers have different sample sizes, Aftenposten (N = 28) and Adresseavisen (N = 29) have almost the same number of articles or reportages written by journalists.

Table 5.1: Genres in the different newspapers

	Aftenposten	VG	Adresseavisen	Total
Editorial	2 3 %	4 14 %	3 6 %	9 6 %
Opinion	46 60 %	10 35 %	20 38 %	76 48 %
Article	28 36 %	14 48 %	29 56 %	71 45 %
Other	1 1 %	1 3 %	0 0 %	2 1 %
<i>N</i>	77	29	52	158

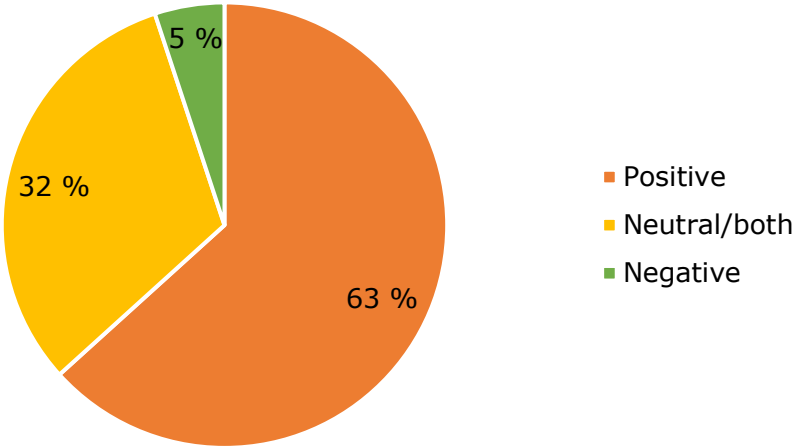
5.4 Orientation

The variable that I have called *orientation* are included in the content analysis to get an overview of the orientation towards the children that participate in the School Strike for Climate movement. The variable is relatively broadly defined, with the three categories positive, neutral/both, and negative, and can thus be thought to give somewhat different results depending on the coder. It will still give a valuable overview of the orientation towards the young climate strikers in this sample of news articles from the three newspapers. In the qualitative frame analysis, I will go deeper into the content of a sample of news articles, and that way I provide a more nuanced insight into how children in the climate strikes are portrayed in the newspapers.

By looking at Figure 5.4, one can draw the immediate conclusion that the news coverage of the School Strike for Climate is quite uniform and one-sided. The orientation towards the children who school strikes for the climate are far more positive, with 63 % (N = 100) of the news articles, than negative, with only 5 % (N = 8) of the news articles. Furthermore, 32 % (N = 50) of the news articles were oriented neutral or both positive

and negative towards the climate strikes. These results contradict the discussions from previous papers, that argue that children are criticized in the media by focusing on their lack of education and perspective and using agist language (Bergmann & Ossewaarde, 2020; Feldman, 2020; Ursin, 2019). When comparing my results to orientation towards news coverage about children in general, results by Levinsen and Wien (2011) also show a more positive than negative or neutral representation of youth. However, their results show more equal distribution between the three categories of orientation, compared to my results that show a much clearer positive orientation.

Figure 5.4: Orientation towards children who school strike for climate



N = 158

In all three newspapers, articles with a positive orientation towards the climate strikes dominate (see Table 5.2). This indicates that the three biggest newspapers in Norway are mainly positive to the School Strike for Climate movement. Adresseavisen is the newspaper with highest number of articles with a negative orientation, but the number is still relatively low, with five articles of a total number of 52 articles (10 %). VG has the highest number of neutral articles, and it is the only newspaper with no articles with a negative orientation.

Table 5.2: Orientations in the different newspapers

	Aftenposten	VG	Adresseavisen	Total
Positive	49	17	34	100
	64 %	59 %	65 %	63 %
Neutral	25	12	13	50
	32 %	41 %	25 %	32 %
Negative	3	0	5	8
	4 %	0 %	10 %	3 %
N	77	29	52	158

Table 5.3: Orientations in the different genres

	Editorial	Opinion	Article	Other	Total
Positive	6 67 %	60 79 %	32 45 %	2 100 %	100 63 %
Neutral	3 33 %	9 12 %	38 54 %	0 0 %	50 32 %
Negative	0 0 %	7 9 %	1 1 %	0 0 %	8 3 %
<i>N</i>	9	76	71	2	158

The articles by journalists have the most amount of neutral news articles ($N = 38$) with 54 % of the total number of news articles written by journalists (see Table 5.3). This can be linked to how journalistic objectivity long has been an ideal within journalism (Eide, 2011). The neutral and objective way of reporting news was for a long time the ideal for newspapers who wanted to serve their readers who had different political opinions. A third of the editorial pieces are neutral ($N = 3$), which can also be linked with the journalistic objectivity. However, two thirds of the editorial pieces show a positive orientation towards the climate strikers ($N = 6$). An editorial usually reflects the position of the newspaper or the editor (Allern, 2001), and thereby this may indicate that the newspapers orientation toward the climate strikers are positive.

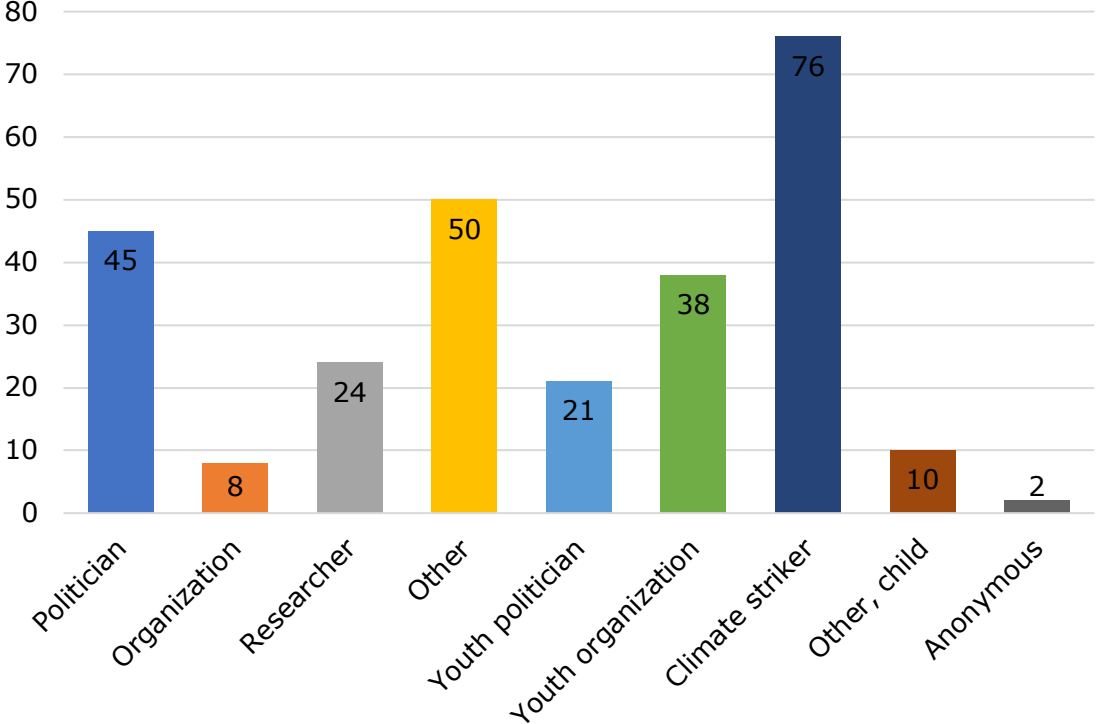
The opinion pieces include almost all the articles with a negative orientation, with 7 of the 8 negative articles. These opinion pieces with a negative orientation include titles such as "The strikers state that the politicians do not care. That is wrong" (Aftenposten, 2019.03.21) and "What have the climate strikers really achieved?" (Aftenposten, 2019.09.26). The news article with a negative orientation that is not an opinion piece, is an article by a journalist in Adresseavisen, with the title "Schools warn with registering absence before major school strike for climate" (2019.03.09). Even though the opinion pieces include most of the articles with a negative orientation, the majority of opinion pieces are positive with 79 % of the total number of opinion pieces ($N = 60$). This indicates that in general, people writing opinion pieces are positive to the School Strike for Climate movement.

5.5 Voices

To provide an overview of whose voices are represented in the news content, each person who was interviewed or speaks in the newspaper articles were coded. Only voices outside the institution of the newspaper were coded, so journalists who wrote the articles were not registered. For the opinion pieces, the person or persons who wrote the piece was the registered voice. The voices are categorized based on their role, as children/youth or adults, and as male or female. In this section the results regarding these variables are discussed. First, I will focus on the division between children's voices and adults' voices, before investigating the role of the voices, such as politician, researcher, climate striker, etc., in terms of what the newspaper or themselves define as their position. Finally, I will look into the gender division of the voices registered in the news content.

The data show that the voices of children are represented 146 times (53 %) and the voices of adults are represented 128 times (47 %). As more than half of the registered voices are children and youth, it shows that the media seems willing to let children speak for themselves. It may be that this is special for this topic, since children and youth are so clearly involved. As discussed in chapter 2 about relevant research, the Ethical Code of Practice for the Norwegian press states that “the press is particularly responsible for allowing different views to be expressed” (Norwegian Press Association, 2015). These results indicate that the press allows both child- and adult voices to express their views in this case. Previous research on voices in Danish news media showed that the media tends to portray young people through expert views rather than their own words (Levinsen & Wien, 2011). The results from the content analysis could indicate that the view of children as actors are more accepted as children’s voices are represented in the news content. This is in line with the results from the study by Levinsen and Wien (2011), that showed that Danish newspapers are increasingly willing to let children and youth speak for themselves.

Figure 5.5: Voices in the news articles



N = 274

Regarding the role of the voices, the analysis shows that the climate strikers are the most frequent voice registered in the news articles with 28 % (N = 76) (see Figure 5.5). The category for other adults is the second biggest group with 18 % (N = 50), and it includes all adults that are not referred to as politicians, researchers, or from an organization. Examples of adults in this category are parents of climate strikers, artists and authors, teachers and headmasters, or other people working for the state or local government. Adult politician is the third biggest category with 16 % (N = 45). This is in line with previous studies finding that people from higher positions in society are

frequently portrayed in the news media (e.g. Lepianka, 2015; Levinsen & Wien, 2011). In a report on Norwegian news media from 2016, it was found that views of so-called elite sources, such as politicians and organizations, are frequently portrayed (Kvalheim & Sjøvaag, 2016). Furthermore, they found that children's voices and perspectives are often absent in the Norwegian news picture, which is contrary to the findings about news coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement. However, they found that children's voices were more visible in regional and local newspapers, compared to nationwide newspapers. It would be interesting to see if this is the case for news content about the climate movement as well, but my sample is not big enough to provide an adequate comparison of regional and national newspapers.

