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Representative Claims in Climate Change Activism

A Comparative Analysis of Globalization Discourse in English-speaking and French-speaking Activists' YouTube Videos

Master's thesis in Political Science

Supervisor: Pieter de Wilde

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Abstract

The aim of this master thesis is to analyze how climate activists discuss globalization and provide insight into the content of representative claims. Representative claims form a new understanding of political representation, as the making of claims to represent someone and the reception of such claims, developed by Michael Saward. Through a Representative Claims Analysis of 162 YouTube videos, I examine globalization discourse in political claims on climate change of 20 activists who have claimed themselves representatives for someone on the climate change issue. To explore the cultural aspect of representative claims, I compare English-speaking and French-speaking activists. Based on a linguistic perspective and previous globalization literature, I develop expectations regarding French-speaking activists expressing more critical views on globalization than English-speaking activists, together with more variety in the perceptions on globalization among English-speaking activists. The analysis indicates that these expectations are supported only for the globalized economy, not for globalized culture and globalized politics. Aimed to examine different sides of the climate change debate on YouTube, I analyze activists who advocate for rapid climate action and those who oppose this. The analysis provides some tendencies. While there is a variety among those who oppose rapid climate action, the analysis indicates similarities among those who advocate for rapid climate action in globalization discourse. This includes criticism of the globalized economy, mainly support for global culture, and some concerns and opportunities for globalized politics.

Sammendrag

Formålet med denne masteroppgaven er å analysere hvordan klimaaktivister diskuterer globalisering og gjennom dette å gi innsikt i innholdet i representative påstander. Representative påstander danner en ny forståelse av politisk representasjon som å fremsette påstander om å representere noen og mottakelsen av slike påstander, utviklet av Michael Saward. Gjennom en *Representative Claims Analysis* av 162 YouTube-videoer undersøker jeg globaliseringsdiskursen i politiske påstander om klimaendringer fra 20 aktivister som har hevdet at de representerer noen i klimaspørsmålet. For å utforske det kulturelle aspektet ved representative påstander, sammenligner jeg engelsktalende og fransktalende aktivister. Basert på et lingvistisk perspektiv og tidligere globaliseringslitteratur har jeg forventninger om at fransktalende aktivister uttrykker mer kritiske syn på globalisering sammenlignet med engelsktalende aktivister, samt mer variasjon i oppfatningene av globalisering blant engelsktalende aktivister. Analysen viser at disse forventningene kun støttes for globalisert økonomi, og ikke for globalisert kultur og globalisert politikk. For å undersøke ulike sider av klimadebatten, som er til stede på YouTube, analyserer jeg både aktivister som tar til orde for raske klimatiltak og de som er motstandere av dette. Analysen finner noen tendenser. Mens det er variasjon mellom de som motsetter seg raske klimatiltak, indikerer analysen likheter i globaliseringsdiskurs blant de som tar til orde for raske klimatiltak. Dette inkluderer et kritisk syn på den globaliserte økonomien, for det meste støtte til global kultur, og noen bekymringer og muligheter for globalisert politikk.

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All possible mistakes or misconceptions in this thesis are entirely my own.

Jenny Nygaard

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Abbreviations

CETA	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
COP	Conference of the Parties
EU	European Union
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NESH	National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RCA	Representative Claims Analysis
UN	United Nations
UNREP	Unelected Representatives

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1. Introduction

In a speech to world leaders at the UN Climate Action Summit in 2019, Greta Thunberg said: “You are failing us, but the young people are starting to understand your betrayal. The eyes of all future generations are upon you. And if you choose to fail us, I say, we will never forgive you” (PBS NewsHour, 2019, 4:10-4:28). In an interview, Bjørn Lomborg stated: “We live in a world with many, many different problems, climate change being one of them, but not by any means the defining issue of the 21st century, which for most poor people, especially, of course is just simply having their kids survive, easily curable infections, diseases, hunger, education – all these other issues” (Kelly, 2022, 11:39-11:53). Videos containing claims to speak on the behalf of someone else, like these, have a large number of views on social media. Social media has introduced new ways for individuals and movements to reach out to audiences. Lately, representative democracies have experienced a decline in voter turnout and political trust. At the same time, political opinions advocated by activists and movements on different political issues flourish in the public sphere (Rosanvallon, 2008, p. 18-19). Activists often claim to represent a groups’ interests in their political arguments (Saward, 2006; 2010). What do activists that claim to represent someone else speak about in videos on social media? What are they arguing for, and how do they justify it?

In this master thesis, I examine how climate change activists who claim to represent someone in their political claims on climate change discuss globalization. Like climate change, globalization is a transnational issue. This makes it possible for claims that include such perspectives to cross borders (De Wilde, 2019, p. 7). Furthermore, political parties may have come short in addressing globalization. Differences in the traditional left and right parties’ positions on globalization are minor since most parties are pro-globalization (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 3). Therefore, it is interesting to examine the perceptions on globalization that activists with broad publicity in society put forward. The viewers’ opinion on globalization might be affected by the arguments and the information they are exposed to.

I assess globalization discourse from a comparative angle. On the occasion of his latest mission on the International Space Station, the French astronaut Thomas Pesquet addressed the consequences of climate change and the urgency of acting. In a video where he speaks French, he says that he is worried about the lack of agreements in the International Community and economic incentives spoil action on climate change. He demands change (AFP, 2021). Speaking English in another video, Pesquet addresses climate change with more optimism than

criticism, calling for people to take sustainable action and work together (CNN, 2022). According to some scholars, language may influence how speakers perceive the world (Hall, 1997; Levinson, 2003; Deutscher, 2011). This brings up a question: Might there be differences between languages in which issues activists address?

1.1. Research question

Drawing on this, the thesis considers the following research question: *How is globalization discussed in representative claims on climate change, and to what extent do such claims made by French-speaking activists differ from those made by English-speaking activists?*

I address the research question by analyzing 162 YouTube videos of 20 climate activists, half of them English-speaking and the other half French-speaking. The unit of analysis is political claims on climate change made in the videos. The study is not an attempt to say something about the activists' personal perceptions of globalization. The aim is more precisely to look at the positions on globalization that appear in their climate change claims. In this way, I explore which arguments regarding globalization the audience is exposed to when watching videos on climate change.

The main theoretical foundation for the thesis is a recent development within political representation. Michael Saward (2006; 2010) proposes a shift from the understanding of representation as restricted to election outcomes to representation in a broader sense – as the making of claims to represent someone and the receptions of such claims. A representative claim is to claim to speak on behalf of someone's interests when expressing a demand on public policy. A demand can be expressed through a direct demand or an evaluation of existing policy on an issue. This implies that both politicians and civil society actors, including activists, can be representatives (Saward, 2006; 2010). Considering that activists are non-elected, and their activism may have transnational reach, Saward's contribution to political representation suits well for analyzing contexts where activists establish themselves as political representatives for someone. The theory provides a basis for selecting climate change activists for this study. The thesis explores climate change activists who, at some point, have claimed that they are speaking on behalf of someone's interests on the climate change issue.

In examining these activists' political claims on climate change, I focus on their arguments and perceptions on globalization and compare English-speaking and French-speaking activists. I justify the language dimension in Saward's cultural aspect of representative claims and theories

advocating that language has a significant role in sense-making and culture (Hall, 1997; Levinson, 2003; Deutscher, 2011). To understand the basis of the globalization discourse, a theoretical framework of different perspectives will be elaborated in the theoretical chapter, primarily based on David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt & Jonathan Perraton's *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Held et al., 1999). Furthermore, some observed differences between English-speaking and French-speaking globalization discourse are emphasized (Meunier, 2000; Hay & Rosamond, 2002; Garrett et al., 2006; Schmidt, 2007; Garrett, 2013). Based on previous literature, I expect the French-speaking climate change activists to make claims more critical to globalization than those made by English-speaking activists. In addition, I expect more variance among English-speaking activists' perceptions on globalization than among French-speaking activists.

1.2. Contribution

Although considerable academic literature examines political representation, only a limited number of studies have been covering the aspect of representative claims in Saward's terms empirically (Celis et al., 2014; Kinsi, 2018; Willis, 2018; De Wilde, 2020; Kinski & Crum, 2020; Volk, 2020; Maricut-Akbik, 2021). The field is still in need of more empirical knowledge. Furthermore, few studies explore representative claims made by civil society actors. This thesis aims to identify the political claims on climate change by activists who have made representative claims on the climate change issue and uncover how they are constructed. It seeks to contribute to the field of research by conducting and analyzing data on representative claims from a globalization discourse angle. According to Michael Saward, researchers should be "paying detailed attention to the conditions under which claims are made" (Saward, 2010, p. 147). Lisa Disch holds that it is essential for researchers to reveal from which discursive resources representative claims are constructed (Disch, 2015, p. 488). This thesis aims to provide insight into this by analyzing the construction of claims through arguments and perceptions on globalization and comparing possible differences between cultures from a linguistic perspective.

In addition to academic relevance, the insight into activists' representative claims is important for the public. Awareness of the arguments that activists put forward in the public debate might make citizens more conscious of what type of arguments they listen to. This lays a foundation for reflections on power relations and activists' impact on society. The variety of views and the

understanding of which arguments different activists advocate for emphasize the importance of critical thinking in various arenas of information.

The extent of this thesis is limited by the fact that I will not be able to say something about the effect on the audience of the claims, neither how the ones that are claimed represented evaluate the claims that are made about them, nor the motivation behind the claims. My aim is not to assess the extent of correct arguments in the claims or judge whether it is a good or bad representation. Instead, I intend to systematically analyze the content of claims made by activists who the public has not elected formally, but who claim to represent someone in the public. The aim is to provide insight into the arguments advocated by activists with a broad range of publicity. This creates a basis of knowledge to better understand how political representation and representative democracies function today.

1.3. Thesis outline

Aimed at examining the research question, this thesis seeks to identify political claims on climate change, potential representative claims, and analyze them from a linguistic globalization perspective. In Chapter 2, I elaborate on the theoretical framework for the thesis, based upon Saward's theory on representation, linguistic theory, and positions in the globalization discourse. Then, in Chapter 3, I develop and critically discuss the method applied for collecting data, the Representative Claims Analysis (De Wilde, 2013). Chapter 4 presents the positions identified, in which I analyze and compare the claims from a globalization discourse perspective. Finally, in Chapter 5, I highlight some concluding remarks on the significance of these findings and implications for future research. The conclusion of the analysis is that the expectations regarding French-speaking activists expressing a more critical view on globalization and greater variety among English-speaking activists only are supported for globalized economy, not for globalized culture and politics.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter outlines literature that is pertinent for understanding representative claims in the context of globalization discourses. First, I focus on the shift from a traditional understanding of representation as election outcomes to a broader understanding of representation as to making claims to represent someone and the reception of those claims, based upon the work of Michael Saward (2006; 2010). Second, I highlight the linguistic aspect of representation related to a cultural aspect of representative claims. Third, I examine theories on globalization and review literature on English and French globalization discourse. These contributions constitute the theoretical framework for analyzing globalization discourse in representative claims from a comparative angle between languages.

2.1. Representative claims

The concept of representation in political science has traditionally centered around formal voting processes within the nation-state of representative democracies. This implies that voters choose representatives during elections that are meant to represent their interests in policy for an amount of time. Based on this perspective, theorists have been occupied with defining political representation as elective representation, often normatively in the sense of how an elected representative should act, following Hanna Pitkin (Pitkin, 1967). Schmitter (2009) finds that theorists primarily understand representation in the context of political parties representing citizens. Furthermore, elections provide the channel where citizens can verify the legitimacy of representatives. At the same time, representative democracies have been experiencing declining tendencies in voter turnout, party membership, party identification, and political trust. Schmitter proposes that since all these tendencies relate to political parties, a transformation of the understanding of political representation may be needed. He points out that political expression through interest associations, social movements, and spokespersons increases (Schmitter, 2009). Moreover, Rehfeld (2006) argues that theorists generally understand political representation as a democratic concept. He suggests that it is more to the concept than democratic norms and institutions. Rehfeld concludes that political representation occurs when a person is accepted as a representative by an audience, and consequently, political representation is not in itself a democratic concept (Rehfeld, 2006). Thus, theorists have started questioning the standard account of representation.

Furthermore, the standard orientation of representation around political parties, elections, and within democratic nations has been challenged by Michael Saward (2006; 2010). He argues that the classics have been focusing too much on defining representation as a fact, often normatively. Consequently, they have missed researching what representation does more broadly. They have omitted the dimension of “presenting oneself as representing something” (Marin, 2001, p. 256). Following Louis Marin, Saward emphasizes the process of making claims to represent someone, which he considers as events rather than a fact, and the effects of such representative claims (Saward, 2010, p. 26; 32; 39).

Political representation is, on that ground, not constricted to the work of formal institutions, but a continuous, broader process of claim-making (Saward, 2010, p. 43). According to Saward, anyone, not only elected politicians, could make claims of representing someone. *Vice versa*, anyone could reject or approve such claims of being represented by someone (Saward, 2010, p. 47). Thus, Saward defines representation as: “A dynamic process of claim-making and the reception of claims” (Saward, 2010, p. 8). This means that representation is the ongoing interaction between the representatives and the represented, rather than simply a product of representatives chosen by electors during elections. A representative could be anyone who claims themselves representing someone, whether it is a journalist, a celebrity, a business leader, an activist, or a politician.

In addition to broadening the understanding of representation to apply to both elected and non-elected representatives, Saward extends the scope of representation across nations (Saward, 2010, p. 94). He points out that the traditional understanding of electoral representation partly omits contemporary representation on world issues. For example, citizens could find themselves represented by actors advocating for action on climate change outside the scope of their nation-state. World issues could be transferable from one nation to another so that the representation of interests would be transnational (Saward, 2010, p. 33). Therefore, Saward argues that it is more appropriate to think of representation as representative claims, national or transnational, rather than a product of a primary national election context (Saward, 2010, p. 83).

Besides their political nature, representative claims have an aesthetic aspect and a cultural aspect. Firstly, the aesthetic aspect refers to the creative and active process of making a claim (Saward, 2010, p. 74). A foundation pillar for Saward’s theory of representative claims is that would-be representatives, national or transnational, elected or unelected, could not be fully representative (Saward, 2010, p. 45). This is because representative claims are constructed, as are the constituencies they are made for. Saward defines a representative claim as: “a claim to

represent or to know what represents the interests of someone or something” (Saward, 2010, p. 38). Without being fully aware of all interests of every person of a constituency, claimants must choose a set of interests that they propose for an intended constituency. This does not imply that these claims reflect the genuine interests of a constituency. Claims could be rejected, contested, discussed, or accepted. Consequently, Saward distinguishes between intended constituency, those whom the claimant claims to speak for, and actual constituency, those who recognize the claim. Likewise, Saward differentiates the audience of the claim into the intended audience, which is the people to whom the claim is directed, and the actual audience, which is those who consciously receive the claim (Saward, 2010, p. 44; 49-50; 54-55). For claimants, claim-making is thus a creative work in shaping a policy demand or a policy evaluation advocated on behalf of an intended constituency directed at an intended audience.

