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Youths, Pandemic and Time

Insights from youths' narratives of their pandemic experiences into the interplay between time and subjective experiences

Master's thesis in Childhood Studies
Supervisor: Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen
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Department of Education and Lifelong Learning

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Abstract

The current generation of youths certainly had a different youthhood in comparison to the previous generations of youths. After all, they had to experience a pandemic during their youth. These are bold statements to make, under the assumption that the pandemic had a strong effect on experiences. Since the onset of the coronavirus disease of 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic, governments around the world variously put preventive measures in place in order to curb the spread of the coronavirus. Implementing preventive measures that sought to put more distance between individuals meant that (almost) everyone was affected by the pandemic, regardless of whether an individual was infected or not. Although (almost) everyone was affected, the consequences and experiences of the pandemic was not the same. Thus, in order to truly understand how youths might have experienced the pandemic period, gathering youths' narratives of their own pandemic experiences was essential. Based on the narratives of youths living in Trondheim, Norway regarding their pandemic experiences, I present in this paper an illumination on how time and experiences might be connected. This paper draws on selected perspectives in Childhood Studies and concepts of time and temporalities, and it employs a phenomenological approach to executing the research project. Utilising the time-metaphors of circular-time and linear-time, I attempt to elucidate the emergence of certain senses such as "inconvenienced", "controlled" or "surreal" alongside shifts in repetitive practices and routines, as well as the diverse senses of time itself in terms of its quality and apparent elasticity. Overall, this paper seeks to illustrate the contributions of experiences of a specific phenomenon to the understandings of everyday experiences and the potential significance of time to subjective experiences.

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List of Abbreviations (or Symbols)

COVID-19	The coronavirus disease of 2019
HK-dir	Norwegian Directorate for Higher Education and Skills
	Direktoratet for høgare utdanning og kompetanse
IB	International Baccalaureate (programme)
NIPH	Norwegian Institute of Public Health
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
	Norsk senter for forskningsdata
NTNU	The Norwegian University of Science and Technology
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
WHO	World Health Organisation

1 Introduction

Little did we realise two years ago that a virus, invisible to the naked eye, would upend and throw the world into apparent chaos. This virus was the source for an infectious disease, the coronavirus disease of 2019, also known in short form as COVID-19 (World Health Organization; WHO n.d.-b). After the first discovered case of COVID-19 in December 2019 in Wuhan, China (Page, Drew and McKay 2021), we gradually saw the situation grow into a global phenomenon as the coronavirus' speed of transmission was much faster and the consequences were more severe compared to the common flu (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2021). Eventually, within three months of its first discovery, the WHO bestowed the COVID-19 outbreak with the status of a pandemic in March 2020 (Ghebreyesus 2020).

Declaring the COVID-19 outbreak as a pandemic had its consequences. WHO swiftly put out documents that detailed guidance for control and advisories in January 2020, and provided timely updated on the guidance based on ongoing research. Many countries including Norway followed WHO's recommendations and took up measures in attempts to curb the pandemic, from mandating the use of face masks to a complete lockdown of places. Since different countries had different measures implemented, and some measures like school closure affected selected generations, the pandemic's effects inevitably varied across locations and generations. It was consequently necessary that a research project hoping to explore pandemic experiences defined its geographical and generational scope. As Spyrou (2011:156) asserted, "adults can never become a 'native' in children's worlds". A representation of children and young people's experiences in research, especially through their own narratives, is therefore paramount. This is where the project began, with a simple and broad question: what were the pandemic experiences of youths in Trondheim?

1.1 A quick rundown on the coronavirus

For the uninitiated, an infection with the coronavirus resulted in mild to moderate respiratory difficulties (WHO n.d.-b). There was also a risk of death or becoming seriously ill upon infection (WHO n.d.-b). According to WHO (n.d.-a), there were almost 534 million confirmed cases of COVID-19, including about 6.3 million deaths globally as of 14 June 2022. It was therefore reasonable that media coverage on the coronavirus was substantial. As of June 2022, there were more than 12 billion search results on Google for "COVID-19".

The coronavirus was transmitted mainly via bodily fluids such as saliva (WHO n.d.-b). A clear-cut cure for COVID-19 had yet to be found at the time of writing; preventive vaccines were administered but they did not fully mitigate all the effects of COVID-19 (see Lin, Gu, Wheeler et al. 2022). Since the viral transmission between humans involved tiny liquid particles, the measures that were implemented against the spread of the coronavirus tended towards increasing distance between individuals or, even more strictly, social isolation. In this way, it was possible to think of the coronavirus as a "social", or perhaps "anti-social", virus in the sense that it impacted the way social interactions could be performed.