The report by Kvalheim and Sjøvaag (2016) did not divide children and youth into smaller groups as I did in the coding process. The content analysis shows that voices from youth organization are represented 14 % (N = 38) of the total number of voices and youth politician 8 % (N = 21). As mentioned, the biggest group of children and youth was climate strikers with 28 % (N = 76) of the total number of voices. These results indicate that the newspapers are willing to let the children who participate in the strikes to speak for themselves in media coverage about the strikes. However, one explanation to why this group is so big might be that Greta Thunberg is included in the climate striker category. My impression from going through and coding all the voices in the newspaper articles is that Greta Thunberg's voice and opinion is often represented in news content about the strikes.

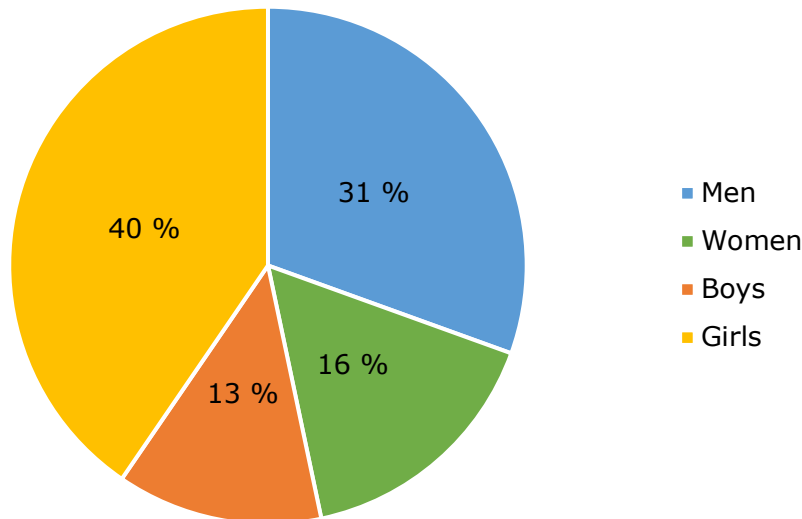
5.5.1 Gender division

When coding the voices represented in the newspaper articles, I differentiated between men and women, girls and boys (see Figure 5.6). Taken together, the result from this analysis shows that 44 % (N = 128) of the voices represented are male and 56 % (N = 146) are female. This indicates that male and female voices are represented almost the same number of times. The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) is an international study of gender in news media, and their most recent study found that women only make up 24 % of the people represented in the news media (Macharia, 2015). The study involves 114 countries, with Norway being one of them. The results from the Norwegian media show the same results as the worldwide reports, with women accounting for 24 % of news sources. Thereby, the results about the news coverage on the School Strike for Climate movement contradict these findings regarding news coverage in general.

The most interesting findings when looking at gender division is when also dividing between adults and children. Men's voices (N = 83) are more often represented than women's voices (N = 44), while girls (N = 110) are represented to a higher degree than boys (N = 35) (see Figure 5.6). These findings contradict previous research about media representation of youth that indicate an asymmetry in priority between males and females, and that there are more articles about young males than about young females (Levinsen & Wien, 2011). My results are more in accordance with findings about news for children by Lorgen (2019), who found a large predominance of children, where girls were more represented than boys. However, in my findings the difference between males and females both among the children and the adults are much clearer. In the data material for the content analysis, girls are represented more than three times as much as boys, and men are represented twice as much as women. This clearly shows that it is the girls

and men who set the agenda in the news coverage about the School Strike for Climate movement.

Figure 5.6: Voices divided into men and women, and boys and girls



$N = 274$

It could be that this news case is different from cases about other topics, since children and youth are so clearly involved in this case. The Swedish study by de Moor et al. (2020) found that the climate strikes have mobilized a historically large number of people, particularly people who have never demonstrated before, school pupils, and girls. Hence, the young girls are not only more present in the news media, but they are more active in the movement and participating in the strikes.

5.6 Summary

Based on the analyses in this chapter, I argue that the School Strike for Climate movement are quite uniform and one-sided, as the orientation towards the children who participate in the movement are far more positive than negative in all three newspapers. Nearly half of the news articles are written by journalists employed by the newspaper, and about the same amount of news articles are opinion pieces written by readers of the newspaper. The news articles by journalists were mainly neutrally oriented towards the strikes, whereas the opinion pieces were mainly positive. The news coverage was highest at the beginning of the year 2019, and it is clearly centered around specific events, such as the first national school strike in Norway and the event *Klimabrølet*.

The analyses show that the media seems willing to let children speak for themselves, as more than half of the voices registered in the news articles are children and youth. Girls are represented three times as many as boys, and men are represented twice as many times as women. I argue that based on these results, girls and men are the ones who set the agenda in the news coverage about the climate strikes. To sum up, these analyses show positive news coverage of the School Strikes for Climate movement, that included children's voices. This may indicate that children are recognized as valuable citizens in

the present and competent actors with a right to be heard (e.g. Liebel & Saadi, 2012; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). Children and youth are able to speak up and give their opinion in society through participating in climate strikes as well as expressing themselves in news media, both through reportages from the strikes and by writing opinion pieces. This can be seen in relation to how Kulynych (2001) argues that an ideal democracy includes children's voices. Children can offer a unique social perspective that must be included in public deliberation, such as news media, and therefore, the recognition of children's perspectives is seen as crucial to achieve social justice.

In this chapter, the focus has been to analyze the newspaper articles based on prepared categories from the codebook. However, these analyzes do not provide an answer to *how* children participating in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in the news content. In the next chapter, the focus is on how young climate strikers are framed in the news media and what notions of children and childhood characterize the news content about the climate strikers. The purpose of this first analysis chapter is to introduce and provide insight into the news content and the most prominent voices and orientations that emerged in the sample of news articles. This introduction then forms the basis for analyzing how children and youth are portrayed in news media more in depth in the next chapter.

6 Media framing of young climate strikers: Findings and discussion from the qualitative frame analysis

In this chapter I will present and discuss the findings for the qualitative frame analysis. Returning to the main research question, this study aimed to look into how children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in Norwegian news media. In the previous chapter I established an overview of the news articles through the content analysis. In this chapter, I will follow up with a frame analysis going deeper into the content of a sample of the articles, described in the methods chapter. Using this analysis, I focused on how newspapers constructed the issues and events, and thereby conveyed particular interpretations within the scope of framing theory. When analyzing the news articles, I aim to answer the second and third sub-question: 2) *What notions of children and childhood characterize the news content about the climate strikers*, and 3) *How is the news content about young climate strikers framed by journalists and other writers?*

The frame analysis is a way of identifying underlying perspectives that works as the basis of media representations of the School Strike for Climate movement. As will be made clear in this chapter, three different frames are particularly prominent in the material: *the agents of change frame, the event frame, and the individual actions frame*. The frames have different qualities and describing them will give a picture of the news coverage about the School Strike for Climate movement. Among these three frames, some are more prominent than others. In the sample for the frame analysis, the major frame is the agents for change frame, which I have found in all four newspaper genres. The event frame and the individual actions frame are used to the same extent, but the event frame is most prominent in news articles and the individual actions frame is most used in opinion pieces. The three frames were present in all three newspapers.

This chapter begins with a presentation of the frame analysis, going into the three frames and presenting my findings using examples from the news articles. The findings will be discussed in terms of theoretical and practical implications. Through this analysis I discovered that several of the articles used what has been termed "suppression techniques" (Ås, 1979) when portraying the School Strike for Climate movement and the children participating in the strikes. The techniques were found across the three frames, and investigating these techniques is another way of analyzing the news content, both the individual frames and across the frames. After presenting the three frames I will therefore reflect on the suppression techniques and how they are used in the news coverage. Finally, I will sum up the findings and discuss general tendencies in how the children are portrayed in the news coverage.

6.1 Children and youth as agents of change

The most prominent feature in the news articles analyzed, is a focus on children and youth as agents of change. Therefore, I refer to this frame as *the agents of change frame*. In my material, the frame was found in all newspaper genres, including opinion pieces written by both children and adults. I will now use examples from different news articles to discuss the characteristics and possible implications of this frame.

The youth's rawness will change the political mood, as other generations have succeeded before them. The question is not if it will happen, but how fast – and which politicians will disappear together with the oil (VG, 2019.03.22).

This quote is from the opinion piece "The youth's rawness" written by a mother of three climate strikers. In this quote, she states that the youth will have an impact on politics, and she emphasizes that other generations have been able to do this before them. She is clear that it is time for change, and that the youth's climate strikes will contribute to making it happen. In the opinion piece, she also writes about how her children have asked questions about her choices to drive a petrol car, her use of plastic, and eating meat, while she also states that she cares for the environment. The questions from her children about her double standards, have made her do some more eco-friendly changes for her and her family. Then she moves on to stating that even though her children care about making eco-friendly changes in everyday life, the school strikes are not about individual actions, but how the politicians are not doing enough. She states that "it's not my double standards, but those of the decision-makers that are seen through" (VG, 2019.03.22). This is an example of how this opinion piece recognizes that the School Strike for Climate movement is about sending a message to the politicians and focus the attention of political leaders on the global climate emergency. This way of portraying youth emphasizes that the movement has value, and thereby recognizes the children as political agents. The opinion piece illustrates a perspective that focuses on children and youth as agents of change. In the study by Kjørholt (2002) about children and participation in Norway, she found that children are constructed as resources. This view of children is similar with what can be seen in the news articles that are using the agents for change frame.

Another example of the agents of change frame, is an opinion piece by António Guterres, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, titled "The climate strikers should inspire us all to act in the next UN meeting". In his introduction, he writes that:

Thousands of young people are these days taking to the streets with a clear message to the world's leaders: Do something now to save the planet and our future from the climate crisis. These school children have understood something that seems to be lost on many in the older generation: We are in the middle of a race for life, and we are losing. The window of opportunity is about to close – we no longer have the luxury of time, and climate delay is almost as dangerous as climate denial (Aftenposten, 2019.03.22).

In this quote, Guterres states that the climate strikers are sending a clear message to the world's leaders that something needs to be done. The children have understood that we are running out of time, and the adult generation is potentially not taking this seriously enough yet. This example illustrates an optimism associated with children and

youth as the solution to the climate crisis. He ends his piece with stating that he knows that the youth can and will change the world. As such, children are recognized as competent human beings and associated with hope for the future. This is in line with the study of Swedish newspapers by Jacobsson (2020), where the actions of the young climate strikers are constructed with positive connotations about hope for the future in several articles.

The agents of change frame is also in line with several of the research papers I presented in chapter 2. Most of the articles about the School Strike for Climate movement concluded that children and youth should be recognized as agents of change in the global climate change arena (e.g. Feldman, 2020; Han & Ahn, 2020; Holmberg & Alvinus, 2020). These kinds of arguments can also be found in news media, for example, in an editorial in *Aftenposten* titled "The climate strike is legitimate and give a clear message" (*Aftenposten*, 2019.03.22). By referring to the climate strike as legitimate, this title can be understood as a recognition of the climate strikes and the children participating. In the title, it is also stated that the strike gives a clear message, which shows a perspective of children being able to do something important, and thereby be seen as agents of change. This example from the same editorial, introduces the climate strikes and the ideas behind it:

The Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg has inspired children and youth all over the western world to strike for the climate. They believe that those who are in a position to influence their future are not doing enough. They remind us that they must live with the consequences of the choices that are being made now. Hardly anyone can ignore the message from the strikers (*Aftenposten*, 2019.03.22).