Secondly, representative claims are rooted in a cultural aspect. Following Ann Swidler (1986) and Stuart Hall (1997), Saward argues that the cultural context expressed by cultural codes shapes the possibilities for the creative construction of a claim. Codes could be informal, such as social habits, or institutionalized, for instance, in electoral laws. Saward explains this as a cultural framing of the claim. The audience shares meanings that, to some degree, structure how they will receive the claim (Saward, 2010, p. 75-76). Culture varies, and consequently, one claim that is accepted in one cultural environment will not necessarily be accepted in another setting. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that culture is not static; cultural codes can change. Claims emphasize the well-known, but they often also challenge established meanings by adding something new (Saward, 2010, p. 46). The cultural aspect highlights that the claimant must know the specific cultural environment to succeed with a claim.

To summarize, Saward’s theory of representative claims refers to a broadening of representation to everyone who claims to represent someone and the active receptions they produce. These claims are political because they propose a political opinion, aesthetic because they are constructed, and cultural because cultural codes frame the scope of action. Saward’s theoretical position on representation can be considered to be a shift from the classic normative standpoint of Hanna Pitkin and represents what Lisa Disch (2015) refers to as “a constructivist turn in political representation” (p. 487). Constructivism implies that meaning and social phenomena are constantly produced and revised through social interactions (Bryman, 2012, p. 33).

2.1.1. Comments on Saward's theory

Due to the novelty of representation understood as representative claims, it is also worth mentioning some criticism and comments in the literature on Saward's theory. Severs (2010) argues that the approach reduces democratic legitimacy to a symbolic sense and thereby leaves out the dimension of actual policy responsiveness, which she understands as; "a form of congruence established between the claims of elected representatives and those of non-elected claim-makers" (Severs, 2010, p. 412). She suggests distinguishing between representation in the sense of *feeling represented*, as she states Saward's theory focus on, in contrast to *being represented*, which she understands as policy responsiveness (Severs, 2010, p. 412). Disch (2015) defends Saward's theory in answering Severs' criticism by assessing that Saward consciously wishes to foreclose this distinction (Disch, 2015, p. 488). Saward believes that: "it is not the role of political theorists to *make* first-order judgments about democratic legitimacy of representative claims using some set of substantive or even presumptively universal criteria" (Saward, 2010, p. 146). Democratically, it is up to would-be constituencies whether to accept the claims or not, based on their evaluation of the claimant. In that way, the citizens judge whether the representative claim is successful or not. This is what Saward labels the *citizen standpoint* (Saward, 2010, p. 147). He highlights political theorists as crucial in investigating what characterizes the claims and the conditions of the environment they operate within, to understand better what representation does (Saward, 2010, p. 147).

However, Disch does not entirely agree with Saward's account of the citizen standpoint. Disch argues that there are ways of assessing the legitimacy of claims constructively by focusing on "structural differences of power that are inevitably at play between the constituency and audience as to whether legitimacy prevails over success in determining the widespread acceptance of a claim" (Disch, 2015, p. 495). In this manner, she extends the citizen standpoint to how a claim opens for constructive evaluation and feedback by the citizens.

2.1.2. Literature review

Following Disch's (2015) position on the citizen standpoint, as described above, De Wilde (2020) establishes an analytical account to study the extent to which a claim facilitates judgments of legitimacy and possibilities for citizens to provide opinions. He labels this as the *quality of representation*, composed of the three following variables, which all have higher quality the larger extent they have: accountable articulations of addressees, justificative arguments, and articulation of conflict. De Wilde finds that challengers of the liberal world

order, such as international civil society organizations, individual citizens, trade unions, far-right parties, and Green parties, make higher quality representative claims compared to those made by its proponents (De Wilde, 2020).

Other studies have explored the content of representative claims. Drawing on Saward's understanding of representation, Celis, Childs, Kantola & Krook (2014) reveals a variety of claimants and their different portrayals of "women's interests" in Finland, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. They argue that these interests are actively constructed in the process of making claims, following Saward's notion of the aesthetic aspect of representative claims (Celis et al., 2014). In her analysis of national parliamentary representative claims in the context of the Eurozone crisis, Kinski (2018) finds that the claims made by Eurosceptics often are "Europeanized" because they are approaching European citizens when assessing their skepticism towards the European Union. In addition, Kinski & Crum (2020) find support for transnational representative claims on the Eurozone crisis debate in national parliaments, particularly in those parliaments with more significant influence in the European Union (Kinski & Crum, 2020). Volk (2020) observes that the right-wing movement PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident) in Germany, often considered nationalist, establishes Europeans as an intended constituency through representative claims highlighting European identity and cultural heritage. Furthermore, Maricut-Akbik (2021) finds that governmental and EU institutional actors claimed to represent Europe during the refugee crisis in 2015, though with quite different meanings. Thus, following Saward's understanding of representation, several studies find support for claimants seeking to appeal to transnational constituencies, both in claims made by elected and non-elected actors.

Related to the interest of this thesis, Willis (2018) studies representative claims on climate change. She discovers four types of claims based on whom elected representatives claim to protect the interest of by their actions on climate change: the *cosmopolitan claim* (global community interests), the *local prevention claim* (local area interests), the *co-benefits claim* (local area and broader interests), and the *surrogate claim* (in which the elected representative claim to protect local area interests, but do not mention climate benefits at all). Willis finds that the co-benefits claim is the most common, which is promoting more benefits of climate action than the others. She explains that some might use the most uncommon surrogate claim in cases where they believe the local intended audience is opposed to action on climate change (Willis, 2018).

While Willis studies climate change representative claims made by elected representatives, I explore those made by non-elected activists who claim themselves representatives for someone on the climate change issue. Willis analyzes representative claims in the context of elected representatives' presentation of policy action on climate change, while my aim in this thesis is to look at *positions, demands, or evaluations* of such actions made by civil society activists. This implies activism both in favor of and opposed to climate change action.

Empirical studies assessing the theory of representative claims have provided new insight into political representation. The field is still in need of more empirical knowledge. According to the studies mentioned above, the transnationality of representation is common. Drawing on this, I study representative claims that have a large potential to be transnational due to the language in which they are expressed and because of their focus on climate change, which can be considered a "world issue" as Saward labels it (Saward, 2010, p. 33). By analyzing claims in two different languages, I also focus on the cultural aspect of representative claims. What implies culture in transnational claims? Are there any differences between languages in the content and construction of claims to a transnational audience? I explore these questions by comparing activists between two languages, which I make an account for in the second part of the theoretical chapter.

2.2. Linguistic aspect

Aiming to study transnational representation on the climate change issue, I analyze differences between two languages with a global range: English and French. In doing so, and not, for instance, comparing two countries, I explore a varied sample of activists from different parts of the world who have the potential to reach out to transnational audiences. At the same time, I aim to capture the cultural aspect Saward highlights as necessary for reaching out to the claim's audience. The cultural aspect of representative claims implies that claims are constructed according to the cultural context they are made within (Saward, 2010, p. 75-76). The idea of language in this context is that one listens to activists with a familiar language, and reversed, that the languages that the claimants use determine to a certain degree which audience they reach out to. This lays a foundation for including a linguistic, cultural aspect to representative claims.

Several scholars within linguistics highlight the importance of language, particularly mother language, in the way humans think about the world (Levinson, 2003; Deutscher, 2011). This

does not imply that language *determines* thinking, which one theory referred to as linguistic relativity, or the Sapir-Whorf-hypothesis, argues (Hall, 1997, p. 22; Deutscher, 2011, p. 130-131). Instead, the scholars find that the way speakers conceptualize and distinguish between words within different languages can *influence* their way of thinking.

Within a language, the speakers share codes that make them capable of understanding concepts and signs. According to Stuart Hall, this results from social conventions established socially and culturally within that language (Hall, 1997, p. 21-22). In this way, language is a crucial part of culture:

To belong to a culture is to belong to roughly the same conceptual and linguistic universe, to know how concepts and ideas translate into different languages, and how language can be interpreted to refer to or *reference* the world. To share these things is to see the world from within the same conceptual map and to make sense of it through the same language systems. (Hall, 1997, p. 22)

This implies that meaning can be constructed within a language. Speakers of the same language share a common culture in their way of seeing the world through that language. These meanings vary from one language to another. However, they are not fixed and can change over time (Hall, 1997, p. 23-24). Based on this perspective of language culture, which I connect to Saward's cultural aspect of representative claims, I analyze globalization discourses in climate change claims from a comparative angle between languages. In the third part of the theoretical chapter, I justify climate change as an issue connected to globalization and review literature on globalization discourse.

2.3. Globalization discourse

Climate change is a current political issue that is not constricted to states due to its implications for the whole world. Aykut (2020) proclaims that climate change is not only “a global problem”, but that it has become “*the* paradigmatic global problem” (Aykut, 2020, p. 277). Reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change indicate that both the consequences and solutions to climate change go beyond borders (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2022). Due to the border-crossing of human and political interaction on climate change, climate change can likely be considered a political issue related to globalization (De Wilde, 2019, p. 7).

This implies that climate change as a political issue is potentially discussed in connection with globalization, which is a much-debated concept. Globalization is often considered broad, and there are different understandings of the definition, the scope, and the effects of globalization.

In its simplest sense, globalization is “the process of becoming global” (Mufwene, 2013, p. 52, see also Keohane & Nye, 2000) and, at the same time, “the state that results from this process” (Mufwene, 2013, p. 52). Counter to some common beliefs; globalization is not a new phenomenon. There have been economic, military, environmental, social, and cultural exchanges throughout history. These processes of globalism have been increasing and decreasing in time (Keohane & Nye, 2000, p. 106-108). Today, the acceleration and the scope of the processes are more comprehensive (Mufwene, 2013, p. 51). Contemporary developments involve what Held et al. refer to as thick globalization, thus extensive, cross-border flows which impact many people’s lives (Held et al., 1999, p. 431). However, an important aspect to bear in mind is that the effects of these processes vary: “Globalization shrinks distance, but it does not make distance irrelevant” (Keohane & Nye, 2000, p. 117). Globalization is the overall augmentation of the scope of globalism processes (Keohane & Nye, 2000, p. 106-107).

What characterizes the globalism processes in contemporary globalization? Globalization literature tends to focus on three main dimensions (Garrett, 2013, p. 469). The first dimension is economic. This dimension has been referred to the most, even though the others are equally important (Keohane & Nye, 2000, p. 106). Since the 1970s, the scope of integrating national and private financial markets in global finance has increased exponentially (Held et al., 1999, p. 234). This involves more financial flows across borders, including more multinational corporations, global production networks, foreign investment, and changing labor forces (Held et al., 1999, p. 282). The second dimension is cultural. Contemporary cultural globalization consists of increasing interactions, information flows, and cultural exchanges through, for instance, technology, common languages, television, radio, music, films, and tourism (Held et al., 1999, p. 341-363). The third dimension is political. Political globalization incorporates the nation-state in more regional and global political networks. This implies multilayered governance, including intergovernmental organizations, regional organizations, non-governmental organizations, rapidly changing political structures and regimes, international law, and international institutions (Held et al., 1999, p. 85). To summarize, three main components of contemporary globalization are identified: the economic, the cultural, and the political.

In the context of this thesis, I understand globalization following David Held’s & Anthony McGrew’s definition of globalization as: “the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction” (Held & McGrew, 2003, p. 4). Thus, I employ a comprehensive definition to examine the globalization

discourse broadly. In addition, I complement the understanding with a definition of Ruud Koopmans & Michael Zürn, which provides some concrete examples of components; Globalization is “the relative increase in cross-border flows in goods, pollutants, people, capital, cultural symbols, and moral judgments” (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 8). Flows in pollutants directly capture the globalization aspect of emissions related to climate change. This thesis aims to examine how the other components of globalization, involving economics, culture, and politics, are discussed concerning climate change.

In addition to different definitions of globalization, there are also varying understandings of the effects of and the support for globalization. Globalization can be understood as a new cleavage emerging from this. According to Seymour Martin Lipset & Stein Rokkan, cleavages result from social revolutions and structure political opinions over time (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967, p. 23; 34-35). The globalization cleavage can be seen as a structural conflict between winners and losers of globalization (Kriesi et al., 2008), or between cosmopolitans and communitarians (De Wilde et al., 2019). It separates those who favor globalization from those who oppose it or who are for or against some aspects of globalization. As De Wilde and colleagues (2019) demonstrate, the globalization cleavage is not sufficiently captured by the traditional political left-right axis (De Wilde et al., 2019). It must therefore be understood from other angles. According to Koopmans & Zürn (2019), there is an economic, cultural, and political explanation for the cleavage (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 6).

First, *the economic explanation* refers to the material reorganization that globalization brings about and divides those in favor of this from those against it (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 6). According to Hardt & Negri (2000), contemporary globalization is based on capitalism, which involves private ownership of capital, distinguishing it from historical globalization, which was founded on international trade (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 305-307). On one side, many economists, among others Bhagwati (2004), argue that this free flow of capital, goods, and services, has positive outcomes globally (Bhagwati, 2004; Dreher et al., 2008, p. 2). On the other side, scholars claim that the global capitalist system results in increased inequality and more public debt and that it, therefore, should be transformed (Tilly, 1995; Hardt & Negri, 2000; Touraine, 2013; Wallerstein et al., 2013; Dardot & Laval, 2014; Streeck, 2014). Some argue that this is even amplified by the growing digital economy, including social media companies (Sadin, 2016; Durand, 2020). Scholars criticize that economic globalization involves the possibility of accumulating wealth in a non-productive manner by the reinvestment of

capital (Wallerstein et al., 2013). Thus, there are different perceptions of the effects of current global flows of capital.

Second, *the cultural explanation* involves the scope of transnationality within life-worlds and distinguishes between humanitarian and cultural-specific belongings (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 6). Giddens (2000) states that globalization influences everyday life. Some fear that globalization leads to homogenization, often referred to as Westernization or Americanization (Latouche, 1996). Others are more optimistic about the growing interconnectedness. Mahbubani (2014) argues that globalization rises the impact of Africa and Asia, and the global power distributions should be transformed from the West and shared with the rest of the world. On the other hand, Robertson (1995) maintains that locality has substantial impacts in the age of globalization, stating that locality shapes globalization. Moreover, Huntington (1996) claims that the world is divided into different civilizations entailing cultural and religious tensions. In other words, the effects of cultural globalization are discussed.