1.2   Why Trondheim, why youths?

The reasons for selecting Trondheim, Norway as the research location and youths as the research demographic were straightforward. I wanted to challenge myself as a budding researcher to execute research in unfamiliar contexts, and I was already living in the relatively unfamiliar grounds of Trondheim to complete this master's programme. Trondheim is a city and municipality within Norway. It is the fourth most populous urban settlement in Norway, after Oslo, Bergen and Stavanger/Sandnes (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2020). According to the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU n.d.), Trondheim is "well known as a top location for students and academics, and the city is regularly rated as the best student town in Norway". Due to the significant presence of schools and universities such as the NTNU, Trondheim seems to have the images of youthfulness and international diversity due to its generous hospitality towards students and families from around the world. In a youthful city like Trondheim, youths would constitute a significant demographic to be represented.

1.3   Research Question

To reiterate, the initial research question of this project was "what were the pandemic experiences of youths in Trondheim?". I aimed to elucidate children's experiences of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the measures implemented to curb the pandemic. Following the perspectives promoted in childhood studies, it was critical to illuminate youths' narratives so that they were represented in research. In order to do so, this research question was purposefully open to provide space for their narratives to guide the formulation of the final research question. As I interacted with participants through the project, time became a memorable element of our discussions. As it turned out, participants' sharing of their pandemic experiences were not mere commentaries about the pandemic itself, but also explications about the ways we formed experiences in general. Pandemic experiences were not expressed and interpreted in isolation but contrasted with experiences outside the pandemic context, involving time in not just present moments but also past experiences and future expectations. Therefore, the eventual research question to which this project seeks to answer is: what could participants' pandemic experiences tell us about how time might frame interpretations of experiences?

Although it might seem that studying pandemic experiences would not be very relevant to the everyday experiences outside the pandemic, I found from participants' narratives an illumination on time's involvement in the interpretations of experiences. Drawing on theoretical knowledge about time, I attempt to explicate how time might be engaged in shaping subjective experiences, regardless of whether it was during or outside of a pandemic. In contrast to the indirect references to time in discussions about the "beings" and "becomings" of children and young people in the field of childhood studies, this project shall offer insights on how time might be directly linked to the subjective experiences of children and young people.

1.4   Summary of chapters

This thesis has 7 chapters in total. **Chapter 1** of this paper, which you are currently reading, is an introduction to the research topic and question, including justifications for the location and generation chosen in this project.

In **Chapter 2**, I elaborate on the theoretical frameworks guiding this research project. Specifically, I refer to the perspectives presented in Childhood Studies as well as the

discussions surrounding the concepts of time and temporality to shape how participants' experiences could be understood.

Chapter 3 expands on the methodology that I employed in this research project. It details the methodological approach implemented, the methods chosen and the analytical steps taken in this project. An introduction to the participants can also be found in this chapter.

Chapter 4 provides more context relevant to this research project. This includes a review of pandemic-youth literature, as well as the temporal, discursive and relational contexts that made up the background to this project. It might be more common for the background chapter to come right after the introduction chapter, but as the contexts of this project involved engaging reflexivity, a concept I detail in Chapter 3, this background chapter is shifted after the methodology chapter.

Chapter 5 is the first of two analysis chapters in this paper. Here, I concentrate on the circular characteristic of time to explore how feelings and senses described by participants might emerge as practices and access to spaces were modified during the pandemic.

In the second analysis chapter, **Chapter 6**, I switch the focal point onto the linear feature of time. From this perspective of linear-time, I explore the possible criteria determining the quality of time, the mysterious sense of "warped time" and multiple normalities.

The concluding chapter, **Chapter 7**, offers a summary of the paper, further unaddressed musings as food-for-thoughts, as well as necessary words of cautions on the limitations of this paper.

2 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I elaborate on the notions that influenced the way I have carried out the research project as well as analysed the data collected. Stemming from the field of childhood studies, I viewed the participants as individuals who were simultaneously a part of the larger society. After going through the interview transcripts, I have identified time and temporality as key concepts engaged in the highlighted experiences of the participants. Then, the first section of this chapter provides a framing of the participants' position in society, and the second section presents a review of past scholarly discussions on time and temporality.

2.1 Ideas from childhood studies: individual yet connected experiences of youths

One of the main tenets in childhood studies is to see children as active (Hammersley 2017). Such a perspective contrasts with previous children/childhood research in which children were seen as passive objects (see Woodhead 2013). In viewing children as active, one could shed light on the ways children participate in interpreting and interacting with their surroundings, through a focus on children's agency[1]. Chi (2010), for instance, illustrated the values children prescribed to their resilience from their experience of hardships when she focused on the "agency of intention" (p. 316). Following this view of children as active participants who can form their own understanding of their surroundings (Woodhead and Faulkner 2008), children's experiences therefore took the centre stage in this project.