This is the first paragraph in the editorial, and it focuses on why children and youth are participating in the strikes for the climate. The last sentence "Hardly anyone can ignore the message from the strikers", clearly recognizes the children and their movement. It illustrates a perspective of how the strike is legitimate and that the children should be taken seriously. This way of understanding the climate strikers through the agents of change frame gives them approval by recognizing why they strike and representing them in a positive way. Previous research show that the children's credibility and authority to speak in climate issues are challenged by the media (Feldman, 2020), but in my analysis this frame show a perspective where the strikers are recognized as agents of change.

6.1.1 Children and youth as a generation

In the news articles using the agents of change frame the term generation is often used. This way the children are presented as a group and not as individuals. In all three examples presented above, the children are referred to as a generation, and the focus is not on individual people. In the first opinion piece presented titled "The youth's rawness", the writer referred to climate strikes as a generation rebellion. To call the strikes a rebellion, can be seen as recognizing that the climate strikes is a movement. The expression generation rebellion is also used in the title of the article by Ursin (2019) in the journal *Barn*, that is "Environmental activism - the new generation rebellion?". Teenage generations are known for doing some kind of rebellion, and by calling the environmental activism the generation rebellion of today's generation of children and youth, it is recognized that the movement as something of value. Also, the mother from

the opinion piece "The youth's rawness" compares this generation rebellion to the protests of 1968. This movement was also a generation rebellion and it is recognized as a significant movement that led to change. By comparing it to the School Strike for Climate movement to the protests of '68, the children and youth today are seen as doing something just as important.

The climate strikes are compared to the protests of 1968 in other contexts and news articles, for example in an article in Aftenposten titled "- A massive mobilization" (Aftenposten, 2019.03.23). In this reportage, the researcher Guro Ødegård, studying youth research at Oslo Metropolitan University, is interviewed about the strikes. She calls the children's environmental movement a "generation effect" when she compares it with the protests of 1968. When using the term "effect" she explains that this is something that does not pass, but something that the generations bring forth in their adult life and into potential power positions. The values and ideas behind School Strike for Climate movement is thereby recognized as something that this generation will take with them when they become adults. Ødegård also calls this their "generational identity":

- We sense a generational identity related to climate, at least among some of the youth group. Of course, not everyone participates, but the massive mobilization we see globally and in Norway now is quite unique. The climate strike can mean a lot to the values and attitudes of this generation (Aftenposten, 2019.03.23).

Within social psychology, generational identity is defined as "an individual's awareness of his or her membership in a generational group and the significance of this group to the individual" (Urlick, 2012, p. 103). When the researcher interviewed in Aftenposten states that the climate is important in the youth's generational identity, she illustrates a perspective of how their participation in the movement is part of a political formation process that will follow them further through life. This movement and focus on the environment could be important for the values this generation will bring with them when they get the right to vote. Thereby, the children and youth's political activism have the power to "change the political mood", as the mother of three climate strikers wrote in VG.

With this recognition of the movement as a generation rebellion or generation effect, children are seen as competent human beings that are able to participate in society. This is in line with the paradigm shift in childhood studies, where children are seen as human "beings" instead of human "becomings" (e.g. Prout & James, 2015). Conceptualizing the children in the School Strike for Climate movement as political actors is to view them as active and competent in the societies they live in. The agents of change frame is consistent with the argument within childhoods studies, that children should be recognized as political agents in the present. The frame legitimizes the climate strikes and represents the children as an inspiration to others. In several of the news articles it is also recognized that the adult generation have made mistakes and are not living a sustainable way for the planet. For example, in the opinion piece titled "To the youth", a retired man writes about how the children and youth are focusing the attention of the adult generation on the climate crisis:

A thousand times hurray for you striking school children who are now trying to wake us adults who have closed our eyes for too long and let it go in a destructive belief in increasing growth (VG, 2019.03.22).

In this quote, the author is describing that the children and youth are doing something important by trying to alert the adults to the climate emergency and how we need to make changes. The adults are described as unknowing or ignorant about the problem and being more focused on increasing growth. This can be understood as children and youth are constructed as agents of change, whereas adults are constructed as the generation that has failed. The adult generation's failure in not taking care of the planet is a direct cause of the School Strike for Climate movement. At the same time, the children and youth's movement are what makes this construction of the adult generation as having failed. Thereby, these constructions of children and youth and adults can be seen as juxtapositions, as they gain meaning and power in the light of each other.

6.1.2 Powerless agents of change

The frame I have defined as the agents of change frame, includes more than adults writing positive articles about the climate strikes. Opinion pieces written by the climate strikers themselves, often refers to how the adult generation have a positive orientation towards the strike, but that they are not taking them seriously. They focus on how the politicians applaud the strikes, and then does nothing about their demands for the climate issues. The children feel powerless in the climate issue. This way the children and youth construct themselves as powerless agents of change. For example, in an opinion piece titled "Adults make fun of us in all sorts of creative ways. Yet we continue – and we have hope for the future" written by a girl in Adresseavisen:

This is in direct contrast with the government's idea that we young people need one single climate summit, so that the youth can listen to adult politicians who talk about everything they think is important to us. And then forget about us the next day, after some cool selfies with the kids, with our cute commitment to such an important issue (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.22).

This opinion piece is written by a girl participating in the School Strike for Climate movement, and in this quote she shares her frustrations about not really being listened to. She describes how young climate strikes were invited to a climate summit by politicians in Norway, where the adult politicians discussed the climate issue with the children and youth. Then she claims that the politicians forget about the climate strikers and their concerns the very next day. She also points out that the adult politicians took selfies with the children and youth at the climate summit. Through this quote it is implied that the adult politicians fail to recognize the political movement by the children and youth. The author draws on the symbolic value of children and youth, by referring to them as cool and cute. It is implied that the adults think of the children and their commitment to the climate issue as cool and cute, and thereby are not taking them seriously. This is linked to a discussion in the article by Ursin (2019) about the complexity in children's position in society. She states that the notion of children as environmental activists is strongly linked to the discourse of the rising generation as the hope for the future and as agents of change. However, Walker (2017) points out that the ideas of children as agents of change assumes that the symbolic power of childhood is directly transferrable to a real power of action. The reality is more complex, and children's position in society is characterized by a lack of power and influence (Ursin, 2019). The quote from the opinion piece by the young climate strikes show an example

of this complexity, and how it can lead to frustration among the children and youth participating in the School Strike for Climate movement.

When describing the children in the School Strike for Climate movement, Ursin (2019) are presenting them as worried, disappointed and angry. I have found few articles that describe the children this way, but in some opinion pieces by the strikers, they explain their worry and demand to be taken seriously. In the opinion piece "To spit the youth right in the face", their anger is shown in the title as well as in this example:

So you are planning to set a new record in oil exploration, to find even more of the poison that is ruining the future of your own children. It's like you are saying: you are so cute when you get mad, and at the same time you spit the youth in the face with several new oil exploration licenses. Do you really think that we should still believe that you are working for a sustainable future for us young people? (VG, 2019.03.22).

In this quote the adult politicians are critiqued for their politics regarding oil exploration in Norway. The opinion piece is written by three young climate strikers who are active in different environmental organizations for youth. They describe how the politicians are giving out licenses to search for oil in the Norwegian continental shelf, and that because of this they do not believe that they are working for a sustainable future. They show their anger towards the politicians through describing oil as "the poison that is ruining the future of your own children". In the same way as in the previous example, these climate strikers describe how the politicians seem positive to the strikers demands, and then they do nothing about it. It is implied that the politicians do not listen to the climate strikers demands to stop producing licenses for the oil industry. In this quote, the climate strikers are also describing that the adults think of the climate striking children and youth as cute, and it is implied that they are not taking their demands seriously. This is an example of how the children and youth feel powerless in the climate debate, even though they are portrayed as agents of change.

To sum up, through the agents of change frame the School Strike for Climate movement are recognized as valuable both now and in the future. In the news content, children and youth are portrayed as agents of change that are resources in society. These findings are supported by theories within childhood studies, where children are seen as competent human beings that are able to participate in society and acknowledged as political agents (e.g. Prout & James, 2015). However, the news content also show that the reality is more complex, and that children lack power and influence in society, even when they are constructed as agents of change.

6.2 Event frame

A consistent feature that emerges from my analysis of the news content, is that the news articles focus on how the climate strikes are organized and who participate in the strikes, instead of focusing on the reasons why the children are striking. This way of framing the School Strike for Climate movement I have called *the event frame*, as the focus is on the event. In my material, the event frame is mainly found in reportages covering the strikes around Norway, where the event is the focus of the articles, including the organization, location, shape and form of the strikes. By analyzing the use of this event frame, one can

gain insight into the notions of children and childhood that are portrayed in the news content.

6.2.1 Inventive children, colorful posters

One of the recurring focuses in the event frame is the children's posters, both in terms of how they look and how they were made. An example of this is in the article titled "About 3000 children and youth joined the climate strike":

Never before have this many children and youth demonstrated for a political cause in Trondheim. Never before have so many inventive banners, posters and slogans been seen in a demonstration in the city (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.23).

The example above is from the introduction of the article covering the climate strike in Trondheim. The first sentence introduces the strike, with presenting it as a demonstration for a political cause for children and youth. The second sentence moves away from the focus on the political cause and focuses on the posters the children are carrying. The posters are described as inventive, which illustrates a focus on the creative aspects and of how they look, instead of being described as important or powerful, with a focus on the content and the meaning behind the posters. In this reportage, the journalist writes more about the homemade posters the children are carrying, than the actual reason for the strike. Several people are interviewed in the article, including a policeman, several children aged 9 to 12, two politicians, a teenager aged 13, and the county leader of the youth organization Nature and Youth. The posters the children are carrying are thoroughly described in the article, with focus on them being homemade. For example: "- We only have one globe, reads one of their posters. Like many other, they have been diligent, drawing and painting and making the demonstration posters themselves" (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.23). In this quote, I argue that the news article seems a little condescending, because the focus is on what children and youth have done to express themselves, rather than what they convey through the strikes. Later in the reportage, ten slogans from posters are listed in its own paragraph. This is followed by mentioning the three girls who had made one of the posters, and a description of the colorful paper and collage technique they had used to make it. All the four pictures from the strike in Trondheim is of children holding up their posters. Together, all these examples from the reportage in Adresseavisen, show that the main focus is not why children and youth are organizing a school strike for climate, but on other aspects regarding the strikes.