Third, *the political explanation* highlights the increase in common problems on a global scale and distinguishes between applying global solutions to them and maintaining nation-states (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 6). According to Sassen (1996), national sovereignty has decreased and been transferred to international organizations and the capital market, albeit these two depend on the nation-state to operate. Several scholars stress that globalization may weaken democracy because of the increasing power of capitalists (Tilly, 1995; Rodrik, 1997; Dardot & Laval, 2009; Rodrik, 2011; Streeck, 2014). This relates to the ability of politicians to implement action. According to Milanović (2016), capital mobility in contemporary globalization makes it challenging for countries to tax capital income. The countries that gain from this mobility lack incentives to cooperate globally in the taxation of capital. A weakening of taxation ability results in difficulties in reducing inequality and providing services within the nation state, like rich countries did in the twentieth century, albeit the inequality globally has decreased as middle classes have grown, for example, in China and India (Milanović, 2016, p. 19; 217-218). Fewer resources may reduce the ability to make democratic decisions. Rodrik (2011) develops a theory in which only two of the following processes can co-occur: economic globalization, national sovereignty, and democracy. This theory implies that a country can pursue, for example, economic globalization and national sovereignty simultaneously, but then have difficulties in acting democratically. On one side, some argue for democratizing international institutions as a solution to weakened democracy within nation-states (Held, 1995, p. 425-427). On the other side, some oppose the growing complexity that characterizes globalized politics. Laïdi (2013)

argues that the rapid changes in globalized politics lead people to turn to nationalism to find meaning and identity.

These positions might form the framing of globalization, which is influencing perceptions in an audience through the filter of narratives presented (Tannen, 1993; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005, p. 30). They can be expressed as discourse or as rhetoric. Globalization discourse can be understood as: “the way in which globalization has come to provide a cognitive filter, frame or conceptual lens or paradigm through which social, political and economic developments might be ordered and rendered intelligible” (Hay & Rosamond, 2002, p. 151). These discourses could also be used as rhetoric, which is: “the strategic and persuasive deployment of such discourses, often in combination, as means to legitimate specific courses of action, policy initiatives, etc.” (Hay & Rosamond, 2002, p. 152). In this analysis, I look for globalization discourses and only identify them as such, although one can bear in mind that they could be used strategically as rhetoric. Below, I outline some observed differences in perceptions of globalization between anglophone and francophone cases based on previous literature.

2.3.1. Anglophone globalization discourses

Colin Hay & Ben Rosamond (2002) study rhetoric on globalization and European integration in several European countries. The distinction between globalization and European integration is being made because one can be in favor of one and against the other. They find that globalization gains positive associations and connotations in England and Ireland (Hay & Rosamond, 2002, p. 164). In Britain, globalization is generally seen as a positive and inevitable process of global economic integration. This is also the most common conception of globalization globally. Another conception, especially prominent in anglophone capitals, is that globalization is a desirable outcome, though fragile, which should be promoted (Hay & Rosamond, 2002, p. 152-154). There seems thus to be positive regard for globalization in the British Isles according to Hay & Rosamond.

Analyzing public perceptions of globalization among young adults, Garrett and colleagues (2006) find that respondents in the United States are generally favorable to globalization, those from Australia and New Zealand are usually critical, while respondents from the United Kingdom are situated in the middle (Garrett et al., 2006, p. 407; Garrett, 2013, p. 477). An explanation for positive attitudes toward globalization in the United States might be that the country is experiencing more of the benefits of global hierarchies related to its large number of

multinational corporations and high ranking of international wealth distribution. Australia and New Zealand might be in the opposite position, both being exposed to foreign investment domestically, and simultaneously national companies moving abroad, which has been seen as identity loss. Respondents from the United Kingdom also experience ubiquitous multinational corporations somewhat negative. Still, they do not express any issues related to power in the global arena and generally have more positive associations with globalization than the two last-mentioned (Garrett, 2013, p. 486-488). Thus, Garrett and colleagues find varying support for globalization among citizens of anglophone countries.

2.3.2. Francophone globalization discourses

In the same study of rhetoric on globalization, Hay & Rosamond find that there are generally negative associations and connotations to globalization in France. Globalization is presented as a process that can and should be resisted. For example, the economic system should be transformed. At the same time, France has been among the most prominent advocates of European integration, having historically an important role in it (Hay & Rosamond, 2002, p. 159; 163). Politicians in France have argued for a strong European Union, including a France that takes charge of this, as a shield for globalization while upholding French influence (Schmidt, 2007, p. 992-993). This French political position against globalization and for European integration can be seen as a regionalist position. Regionalism is when spaces of shared institutional and cultural values cooperate to create a solid area in reaction to cosmopolitanism, for example advocating for a strong European Union as a counterbalance to the influence of the United States and China in the world (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 16). Recently, opposition against the regionalist idea has arisen in the French population. Citizens have been contesting the arguments that France is a leader in Europe and that European integration works as a counter-process against globalization (Schmidt, 2007, p. 992-993).

According to Sophie Meunier (2000), the anti-globalization position is remarkably strong in France compared to other countries. The globalization discourse in France has been perceived as “Anglo-Saxon globalization” against French identity. The increasing impact of free trade on society is perceived as negatively affecting the environment, democracy, and human rights. This resistance is noticeable in the French orientation towards preserving French culture and values and the aim for upholding a significant role in global politics, particularly counterbalancing the influence of the United States. Furthermore, France claims to oppose the inequality in international wealth distribution by advocating for developing countries. The

French culture is perceived as universalist. Therefore, when the American culture, which differs from the French but is also presented as universalist, gains more global influence, the French largely contest it (Meunier, 2000, p. 105-106). Thus, the French globalization discourse seems generally to be opposing globalization.

In addition to France, opposition against globalization is also present in other French-speaking areas. According to Calderisi (2019), the French-speaking region of Canada, Québec, opposes being homogenized by globalization. Quebeckers promote the distinctiveness of their culture more than other Canadians (Calderisi, 2019, p. 138-139). Furthermore, the primarily French-speaking region of Belgium, Wallonia, first refused to sign the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) in 2016. CETA is an international trade agreement between the EU and Canada. The blocking of the EU from signing this agreement is the only case where Wallonia has used its veto power over decisions made by the Belgian federal government. A reason for the decision was to protect the Walloon industries. After negotiations, Wallonia signed the agreement (Bursens & De Bièvre, 2021). These cases might indicate that French-speaking regions have lower support for globalization than other regions.

2.4. Expectations

On the grounds of this theoretical framework, I aim to analyze possible differences between English-speaking and French-speaking activists in their way of addressing, or not addressing, globalization. It is essential to point out that looking at differences between languages necessarily involves simplifying a complex reality. Language cultures are broad, and there will probably be variations in views on globalization within a comprehensive variable like this. Other conditions might structure opinions on globalization, as the cleavage between winners and losers of globalization illustrates. I make some arguments on relevant findings on this in the analysis chapter. Having this in mind, it might be that speakers of the same language share common media, information channels, and understandings. In this way, they might take part in the same globalization discourse. Based on theory on the linguistic culture approach and earlier findings on globalization discourses, clarified in *Chapter 2.2.* and *2.3.*, I have elaborated two expectations:

Expectation 1: *In general, the French-speaking activists express a more critical view on globalization in their claims compared to English-speaking activists.*

***Expectation 2:** The claims made by English-speaking activists have greater variations in support for globalization than those made by French-speaking activists.*

3. Research design and method

This master thesis depends on and utilizes data from the ongoing project *UNElected REpresentatives: The Impact on Liberal Democracy in Europe (UNREP)* at the Department of Sociology and Political Science at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU, n.d.). The Norwegian Research Council funds the project. This project aims to analyze representative claims made by unelected representatives in their role as well-known activists and celebrities, the motivation behind such claims, and their impact on citizens (NTNU, n.d.). Unelected representatives are understood as persons who have not been elected but “claim that their activism is in the interest of and on behalf of others” (Gora et al., 2022, p. 3). I employ data collected from YouTube videos of English-speaking climate activists, which I have analyzed as a student research assistant for this project in cooperation with other student research assistants. Additionally, I complement the data by applying the same method to French-speaking climate activists. In this chapter, I will elaborate on and justify the cases and the methodological approach chosen and critically discuss the quality of the research design.

3.1. Case selection

The research question departs from an interest in exploring Saward’s theory on representative claims and observations of possible variations in globalization discourse between language cultures. First, I explain the definition of climate change utilized for analyzing the claims. Then, I elaborate on French and English as languages with global range.

3.1.1. Climate change

The claims coded in the analysis involve a position, a demand, or an evaluation on climate change. Claims on climate change are, in this context, understood as:

Discussions broadly relating to changes in weather patterns, average temperatures (i.e., air and oceans), and changes to the atmosphere as well as their causes and effects (including human and environmental consequence). This can also include debates in defense or in denial of evidence for any of the above, discussions relating to greenhouse gases and fossil fuels, and unspecified discussions about what is good or bad for the planet/earth. (Gora et al., 2022, p. 6).

In other words, all the claims involve a discussion on either the validity of, the meaning of, the reasons for, or the results of climate change through greenhouse gas emissions. This implies that claims made on the environment, such as plastic pollution, meat consumption, and

biodiversity loss, are coded only when they are explicitly established as a source of or a consequence of climate change.

3.1.2. Comparing French-speaking and English-speaking activists

The common background condition for the activists selected is that they express their political positions on climate change in the videos in either English or French. English and French can be considered languages with global range, though English is a *global lingua franca*, a world language, in a larger scope than French (Mufwene, 2013; Crystal & Potter, 2021; Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, 2022). Both languages have official status in several international organizations, including the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (United Nations, n.d.; OECD, 2008; NATO, 2017). Furthermore, English and French are the two most studied foreign languages globally (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, 2022, p. 4). Below, I elaborate briefly on the two languages.

French is the fifth most spoken language globally, with 321 million speakers. Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (2022) estimates that almost the whole population of France, Belgium, Switzerland, the region Québec in Canada, and several French islands and overseas territories speak French. In addition, the language is spoken by between 57 percent and 90 percent of the populations in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal, Togo, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Mauritania, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Congo, Mali, Gabon, Burkina Faso, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, though with varying levels of fluency. Furthermore, French is spoken in Chad, Niger, Canada, and several European countries (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, 2022).

English is the most spoken language globally, with 1,27 billion speakers. It is the primary language of the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Canada, and several nation islands. About 50 countries have English as an official language, including India, Singapore, the Philippines, and South Africa. Furthermore, one-third of the world's population uses English somehow (Crystal & Potter, 2021).

The extent of these languages across borders lays a foundation for examining transnational representation. The activists are of various nationalities. English or French could be a primary or an official language in their origin country, but this is not a condition. It could also be a second or a foreign language, for instance, a language learned in school. When approaching an

audience, the claims have the potential to reach out to people who understand that language. It is worth noting that with the help of translation, they could also reach out to people who do not understand those languages. Nevertheless, the videos are often distributed without any translation, and consequently, it would be up to the audiences whether to translate the content. Therefore, I assume that the activists try to reach out primarily to people that understand the language in which they express themselves.

3.2. Content analysis: Representative claims

To analyze representative claims on climate change, I use the Representative Claims Analysis (RCA), developed by De Wilde (2013). De Wilde combines Saward's theory on representative claims with the claims-making analysis made by Koopmans & Statham in the context of the Europub project (Koopmans & Statham, 1999; Koopmans, 2002; Koopmans & Statham, 2010). What distinguishes the claims-making analysis of Koopmans & Statham from earlier content analysis methods is that it codes individual opinions expressed rather than the entire event. Coding many claims through the standardization of variables and simultaneously interpreting meaning from a discursive perspective, the claim-making analysis combines a quantitative and a qualitative approach. It includes coding of the claimant (who perform the opinion), the addressee (who is the claimant demanding action from), the object (who is affected by the interests of the claim), and the frame (organization of the claim) (Koopmans & Statham, 1999). Following this, De Wilde (2013) adapts the operationalizations of the components to Saward's notions of the object as someone the claimant *claims* to represent and adds those who receive the claim, the audience (De Wilde, 2013, p. 286). I will elaborate on these components adapted for the UNREP project in *Chapter 3.2.5*.

3.2.1. Justification for the methodological approach

The RCA has been widely applied to studies of representative claims, often with some adaptations to the issue studied (Kinski, 2018; Kinski & Crum, 2020; De Wilde, 2020; Maricut-Akbik, 2021). The method has shown its advantages in studying representative claims. First, RCA provides concrete definitions and operationalizations of the components. This standardization makes it possible to express the claims in numbers, analyze them statistically, and systematically interpret meaning. Second, RCA is well suited to study representation in Saward's terms due to the object category. Third, it has succeeded researching transnational

representative claims (De Wilde, 2013; Kinski, 2018, p. 355). In this analysis, I focus on activists who at least once have claimed themselves representatives on the climate change issue, often with a transnational engagement. Therefore, RCA is well suited for the study of this thesis.

There are also limitations to using RCA. Firstly, it demands more time than other content analysis methods because it requires more decisions and critical reflection to code each claim (De Wilde, 2013, p. 287). Secondly, RCA does not measure claims reception in constituencies, audiences, and by addressees (De Wilde, 2013, p. 289-290). Therefore, I cannot analyze such responses to the claims in public through this analysis. Furthermore, I have encountered some difficulties using RCA to study globalization discourse in the claims due to the non-adaptation of the coding. Since I participate in conducting research for the UNREP project, the RCA coding instructions I use are adapted to this project. The project studies unelected representatives and not specifically globalization discourse. Consequently, the codes are not adapted to conduct arguments regarding globalization, and therefore, I base my analysis on globalization arguments in the existing codes. This implies that I may miss views. I explain which codes I am using to operationalize globalization discourse in climate change claims in *Chapter 3.2.6*.

3.2.2. Selection of claimants

The aim of the project is to collect those activists who the public is likely to encounter when watching videos on the climate change issue on YouTube. The research assistant for the UNREP project has selected the English-speaking climate activists, while I have selected French-speaking climate activists. The sampling strategy of activists, referred to as *claimants* in the coding, is based on three conditions.

The first condition is that the climate activists have, at least once, claimed themselves to be representatives for someone on the climate change issue, for instance in one of the YouTube videos or through traditional media (Gora et al., 2022, p. 6). This condition is necessary for analyzing the claims as representative claims (Saward, 2010, p. 38). I expand on what this means in Chapter 3.2.4 under *Objects*.

The second condition used for sampling is that the activists are of high relevance. This implies that the claimant is someone who has “received attention from media, citizens and/or governing institutions and authorities” (Gora et al., 2022, p. 6). The claimants repeatedly speak about climate change, and this discourse is present on YouTube. The videos are either published by

the activists themselves or by someone else they are conscious of, such as through an interview, a conference, or a public speech. Their engagement is typically transnational and visible on social media. Thus, the claimants selected can be considered public figures due to their activism on climate change.