Yet, as Hammersley (2017) cautioned, an overemphasis on children's agency could fail to recognise the surrounding influences on their agency. The structural constraints in which agency is worked are increasingly recognised. Qvortrup (2009:23) saw childhood as "a segment in a social structure". Childhood could be viewed as a period in which a child grew up to become an adult, a fixed segment that was experienced across all generations, and a generational unit alongside adulthood (Qvortrup 2009). From a structural perspective, the ways childhood might be organised could be highlighted. The significance of school in children's everyday lives, for example, could be explored against the backdrop of child labour (Abebe and Bessell 2011, Bourdillon 2011). Both Abebe and Bessell (2011) and Bourdillon (2011) illustrated how the work-free childhood became the global standard for childhood and the effects of this purported childhood on structuring childhood globally. Del Casino Jr (2009) also saw schools as spaces organised to disseminate specific ideas of socially acceptable practices for young people. In this way, school could be perceived as a way to distinguish children and adults both in space and identity (Bourdillon 2011). Nonetheless, agency and structure are not binary opposites. Rather, as Buckingham and Tingstad (2017:308) wrote, "[s]tructure requires agency, but agency only works through structure". They made this statement in relation to how commercial marketing's attempt to draw children in as consumers depicted children as active and autonomous (Buckingham

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[1] There are several conceptions of "agency". The general definition, as provided in the Cambridge Dictionary (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/agency), is "the ability to take action or to choose what action to take". The reality of how "agency" is used in discussions is much more complex, but this is a topic for another paper. Please refer to Valentine (2011) for a summary of the different conceptions of "agency".

and Tingstad 2017). Yet in doing so, children were induced to act in certain defined ways (Buckingham and Tingstad 2017). Consequently, they did not unequivocally equate activity with agency since actions might have rather been spurred on by surrounding structural contexts (Buckingham and Tingstad 2017). For example, Abebe (2016) demonstrated how children's choices and agency in participating in the Ethiopian coffee trade were influenced by the workings of the larger political economy. Possibly, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) claim of institutionalised individualism in the modern society might help us better understand the relationship between structure and agency. While it would be more straightforward to connect individualisation with agency as it generally assumes individual's capacity for action, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) opined that individualisation might have become a social structure of the modern society. Providing the example of marriage, they noted that marriage was increasingly perceived as an individual act, and this perception was itself encouraged by the institutions (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Thus, Hammersley's (2017) suggestion to see agency as fundamentally relational rather than as a continuum of a single dimension might be more applicable to this perspective on children.

Moreover, the category of the "child" is inherently relational to that of the "adult" (Hammersley 2017). Utilising Marx's arguments for an intrinsic relationality among classes, Alanen (2009) showed how the categories of the "child" and "adult" mutually prescribed attributes relative to each other. Providing the example of a "nuclear family", Alanen (2009) illuminated how a parental position would only arise if there was a (relative) child position. Actions taken to perform the parental position, or "parenting", would then depend on the corresponding actions taken to perform the child position (Alanen 2009). While the participants of this project are technically youths, a similar argument should hold for the category of the "youth". That is, the category of "youth" would also be internally relational to the categories of the "child" and "adult". Anderson (2015:193), for example, opined that the "youth" could be seen as a "grey area" and "liminal" beings between the "child" and "adult". While not explicitly stated by Anderson, I inferred from the way he described youths by making comparisons and references to children and adults to indicate the relationality of the three categories just as Alanen identified between the "child" and "adult". Specifically, Anderson (2015:193) stated, "[youths'] past as children is 'negated, suspended, or abrogated' yet their potential as adults is not quite realised". The emergence of youth as a category beside child and adult would inevitably imply its relationality to the other two categories.

This relationality of "child" and "adult", and by association, I posit "youth" as well, seemed to produce what Hanson (2012:71) termed the "difference dilemma". Especially discussed in relation to children's rights, the "difference dilemma" referred to a dilemma on whether to treat children the same as or differently from adults, and to what extent if the latter (Hanson 2012). A prominent debate when comparing and contrasting children and adults revolved around the issue of competence. Generally, adults tended to be seen as competent while children as incompetent (Alderson 2007). This view might possibly be associated with the past conception of child development as a unilateral progress through stages (see Woodhead 2013). However, Alderson (2007) found that experiences might contribute more to children's understanding than age or ability. Thomson (2007:211) went further to call it "the myth of the competent adult". Hence, rather than viewing participants as different due to their identities as youths, I attempted to attribute their differences to their unique individualities that ought to be represented precisely because of their different experiences (see Wall 2014). That is, participants were simultaneously perceived as unique

individuals and a member of the society in which their position might be situated in a network of relations as "youths".