The article "- There is no point in going to school if we have no future", is another example of a reportage that uses the event frame. This article covers the climate strike in Oslo, where both children, their parents and several politicians are interviewed. As the article contains a lot of information and interviews with different people, it shows more than one way of portraying the strike and the children participating. Therefore, quotes from different parts of this article are used as examples in both the event frame and the individual actions frame. This example is the introduction of the article:

Isa Theissen (10) and her friends are "special agents" for the Environmental Agents and stood in the middle of the crowd outside the Storting building. Posters with clear messages, and loud slogans, dominated around Eidsvoll Square in front of the Storting building yesterday (Aftenposten, 2019.03.23)

In this quote, the young climate strikers are presented with age, the organization they participate in, and where they are standing. Following this is a general description of what the Eidsvoll Square looks like, with a focus on the posters the climate strikers have with them. In this quote it is recognized that the climate strikers have a message, and they try to be heard, when the journalist writes about “clear messages” and “loud slogans”. However, the message itself is not conveyed by the journalist. Similar to the reportage in *Adresseavisen*, this reportage from *Aftenposten* focuses on other aspects of the strikes than the reasons behind the strike, including the strikers’ demands for the politicians. As such, I argue that children and youth are not constructed as political agents because the political message is overlooked in the news coverage from the strikes. These findings are similar to the findings by Jacobsson (2020) about Swedish newspaper coverage. Regarding one of her examples from the Swedish news coverage, she argues that the strikers’ anger and what stands in the way of their future are not further developed in the news article, but instead the journalist shifts the focus towards the event, the children attending and their excitement. This is the same that happens in the Norwegian news coverage, when the focus is on children as inventive and creative, instead of their demands for the politicians.

6.2.2 Turnout was great!

Another recurring focus in the coverage of the climate strikes are comments from adults about the turnout at the event. Thorough descriptions of who is at the event take up a lot of the space of the articles. When politicians are interviewed, they are not confronted with the children’s demands and held accountable for their insufficient action in the climate issue, but the focus is on the turnout at the event. For example, in the article “About 3000 children and youth joined the climate strike” the deputy mayor in Trondheim municipality at the time, Ola Lund Renolen from the Green party (MDG), was interviewed by *Adresseavisen* after the school strike in Trondheim:

- I was a little moved and got a lump in my throat. I have never seen so many in the park ever, and it was almost like May 17th. Fantastic. The commitment and impatience of the youth is important. That is what we need. We are impatient too. The whole point is that we do not have time to lose, said Renolen (*Adresseavisen*, 2019.03.23).

In this quote, Renolen first describes how he is moved by how many people showed up at the school strike in Trondheim. He compares it with Norway’s Constitution Day, May 17th, when the city is filled with people celebrating, including a children’s parade. Then he moves on to acknowledging that the youth’s impatience and commitment is important, as the climate crisis is an urgent issue, so there is a need to be impatient. The quote by Renolen shows a focus on the event and the number of people attending. Even though the politician is recognizing that what the children are doing is important, there are no follow-up questions from the journalist about the actual content of the strikes and their criticism of political actions as insufficient. The vagueness in this quote is an example of how the media praises the movement and the children participating, without answering their critique.

Another example of this focus on the turnout at the event, is in the reportage “- There is no point in going to school if we have no future” in *Aftenposten* from the strike in Oslo.

As mentioned above, both children, their parents and four politicians are interviewed in the article. One of the politicians interviewed is the leader of the Green party in Norway, Une Bastholm:

- I understood that something magical was about to happen, Green party politician Une Aina Bastholm told Aftenposten. She thought the turnout was fantastic. - The cold, political analysis of this is that you can be a popular politician in Norway even if you implement the climate policy that is needed, says the Green party leader (Aftenposten, 2019.03.23).

In this example, Bastholm states that the climate strikes are something magical. Without going into what about the strikes that is magical, the journalist concludes that "she thought the turnout was fantastic". In the first part of the quote, the text gives no clear explanation to what is describes as magical, but the journalist makes a connection between this and that she thought the turnout was fantastic. This illustrates a focus on the scale of the event over the content of the movement. "Magical" is also an interesting choice of word in this context, as it can give associations to fairytales, and is a word that is often used in relation to children. After the comment from the journalist about the turnout, another quote from Bastholm is included. She describes her political analysis, stating that the climate strike shows that there are people in Norway who wants a stricter climate policy. This indicates that the climate strikers would be for the climate policy that the Green party think is needed. This way she comments on the content of the strikes, recognizing the reasons behind the movement. However, she calls this political analysis "cold", as if analyzing the politics is not suitable when discussing a children's movement. This could be indicating that one should focus on the fun and "magical" parts of the strikes, and that it's a bad and "cold" thing to go into politics and the content of the strikes.

This focus on what the politicians say about the turnout on the events can be because the politicians talk a lot about how many people are attending. Although, it can also be because this is what the journalists focus on with their questions and follow-up questions. Through this type of analysis, I am not able to judge what is the basis for this focus, so I am only able to point at possible explanations without investigating it further. However, this could have been further explored following the journalistic process more closely through participatory observation.

In the same article in Aftenposten titled "- There is no point in going to school if we have no future", Roy Steffensen from the Progress Party in Norway (FrP) is also interviewed about the School Strike for Climate. The journalist writes that Steffensen "believes that the media coverage of the action is greatly exaggerated" (Aftenposten, 2019.03.23). He also states that "the vast majority of the country's 390.000 students in middle school and high school chose to attend school today". This is an example also illustrates a focus on the turnout, but it shows how this focus can also be used to tone down the importance of the event. By stating that the media coverage of the strikes is exaggerated, he weakens the movement by focusing on how many did not participate. This argument to the media coverage being exaggerated was used and highlighted in other news articles were perspectives of politicians from FrP was included. Some opinion pieces also referred to this statement when arguing that some adults are not taking the climate strikers seriously.

6.2.3 Saving the planet and having fun

Another aspect of the article “- There is no point in going to school if we have no future” is that the message from the climate strikers is muted, and it uses shallow descriptions of the children’s hopes and demands for a better future. This is a tendency within the event frame. For example:

Most of those who had come went to primary and secondary school. Many of the youngest brought their parents with them. – I want to save my planet, says Oriana Luise Huyhua Rønning (8) from the shoulders of her father Bård Kjøge Rønning (40) (Aftenposten, 2019.03.23).

In this example, the climate strikers are described by introducing that they go to primary and secondary school. There is a quote by an eight-year-old girl, stating that she wants to save her planet. This is the only quote from this girl in this article, and the journalist asks no follow-up questions. However, it is described that she sits on the shoulders of her father. It is a tendency throughout this article that children are quoted on one statement regarding the strike, and then not mentioned again. Another example of this is the title “- There is no point in going to school if we have no future”, which is a quote from another ten-year-old girl, that we get no further information about. I argue that the message from the climate strikers is muted, as they get no opportunity to explain their worries and demands for the politicians. Instead, the focus is on their age and that they have their parents with them.

In the discourse analysis of news coverage of the School Strike for Climate in Sweden, Jacobsson (2020) also points at how the Swedish newspapers also focus on the event itself, and she compares it to journalism from sports and music events. This is consistent with the Norwegian news coverage of the strikes. When the focus is on the atmosphere at the event, it serves to empty the content of the strikes and to evade a politically charged debate. Also, most of the pictures in the reportages from the strikes show smiling children holding up their colorful posters. This is in line with the findings by Bergmann and Ossewaarde (2020) that children’s interests are discarded by the newspapers’ coverage. For example, in this description from the strike in Trondheim, one can see the similarities with news coverage from non-political events:

Deep in the crowd were Ida, Eira, Julie and Anne Viola from Strindheim school. The nine-year-olds are so short that they were difficult to spot. But not their poster, cause the girls held them high. “Stop injecting toxins into the food. It kills the bees”, said one of the posters. The four girls had spent the night before making the poster together, they say (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.23).

This example is a description of four girls participating in the school strike in Trondheim. They are described with names, which school they go to, age, and their height. Then the journalist comment on their posters and how they are holding them up high, even though the girls are short. The journalists ask no follow-up questions to the children about why they are striking and the content of their posters. The focus is mainly on the striker’s excitement and the atmosphere at the event.

In summary, the event frame shows a focus on the School Strike for Climate movement as events, without emphasizing the reasons behind the strikes. The news content focuses on how the events are organized, who and how many people participate, as well as

children's homemade posters. Through this frame, childhood is characterized as a time of innocence and ignorance and for fun and play. This way for constructing children and childhood can be seen as constructing children and youth as apolitical beings, and this is consistent with the traditional view that children should be protected against the political life (Wall, 2012). Through the event frame, children are constructed as inventive and creative, but not as political, and this way children are not recognized as political agents in society.

6.3 Individual actions frame

The third frame I discovered in the news content is what I have called *the individual actions frame*. In several pieces in the three newspapers, the focus is on what eco-friendly choices the children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement make and do not make. In my data material, this focus is mainly found in opinion pieces, but it is also used in some of the articles and reportages by journalists. An example of the individual actions frame can be found in an opinion piece titled "Dump the vacation plane travel":

It is a good thing that children go on school strike for the climate, but it may take longer for them to actually sacrifice something to recuse greenhouse gas emissions. I hereby encourage everyone to dump the flight for your vacation. Use train, boat or bicycle instead. It is not necessary to travel that far, now that the summers have become warmer (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.22).

In this opinion piece, the author encourages the children who are participating in the strikes to not use planes for travelling, but to use more eco-friendly means of transportation. She indicates that the children should do more for the environment, and that they are not sacrificing enough with just participating in the strikes. With this focus on individual actions, the focus is moved away from the subject matter and the reasons for the climate strikes. School striking children are criticized for not doing enough for the climate, but at the same time, the opinion pieces do not comment on the movement and the strikes. More examples from opinion pieces that criticize children for their individual actions are presented and discussed in the section about suppression techniques.

6.3.1 Adults forming children's habits

In some opinion pieces by climate strikers, the focus on individual actions is discussed. The children themselves highlight how their habits are formed by their parents and other adults, and that in some cases they do not even have a choice in using plain travel to go on vacation with their family, eating meat for dinner, etc. One example of this perspective can be seen in the opinion piece by three climate strikers titled "To spit the youth right in the face". This opinion piece was also used as an example when exploring how children feel powerless, even though they are portrayed as agents of change. In this opinion piece, the climate strikes also discuss the focus on their individual actions:

You ask us questions about whether we are traveling by plane and whether we have a bad conscience about it. Yes, we travel by plane, as you have taught us. We do as you do – we choose the cheapest item, not the most expensive (VG, 2019.03.22).

In this quote, the three climate strikers comment on how they are asked by adults if they travel by plane and if they feel bad that they do. They explain that they do travel by plane, as they have learned by adults, and also that travelling by plane is cheaper than more environmentally friendly ways of travelling. In the example the climate strikers problematize the focus on their individual actions, as they argue that part of the problem is that adults have helped formed their habits and choices in their daily life. Another, and a bigger, part of the problem is that prices on different ways of travel is an important factor when choosing means of transport. In the opinion piece, they move on to stating that "it is the politicians' responsibility to ensure that everyone acts in a climate-friendly manner, regardless of our personal morals or conscience" (VG, 2019.03.22). Here they sum up one of the problems with focusing on the climate strikers' personal habits and individual actions, by arguing that it is the politicians' responsibility to make climate-friendly choices the natural choices for everyone. It is implied that if the focus is shifted away from individual actions and to the actual demands for the politicians, one can see that it will be easier for people make more environmentally friendly choices.