The third condition of selection is the diversity of claimants. We have tried to ensure that there is a variety in gender, origin, and sides of the debate of the claimants (Gora et al., 2022, p. 6). There is an equal proportion of female and male activists. Furthermore, their nationalities are widespread throughout the world. The nationalities of the English-speaking activists are the United States, Denmark, Canada, United Kingdom, Sweden, Germany, Uganda and Mexico. Among French-speaking activists, the nationalities are Belgium, Canada (Québec), Senegal, France, and Chad. Finally, the analysis includes activists who favor thorough action to prevent further climate change and those who oppose this.

Intending to analyze the variety of the debate on climate change that the public may encounter on YouTube, it is imperative to include activists on different sides of the debate. For the sake of simplicity, when analyzing the claimants, I distinguish between *advocates of rapid climate action* and *opponents of rapid climate action*. I define advocates of rapid climate action as climate activists who are in favor of immediate and comprehensive action to prevent further climate change. I understand opponents of rapid climate action as activists who are opposed to immediate and comprehensive action to prevent further climate change. This does not necessarily imply that opponents do not believe that climate change is real and results from greenhouse gas emissions from human activity, but this may be the case. Other possibilities are that they instead focus on adaptation to climate change, believe that humans will find solutions in the future, or think that the actions of the advocates of rapid climate action are too drastic. In other words, the opponents of rapid climate action are in some way opposing what the advocates demand, but there is a wide variety between them. Both advocates and opponents have extensive publicity.

20 climate change activists are included in the RCA, divided between 10 English-speaking and 10 French-speaking activists. In the tables below, I present an overview of the claimant's names, nationalities, gender, age, positions on rapid climate action, and the number of videos analyzed. *Table 1* consists of the English-speaking claimants, while *Table 2* consists of the French-speaking claimants.

Table 1. English-speaking claimants

Name	Nationality	Gender	Age	Position on rapid climate action	Number of videos
Ben Shapiro	United States	M	38	Opponent	7
Bjørn Lomborg	Denmark	M	57	Opponent	9
David Suzuki	Canada	M	86	Advocate	12
George Monbiot	United Kingdom	M	59	Advocate	10
Greta Thunberg	Sweden	F	19	Advocate	7
Luisa Neubauer	Germany	F	26	Advocate	8
Naomi Seibt	Germany	F	21	Opponent	7
Patrick Moore	Canada	M	74	Opponent	7
Vanessa Nakate	Uganda	F	25	Advocate	9
Xiye Bastida	Mexico	F	20	Advocate	12

Table 2. French-speaking claimants

Name	Nationality	Gender	Age	Position on rapid climate action	Number of videos
Adélaïde Charlier	Belgium	F	21	Advocate	9
Albert Lalonde	Canada (Québec)	M	19	Advocate	7
Assiatou Diouf	Senegal	F	N/A	Advocate	7
Benoît Rittaud	France	M	48	Opponent	7
Camille Étienne	France	F	24	Advocate	8
Cyril Dion	France	M	43	Advocate	7
Drieu Godefridi	Belgium	M	49	Opponent	7
François Gervais	France	M	76	Opponent	7
Hindou Oumarou Ibrahim	Chad	F	38	Advocate	8
Sylvie Brunel	France	F	61	Opponent	7

3.2.3. Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is individual claims expressed in YouTube videos by the climate activists mentioned above. Political claims are understood as: “public expressions of political opinion (i.e., a political *Position*), usually in the form of a *demand* or an *evaluation*” (Gora et al., 2022, p. 3). For example, a claim could be that an activist demands a government to reduce emissions to prevent further climate change. I elaborate on the different components of a political claim in *Chapter 3.2.5*.

3.2.4. Number of videos analyzed

Each YouTube video may or may not contain one or more political claims. The videos analyzed involve interviews, speeches, video blogs, press conferences, conversations with other activists, and so forth. The average number of analyzed videos of each activist is 8, varying from 7 to 12, depending on publicity and number of videos captured in the project. When a video involves an activist speaking for more than 30 minutes, only the first 30 minutes are analyzed. In total, the analysis consists of 162 videos. All the videos are listed in *Appendix 1*.

3.2.5. Coding of claims

The coding of claims on climate change is based on the codebook for the UNREP project, developed by Anna Gora, Pieter de Wilde, and Ingvild Stensby Bakken (Gora et al., 2022). All the coding, both for English-speaking activists for the UNREP project and French-speaking activists specifically coded for this thesis, is done in NVivo. For a claim to be valid, it must include the three mandatory variables: *claimant*, *issue*, and *issue-position*. In addition, the following variables are coded when they appear linked to the mandatory variables: *addressee*, *object*, *explicit representation*, *specific demand*, *issue perception*, and *justification*. Below, I account for the significations of the different variables.

Claimant: The first mandatory variable is the claimant. This is always one of the climate activists mentioned above. Even though the videos may involve several people speaking, only the selected climate activists are coded.

Issue: Another mandatory variable is the issue. The issue in this analysis is always climate change, as defined in *Chapter 3.1.1*. The videos may contain discussions on other issues, but only those linked to climate change are included in the coding.

Issue-position: The last mandatory variable for a claim is the issue-position. This is either a demand or a position on climate change or an evaluation of an addressee linked to one of those. *Table 3* presents the issue-positions captured.

Table 3. Issue-positions on climate change

Demand: Action to prevent further climate change
Addressee praised for doing this
Addressee criticized for failing at this
Demand: Action to deal with already existing effects of climate change
Addressee praised for doing this
Addressee criticized for failing at this
Demand: Climate change must be politicized
Addressee praised for doing this
Addressee criticized for failing at this
Demand: Climate change should not be politicized
Addressee praised for doing this
Addressee criticized for failing at this
Position: Climate change is real and caused by humans
Addressee praised for taking this position
Addressee criticized for failing to recognize this
Position: Climate change is real but not caused by humans
Addressee praised for taking this position
Addressee criticized for failing to recognize this
Position: Climate change is not a real issue / not a real concern
Addressee praised for taking this position
Addressee criticized for failing to recognize this

Addressee: When claimants express issue-positions, they often direct them to addressees. An addressee is demanded to act, praised, or criticized by the claimant for their position, action, or lack thereof on climate change. An addressee can be collective, for example, “society”, “politicians”, “citizens”, and the “international community”, or it can be individual, in the sense of, for instance, a country, a government, an institution, a movement, a company, or a person.

Object: Political claims are representative when the claimants establish themselves as representatives for someone on an issue. All the claimants selected have done this on the climate change issue at least once. However, all political claims are not representative (Saward, 2010, p. 43). It can also be interesting to analyze those claims in which the claimants do not establish themselves as representatives since they might be constructed in the same way as those who are representative. Drawing on Saward, De Wilde (2013) states that claims are considered representative when: “claimants present themselves to an audience as the legitimate representatives of a certain cause and/or constituency” (De Wilde, 2013, p. 278). Those for

which the claimants claim themselves representatives are the objects of the claim. The analysis distinguishes between three types of objects. First, the claimants might say that they are *speaking as* a member of a constituency, for example “as a young person” or “as an activist”, and in that way establishing themselves as representing that identity. Second, the claimants might speak for someone’s interests or needs, for instance, when Luisa Neubauer talk about climate action “in solidarity with the most affected people across the globe who we are fighting for and who’s not only future, but presence have to be protected” (African Climate Alliance, 2021, 17:23-17:34). Thus, they establish themselves as representing that constituency. The claimant may or may not be a part of the constituency in this case. Third, the claimants might be *speaking about* someone, which does not necessarily involve representation, but is captured when the claimants are mentioning a group. The addressee and the object may be the same, for example when a group of people is praised for acting to protect their future. Claimants may claim to represent animals or nature. However, we only capture humans as objects in this project because humans are the only ones who can give feedback on representation.

Explicit representation: In some cases, the claimants can be apparent in the way they claim to represent someone, and these are coded to explicit representation. For example, this is the case when Assiatou Diouf says: “We are here today to represent the voice of Africa” (IFDD OIF, 2017, 1:10-1:13) (Translated from French). Often, the claimant does this more implicitly, captured by the above-mentioned variable *object*.

Specific demand: Claimants often make more specific demands related to the issue-positions. This could, for example, be to “reduce emissions”, “invest in renewable energy”, “join movement”, or “follow the Paris Agreement”.

Issue perception: Claimants discuss the issue using different words for climate change. Aiming to capture these differences, the perceptions in the sense of how the claimants refer to climate change, is captured by the coding of issue perception.

Justification: Finally, the reasons for or against any action or position the claimants make are captured in the last coding variable, justifications. Justifications can be pragmatic, such as when a claimant says action is “unsustainable because it demands more resources than it exists”, or normative, when for example, the claimant expresses that an action is “fair”.

A political claim containing all the above variables should be considered an ideal type. Speaking is often much more diverse, interrupted, vague, or unstructured. Consequently, all the variables will not necessarily be present for each political claim (Gora et al., 2022, p. 4).

3.2.6. Operationalization of position in globalization discourse

In this master thesis, I analyze if a possible relationship exists between the independent variable, *language*, and the dependent variable, *globalization discourse*. To operationalize positions in globalization discourse, I utilize a scale from 1 to 9, where 1 is the most negative value and 9 is the most positive value. 5 is neutral. All claimants get one value on each of the three scales, one for their position on each globalization discourse component: *Globalized economy*, *globalized culture*, and *globalized politics*. If a claimant does not express any position on a globalization discourse component, the value 5 is assigned.

Four indicators determine the degree of the position. Three indicators are codes: *justifications*, *specific demands*, and *addressees*. De Wilde analyzes the presence of justificative arguments, accountable articulation of addressees, and articulation of conflict in the claims to operationalize the quality of claims because they give the audience better grounds for perceiving and evaluate the claim (De Wilde, 2020, p. 276). I apply justifications and articulation of addressees, and I add specific demands, to operationalize positions in globalization discourse, and argue that when they are present, the position becomes more precise. When a globalization position related to the globalization discourse component is expressed in a code, that indicator is present. The fourth indicator is *frequency*. I evaluate the position as frequent if the claimant brings up the position on a globalization discourse component in more than three different claims. This means that they repeatedly express this position on globalization discourse, which can be seen as more integrated into their climate change claims. Thus, a claimant can get a maximum of four indicators in a negative or positive direction.

To situate these indicators on a scale, I do the following: If the claimant expresses criticism against a globalization discourse component, I subtract the number of the observed indicators from the neutral position 5. If the claimant expresses support for a globalization discourse component, I add the number to the neutral position 5. If the claimant expresses both criticism and support for a globalization discourse component, I first subtract the number of indicators for the critical position. Then, I add the other number of indicators for the favorable position.

Table 4. Scale of position on globalization discourse component

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Negative 4 indicators	Negative 3 indicators	Negative 2 indicators	Negative 1 indicator	Neutral / not present	Positive 1 indicator	Positive 2 indicators	Positive 3 indicators	Positive 4 indicators

I use three scales, one for each globalization discourse component, to test the expectations. The first expectation is that French-speaking activists express a more critical view on globalization in their claims compared to English-speaking activists. To analyze this expectation, I calculate the means and difference of sample 1, French-speaking activists, and of sample 2, English-speaking activists, on each of the globalization discourse components through *t-tests*. I also evaluate the degree of the difference between the samples by calculating effect sizes (*Hedges g*).

The second expectation is that claims made by English-speaking activists have greater variations in support for globalization than those made by French-speaking activists. To test this expectation, I calculate and compare standard deviation of the two samples for each of the globalization discourse components.

3.3. Quality assessment

In the following sections, I critically discuss the RCA method for analyzing globalization discourse in climate change claims and the quality of the analysis.

3.3.1. Reliability

When analyzing and interpreting meaning, researchers bring background conditions that make it challenging to code content with complete neutrality (Bryman, 2012, p. 306). Despite this subjectivity, researchers should aim a certain degree of consistency and agreement when analyzing the same content (Lombard et al., 2002, p. 589). An advantage using content analysis is that the categories are clearly specified and therefore the rules can be applied systematically reducing personal biases (Bryman, 2012, p. 289-290). This makes content analysis a transparent research method. Then, the research is replicable, that is that it could be reconducted by other researchers to test the results (Bryman, 2012, p. 304). Another advantage for the reliability using content analysis is that the method is unobtrusive, a term developed by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz & Sechrest (1966), signifying that the researcher does not interact with the data

subjects. This implies that the researcher does not influence the data subject, which can be the case in other methods, such as interviews.

According to Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken (2002), intercoder reliability is important for content analysis. Therefore, content analysis projects should include several coders and preliminary coder training assessing reliability (Lombard et al., 2002, p. 589; 600). In the UNREP project, we have worked in a group of five coders with intercoder reliability through training and weekly meetings discussing cases encountered in the coding. We have done preliminary reliability tests to identify the same claims as much as possible. Intercoder reliability in content analysis projects is often measured in percent agreement, but it is preferable to use a more complex reliability calculation. Krippendorff's alpha considers equal marginal proportions and is commonly used (Lombard et al., 2002, p. 590-591; 584; 601). The final reliability test for the project is not yet carried out, so I will not be able to discuss intercoder reliability further in this master thesis. Consequently, it is difficult to establish how reliable the results of this master thesis are. The score of intercoder reliability will be published in upcoming articles regarding the UNREP project.

3.3.2. Validity

Intercoder reliability is one way of assessing the validity of the results, but reliability alone does not ensure high validity (Lombard et al., 2002, p. 589). Validity refers to the degree to which the method measures what the research intends to measure (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 329). Below, I account for different types of empirical validity regarding content analysis, following the typology of Krippendorff (2013), and use these to discuss the method applied for analyzing globalization discourse.

First, *sampling validity* is the degree the sample represents the population (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 337). In the case of my thesis, it refers to whether the selected activists and videos represent climate activists in general. I analyze 20 activists in the RCA, of which 10 are English-speaking and 10 French-speaking. We have used a clearly defined sampling strategy based on relevance, variety and representative claims, accounted for in *Chapter 3.2.2*. Nevertheless, the samples are too small to establish that they represent English-speaking and French-speaking climate activists in general – two broad and diverse populations. Consequently, the thesis has limited sampling validity.

Furthermore, I analyze 162 YouTube videos selected based on searches of the activists' names and the issue on YouTube. YouTube uses algorithms, which not necessarily choose the videos with the highest view count. The algorithms also consider engagement signals, like how long users generally watch the video, the quality of content, and the relevance for each user (YouTube, n.d.). We have tried to delete browsing history regularly to correct for bias. Nevertheless, it is challenging to control completely for this.

Second, *semantic validity* refers to whether the categories capture the meaning of the context in which the content is produced (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 338-339). It is important to acknowledge that the content, in this case, YouTube videos, is created for another context than research (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 332). This means that the activists publish to mobilize for their climate change claims in public, and their language is adapted to this objective and not for academic purposes. Content analysis "operate on a level of abstraction above that of ordinary talk" (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 339). Thus, the categories are more general than the statements, demanding the researcher to reflect and interpret meaning. Therefore, I aim to be transparent and descriptive referring to citations and arguments articulated to account for how I interpret the content.

Third, *structural validity* refers to the degree that analytical constructs in the research represent the material (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 345). A limitation is that I have not adapted the RCA to study the interest of this thesis, globalization discourse. The reason for this is that I code for a larger project. Because of this, I examine the existing codes to analyze arguments on globalization. Some positions on globalization in the videos may have been overlooked if they were not captured by the codes related to climate change. Therefore, I am more prone to miss arguments than if I had adopted the RCA to study globalization discourse. This reduces the structural validity.

Aiming to analyze how the activists discuss globalization in their political claims, I include three main components of globalization discourse: Globalized economy, globalized culture, and globalized politics. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, scholars consider these components the main three dimensions of contemporary globalization (Held et al., 1999, p. 15; Garrett, 2013, p. 469; Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 6). However, the reality is not divided into dimensions. There may be overlaps between the different components. For example, criticism of the globalized economic system might also imply criticism of the culture that characterizes the system. In such cases, I aim to capture the main argument of the criticism and connect it to the most relevant component. Even though the components inevitably involve simplifying the

complex reality of globalization, it has advantages. By narrowing down the interest of the analysis, I can systematically analyze the different components.

Fourth, *functional validity* concerns the accordance between the content analysis and earlier successful analysis (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 347). The method I use, RCA, is established and has successfully been used to study transnational representative claims (Kinski, 2018; Kinski & Crum, 2020; De Wilde, 2020; Maricut-Akbik, 2021). It provides systematic categories that can be applicable to different projects.

Fifth, *correlative validity* refers to the degree results correlate with other findings based on other variables which are measuring the same, and do not correlate with contrary variables (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 348). More research on the theme of this thesis is needed to evaluate the correlative validity.

Sixth, *predictive validity* ascertains whether the results provide predictions for unstudied cases (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 351). This implies, if the result of this thesis is present in other cases, the predictive validity increases.

Some other limitations might reduce the validity of this thesis' results. It is challenging to find activists opposed to rapid climate action in YouTube videos from other parts of the world than Europe and North America. Thus, advocates of rapid climate action are from more various countries than opponents. Besides, it is difficult to know the reason for the statements through content analysis (Bryman, 2012, p. 307). I have not checked for control variables, albeit I comment some tendencies in the analysis. Moreover, English-speaking activists may be more aware of their transnational audience than French-speaking activists due to that English is a world language and has a larger scope of influence than French. Consequently, it might be structural differences between the languages in the construction of claims to an audience, and not necessarily perceptions, which cause possible differences in globalization discourses in the languages. Despite not being able to generalize the results, and the limitations of the validity, the descriptive perspective provide insight into the globalization discourse of political claims on climate change by 20 well-known activists.

3.3.3. Ethical considerations

Research on the Internet involves humans. Therefore, research should ensure the data subjects' dignity and integrity (NESH, 2019, p. 4; NESH, 2021, p. 17). Internet stores communication

over time, which distinguishes it from other channels of communication (Elgesem, 2015, p. 17). On the Internet, all information available is not necessarily public. Therefore, NESH recommends that the researcher evaluates whether there are “*reasonable expectations of publicity*” (NESH, 2019, p. 6; 10). For the case of my research, I analyze videos of activists who I evaluate as highly likely conscious of the public audience of their statements through their repetitive publishing of videos and participating in public speeches, media interviews, and conferences regarding climate change, which are generating many views. The video platform, YouTube, is a website where everyone can watch the videos published. The activists also often speak about their public audience in the videos. Therefore, I assume that they are aware of their public speaking. Furthermore, the videos have already been published, and I only collect the information and do not interact with the data subjects.

I have chosen to publish the names of the activists in this master thesis. I am aware that anonymity always should be ensured when this is agreed upon with the participants, and in other cases, it should always be considered (NESH, 2021, p. 21). The first reason why I have chosen not to anonymize relates to the fact that the activists have consciously made the claims public, as discussed above. The videos do not comprehend hidden recordings, or other content that one can assume have not been their intention to make public. Based on their statements, their intention seems to be to reach out to people to mobilize their political opinions on climate change. These well-known activists are people who lead movements and who have public roles by having considerable publicity. They often have many followers on social media channels and are widely covered in the media. Due to this unique role in the public debate, I argue that it is necessary to research them as actors in a political context. A second reason for publishing the names is the regard for replicability of the research. The activists’ statements are available on the Internet, and therefore it is challenging to anonymize and still be able to point out citations (NESH, 2019, p. 16). Anonymization will make the research less verifiable and weaken its transparency. Based on this, I deviate from the principle of anonymization in this master thesis in favor of research on activists as potentially influential actors in the political context.

The data conduction and publishing of analyzed data in this master thesis have been evaluated and approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). Before conducting data, I registered the master project to NSD, because I was going to analyze the personal data of twenty well-known activists without having their consent and name them in the final thesis. NSD gives data protection services which ensure that Norwegian research institutions collect research data

on legal grounds (NSD, n.d.). The personal data collected for this thesis include data about political opinions and some general personal data regarding the activists' names, gender, age, and nationalities to ensure the relevance and variety between activists. Since the activists are famous people, I consider it difficult to reach out to them to get consent. According to the Act of 15 June 2018 relating to the processing of personal data, which incorporates the EU's GDPR, personal data can be conducted without the consent of data subjects if the objective of the research is necessary for the interest of the public (Personopplysningsloven, 2018, § 9). The justification for conducting personal data for this master project is the limited research on the content of activists' claims in YouTube videos that have a broad reach in society and therefore are central and potentially influential in the public political debate. This master thesis contributes with more knowledge to this field and gives insight into the arguments that the public listens to. NSD evaluates that the master project has a legal foundation in analyzing personal data because it is of public interest:

The project will process general categories of personal data on the grounds that the processing is necessary to perform a task in the public interest, and it will process special categories of personal data on the grounds that the data subject has made public the personal data himself. (NSD, see Appendix 2) (Translated from Norwegian).

See *Appendix 2* for the entire project evaluation by NSD. To ensure secure data protection, I have taken several considerations. I have minimized data by only analyzing claims that regard the objective of this master thesis; political claims on climate change in YouTube videos, which the activists either have published themselves or consciously made public through an interview, speech, conference, or similar on YouTube. In addition, I have stored the data in NTNUs systems of storage only, and I will remove these after the master thesis project ends. In this way, I aim to minimize the disadvantages of the data subjects. I conduct research and publish personal data on the ground that it has more significant benefits for society than probable disadvantages for the data subjects.

4. Analysis

In this chapter, I analyze and discuss the findings of the Representative Claims Analysis, considering the research question: *How is globalization discussed in representative claims on climate change, and to what extent do such claims made by French-speaking activists differ from those made by English-speaking activists?* As described in the methodology chapter, I analyze globalization positions in the following codes: *justifications*, *specific demands*, and *addressees*. These codes relate to the activists' arguments on climate change. In addition, I include *frequency* as an indicator for the position, understood as expressing the same view in more than three claims.

To answer the expectations systematically, I measure the positions expressed by every activist on each of the globalization discourse components on a scale from 1 to 9, where 1 represents low support and 9 represents high support for that component. I do *t-tests* for two independent samples, i.e., bivariate statistical hypothesis tests, to measure the difference between the means of the groups and compare standard deviation. P-values for all t-tests are high. This implies that the results are not statistically significant. P-values are influenced by the sample size (Sakai, 2018). When analyzing a small sample, the differences must be more apparent to get statistically significant results. Due to the small sample size, the power of the test is relatively low. Furthermore, I calculate effect sizes to evaluate the magnitude of the differences. This makes the comparison more precise on a general level (Sakai, 2018, p. 85). Because I analyze a small sample of 20 activists, it is adequate to use *Hedges g* instead of *Cohens d* to correct bias (Pustejovsky et al., 2014; Sakai, 2018, p. 87). Below, *Table 5* presents the result of the *t-tests* and *effect sizes*.

Table 5. Results of t-tests in STATA

Globalization discourse component	English-speaking activists (n=10) 0*	French-speaking activists (n=10) 1*	Difference	P-value	Effect size (Hedges g)
Globalized economy	Mean: 4.1 Std. dev.: 2.884826	Mean: 2.9 Std. dev.: 1.523884	1.2	0.2600	0.4981268
Globalized culture	Mean: 5.7 Std. dev.: 1.337494	Mean: 6 Std. dev.: 1.333333	-0.3	0.6215	-0.2151346
Globalized politics	Mean: 4.8 Std. dev.: 0.7888106	Mean: 5.3 Std. dev.: 1.251666	-0.5	0.2993	-0.4576973

* English-speaking activists are categorized as 0, and French-speaking activists are categorized as 1 on the dichotomous variable "language".

In the following sections, I discuss the results of the analysis of each globalization discourse component. The first expectation is that French-speaking activists express a more critical view on globalization in their claims than English-speaking activists. The second expectation is that claims made by English-speaking activists have greater variations in support for globalization than those made by French-speaking activists. I answer these expectations through the results presented in *Table 5* and by commenting on citations and arguments in the coded data to illustrate how the activists are discussing globalization for each of the globalization discourse component.

4.1. Globalized economic system

The first globalization discourse component I analyze, is the globalized economy. This is the only component that I find French-speaking activists to express a more critical view on, compared to English-speaking activists. Thus, this component supports the first expectation regarding French-speaking activists expressing more critical views on globalization. The mean for English-speaking on the scale is 4.1, while it is 2.9 for French-speaking. This implies that on average both the English-speaking and the French-speaking activists are in the direction of low support for the globalized economic system, but French-speaking expresses lower support than English-speaking. The t-test gives a difference in means at 1.2 on a scale of 1 to 10. To evaluate whether this is an important difference, I calculate the effect size, which is usually estimated as small when under 0,3, medium when between 0,3 and 0,6, and large when over 0,6 (Ringdal & Wiborg, 2017, s. 94).). The effect size here, measured in *Hedges g*, is 0.498. Thus, it can be considered a medium effect size. Consequently, it seems to be a difference of importance between the languages, although not large or statistically significant. Furthermore, the t-test indicates greater differences between English-speaking activist than French-speaking activists. This is measured in standard deviation, which shows a greater diffusion from the mean and between positions among English-speaking activists. This supports the second expectation for the case of the globalized economy. Below, I analyze how the activists discuss the globalized economy and account for how I interpret them on the scale through some examples of positions.

4.1.1 Rapid climate action advocates demand systemic change

A similarity among all the advocates of rapid climate action activists, as defined earlier as those who are in favor of immediate and comprehensive action to prevent further climate change, is that they express criticism against the globalized economic system in their climate change claims. This applies both to English-speaking and French-speaking activists. They all make a claim regarding this at some point in the videos analyzed, although some do this more frequently, and in more codes, than others. Therefore, all the advocates of rapid climate action are situated between 1 and 4 on the scale of the globalized economy. Some of them explicitly elaborate on the global aspect, while others are more generally discussing “capitalism” or “economic system”. According to Hardt & Negri, capitalism involves private ownership of capital, and modern capitalism is a foundation for contemporary economic globalization (Hardt & Negri, 2000). Therefore, I interpret the criticism of the above-mentioned as criticism of economic globalization. If the activists instead were saying that the actions of local or national companies specifically were unsustainable, I would not have interpreted it as criticism of economic globalization. They argue on the general mechanisms, behavior, and actions that are part of the current capitalist economic system. Consequently, I interpret it as being critical to economic globalization in the way that it contributes to further climate change, instead of preventing it, as these activists advocate for.

David Suzuki expresses such criticism in a substantial number of his claims. I use his example to illustrate a position on the scale. In Suzuki’s videos, all the four indicators in a negative direction on the scale of position on the globalized economy are present, i.e., I assign a value of 1. First, Suzuki makes *justifications* related to the globalized economy for why he demands action on climate change. Here is an example of a justification where he criticizes the economic system for being ineffective in preventing climate change and explicitly elaborates on the global aspect of it:

David Suzuki: You know it’s just disgraceful and all the wild they are doing. What corporations are meant to do looking at the bottom line which is to make money even when the very future of our species is now at risk. The very problem is capitalism. The driving agenda now is a global economy that is based really on freeing corporations to do their thing (Canada Files, 2020, 10:27-11:07).

In this citation, Suzuki criticizes the laissez-faire aspect of global capitalism, which implies that corporations can operate freely from interventions, and he stresses its ineffectiveness in preventing climate change. Second, Suzuki makes *specific demands* regarding this criticism by demanding economic system change, more local sufficiency, and community-based living. Third, he criticizes *addressees* related to the globalized economy. For instance, he criticizes

economists for talking about economic advantages when addressing climate change and seeing climate as an externality not having a value by itself. Fourth, claims about the globalized economy appear in most of his videos analyzed. Thus, the last indicator *frequency* is also present in his climate change activism. This is an example of how I have interpreted the activists' claims on the scale. Below, I account for tendencies in the activism of advocates of rapid climate action regarding globalized economy.

In line with Suzuki, most of the advocates of rapid climate action activists justify the need for change by arguing that the current economic system is ineffective in preventing climate change. In an extension of the arguments of ineffectiveness and unsustainability of the global economic system, advocates of rapid climate action also make justifications on the inability of solving climate change through the economic system. Some of them doubt that today's economic system can pursue the changes they think are necessary for handling climate change. For example, Greta Thunberg elaborates on this when talking to world leaders:

Greta Thunberg: People are suffering. People are dying. Entire ecosystems are collapsing. We are in the beginning of a mass extinction, and all you can talk about is money and fairytales of eternal economic growth. How dare you? [...] (PBS NewsHour, 2019, 1:04-1:20).

Like Thunberg, several of the advocates of rapid climate action express skepticism toward an economic growth mentality. Hindou Oumarou Ibrahim talks about the ineffectiveness of banks contributing to solving climate change. She argues that making money is the leading incentive of banks. This skepticism towards business also relates to a criticism of relying on technology to solve climate change problems in the future. Later in the speech mentioned above, Thunberg criticizes technological solutions and doing “business as usual”. According to Cambridge Dictionary, this expression is used “when things are continuing as they always do, despite a difficult situation” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Moreover, *green consumerism* is being criticized for being untransparent in upholding the consumer behavior that characterizes the current economic system. Thus, the advocates of rapid climate action are generally critical to finding solutions to climate change through the globalized economic system.