Another example of this perspective is an opinion piece titled "The strike leads to the issue finally being put on the agenda":

You accuse us of contributing to the pollution ourselves. Young people drive cars, take planes, eat meat and have an overall high consumption. First of all: It is you that buy a lot of this for us. Secondly: Yes, I also contribute to the pollution, even though I take action in everyday life. Are you crazy? Of course I do. We live in a society where it is almost impossible not to do so (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.22).

This opinion piece from Adresseavisen is written by a climate striker in Trondheim. She describes how adults focus on how the young people participating in the School Strike for Climate movement contribute to the pollution by doing environmental irresponsible actions. Then she points to the same two explanations for this, as the three climate strikers in the previous example. First, adults are making a lot of choices for the young climate strikers, and secondly, it is almost impossible not to contribute to the pollution. Through these examples it is made clear that the children and youth participating in the climate strike are aware of this focus on their individual actions, and that some of them are writing opinion pieces to try and do something about it. It shows that the strikers want to shift the focus away from individual actions and to their demands for the politicians. They argue that the focus on their personal habits being environmentally irresponsible or friendly is irrelevant, as it is the politicians' responsibility to make climate-friendly choices the natural choices.

6.3.2 What questions are the journalists asking?

The individual actions frame is mainly found in opinion pieces and on debate pages, such as in the examples above. However, the perspective is also seen in some of the questions asked by journalists covering the school strike for climate. In the sample of the frame analysis, the children are more frequently asked question about what they personally do for the environment than the role of politics, which is the main criticism put forward by the climate strike movement. When journalists choose to exclude such information, they show a non-provocative picture of the children striving to make individual eco-friendly choices. The results by Levinsen and Wien (2011) indicates that media seems

increasingly willing to let children and youth speak for themselves, but the study says nothing about what topics the children get quoted on. If the children are mainly asked about personal choices instead of climate politics and their demands for the politicians, they are not taken seriously even though they are quoted in the press.

In the news article in Aftenposten “- There is no point in going to school if we have no future”, discussed in the section about the event frame, the journalist asks the children “What do you do for the environment?” (Aftenposten, 2019.03.23). In the article, this question comes immediately following a quote by a ten-year-old girl saying, “And we hope that the politicians listen to us”. The journalists shift the focus away from the politician’s responsibility over on the children’s individual actions and responsibility. This way, also the reportages from the climate strikes written by journalists sometimes used the individual actions frame. This tendency to shift the focus from politics to the question of individual responsibility was also found in the study of Swedish newspapers by Jacobsson (2020). She explains that the journalism creates a picture of children striving to make individual climate-friendly choices, while excluding information about the criticism but forward by the movement.

An example of the climate strikers shifting the focus back to the reasons for their strikes, is in an article in Adresseavisen titled “- We feel powerless in the climate debate”. The article describes how a journalist visited a high school in Trondheim before the first school strikes and interviewed students who planned to participate. A girl who is organized in the youth organization Nature and Youth says this:

- There is a lot we as individuals can do for the climate. In 2018, Nature and Youth did a bet not to buy new clothes, and only buy second hand. In addition, everyone can eat less meat and bike and walk when possible (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.22).

Here, the girl focuses on what individual actions one can do for the climate. She makes examples of things that is possible to do and things that she has done herself. However, in the article, a boy shifts the focus away from individual actions, by pointing at how the measures taken by individuals are not enough to avoid the climate crisis. He states that:

- It is the large companies that do the most damage to the environment, such as the oil industry. The difference must be made by the biggest polluters and in larger contexts than that people should have a meat-free day a week. We must stand together and show commitment, even if it may feel hopeless (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.22).

In this quote, the climate striker shifts the focus to the political questions and the bigger changes that need to be done to solve the climate issue. He states that making changes in larger contexts is more important than people’s individual actions. This example illustrates how climate strikers themselves tries to shift the focus away from their individual actions, and towards the reasons behind the strikes and the bigger issues to solve regarding the climate crisis. In the final sentence in the quote, he points at how it may feel hopeless to solve this, but that it is important to show commitment together. I argue that this highlight one of the arguments behind the school strikes. Thereby, this news article in Adresseavisen show that the news coverage is more complex than the

three frames I have identified. The main frame in this news article is the individual actions frame, however, this last quote show that it is not one-sided.

To sum up, through the individual actions frame the focus is shifted away from the School Strike for Climate movement and towards the individual actions of children and youth. In the news content, the emphasis is on how the young people participating in the movement contribute to the pollution by doing environmental irresponsible actions, and in several opinion pieces it is indicated that the children are not sacrificing enough for the climate. This shows the value of investigating not only whether children and youth are represented in news media, but how they are represented and what they say. The individual actions frame shows several examples of both opinion pieces and articles written by journalists about the School Strike for Climate movement, but the focus in the news content does not describe the strikes and the movement, but aspects about children and youth that are not directly related to the strikes and their demands for the politicians.

6.4 Suppression techniques

Through analyzing the news articles, I discovered that several of the authors uses different suppression techniques in their writing. Suppression techniques are strategies people use to dominate or humiliate others in a subtle, indirect way (Ås, 1979). The Norwegian social psychologist Berit Ås, developed a theory of five suppression techniques used by men against women, mainly in the workplace. The five suppression techniques are 1) making invisible, 2) ridicule, 3) withholding information, 4) double punishment, and 5) imposition of guilt and shame. Even though the theory is developed in gender research, the techniques can be used by any dominant group to maintain their position in an established hierarchy. Therefore, the suppression techniques are relevant when discussing how children are portrayed in news media. Presenting and discussing these suppression techniques in an enrichment to the analysis, as it is another way of looking at what is happening both across and within the identified frames. In the data material, I found examples of all the suppression techniques, except for withholding information, which is when someone purposefully keeps others in the dark by withholding information (Harr et al., 2016). I will now go through the four suppression techniques prominent in the news content and give examples to how they are used in the material.

6.4.1 Making invisible

The first suppression technique is making invisible, which is when a person or a group is ignored, forgotten or overlooked (Ås, 1979). The technique involves conveying to others that someone or something are not interesting or important, and it is the suppression technique that people are most familiar with (Harr et al., 2016). It can be applied obviously or in subtle way, as well as conscious or unconscious, but it typically results in subjects questioning their own value.

I argue that an example of this suppression technique in the news content is when the focus is on other aspects of the climates strikes than the message behind the strikes. This can be interpreted as a form of making invisible, not of a child of a group of children, but of their message to the politicians. The three frames show different ways climate strikers are portrayed in news media, but no articles included the list of demands

from the strikers. Even in the agents of change frame, where the children and the climate strikes are taken seriously, the strikers demands were not listed. In the event frame and the individual actions frame, the focus is shifted away from the message behind the strikes towards other aspects of the strike and the personal choices of the climate strikes. Through both these frames, the message is made invisible and other aspects made visible. Some of the news content also show a use of the suppression technique by making children and youth invisible as political actors, through making them visible as creative, happy, and inventive, for example in the event frame when the focus is on the striker's excitement and the atmosphere at the event.

Another way for shifting the focus away from children and youth as political actors, is through focusing on whether the children should be allowed to strike from school or not. When going through all the news articles about the climate strikes from 2019 for the content analysis, a recurrent topic was expectations that children and youth should attend school instead of attending the climate strikes. I found a lot of articles debating whether the children should be allowed to strike or not, and if there should be any consequences for the children that skipped school to attend the strikes. Both Bergmann and Ossewaarde (2020) and Jacobsen (2020) also found this debate in their analyses of news coverage about the climate strikes. Jacobsen (2020) called it the school-or-strike debate. This debate can be seen as a use of the suppression technique making invisible, as the message behind the strikes is made invisible, and the idea that children and youth are obliged to go to school is made visible. However, this debate did not show up in my sample for the frame analysis, as it took place later in the year, when the national school strike for climate was not a one-time thing.

6.4.2 Ridicule

Ridiculing is when the person or group is made fun of through mockery of something that the person says or is, for instance by attacking their pronunciation, laughter or physical appearance (Ås, 1979). Examples of ridiculing could be comparing a group of women to a flock of hens or addressing an adult as "young lady" or "young man" to suggest that they behave like a child (Harr et al., 2016).

In the news coverage of the climate strike, ridiculing is sometimes used when indicating that the children are too young and inexperienced to understand the situation of the climate crisis or that they are not willing to sacrifice enough. Ridiculing is often used in opinion pieces within the individual actions frame, when the authors are mocking the children for not doing enough for the environment. An example of use of ridiculing, is an opinion piece in Adresseavisen called "Make an agreement":

Take the youth rebellion about the environment seriously. Make an agreement with the children about:

No trip to the south for 5 years.

No new cellphone in 5 years.

No new computer in 5 years.

No driving to activities and friends for 5 years.

If they sign this agreement, you have an environmental activist in the house that you must take seriously. The agreement is recommended to be used on adults as well, if they have any opinions about the environment! (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.22).

In this opinion piece, the author explains that the climate activists can only be taken seriously if they sign this agreement and become accountable for their choices. The points in the agreement are both things many children like to do or own, but also things families do together. Thus, the agreement indicates that the children should also be accountable for the choices of their parents and families. In this opinion piece, I argue that the author is making fun of the children and their activism when suggesting making an agreement with the children. He uses the suppression technique ridiculing by indicating that they can only be taken seriously if they sign the agreement. Thus, he is attacking their inexperience and immaturity based on them being children. This opinion piece is also an example of the individual actions frame, as the focus is on the children's personal responsibility to make environmentally friendly choices.

On the same page of opinion pieces, another title is "School strike – what good can it do?". This opinion piece begins with the writer asking the question "Is the school strike the result of a climate debate that is close to being hysterical?" (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.22). He moves on with stating that even though the climate change is the biggest challenge of our time, a school strike will not change anything. The final sentence in the opinion piece is "Finally, I would like to remind you that where everyone thinks the same, it is often the case that many people don't think at all!" (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.22). Here, it is implied that the children participating in the School Strike for Climate movement are not thinking independently, and that they maybe have not fully understood the situation or the ideas behind the strikes. This is a condescending statement that views the children as too naive and immature to be able to think independently, and I argue that this opinion piece uses ridiculing and is mocking the entire movement. It illustrates a perspective that undermines the entire climate debate, while indicating that the children are not able to understand the situation. For example, by calling the debate hysterical, it is implied that the children's motivation is emotional instead of rational. This is in line with research by Feldman (2020), who argued that instead of listening to the children and recognizing what they know, the critics are able to attack them for their (in)ability to speak about the issue through an attitude toward young people as immature, irrational and lacking knowledge.