Furthermore, some of the activists connect the economic system to a justification that it contributes to inequality. They argue that inequality is both an obstacle to solving climate change and that the consequences of climate change will amplify it. Thus, they share the common concern as some scholars, mentioned in the theoretical chapter about globalization discourse, who claim that the globalized economy results in increased inequality (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Touraine, 2013; Wallerstein et al., 2013; Dardot & Laval, 2014; Streeck, 2014).

In addition, the criticism of the economic system is linked to a justification that the quality of life is more than economic welfare. Cyril Dion argues that capitalism is a constructed narrative in which the story is that the more money one has, the happier one is. He states that this should be opposed. Several advocates of rapid climate action activists criticize gross domestic product as a measure of welfare and suggest that there are other ways of determining the quality of life than money.

The arguments of ineffectiveness and unsustainability of the current economic system lead all the advocates of rapid climate action activists, except Hindou Oumarou Ibrahim, to explicitly demand a systemic change. For example, the French-speaking Senegalese Assiatou Diouf urges for a rethinking of the economic system, particularly to make adaptation to climate change, technology access, and renewable energies possible on the African continent:

Assiatou Diouf: It is our whole economic model, development model, which needs to be rethought (TV5MONDE Info, 2021, 2:29-2:34) (Translated from French).

To implement economic change, solutions like degrowth through a more sustainable lifestyle and reflecting on one's role are commonly proposed by the activists. Some also propose to hold companies economically responsible through the taxation of greenhouse gas emissions. Others suggest holding countries responsible for economic profits on emissions through a global carbon tax and financial aid to affected countries. In addition, several advocates of rapid climate action activists demand more local-based economies. This implies demands for local self-sufficiency and local investment to tackle climate change. Some claim that it will be necessary to have a more community-based economy in the future. Thus, these specific demands relating to the opposition to the effects and mechanisms of the globalized economy also indicate criticism of economic globalization.

The addressees related to the globalized economy, who advocates of rapid climate action criticize, include multinational or big companies, business leaders, economists, rich people, people believing in perpetual growth, banks, the OECD, the World Bank and medias owned by billionaires. In one of the videos, George Monbiot claims that "billionaires are at the heart of climate breakdown" (Novara Media, 2021, 29:18-29:22). Criticism of these addressees alone does not necessarily imply that the activists are critical of economic globalization. It could be that they simply are against one action that, for example, the OECD has done on climate change. Nevertheless, when the criticism is expressed in combination with the arguments against the globalized economy, as described above, I interpret it as an extension of this skepticism.

In sum, arguments about the globalized economic system as a source to persistent climate change, appear in the videos of advocates of rapid climate action. These arguments are common among both English-speaking and French-speaking advocates of rapid climate action activists. Thus, the difference in the t-test between English-speaking and French-speaking is not consequentially apparent among the advocates of rapid climate action.

What are the reasons for the criticism against the globalized economy in the claims of all the advocates of rapid climate action? When addressing critical views on globalization in France, Meunier establishes that common opinions on free trade include that it is negatively affecting the environment (Meunier, 2000, p. 105). Drawing on this, the criticism of the globalized economy by the advocates of rapid climate change can be interpreted as expressions for that the climate change issue is disregarded in favor of economic growth. Since the advocates argue that economic globalization causes negative consequences for climate change, the positions might be understood through the cleavage of winners and losers on globalization (Kriesi et al., 2008).

4.1.2. Keeping the status quo according to some English-speaking opponents

On the opposite side, some of the opponents of rapid climate action activists, those who are opposed to immediate and comprehensive action to prevent further climate change, contest economic system change. To illustrate a position on this side, I provide an example of Ben Shapiro. In his climate change claims, all four indicators in a positive direction of the globalized economy are present, i.e., I assign a value of 9. First, he makes *justifications* related to costs opposing actions that change the globalized economy to prevent climate change:

Ben Shapiro: That the benefits when it comes to radically redefining how the world economy works radically underestimate the cost. The cost is way greater in the near term and the midterm and the long term. If you take the sorts of drastic action that people like Greta would like for you to take, you actually wreck the world economy and you set the world back a couple hundred years. (Shapiro, 2021, 2:07-2:26)

Criticisms of Greta Thunberg's activism are often starting points for Shapiro's climate change claims. Thus, he criticizes *addressees*, Thunberg and people supporting her, for advocating for action that involves changing the current economic system. Furthermore, he expresses *specific demands* not to change the economic system or increase taxation of companies. Finally, he repeatedly does this in different claims, which also makes the *frequency* indicator present. In other words, the claims made by Shapiro is situated on the opposite of the scale to those made by Suzuki.

Some other English-speaking opponents of rapid climate action make similar points as Shapiro, although not as frequently and in fewer indicators. They justify their beliefs by saying that the most effective way of handling climate change is to let the economic system deal with it. They argue for possibilities of generating technological innovations through a free economic system. Naomi Seibt, who expresses doubt that climate change is real, emphasizes on the effectiveness of the current economic system:

Naomi Seibt: The statistics show that there is no reason to panic, because the more the economy thrives, the healthier society, the more we thrive on this planet and the more we could invest in innovation to help nature, to preserve nature. (Egy a Természettel, 2021, 3:13-3:30)

The justification of solutions through the economic system relates to a justification on a belief in the ability to adapt. Bjørn Lomborg is an opponent of rapid climate action who argues that climate change is real and manmade, but that it is not a catastrophe, due to humans' ability to adapt to changes. He refers to an amelioration of the economy globally the last 200 years, which he argues have lifted almost the whole world population out of poverty, stating that this will continue. Then, he claims that people will be able to adapt to climate change, because growth is a part of the global economy, and everyone will by time get rich enough to pay for adaptations. He also expresses concerns about poverty related to rapid climate action and argues for the importance of actively work against inequality. He claims that both poverty and climate change are best solved through the global economic system.

The activists mentioned above point out the economic system as a solution to climate change in their claims. I understand this as a counter-reaction to the political claims of the advocates for rapid climate action. This is particularly apparent in one video where Naomi Seibt criticizes the climate discourse for making capitalists look evil. Seibt, Lomborg and Shapiro are all emphasizing positive outcomes of the current global economic system, like many economists does in the globalization discourse, including Bhagwati (Bhagwati, 2004; Dreher et al., 2008, p. 2). Based on this, I interpret the named opponents of rapid climate action, all English-speaking, as being positive to economic globalization.

4.1.3. Criticism of economic incentives by some French-speaking opponents

Another point of view, advocated by some of the French-speaking opponents of rapid climate action, indicates more criticism against economic globalization. Sylvie Brunel is of the belief that climate change is real, manmade and urgent, but focus on adaptation rather than preventing further climate change. She is critical to the economic profits of solutions to climate change:

Sylvie Brunel: The great challenges can be interpreted by agitating the industry of fear. That is to say, to make the catastrophism permanent by saying ‘things are going from bad to worse’, ‘there are too many of us on the earth’, ‘we absolutely must make amends’. That is to say, there is a discourse of a religious nature today. This discourse of a religious nature serves capitalism in a certain way since capitalism allows ... They adore ecology, the capitalists. Americans say ‘green is gold’. Green is money because it encourages us to replace our machines, it encourages us to donate, it encourages us to always have a bad conscience. (AgoraVoxFrance, 2010, 1:34-2:10) (Translated from French).

Here, Brunel argues against the capitalist incentives behind climate change solutions. She is especially criticizing Americans for exploiting fear of climate change. This can be interpreted as what Meunier characterizes as the French standpoint of contesting American global influence, particularly related to free trade (Meunier, 2000, p. 105-106). Furthermore, Brunel expresses criticism on competition to find solutions to climate change, more precisely on waging a war on green technologies. She argues that this will be a new way of imposing the solutions of some on the rest of the world. In other words, Brunel is critical to the profits of capitalist solutions. As discussed earlier, capitalism forms the basis of modern economic globalization (Hardt & Negri, 2000). Furthermore, Brunel criticizes that the economic system leads to inequality, like some of the advocates of rapid climate action.

In addition to the claims of Sylvie Brunel, Benoît Rittaud and François Gervais points out the profits industries are making of climate change. Rittaud and Gervais express a standpoint of climate change as not a real concern. Rittaud states that the energy transitions and carbon taxes cost large amount of money and that there are profitters on the business of this. He warns people, especially young people, to be aware that they are being exploited by businesses who say their solutions are going to prevent climate change without evidence. Gervais is also expressing criticism against the business behind climate change agreements. These two activists are thus skeptical to the profitters of action on climate change, but in fewer claims and codes than Brunel.

Thus, these three French-speaking opponents of rapid climate action position can be interpreted as expressing criticism against economic globalization and rapid implement of solutions to prevent further climate change. They seem to take the position of criticism on globalization, particularly against free trade that Meunier characterizes as common in France (Meunier, 2000, p. 105-106). The differences between English-speaking and French-speaking activists in positions on globalized economy seems thus to be found among the opponents of rapid climate action. English-speaking opponents indicate optimism and solutions through the economic system, while French-speaking seems to be on the opposing side. However, a limitation with the analysis is that the three French-speaking opponents critical to the globalized economy all are French. When I sampled the activists, I found it difficult to find activists who were opposed

to action on climate change on YouTube from French-speaking countries on the African continent or overseas regions. Since all the advocates of rapid climate action, from various countries, express criticism against the globalized economy, it is only the opponents of rapid climate action which make the difference. Therefore, I cannot give indications on whether their criticism is characterized by their language generally or by French culture specifically.

4.2. Globalized culture

Next, I analyze the second component of globalization discourse which is globalized culture. Based on the results of the t-test presented in *Table 5*, the expectations are not confirmed for this globalization discourse component. The standard deviation was slightly larger for the English-speaking activists, but because it is nearly the same as for the French-speaking, I do not interpret this as support for the second expectation of more variety among English-speaking activists. For both English-speaking and French-speaking activists, the means are higher than 5 on the scale, respectively 5.7 and 6. This indicates that the activists generally are situated in the direction of expressing positive views on globalized culture. However, I only find views regarding this component by the advocates of rapid climate action and one opponent, Sylvie Brunel, in the RCA coding. Several of the opponents of rapid climate action, both English-speaking and French-speaking, express criticism against the global climate movement and scientific consensus on climate change, which they claim have become radical and non-scientific. Considering that these only are a portion of ideas that are spreading in the world, and the fact that they do not link this to a larger criticism of the spreading of ideas and values globally, I do not interpret this as criticism of globalized culture. This means that I have assigned a value of 5 to all opponents of rapid climate action on the scale, except Sylvie Brunel. Brunel expresses frequently support to globalized culture in her claims on climate change both through justifications and specific demands on humanitarian values, i.e., I assign a value of 8. Below, I examine the globalized culture positions of the advocates of rapid climate action.

4.2.1. Rapid climate action advocates calling for international solidarity

All the advocates of rapid climate action talk about global cooperation and values. Some do this by justifying the need for action on climate change through regards for solidarity and humanity. In doing so, they elaborate on the global aspect of climate change. Hindou Oumarou Ibrahim claims that humanity has a common objective by stating that borders do not exist in the air. This

relates to what Aykut emphasizes about climate change as the fundamental global problem (Aykut, 2020). Prior to an international climate strike in Germany, Luisa Neubauer argues that borders are insignificant when it comes to the common goal of solving the climate crisis:

Luisa Neubauer: And we expect thousands of people coming from a lot of different countries. We expect a lot of lively multilateralism. We expect a really strong signal where we say we don't care about borders, but more than that we are ready to connect and collaborate over borders. That is what the multinational companies do, that are destroying our planet, and that is what we are doing to save it (UN Climate Change, 2019, 1:57-2:22).

Here, “we” refers to climate actions activists. The citation shows two perceptions on globalization. On one side, it is a criticism against the globalized economy in the statement of multinational companies causing climate change, as examined in *Chapter 4.1.1*. On the other side, Neubauer advocates optimism on globalized culture, through collaboration between activists globally.

Drawing on these justifications, advocates of rapid climate change demand people to cooperate and join the climate movement. Furthermore, they praise addressees, for example young people, for doing this. These claims on climate change indicate that it is in the interest of advocates of rapid climate action activists to spread their climate engagement and share common values globally. Thus, it can be interpreted as a positive view on globalized culture.

4.2.2. Some rapid climate action advocates regard preserving cultural diversity

Even though all the advocates of rapid climate action speak about international solidarity, two of them also justify action to prevent further climate change in the regard of preserving cultural diversity. English-speaking Vanessa Nakate talks about people's connection to their places of origin. This leads her to oppose the suggestions of adaptation in the sense of moving to another place to escape climate degradation. In a speech calling for world leaders to take action on climate change, she states that:

Vanessa Nakate: You cannot adapt to lost cultures. You cannot adapt to lost traditions. You cannot adapt to lost history. You cannot adapt to starvation. And you cannot adapt to extinction (Doha Debates, 2021, 7:58-8:50).

In this citation, Nakate demands action on climate change to preserve cultural identities. French-speaking Hindou Oumarou Ibrahim also highlights the importance of cultural diversity. She says that climate destruction might result in extinction of some cultures. Being part of an Indigenous community in Chad called Mbororo, she claims to speak for Indigenous communities in her videos. Both Nakate and Ibrahim are justifying climate change action through human solidarity, but also through cultural diversity. They express concerns that

climate change will result in loss of cultural diversity. This can be understood as a standpoint that is for cultural globalization in the sense of exchanges of climate engagement, global values and international solidarity, but at the same time contests cultural homogenization. On the scale of these two activist's climate change claims, I have first subtracted the indicators for their concerns on globalized culture, then I have added the indicators for their optimism.

4.3. Globalized politics

Finally, the third globalization discourse component I analyze is the one regarding global politics. Like globalized culture, the results of the t-test for globalized politics indicate no support for the expectations. The mean of the English-speaking activists is 4.8, while it is 5.3 for the French-speaking. Thus, both samples have nearly neutral positions in means, with English-speaking having slightly lower support and French-speaking having slightly higher support. It is challenging to determine the positions of the activists regarding this globalization discourse component, particularly among the advocates of rapid climate action. Thus, I have assigned neutral positions in several cases. I aim to explore whether the activists demand a cosmopolitan or a communitarian solution to climate change. It seems to be a combination of these. Advocates of rapid climate action express both opportunities and concerns for both. First, I examine criticism made by two opponents of rapid climate action on globalized politics on climate change. Then, I elaborate on the different arguments of advocates of rapid climate action regarding cosmopolitan and communitarian solutions.

4.3.1. Some opponents of rapid climate action criticize globalized politics

In the RCA coding of climate change claims, two of the opponents of rapid climate action express low support for globalized politics. In a video where the French-speaking Belgian Drieu Godefridi criticizes the politics of climate change, he expresses skepticism against globalized politics:

Drieu Godefridi: Today, in the West, we have allowed a certain number of international circles to develop which are not democratic and impose an ideology without us having the democratic resources able, I would say, of putting an end to them. And among these circles, we have the IPCC, which is an international organization that does not have normative powers as such, but makes recommendations which, as they are covered by the security of science, become almost indisputable (Cercle Frédéric Bastiat, 2019, 22:17-22:51) (Translated from French).

Godefridi criticizes international organizations for being non-democratic. This can be interpreted as expressing concerns about what Sassen (1996) points out regarding the loss of national sovereignty to international organizations. He draws the example of IPCC

(Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change). Several of the opponents of rapid climate action criticize the IPCC for being a political, and not scientific, organization, including Benoît Rittaud and Patrick Moore, but they do not give indications of criticism on globalized politics in general like Godefridi.

Furthermore, Ben Shapiro also expresses criticism against globalized politics. He makes justifications on international politics as ineffective. His claims comprehend negative statements about international agreements, especially a global carbon tax, because he claims that it will only be developed countries who pursue it and developing countries will be freeloading. Godefridi also makes a similar argument, when explaining why European countries also should quit the Paris Agreement right after President Trump decided to withdraw the United States from the agreement. Thus, the analysis indicates criticism among two of the opponents of rapid climate action of globalized politics.

4.3.2. Opportunities and concerns for cosmopolitan political solutions

A substantial number of the videos of the advocates of rapid climate action are made in the occasion of COP, which is a yearly international climate change conference (UNFCCC, n.d.). The political claims that are made about this conference regard international political cooperation and agreements, thus globalized politics. Advocates of rapid climate action make specific demands to follow the Paris Agreement or improve international agreements on climate change. For example, even though Camille Étienne claims that COP is not as ambitious as she thinks it should be, she stresses the importance of such conferences. Consequently, advocates of rapid climate action look for solutions through globalized politics.

At the same time, they also express concerns about ineffectiveness in international agreements and conferences. David Suzuki, one of the advocates of climate action, claims that national interests spoil action on climate change:

David Suzuki: 196 countries all concerned about their national priorities. They're worried about the economy. They're worried about uh who god knows the laws that they have. (CTV Your Morning, 2021, 1:41-1:57).

Here, Suzuki argues that national interests make it hard to come to consensus in international agreements. He stresses that it is difficult to pursue solutions to climate change when nations bring their national priorities. Furthermore, Suzuki criticize the IPCC, on other grounds than Drieu Godefridi. Suzuki claims that since the panel is intergovernmental, governments have the possibility to intervene in the content of reports. He argues that the result of this is that the

reports do not issue the solutions needed. George Monbiot states that all COPs have failed, except the Paris Agreement, which he thinks was partly successful. Hindou Oumarou Ibrahim demands for more legally binding agreements with control mechanisms to strengthen the power of international agreements. Furthermore, international conferences are being criticized for not including affected people. This relates to a criticism of lobbying in the COPs. In the same interview as the citation mentioned above, David Suzuki criticizes the larger proportion of delegates from the fossil fuel industry than representatives from the most affected countries. Economic incentives, related to the criticism of the globalized economy, are central in their concerns for globalized politics.

4.3.3. Opportunities and concerns for communitarian political solutions

At the same time, advocates of rapid climate action also make claims in the context of nation states. They call for citizens to vote, lobby their governments and hold their governments responsible for climate action. They often demand their own government or politicians to act on climate change or criticize them specifically for their lack of action. Luisa Neubauer says it is important to hold governments accountable, because international agreements happen through their actions. This might imply that the activists think that the nation state is still important in the age of globalization, as Sassen (1996) argues albeit the decline in national sovereignty.

Nevertheless, some advocates of rapid climate action question the political ability to tackle climate change also in a national context. They express concerns regarding the influence of economic incentives in political decisions. For example, George Monbiot states that democracy has been weakened:

George Monbiot: Market isn't actually very mysterious at all when you actually say what is this and what's going on. It's the power of money and the power of money means it's the power of the people who've got the money, and so what you're effectively doing is transferring power from the democratic sphere into the plutocratic sphere and you're saying you the rich people can decide what happens and we're going to step back and leave it to you (Novara Media, 2021, 15:07-15:31).

The concerns for influence of economic incentives are also expressed in specific demands directed at governments to resist lobbying and economic incentives. Some advocates for rapid climate action demand more democracy. This indicates similar perceptions like some globalization discourse scholars argue regarding that economic globalization weakens democracy (Tilly, 1995; Rodrik, 1997; Dardot & Laval, 2009; Rodrik, 2011; Streeck, 2014). In addition, some point out democratic concerns about politicians being focused on popularity for

the next election as obstacles for action on climate change. Furthermore, David Suzuki argues that democracy does not take into consideration children and future generations and criticizes this. The concerns around lack of democracy sometimes result in the advocates of rapid climate action expressing emotions of fear and lack of hope in their statements.

In sum, the advocates of rapid climate action express support to democratic solutions through national and international political institutions on climate change. Consequently, they look for both communitarian and cosmopolitan solutions to climate change. However, they also express concerns and demands a rethinking and improving of democracy in both levels.

5. Conclusion

The objective of this master thesis has been to study how climate activists, who have claimed themselves representatives for someone on the climate change issue, discuss globalization in their political claims on climate change. The aim is to provide more insight into the content of *representative claims* – a new understanding of political representation developed by Michael Saward (Saward, 2006; Saward, 2010). Furthermore, the interest has been to compare English-speaking and French-speaking climate activists from a broad range of countries. Based upon previous literature, both from a linguistic approach related to the cultural aspect of representative claims, and on globalization discourse, I made two expectations. The first involved French-speaking activists expressing more critical views on globalization than English-speaking, while the second involved greater variances in views on globalization among English-speaking activists than among French-speaking.

The analysis indicates that these expectations are supported for the globalized economy, but not for globalized culture and globalized politics. This implies that regarding the globalized economy, French-speaking activists express more critical views compared to English-speaking, and English-speaking express greater variances views than French-speaking. The difference in means has a medium effect size, albeit not statistically significant. To explore these differences, I examined the claims. Advocates of rapid climate action express criticism of the globalized economy, independent of the language they speak, while opponents of rapid climate action are more diverse in their perceptions of globalized economy. There is a difference between the English-speaking opponents, who are supporting the globalized economic system, and the French-speaking opponents, who are more critical to capitalist incentives. Overall, including the other globalization discourse components, I do not find the French-speaking to express more critical views, nor greater differences among English-speaking. Rather, I find similarities among the advocates of rapid climate action and greater variances among the opponents of rapid climate action. The reasons for this might be that the advocates of rapid climate action have a more *globalized* discourse on climate change than the opponents because of the global climate movement, thus expressing similar views. Another explanation might be that the opponents' variety results from more diverse issue-positions on climate change. Rapid climate change advocates express a low level of support to the globalized economy, but a relatively high support to globalized culture, with some expectations of activists demanding for action on climate change to preserve culture and identity. An explanation for the globalized economy criticism might be that the climate is losing on economic globalization, as Meunier points out

(Meunier, 2000, p. 105). Thus, the positions might be explained through the cleavage of winner and losers of globalization (Kriesi et al., 2008). Furthermore, the advocates of rapid climate action express concerns, but also opportunities, on globalized politics. A substantial proportion of the analyzed activists question politicians' ability to act. This indicates awareness of what some scholars stress regarding a weakening of democracy and sovereignty through political globalization due to international organizations and capitalism (Tilly, 1995; Sassen, 1996; Rodrik, 1997; Dardot & Laval, 2009; Rodrik, 2011; Streeck, 2014).

Due to the limited scope of this thesis and methodological challenges that have occurred, several delimitations and shortcomings are critical for the validity and reliability of the results. First, I have used a method adopted to a larger project, the UNREP project, studying unelected representatives, and not specifically globalization discourses. This implies that significant arguments in the videos related to positions on globalization may have been excluded if they did not apply directly to the codes. Second, I could have operationalized globalization discourse in other ways which might have resulted in other findings. I limited the analysis to the coding of justifications, specific demands, and addressees of political claims the activists made on climate change. If I had used another method, for example discourse analysis, maybe I would have conducted other arguments on globalization that were not captured through these codes. At the same time, the sample would probably be more limited in that case. Third, although I have made some comments on the differences between activists of different positions on climate change, I have not controlled for other control variables such as age, gender, nationality or political position. Doing this with a larger sample could have strengthened the analysis. Fourth, since the three opponents of rapid climate action who express critical views on globalized economy all are French, I cannot distinguish between whether it is their language culture or their specific national culture which might structure their views on globalization. I should have sampled more opponents of rapid climate action from other French-speaking countries than France and Belgium, but it proved to be difficult to find activists from the African continent on YouTube who were opposed to acting on climate change. Fifth, the analysis is limited to the study of 20 activists, including 10 English-speaking and 10 French-speaking activists. Even though the analysis gives insight into activists who have a central role in the climate change debate, the sample is too small to generalize the results. Finally, although we have worked with intercoder reliability in the UNREP project, coding is necessarily also, to some degree, influenced by personal understandings. Since the final reliability test for the project is not yet carried out, I am unable to discuss the reliability score. Consequently, it is difficult to evaluate how unique

the perspective in this analysis is. This thesis cannot establish whether French-speaking activists express more critical views on globalization than English-speaking activists or whether there are greater variances among English-speaking activists on a general level. Further research on this is advantageous.

Despite these shortcomings, I emphasize some findings of this analysis that can be important for future research, politicians and society. As mentioned in the introduction, most traditional political parties are pro-globalization (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019, p. 3). However, I find that a substantial proportion of the activists, including all the advocates of rapid climate action, express critical views on economic globalization, and they link this to a doubt regarding the political ability to act in both national and international political institutions. Due to the large publicity of these activists, the perceptions they express may have important implications for democracy. Since representative democracies lately have been experiencing declining tendencies in voter turnout, political trust, party identification and party membership, it is useful to pay close attention to globalization discourses in representative claims by civil society actors to gain a better understanding of which perceptions citizens agree with. This will give a better understanding of how democracies work today.

Today, an increasingly part of the political life takes place online (Segadal, 2015, p. 35). Political engagement from activists who claim themselves representatives for someone else, like I have analyzed here, flourish in the public space. Therefore, rather than speaking about a passive representative democracy, it might be more appropriate to understand it as a changed representative democracy. In line with Saward (2006; 2010), I emphasize on the importance of a better awareness of how political representation works, not only for scientists, but also in civil society. Individuals might seek and receive information similar to what they earlier have been exposed to. This is referred to as selective exposure (Sears & Freedman, 1967, p. 195). Furthermore, algorithms on social medias like YouTube select content personally to individuals relevant to what they have watched earlier (YouTube, n.d.). The fact that individuals are being exposed to similar content in both these ways highlights the importance of awareness of what representation does.

As a final remark, I would like to emphasize some implications for education, relating to my future teacher profession. According to the Norwegian national curriculum, the objectives for education in social science includes being able to reflect on how powerful individuals or groups justify their points of view and exploring how digital interactions influence the public debate (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2020). Representative claims made in the public sphere could be

appropriate starting points for encouraging critical thinking on these objectives. Education forms an arena where pupils can learn and experience how and of whom they feel represented and how this affects their worldview. This can provide them proficiencies of critical thinking and awareness of how they perceive and interpret arguments in a world with increasingly information accessible on social medias, such as YouTube, TikTok, and Instagram – proficiencies which will continue to be important in social medias that evolve in the future.

5.1. Implications for future research

To gain more insight into the content of representative claims, based on Saward's conceptualization of political representation, future studies should continue to examine such claims both from elected and non-elected representatives within and outside the scope of nation-states. This thesis has focused on activists with a large publicity on the climate change issue and found differences between different sides of the debate. Future studies could examine more closely the differences between advocates of rapid climate action and opponents of rapid climate action on globalization discourse. Furthermore, there are a wide range of other activists that can be analyzed for instance on YouTube, Twitter, and TikTok, albeit some privacy and ethical considerations might be necessary depending on their reach and how conscious they appear to be of their publishing. In addition to climate change, studies can be carried out on a large scope of different themes, for example humanitarian aid, education, healthcare, human rights, discrimination, and war. This will give knowledge on which political arguments and information citizens listen to. In that way, it will also provide insight into how representative democracies, and other systems, function today.

In addition, it can be useful to have a more thorough linguistic perspective further examining the theme of this thesis. In this thesis, I have analyzed the globalization discourse through the arguments of the activists relating to political, economic and cultural globalization and compared them between languages. The analysis indicated possible differences between French-speaking and English-speaking activists on views on globalized economy, although these differences remain unknown whether account for French-speaking people generally or only French people, since the three activists that effected the difference were French. Future studies could further examine this with larger samples and possibly question the reasons more exhaustively. Furthermore, I have not taken into consideration differences between having the languages as mother language and foreign language. This can be done in other studies, since

linguistic scholars particularly highlight mother language as important for thinking processes (Deutscher, 2011). Moreover, linguistics may look further into not only the arguments, but whether words themselves signify different things and gain different connotations in different languages. This will provide more knowledge on the cultural aspect of representative claims.

Furthermore, there are opportunities in researching the effects of affect in representative claims. In the videos I have analyzed, I observe a great variety of expressions of emotions. According to the theory of *affective intelligence* developed by Marcus, Neuman & MacKuen (2000), affect and intelligence are nearly connected. They emphasize the feeling of enthusiasm to be contributing to continuing the existing behavior, while fear generate a thorough thinking process where earlier behavior is properly reevaluated (Marcus et al., 2000, s. 56-57). This theory has been applied to study primarily election contexts, such as the use of emotions in political campaigns, but it may also be transferable to political activism from non-politicians. Drawing on this theory, researchers can examine the emotions activist videos on social media emphasize. Brader (2006) provides a framework for characterizing emotions in political campaigns, which can possibly be built upon to also apply for activism videos. The effects can be examined through survey experiments, where an experiment group is exposed to fear-based videos, while a control group is exposed to enthusiasm-based videos. Then, researchers can analyze possible differences in responses on questions relating to the arguments in the videos.