One example of ridiculing that is not from an opinion piece, is in an editorial in Adresseavisen titled "When spoiled brats strike". This piece explores the ridiculing adults use in the public debate about the climate strikes, and through reading the editorial it is clear that the title is meant as a parody. By using a parodic title that portrays the children negatively, it is implied that the construction of children as "spoiled brats" is familiar to the readers. The editorial in itself is not using suppression techniques, but it explores examples of ridiculing in society. An example of this is:

Some also believe that the strike is a consequence of climate hysteria. - Children are exposed to scaremongering, said Frp-politician Jon Helgheim a few days ago. He attended a breakfast meeting in the House of Literature in Trondheim, and among the audience was a class from a high school in the city. Helgheim believes that talk of a climate crisis is leading young people to strike. Politicians and authorities will probably find solutions to the climate challenges, Helgheim comforted. Also, it is not certain that all forecasts turn out so that it goes to hell. He used holes in the ozone layer as an example. It has not gone to hell with us despite the holes (Adresseavisen, 2019.03.23).

In this example, the Frp-politician presents the children as being led to strike by climate hysteria. He believes that children are exposed to scaremongering, which means spreading stories that make people feel worried or frightened. He states that the politicians and authorities will solve the climate issues, and thereby implies that there is no need for the children to go on strike. By implying that the children are doing something useless and that the strike is a consequence of climate hysteria, Helgheim uses suppression technique ridiculing. These findings can be seen in relation to the study by Feldman (2020), who instead of listening to the children and recognizing what they know, the critics are able to attack them for their (in)ability to speak about the issue through an attitude toward young people as immature and lacking knowledge. When indicating that there is no need for a climate strike movement, I argue that children and youth are constructed as lacking knowledge about the climate and about politics.

6.4.3 Double punishment

Double punishment is when the person or group are punished for what they do and for what they don't do (Harr et al., 2016; Ås, 1979). This suppression technique indicates that whatever you do is wrong. An example of double punishment could be that a woman is criticized for being insufficiently involved in her child's upbringing because she is working too much, while at the same time being criticized at work for not taking it seriously enough.

The use of the suppression technique double punishment can be seen in the media coverage when the children are criticized for not doing enough for the environment, while simultaneously being criticized for participating in the School Strike for Climate movement instead of going to school. This way the children and youth are punished for not caring enough at the same time as being punished for caring too much or the wrong way. Throughout this chapter, I have shown several examples where it seems like whatever the climate striking children and youth do, it is wrong. In the example below, children are blamed for not understanding that a school strike will not end the climate crisis. This is from the editorial in VG from the day of the first national strike, and it is titled "No wonder the youth are mad at us". The journalist starts the article by referring to a discussion in the comment section in VG:

It is a total waste what they do, wrote one of VG's readers in the discussion about the climate striking youth. If it is believed that the climate will be better by taking a long weekend and holding up a poster, then you should get straight back to school, wrote another (VG, 2019.03.22).

In these comments, the message is that the climate strikes are useless and "a total waste". The second comment referred to in the example describes how the children should stay in school, because the climate will not be saved by a school strike. These comments imply that some people are more concerned with what the children are doing wrong, than what they actually do and why they join this climate strike movement. By stating that the strikes are a waste of time, they dismiss children's legitimacy as political actors. By trying to make children feel responsible for the climate emissions, instead of recognizing their ideas and why they choose to strike, they are not taken seriously.

6.4.4 Imposition of guilt and shame

The last suppression technique is imposition of guilt and shame, which is often experienced in conjunction with ridiculing, double punishment or withholding of information (Harr et al., 2016; Ås, 1979). Imposition of guilt and shame is when a person or group are made to feel guilty or shameful, even if they have done nothing wrong. The suppression technique is often used in connection with sexual harassment, for example, if a woman is sexually harassed and she is later told that the situation might have been caused by her choice of clothes or behavior. The blame falls on the victim, instead of focusing on the person who did the harassment.

In my data material, imposition of guilt and shame is seen inflicted through the suppression techniques ridiculing and double punishment. For example, in the individual actions frame, when the focus is on personal choices the children do for the climate in their everyday life, it is implied that the children are not doing enough for the environment and that they should feel guilty about it. Applying guilt and shame is often used in the opinion pieces that are critical to the strikers, but the suppression technique can also be found in a number of articles written by journalists in the event frame and the individual actions frame. In reportages from the climate strike, the children are usually asked about their personal eco-friendly choices. A possible consequence of these questions is that the children could feel guilty or shameful about their individual actions. The focus on children's individual actions contribute to the way we think about children and youth, and a possible consequence is that we become accustomed to thinking about children as being unable to discuss political issues. This is a way of continuing to exclude them from the political sphere through framing choices and subtle suppression techniques. It would be interesting to know if the same applying of guilt and shame are used when adults discuss climate politics in the press, but my impression is that adults rarely are asked about their own climate efforts when discussing politics.

Summing up, the four suppression techniques found in the news content are making invisible, ridicule, double punishment, and imposition of guilt and shame. Investigating the use of suppression techniques in the news content have been an enrichment to the analysis, as it has viewed the news frames from a different angle. The use of suppression techniques says something about children and youth's position in society, as these techniques can work as social acts in a larger social power play when it is used by a dominant group to maintain their position in an established hierarchy (Harr et al., 2016; Ås, 1979). When adults are writing about children and youth using suppression techniques, both intentionally and unintentionally, children and youth are viewed as lesser and their perspectives as less valued. This way, the adults make their own views and opinions larger and more important.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have focused on identifying frames in the news content about the School Strike for Climate movement using the qualitative frame analysis. The findings show three main frames that are particularly prominent in the news content: *the agents of change frame*, *the event frame*, and *the individual actions frame*.

Through *the agents of change frame*, the movement is described as inspirational, and the children and youth are portrayed as competent human beings that are able to participate

in society. This frame was found in all newspaper genres, including opinion pieces written by climate striking children and youth as well as adults. In the news articles, the children and youth today are seen as doing something important as a generation. Furthermore, the values and ideas behind the movement are recognized as something that this generation will take with them when they become adults, thereby the climate strikers have the power to participate in and possibly create change in society. The agents of change frame is consistent with the argument within childhoods studies, that children should be recognized as political agents in the present (e.g. Liebel & Saadi, 2012; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). In the news content within this frame, children and youth are seen as an inspiration to others and the climate strikes are legitimized.

In *the event frame*, the main focus is how the climate strikes are organized and who were there, instead of why the children are striking. The frame was mainly found in reportages written by journalists covering the strikes in Norway. In the reportages, the event is the focus of the articles, including the organization, location, shape and form of the strikes. Children and youth are described as inventive and creative as they make their own posters for the strikes, and the turnout in specific strikes are thoroughly described. Some of the articles use vague descriptions of the children's hope for the future, but they do not go deeper into their demands for the government. This construction of children and childhood is consistent with the traditional view that children should be protected against the political life (Wall, 2012), as the strikes are not portrayed as political.

Through *the individual actions frame*, the focus is on what choices children and youth are doing in their everyday life to be more eco-friendly. This frame was mainly found in opinion pieces written by readers of the newspapers, but also in questions asked by journalists in articles and reportages covering the strikes. The content in the opinion pieces is centered around individual actions, such as plane travel, eating meat, and general consumption. Some of the writers indicate that the children have no right to strike if they are making any choices that could potentially harm the environment. This way of representing children in the news coverage can be seen in relation to a perspective of children as incompetent and unable to understand complex topics (van Deth et al., 2011), as the main focus is on aspects about children and youth that are not related to politics and the strike as a form of political activism. In opinion pieces by children and youth themselves, they try to shift the focus away from the individual actions by arguing that the focus on their personal habits is irrelevant, as it is the politician's responsibility to make the big changes for the climate.

These three frames give an overview of the news coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement. However, it is important to note that the frames do not cover everything, and that the full picture is more complex than dividing the news content into three frames. Through the qualitative frame analysis, I discovered that several of the news articles included suppression techniques, and therefore I investigated this further in this chapter. The use of suppression techniques in news content about the climate strikes say something about the position children have in society. The techniques can be used by any dominant group to maintain their position in an established hierarchy and are therefore relevant when discussing how children are portrayed in news media.

7 Conclusions

The aim of this master thesis has been to explore the Norwegian press coverage of children and youth who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement, through analyzing news articles from 2019 in the three biggest newspapers in Norway: Aftenposten, VG and Adresseavisen. The main research question that I have studied and discussed is: *How are children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement portrayed in Norwegian news media?* By using both qualitative and quantitative research methods when analyzing newspaper articles, I have gained a nuanced understanding of the research problem and a rich picture of the news coverage. In order to focus my analyses of the news articles, I have investigated and discussed three more specific sub-questions: 1) *How are the school strike covered in Norwegian newspapers, and whose views are represented in the news content?* 2) *What notions of children and childhood characterize the news content about the climate strikers?* And 3) *How is the news content about young climate strikers framed by journalists and other writers?* In this concluding chapter, I will make some concluding reflections and highlight the most important findings. Due to the coherence in the reflections and discussions about the findings, I will discuss the third research question before the second question. In this chapter, I will also point at strengths and limitations with this research project. Finally, implications for further research and policy will be discussed.

7.1 Summarizing findings

In this thesis, I have combined quantitative and qualitative research methods when investigating the research questions. Even though the main aim of this study is generally qualitatively oriented, the mixed methods approach has allowed me to get more complete knowledge about the topic when investigating the broad research questions. In this thesis, the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative frame analysis gave a richer picture of the news coverage, compared to just using one single method. The mixed methods approach added insight and understanding that could have been missed if only one of the methods was used. The results from the content analysis show that the overall orientation towards the climate strikers is positive. However, the results from the frame analysis show that the children and youth are not always taken seriously. In the news content, the strikers list of demands for the politicians are never presented, and the reasons behind the strikes are rarely discussed in depth. This clearly shows the value of the frame analysis as a way to discover not only who's voices are represented in the news content, but what they are saying and how. This insight can say something regarding children and youth's position in society today.

How media portrays a positive picture of the School Strike for Climate movement, but at the same time are not always taking children and youth seriously, can be seen as similar to events called *Clap for Our Carers* at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in Europe in 2020. Countries around the world showed their gratitude towards health care workers who worked at the front line of the pandemic by applauding from their balconies. In Norway, as well as in other countries, the health care workers did not want applause for doing their job, they wanted higher salaries. This can be compared to how the media

are positive and supports the School Strike for Climate movement, but they do not print the demands the strikers have for the politicians. It is like the media applauds the children's activism, without acknowledging what their activism is about.

7.1.1 Positive news coverage including children's voices

The first sub-question I aimed to answer is: *How are the school strikes covered in Norwegian newspapers, and whose views are represented in the news content?* This was investigated using quantitative content analysis and the findings are described in chapter 5. One clear finding regarding how the school strikes are covered in the three newspapers is that the coverage is centered around specific events. The data clearly shows the highest number of news articles around the first national strike in Norway. Nearly half of the news articles about the climate strikes are opinion pieces written by readers of the newspaper, and almost the same number of articles are news articles or reportages written by journalists. As there are a high number of opinion pieces, it shows that a lot of people are engaged with this topic. However, the news coverage is quite uniform and one-sided, in that articles with a positive orientation towards the climate strikes dominate. The content analysis indicates that the school strikes are covered in a mainly positive way in all three newspapers.

Regarding whose views are represented in the news content, more than half of the registered voices are children and youth, and climate strikers are the most frequent voice represented in the news content. These results indicate that the media is willing to let children speak for themselves about this topic. In line with previous findings about people from higher positions in society being frequently portrayed in news media (e.g. Lepianka, 2015; Levinsen & Wien, 2011), adult politicians are the third biggest category of voices represented in the news content. The second largest category is other adults, including parents of climate strikers, artists and authors, teachers and headmasters, and people working for the state or local government. In total the adult voices represented in the news content were mainly male, where men are represented twice as much as women. The findings about children are the opposite, where girls are represented three times as much as boys. I argue that based on these results, girls and men are the ones who set the agenda in the news coverage about the climate strikes. Previous research about the climate strikes in Sweden found that the climate strikes have mobilized a historically large number of people, particularly people who have never demonstrated before, school pupils, and girls (de Moor et al., 2020). Combined with my results, this could indicate that the young girls are more active in the movement and participating in the strikes as well as more present in news media.

7.1.2 Three main news frames

The third sub-question I aimed to answer is: *How is the news content about young climate strikers framed by journalists and other writers?* Through the qualitative frame analysis, I found three main frames that are particularly prominent in the news content: *the agents of change frame, the event frame, and the individual actions frame*. Even though these frames do not cover everything in the news content, and that the full picture is more complex than dividing the content into three frames, this analysis gives an overview of how the young climate strikers are portrayed in news media.

In *the agents of change frame*, children and youth are portrayed as competent human beings that are able to participate in society. The use of this frame was found in all newspaper genres, including opinion pieces written by climate striking children and youth as well as adults. The values and ideas behind the movement are viewed as important and children are recognized as political agents in the present, consistent with theories from the field of childhood studies (e.g. Liebel & Saadi, 2012; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). In the news content within this frame, children and youth are seen as an inspiration to others and as doing something important as a generation.

Through *the event frame*, the news content is centered around the climate strikes as events, with focus on how they are organized and who were there. The frame was mainly found in news articles and reportages written by journalists covering the strikes in Norway. In the reportages, children and youth are described as inventive and creative as they make their own posters for the strikes, and the turnout in specific strikes are thoroughly described. Some of the articles use vague descriptions of the children's hope for the future, but they do not go deeper into their demands for the government. This is consistent with the traditional view that children should be protected against the political life (Wall, 2012), as the strikes are not portrayed as political.

In *the individual actions frame*, the focus is not on the climate strikes as an event or a movement, but on children's individual actions and personal habits. This frame was mainly found in opinion pieces written by readers of the newspapers, but also in questions asked by journalists in articles and reportages covering the strikes. The news content is centered around what choices children and youth are doing in their everyday life to be more eco-friendly. This can be seen in relation to a perspective of children as incompetent and unable to understand complex topics (van Deth et al., 2011). Some of the writers indicate that the children have no right to strike if they are making any choices that could potentially harm the environment.

These three frames give an overview of the news coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement. However, it is important to note that the frames do not cover everything, and that the full picture is more complex than dividing the news content into three frames. Through the qualitative frame analysis, I discovered that several of the news articles included suppression techniques, and therefore I investigated this further in this chapter. The techniques were found across the three frames, and investigating these techniques was an enrichment to the analysis of the news content. The use of suppression techniques says something about children and youth's position in society, as these techniques can work as social acts in a larger social power play when it is used by a dominant group to maintain their position in an established hierarchy (Harr et al., 2016; Ås, 1979). When adults are writing about children and youth using suppression techniques, both intentionally and unintentionally, children and youth are viewed as lesser and their perspectives as less valued. This way, the adults make their own views and opinions larger and more important.

7.1.3 Complex notions of children and childhood

The second sub-question I aimed to answer is: *What notions of children and childhood characterize the news content about the climate strikers?* This was mainly answered by the qualitative frame analysis, but by combining it with the findings from the quantitative content analysis, I got a fuller understanding of the notions of children and childhood in

the news content. Through these analyses, I discovered two main notions of children and childhood in the news content about the climate strikers: 1) children as agents of change and 2) childhood as characterized by innocence, ignorance, fun and play. I will now elaborate on these two notions of children and childhood.

One of the main findings from the frame analysis, is that children and youth are constructed as agents of change in news coverage about the climate strikes. This is similar to the findings by Kjørholt (2002) about children and participation in Norway, where children were found to be constructed as resources. As discussed in chapter 6, in a number of news articles children and youth are constructed as agents of change, whereas adults are constructed as the generation that are not taking care of the planet and thereby have failed. Furthermore, the results from the content analysis could also indicate that the view of children as actors are more accepted as media seems willing to let children speak for themselves in that children's voices are represented in the news content. However, even though children and youth are constructed as agents of change in the news content, the reality is more complex. The idea of children as agents of change assumes that the symbolic power of childhood is directly transferrable to real power of actions, however, children's position in society is also characterized by a lack of power and influence (Ursin, 2019; Walker, 2017). Several opinion pieces written by young climate strikers, show this complexity when they describe their frustration about their lack of real influence in society.

The analyses in this thesis also displayed a notion of children as not belonging in public debate and political arenas. In the event frame, childhood is characterized as a time for play and fun, and not seriousness and responsibility. This is in line with reflections by Ursin (2019) when she points at how a lot of the critique directed towards the climate strikes in the media is linked to an understanding of children as belonging in the private sphere. A view of children as apolitical beings is still strong in society today, and it is linked to an understanding of politics as consisting of membership in political parties and voting in elections. Based on traditional theories within development psychology, political scientists have concluded that children do not have the mental capacity to understand political concepts and themes (van Deth et al., 2011). In the individual actions frame, the focus is shifted away from politics towards children and youth contributing to greenhouse gas emissions through their high consumption. I argue that this way children and youth are viewed as apolitical beings and that the strikes are not recognized as a political action.

In chapter 2, I presented how previous research about media representations of children and youth have investigated in which news cases children's voices are represented. To sum up, researchers have found that children's views were not often represented in relation to macro-level issues such as politics and that these kinds of issues were considered arenas of adulthood and adult power (Cushion, 2007; Mustola et al., 2019; Ponte, 2007). Children's voices were mainly represented in micro-level topics, such as play, education and advice for parents. These findings partly correspond with my findings about media's coverage of the School Strike for Climate movement. I argue that through the event frame and the individual actions frame, the climate strike is presented as a micro-level topic. In the event frame, the movement is covered as an event for children, similar to news coverage from a festival or a sports event. The media avoids representing children's views about politics, as the coverage does not focus on the purpose of the strikes. This way the School Strike for Climate movement appears as a micro-level issue.

This is also the case for the individual actions frame. When the focus is on what ecofriendly choices the children do in their everyday life instead on the political issues the strikes are targeting, the news case is represented as a micro-level topic. However, the news content using the agents of change frame can be seen as presenting the School Strike for Climate as a macro-level issue. The news coverage presents children and youth as agents of change, and it recognizes the climate strikes as a meaningful movement.

These analyses illustrate how notions of children and childhood are ambivalent, in that the views of children are complex and conflicting. The findings corresponds with research that suggest that children's right to participation is often presented as a dichotomous understanding of children as either competent social actors or as vulnerable (Kjørholt, 2008). Children and youth receive contradictory signals about their roles in society through the two notions of children and childhood that characterize the news content about the young climate strikers. In some ways, children and youth are portrayed as resources and political agents in society today, and in other ways, they are portrayed as innocent, ignorant and in need of adult's guidance and protection.

This ambivalence of how children and youth are portrayed in the news content can also be seen as similar to the motivation behind the School Strike for Climate movement. On the one hand, it is adult's responsibility to solve contemporary issues including the climate crisis. On the other hand, children and youth are arguing that the adults are not doing their job, and therefore, they resolve to school strikes to make their case. If the adults refuse to prioritize the climate, it is the children and youth who must solve the issues in the future. The climate crisis is affecting everyone, everywhere, and if nothing is done, children and youth will have even bigger issues in their future. Even though childhood is characterized by fun and play, and it is not children's responsibility to participate in politics, they are affected by adult's decisions both now and in the future.

7.2 Strengths and limitations

As previously discussed in this chapter, combining two methods is a strength in this thesis, as it gives a richer picture with more depth, compared to using one single method. Applying mixed methods research has allowed me to tackle broad research questions from different angles, using the strengths of one method to counter the weaknesses in another method. However, using two different methods can also be seen as a limitation, given the time and resources for this master project. To learn and get familiar with two methods and then conduct two analyses is extensive work, and conducting mixed methods research can be found difficult to handle by one single researcher (Creswell, 2015).

Not only did I combine two methods in this thesis, I also combined two fields of research, the field of childhood studies and the field of media studies. As discussed in chapter 3, to combine theories from two different fields has been helpful in investigating the research questions from different angles. Theories from the field of childhood studies combined with theories from the field of media studies has offered a different approach on children's experiences and voices in news media. My study has shed light on news media as an institution that help shape children's everyday lives and experiences. The same way as using two different methods is extensive work, combining two different research fields have been a challenge in this research process. To become familiar with a new

research field takes a lot of time, and it has been an ongoing process throughout this year of conducting and writing this thesis.

Finally, I want to point at the use of document analysis as both a strength and a limitation in this research process. It has been a strength that the data collection was not affected by restrictions in response to the COVID-19 pandemic that has been ongoing throughout the year this thesis has been conducted. It is an advantage to be able to follow through with the original plan for data collection and analysis. However, the use of document analysis is limited in that children's own perspectives have not been included, which is an important viewpoint in the field of childhood studies. An exploration of the children and youth's perspectives could have provided more insight into how the news coverage and the notions of children and childhood is perceived. This will be further elaborated on in the next section about implications for further research and practice.

7.3 Implications for further research and practice

Children's political activism through school strikes for climate is a topic that requires more research. As mentioned in the sections about strengths and limitations, it would be beneficial to include children and youth in the research process by discussing the movement and the news coverage with them. By conducting extensive studies including children's voices and perspectives, one can gain more knowledge about the importance of notions of children and childhood in news media.

Furthermore, it would be beneficial to conduct similar analyses in different contexts, countries and with different timeframes. As the climate strikes are still going on today, it could be possible to investigate how it has changed and how the news coverage has changed. In 2020 and so far in 2021, most strikes have been exclusively online, due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In a different research project, one could investigate how this have influenced the strikes and the news coverage regarding the movement.

Considering a lot of reactions towards and opinions about the climate strikes also take place on social media platforms and in newspaper's digital comment sections, another aspect relevant for research is to compare these comments about the strikers with the coverage in the mainstream press. The climate in social media and comment sections can be harsh and flourished with hate, compared to the mainstream press. Investigating how children and youth participating in the climate strikes are portrayed and talked to on social media, would give a deeper understanding of their position in society today.