Finally, the receptions of representative claims in the public could be further examined. According to Saward, claimants put together the interests advocated in their claims, and they construct the constituencies of their claims (Saward, 2010, p. 44). How does the public react to such representative claims that are made about them? What characterizes the activists that people feel represented by? Moreover, the legitimacy of representative claims, in particular the constructivist version of the citizen standpoint, as Lisa Disch (2015) and De Wilde (2020) highlights, could be further explored. As Disch states, representative claims involve structural power differences (Disch, 2015, p. 495). Thus, research paying attention to these power differences, and the scope of possibilities citizens have to give feedback and evaluate representative claims, will provide insight into how society, democracy and representation function and evolve.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. List of activists and videos

N = Number of videos

English-speaking activists

Bastida, Xiye (N: 12)

Brut America. (2019, November 16). *School Strike for Climate Justice w/ Xiye Bastida | Brut* [Video]. YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cYrJ_3KkkZA

Doha Debates. (2021, November 5). *Climate activist Xiye Bastida's full speech from COP26* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbaVHbxHKNO>

eTown. (2020, April 1). *eTown On-Stage Interview - Xiye Bastida / Climate Activist* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CRoIRVIPcJ0>

Levi's. (2019, September 9). *Advocating for climate justice with Xiye Bastida* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6aSrOHZxew>

Levi's. (2021, April 13). *Xiye Bastida's Beauty of Becoming* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JwNZlfC6fuY>

Mission 2020. (2020, March 2). *IMAGINE THE FUTURE with Xiye Bastida* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GBeU6UZyPjY>

NowThis News. (2021, October 28). *Meet Xiye Bastida, Indigenous Climate Activist | NowThis NEXT* [Video].

YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jnBYIHF0eZs>

Paris Committee on Capacity-building. (2020, March 9). *Xiye Bastida, Young Women as Climate Changemakers*

Panel [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RPthDNtgk4>

Skoll.org. (2021, April 14). *Xiye Bastida - We Can't Wait Any Longer* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1WwgPmEHsrg>

The What's Your Juice? Podcast. (2021, January 24). *EP.1 Environmental & Social Justice with Xiye Bastida /*

Climate Change Mini Series [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W948vmVsWok>

WILD Foundation. (2020, April 14). *Xiye Bastida* [Video]. YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciE_w5OmwEs

World Academy of Art and Science. (2019, September 28). *Climate Change | Xiye Bastida Patrick | Future*

Capital [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W7yuePUxA4Y>

Lomborg, Bjørn (N: 9)

- Centre for Independent Studies. (2021, February 18). *Bjorn Lomborg | Islands are Moving Not Sinking!* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNWqqYzXLLY>
- Finance Manager Interviews. (2021, March 4). *What I Would Say to Greta If I Met Her - Bjorn Lomborg* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hpjinCCzMUU>
- Finding Genius Podcast. (2022, January 15). *The Misconceptions Surrounding Climate Change Statistics and The Myths They Caused.* [Video] YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zs8Tpl8HEtg>
- Kelly, M. (2022, January 12). *The Truth About Climate Change, Climate Realism & Alarmism, with Bjorn Lomborg & David Wallace-Wells* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d2AG9H24wbM>
- Peterson, J. B. (2021, April 26). *Is Everything Better Than We Think? | Bjorn Lomborg - Jordan B Peterson Podcast S4 E16* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDNSnMTem98>
- PolicyEd. (2020, August 12). *Why We Get Climate Change Wrong with Bjorn Lomborg (Lessons from Hoover Boot Camp) | Ch 2* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RZqBfPsVlsU>
- TED Archive. (2017, February 13). *Economics of climate change innovation | Bjørn Lomborg* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SEjNVVW5jbs>
- Triggernometry. (2021, November 24). *Climate Change: No Need to Panic - Bjorn Lomborg* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mQSvR1jw3ME>
- UnHerd. (2021, November 2). *Bjorn Lomborg: Climate change is NOT the end of the world* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GMOHhHjtgxI>

Monbiot, George (N: 10)

- Democracy Now!. (2021, November 11). *How Wealth Inequality Fuels the Climate Emergency: George Monbiot, Scientist Kevin Anderson on COP26* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eYbgZNE4Y0g>
- Double Down News. (2022, January 11). *The Tipping Point that will DESTROY the World | George Monbiot* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IIEu-OW9_YA
- Good Morning Britain. (2021, November 18). *Climate Change Activist Breaks Down In Tears During Heated Insulate Britain Debate | GMB* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gJnxj6kiAKU>
- Guardian News. (2019, September 19). *Greta Thunberg and George Monbiot make short film on the climate crisis* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Q0xUXo2zEY>

- JayAyZedZed. (2019, April 12). *Climate Change : What Do We Need To Do To Address It, George Monbiot?* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ir-XjQhOyNQ>
- Jones, O. (2021, July 22). *George Monbiot on capitalism, the climate crisis, defying establishment journalism - and hope* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRbigmBSX3Y>
- LOVE IT TV - Nature, health, ethics and the arts. (2019, July 15). *George Monbiot - Connecting the dots between climate change, mental health and consumerism -Mar 2019* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ornvo4ZTJyM>
- MacDonald, Phil. (2015, December 23). *George Monbiot vs Baroness Worthington on COP21 - BBC Newsnight 14/12/2015* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2SCE2mMQSk>
- Novara Media. (2021, November 25). *How The Mainstream Media Enabled Climate Denial | Downstream* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0b8dlIBNbRg>
- Red Ent. (2019, April 23). *George Monbiot Schools Nick Ferrari On Climate Change Protests [LBC, 23/4/19]* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DPCNKhuvj-A>

Moore, Patrick (N: 7)

- CBC News: The National. (2020, February 4). *Regina reviews decision to hire climate change skeptic for sustainability conference* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WU5OpqzeFw
- Conversations That Matter. (2021, February 28). *Patrick Moore Revised* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ihOoUNAZv8>
- Freedom Talk. (2020, July 24). *Dr. Patrick Moore - Producers versus Consumers: What you can do.* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kr71HEIXVZM>
- RealAgriculture. (2011, June 6). *Patrick Moore on GMO, Sustainable Energy & Pop Environmentalism* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_tXS8RSv4
- Spilmanlaw. (2018, July 6). *Conversations on Climate Change* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyNCI7NzjaM>
- Truffle Media. (2016, February 9). *Dr. Patrick Moore - Agriculture, Human Health, and Environment: Confessions Of A Greenpeace Dropout* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G25FxnF6e1U>
- Vancouver Sun. (2018, March 24). *Conversations That Matter: Environmentalist Patrick Moore* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vb-52nlv0qs>

Nakate, Vanessa (N: 9)

Democracy Now!. (2019, December 12). *Uganda's First Fridays for Future Climate Striker, Vanessa Nakate, Joins COP25 Protests in Madrid* [Video]. YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRoM1r_2uvA

Doha Debates. (2021, September 29). *Vanessa Nakate's Full Keynote Speech at Youth4Climate Pre-COP26 / Doha Debates* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W71eBGN2iSw>

Harari, Y. N. (2021, November 22). *Vanessa Nakate and Yuval Noah Harari: The New York Times Climate Hub* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQExVbd--kw>

The Daily Show with Trevor Noah. (2021, November 3). *Vanessa Nakate - Why Africa Should Be at the Center of the Climate Conversation / The Daily Show* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zkwEQPzNyeE>

TIME. (2020, July 10). *Angelina Jolie and Vanessa Nakate / TIME100 Talks* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e-MmNrcpnUQ>

TIME. (2021, October 28). *COP26: Vanessa Nakate Wants Climate Justice for Africa / TIME* [Video].

YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bXH--TDGI8>

UN Climate Change. (2021, November 12). *Climate Activist Vanessa Nakate at COP26: "Humanity will not be saved by promises"* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XeLWEbvXzSA>

Venetia La Manna. (2021, November 5). *"We Cannot Adapt To Extinction" With Climate Justice Activist Vanessa Nakate* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lzfed1Qtq9Y>

Young Activists Summit. (2020, December 2). *EP03 : Vanessa Nakate, Climate Justice* [Video]. YouTube.

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Neubauer, Luisa (N: 8)

African Climate Alliance. (2021, September 21). *Global Climate Strike 2021 - Press conference, with international climate activists* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cjx9YIr2V1U>

BIOTOPIA Naturkundemuseum Bayern. (2021, April 20). *The New Climate War: An Evening with Dr. Michael E. Mann and Luisa Neubauer - ESCAPING EXTINCTION* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SI08iXZXUwo>

Forum 2000. (2021, January 22). *Luisa Neubauer: There is no vaccine for the climate.* [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wtSxS0TcNPw>

New York Times Events. (2021, November 8). *Inside Climate Court: Cases of Climate Justice* [Video].

YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SAIdRhSwW3I>

- Nick Breeze ClimateGenn. (2019, December 9). *Press conference by Greta Thunberg Luisa Neubauer* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=od2gpiHyUf8>
- Outrage and Optimism. (2021, October 7). *Dealing with Climate Grief with Luisa Neubauer* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M3aZq4uWREA>
- Right Livelihood. (2021, December 20). *2021 Award Presentation: Luisa Neubauer presenting the Award to Vladimir Sliviyak* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W_swoNSNpAI
- UN Climate Change. (2019, June 21). *#Fridays4Future Activist Luisa Neubauer talks about Climate Action at UN #ClimateChange conference* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6uL6SwI5_I

Shapiro, Ben (N: 7)

- Copenhagen Consensus. (2020, July 19). *Bjorn Lomborg and Ben Shapiro on climate alarmism* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5fF3f9f8BIQ>
- Dr Brian Keating. (2020, October 2). *Ben Shapiro: Climate Change & Human Ingenuity* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMyt25OE2pA>
- IMPAULSIVE. (2019, September 9). *BEN SHAPIRO SILENCES LOGAN PAUL - IMPAULSIVE EP. 121* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-9TdoU4Ay8>
- The Daily Wire. (2020, January 23). *Ben Shapiro DESTROYS Greta's CRAZY Climate Change Arguments* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8RVooYlyl20>
- The Free Speech Club. (2019, July 28). *Ben Shapiro Vs Climate Change | UBC Talk* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wRk1p8Lzwvo>
- The Heritage Foundation. (2019, May 15). *Nick Loris on the Ben Shapiro Show: We Aren't Headed Toward Serious Climate Catastrophe* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KvnUXo4b0fA>
- Shapiro, B. (2021, November 3). *Shapiro Reacts to Greta Thunberg's Articulate Rant: "No More Blah, Blah, Blah!"* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CWxV0kHa98M>

Seibt, Naomi (N: 7)

- Egy a Természettel. (2021, October 10). *WCF 2021 - The Power of Youth - Naomi Seibt* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ji6H1_Ui-Iw
- Expressen. (2020, March 7). *Naomi Seibt: "De tror att jag är en ondskefull Anti-Greta"* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fDPy_bcD6Jo
- Good Morning Britain. (2020, March 4). *Is Greta Thunberg Over-Reacting About Climate Change? | Good Morning Britain* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L3BVN4XcVLk>

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Appendix 2. Evaluation of data management plan from NSD

11.05.2022, 14:21

Meldeskjema for behandling av personopplysninger

NSD NORSK SENTER FOR FORSKNINGSDATA

Vurdering

Referansenummer

780613

Prosjekttittel

Masteroppgave i statsvitenskap - Klimarepresentasjon: En sammenligning av fransk- og engelsktalende kjente aktivister

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet / Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for sosiologi og statsvitenskap

Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)

Pieter De Wilde, pieter.dewilde@ntnu.no, tlf: +4773596428

Type prosjekt

Studentprosjekt, masterstudium

Kontaktinformasjon, student

Jenny Nygaard, jennyny@stud.ntnu.no, tlf: 90110657

Prosjektperiode

31.03.2022 - 07.06.2022

Vurdering (1)

19.04.2022 - Vurdert

OM VURDERINGEN

Personverntjenester har en avtale med institusjonen du forsker eller studerer ved. Denne avtalen innebærer at vi skal gi deg råd slik at behandlingen av personopplysninger i prosjektet ditt er lovlig etter personvernregelverket.

Personverntjenester har nå vurdert den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at behandlingen er lovlig, hvis den gjennomføres slik den er beskrevet i meldeskjemaet med dialog og vedlegg.

VIKTIG INFORMASJON TIL DEG

Du må lagre, sende og sikre dataene i tråd med retningslinjene til din institusjon. Dette betyr at du må bruke leverandører for spørreskjema, skylagring, videosamtale o.l. som institusjonen din har avtale med. Vi gir generelle råd rundt dette, men det er institusjonens egne retningslinjer for informasjonssikkerhet som gjelder.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET

Prosjektet vil behandle særlige kategorier av personopplysninger om politisk oppfatning og alminnelige personopplysninger frem til 07.06.2022.]

<https://meldeskjema.nsd.no/vurdering/621e3602-076c-4b45-887c-4877c7993322>

1/3

De politiske oppfatningene som behandles i prosjektet begrenses til oppfatninger som er offentliggjort av de registrerte selv (kjente klimaaktivister).

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG

Prosjektet vil behandle alminnelige kategorier av personopplysninger med grunnlag i at behandlingen er nødvendig for å utføre en oppgave i allmennhetens interesse og vil behandle særlige kategorier av personopplysninger med grunnlag i at den registrerte åpenbart selv har offentliggjort personopplysningene.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen av alminnelige personopplysninger er dermed at den er nødvendig for å utføre en oppgave i allmennhetens interesse, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav e, samt for formål knyttet til vitenskapelig forskning, jf. personopplysningsloven § 8, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 3.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen av særlige kategorier av personopplysninger er det gjelder personopplysninger som det er åpenbart at den registrerte har offentliggjort, jf. personvernforordningen art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav e.

Behandlingen er omfattet av nødvendige garantier for å sikre den registrertes rettigheter og friheter, jf. personvernforordningen art. 89 nr. 1.

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER

Personverntjenester vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen:

- om lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at prosjektet oppfyller kravet om nødvendige garantier
- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelige angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenelige formål
- dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER

Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de i utgangspunktet ha følgende rettigheter: innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18) og protest (art. 21). Hvorvidt rettighetene kan innfris må vurderes i hvert enkelt tilfelle.

Personverntjenester vurderer at det kan unntas fra informasjonsplikt etter art. 14 nr. 5 b), der personopplysninger ikke har blitt samlet inn fra den registrerte, ettersom opplysningene som benyttes i prosjektet er blitt offentliggjort av den registrerte selv og det vil innebære en uforholdsmessig stor innsats å gi informasjon, sett opp mot nytten av å bli informert om prosjektet.

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER

Personverntjenester legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må dere følge interne retningslinjer og eventuelt rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

MELD VESENTLIGE ENDRINGER

Dersom det skjer vesentlige endringer i behandlingen av personopplysninger, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til oss ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. For du melder inn en endring, oppfordrer vi deg til å lese om hvilke type endringer det er nødvendig å melde: <https://www.nsd.no/personverntjenester/fylle-ut-meldeskjema-for-personopplysninger/melde-endringer-i-meldeskjema>

11.05.2022, 14:21

Meldeskjema for behandling av personopplysninger

Du må vente på svar fra oss for endringen gjennomføres.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET

Personverntjenester vil følge opp ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet.

Kontaktperson hos oss: Eva J. B. Payne

Lykke til med prosjektet!