The main aim of this study has been to investigate how children and youth who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement are portrayed in Norwegian news media. Findings from the frame analysis indicate that journalists often focus on other aspects of the strikes than the political aspect, and this is something journalists should be aware of and consider in their work. When covering the strikes, journalists and editors of the newspapers need to be aware of reasons behind why some parts of the strikes are emphasized while other are neglected. Particularly when interviewing children and youth, journalists should consider asking why they are participating in the movement and what makes it important. Despite the high level of consensus that children and youth are doing something important, mainstream journalism seems too careful with confronting the strikers with questions about their demands for the politicians. I argue that to include

children's voices and perspectives in news content regarding their political activism is an essential part of acknowledging their engagement.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Codebook

Appendix 2: Newspaper articles

Appendix 1:

Codebook

Codes used for quantitative content analysis of newspaper articles

Variable 1: ID

Identification number

Number assigned to each newspaper article from 1 to 158

Variable 2: Newspaper

1. Aftenposten
2. Verdens gang (VG)
3. Adresseavisen

Variable 3: Date

Date in 2019

DD.MM

Variable 4: Page number

The page number of the newspaper article. If the article is more than one page, only the first page is coded.

Variable 5: Front page

Is the article mentioned on the front page of the newspaper?

1. Yes
2. No

Variable 6: Length

How much space the article uses including headlines and pictures

- 1 Less than half a page
- 2 From half a page to a whole page
- 3 More than one whole page

Variable 7: Domestic/Foreign

1. Domestic
2. Foreign
3. Norwegian foreign (Norway's role in the world)
4. Other (both)

Variable 8: Genre

Type of news article

1. Editorial
Articles written by senior editorial people or the publisher of the newspaper published on a dedicated page, usually the first or second page after the front page.
2. Opinion piece

Debate pieces, letters to the editor and specific opinion pages for youth, written by someone not working for the newspaper.

3. Article/reportage/interview
Written by journalists working for the specific newspaper
4. Other
Articles that do not fit in any of the other genres

Variable 9: Voice

Everyone who is interviewed or speaks in the newspaper articles are registered. For opinion pieces all authors are coded as voice. The people/voices are coded as what the newspaper or themselves describe them as. If nothing is listed, they are coded as other.

1. Politician, man
 - 1.1. Politician, woman
2. Organization, man
 - 2.1. Organization, woman
3. Researcher, man
 - 3.1. Researcher, woman
4. Other, man
 - 4.1. Other, woman
5. Youth politician, boy
 - 5.1. Youth politician, girl
6. Youth/children organization, boy
 - 6.1. Youth/children organization, girl
7. Climate striker, boy
 - 7.1. Climate striker, girl
8. Other, boy
 - 8.1. Other, girl
9. Anonymous, adult
 - 9.1. Anonymous, child

Variable 10: Note about voice

Information available about the persons in the variable Voice, for example, name, age, organization, political party, etc.

Variable 11: Orientation

Is the articles orientation mainly for, mainly against or neutral towards children who participate in the School Strike for Climate movement?

1. For
When the climate strike and/or the children participating are presented in a positive way
2. Neutral/balanced/both
When the climate strike and/or the children participating are presented in a neutral/balanced/both positive and negative way
3. Against
When the climate strike and/or the children participating are presented in a negative way

Variable 12: Title

Title of the newspaper article

Variable 13: Comments

Other comments

Appendix 2:

Newspaper articles

List of the sample of newspaper articles with Norwegian titles for the quantitative content analysis

Aftenposten

Greta ga EU marsjordre

Vi støtter skulking!

Ikke skulk, ta heller ansvar

Våre etterkommere skal lese om voksne som sviktet, og unge som kjempet

Det er en god samfunnsborgers plikt å demonstrere

Disse jentene tror de kan slå Trump

Håper på over ti tusen i norsk klimastreik

Vi støtter skolestreiken

Nytt oljeforslag gjør naturvernere rasende

Vi streiker for handling, ikke "toppmøter"

Å overkjøre valgte politikere er ingen løsning på klimaproblemet

Det ingen snakker om i miljødebatten

Klima-opprøpet: Fra opprør til anmodning

Ja, jeg har fløyet det siste året. Såpass ærlig kan jeg være.

Klimakrisen krever sivil motstand

Fredag streiker jeg sammen med barna mine

Frp-topp rykker ut mot klimastreik

Folkevalgte styrer mot noe ingen ønsker

Streikerne fremstiller det som om politikerne ikke bryr seg. Det er feil.

Klimastreiken er legitim og gir en tydelig beskjed

Klimastreikerne bør inspirere os alle til å handle på neste FN-toppmøte

Dette er tvang

- En massiv mobilisering

- Det er ingen vits å gå på skole hvis vi ikke har noen fremtid

Klimastreikende ungdom behandles som de første kvinnesaksforkjemperne

Lytt til klimaungdommen!

Hva i all verden var det dere tenkte på, Satiriks?

Antidemokratiske ideer har ingen plass i kampen for å redde jorden

Jeg forstår godt at ungdom er sinte, frustrerte og utålmodige

Voksne som hetser ungdom, er også redde for klimaendringer

Barn jubler over at "Erna skulle hives i kverna"

Ikke vent på forandring. Vær forandring!

Ta ballen i stedet for ungdommen

Titusener deltok i skolestreik

Å kreve politisk handling er også å ta ansvar

Tysk klimapris til Greta Thunberg

Følelser funker bedre enn fakta

Greta Thunbergs strid: Når frykt og håp skiller lag

Ny skolestreik i mai

Oppfordret paven til klimastreik

Hva hadde du fått til da du var 16 år?

Kommer det flere fra regjeringen?

Hva vil dere egentlig?

KrF har skuffet meg, Greta Thunberg og alle andre unge
Solberg roser unge, men kutter ikke i oljen
- Fortsetter helt til vi får en endring
Hasteoppdrag fra sønn (12): Kan du gi meg en kort setning som kan redde kloden?
I dag streiker vi for klimaet igjen
Stort klimaoppmøte i pøsende regn
Vi streiker for noe vi ikke tar på alvor selv
Jeg kan fint sette meg ned en lørdag og lese på egen hånd
Bompengemotstanden er en skam
Kjent aktivist gir gode råd til alle som vil redde planeten
- Så lenge verden trenger olje og gass, skal Norge produsere det
Vi er en del av samfunnet. La oss få stemme!
Thunberg samlet 25.000 i Berlin
11 eksempler på tiltak som faktisk fungerte
Ny skolestreik for klimaet
Stem for klimastreikerne som ikke har stemmerett
Fra en ufrivillig klimaaktivist
Kjære politikere: Vi er enige med dere! Hilsen skolestreiker
Norsk gigantprotest for klima
Årets brøl
Amnesty-pris til Greta Thunberg
Synger for klimastreikere
Hva har klimastreikerne egentlig oppnådd?
Noen av tilbakemeldingen vi får, burde ikke deles
Vårt klimastreik foran Stortinget
Kunnskap er forhandlingskortet vårt
Iowa arena for ukens steik
Når skal dere slutte å svikte oss?
Klimastreikerne er blitt hørt i statsbudsjettet
Jeg hadde kraftig klimaangst. Jeg kunne ikke se på nyhetene og skulket naturfagstimene
- De hører oss men handler ikke
Greta Thunberg kåret til årets person 2019
Jeg fikk brev fra statsministeren. Så ble jeg med i klimastreiken.
Jeg har vært klimaaktivist i seks år, men aldri vært så provosert som nå

VG

Ikke rart ungdom er sure på oss
Å spytte ungdommen rett i fjeset
Til ungdommen
Ungdommens råskap
Opprøret
Gamlinger nå til dags: Dere dummer dere ut!
Klimaopprør er ikke kostnadsfritt
Tysk pris til klimaaktivist Greta Thunberg
Olje på brødskena og elbil på samvittigheita
Aps miljøtroverdighet står på spill
Greta og gamle gubber
Vi må erklære klimakrise
Unge klimaaktivister klappet og pep for Erna
"Det er dessverre en del idioter der ute"

Mens vi krangler om bompenger i Norge: Greta Thunberg (16) prøver å redde verden
Ny skolestreik neste uke
"Jeg synes det er flott at de unge blir irriterte"
Ungdommenes brøl
Et brøl for fremtiden
Klimastreik ikke gyldig fravær
Fikk Amnesty-pris
Flere klimastreiker enn noen gang
Trump skrur klokken tilbake
Klima- og miljøvernminister Ola Elvestuen (V) om klimaskeptikere: -De tar feil!
Våt klimastreik
Esther & meg
Vil forene oljearbeideren og klimaaktivisten: -Broen til fremtiden
Streikerett på skolen
Stem på Årets navn!

Adresseavisen

Det er håpløst og vi gir oss ikke
Skoleelever protesterte mot manglede klimatiltak
Greta fortsetter å skulke for klimaet
- Drit i bil, gå med stil
Titusenvis av elever demonstrerte for klimaet
Her kommer klimabarna. Og nå krever de at de voksne skjærer seg
Greta (16) fyrte løs mot EU-toppene
Skoler varsler fraværsskriving før stor elevstreik for klimaet
- Voksne driter i framtida vår - derfor gjør vi det samme
Skolestreik for klimaet
Kjære voksne! Det er dere selv dere gjør narr av
Elevene i Trondheim får ikke fravær for å streike
- Vi føler oss maktesløse i klimadebatten
Ingenting hysterisk i at ungdom står opp for sin egen framtid
Streikingen fører til at saken endelig heves opp på dagsordenen
Skolestreik - hva skal nå det være godt for?
Skrot ferieflyreisen
Det er deres framtid
Folkemøte
Inngå en avtale
Det beste vi kan gjøre er å gi næring til håpet
Voksne latterliggjør oss på alle mulige måter. Allikevel fortsetter vi - og vi har håp for
framtiden
Sagt på sms om klimastreik
Når bortskjemte skitunger streiker
Rundt 3000 barn og unge klimastreiket
Bråk da tusenvis ble igjen på Torget
40 000 elever streiket for klimaet
Sagt på sms
- De skriver at vi burde tatt livet vårt eller sultestreiket
Som tenåringsmor blir jeg opprørt når voksne avfeier ungdommers bekymring for klima
Ikke skyld på de unge
De skjønnte pensum og streiket for klima

Ny skolestreik for klimaet i mai
Fritt Ords pris til Greta Thunberg og Natur og Ungdom
Greta Thunberg ba EU-politikere om å "få klimapanikk"
Gi ungdom en stemme - ikke bare ros
Ny skolestreik planlagt fredag
Derfor klimastreiker ungdommene igjen
Hedwig arrangerer ny klimastreik
400 barn og unge i streik for klimaet
Erna, vi er forbanna! Klimakrisa er her nå
Ny nasjonal klimastreik 30. august
Vi har ikke råd til å vente
Frp steiler, Venstre jubler
Mangler overskrift
Brølte for klimaet
En historisk markering
Våt klimastreik foran Stortinget
Verdensospennende demonstrasjoner
I mars fikk jeg min første hatmelding
"Klimabrøl" er kåret til årets ord 2019
Greta Thunberg kåret til årets person