Additionally, considering Thomson's (2007) assertion that children and adults both interact with power inequalities in their everyday lives, it was crucial to direct some attention to the ever-present topic of power. Moreover, the pandemic in Norway could be viewed in terms of power and rule as well (see Gjerde 2021). Referring to a perception of power as not merely suppressive but as both creative and constraining, Gjerde (2021) observed the use of liberal governmentality in the Norwegian context during the pandemic. By employing liberal governmentality, the individual's freedom remained untouched on the surface as preventive actions were framed more as voluntary than compulsory (Gjerde 2021). At the same time, by framing these actions as voluntary but encouraged for the sake of the community, individuals would still be directed towards performing said actions through social pressure (Gjerde 2021). In this way, liberal governmentality involved the subtle use of coercive strategies like discipline and law to narrow the possible options for individual action (Gjerde 2021). One such form of discipline which I found to be useful in understanding parts of participants' experiences was panopticism. Referencing the Panopticon, which was an architectural design that involved a watchtower placed at the centre of a circular complex, Foucault (1995) emphasized that this form of discipline operated with two key features: that it was in sight yet cannot be easily ascertained. That is, although one could see the watchtower from any spot in the complex, one could not tell with certainty whether there was anyone in the watchtower observing him/her. Subsequently, one would be compelled to behave appropriately or discipline oneself at all times in case there was indeed someone watching him/her from the watchtower. This form of discipline has previously been applied in the field of childhood studies in the contexts of playgrounds (Blackford 2004) and school settings (Markus 1996). Similarly, it supported explanations for participants' sense of surveillance in relation to following the pandemic regulations and using technological devices. Thus, by keeping the issues of power in sight, I ensured that the liberal governmentality and associated coercive strategies at play during the pandemic would not be overlooked.

To summarize, in employing the perspectives of childhood studies on the pandemic situation, I focused on children's or youths' experiences in this project. This emphasis on youths' experiences should not see participants as isolated individuals. Instead, I located participants within a larger network of relations. Since all individuals, regardless of generational categories, would have different experiences, I presumed that participants' pandemic experiences were worth being represented not as a depiction of all youths' pandemic experiences but as a portrayal of their unique individualities. While the specificities of each participants' experiences could differ, there were certainly structural contexts such as schooling that most youths could identify with in their experiences. In a way, you could see this project as hopefully accurate but less precise to the general youth population. Finally, since power was identified within the pandemic context as well as in children and youths' daily interactions, it was paramount that I kept the issue of power in mind when I worked on this project.

2.2   The multiplicity of time

Considering that children and youths are social categories generally based on age, time and temporality are critical elements to the field of childhood studies (see Millei 2021). In tracing the development of childhood studies, a transition from children as "becomings" or "future adults" to children as "beings", and then to children as both "being and becomings"

(Uprichard 2008) could be observed. Where once the importance of the future and the present of a child had divided support in the field, the interconnectedness of a child's past, present and future is now increasingly accepted (see Millei 2021). Moreover, the experience of time might differ for children from that for adults (Millei 2021). As adults who were once children, it might be easy to slip into applying our own perspectives of time on today's children. Even if we were once children, our senses of time as children would be more indicative of that past period of childhood than the childhood that current children are experiencing (see Qvortrup 2009). Spyrou (2011:156) consequently stated that "an adult can never become a 'native' in children's world". As such, Conrad (2012:206) argued that "adults' ability to conceptualize subjectivity and temporality from children's perspectives may be limited". What Millei, Conrad and other childhood studies researchers advocated was a refrain from doing so and instead an attempt to interpret time from children's perspectives.

Chan (2020:13.2) suggested that "[t]he coronavirus pandemic must be understood as a crisis of temporality". Descriptions of time were also what I found prominent when speaking with the participants about the pandemic. During the pandemic, numerous activities were shifted onto the online medium, forming a sort of digital lifeworld. Reviewing the digital lifeworlds of the pandemic period, Chan (2020) proposed that these digital lifeworlds operated on temporalities that were asynchronous to the capitalist temporalities, and both temporalities were also not aligned with ecological time. Previous scholars have also observed the influence of technology on perceptions of time (see Green 2002, Wajcman 2008). Green (2002) opined that the prevalent technologies of a certain time period contributed to how time was structured. Technologies not only transform how activities are performed and what they mean, but they may also give rise to new practices (Wajcman 2008). For instance, mobile technologies that were developed to address the issue of "distance" also reshaped our perceptions of not only space but time too (Green 2002). Time-shifting was another novel practice which mobile technologies facilitated, as they allowed activities in sequences to be postponed, re-sequenced and enacted from a different location (Wajcman 2008). Wajcman (2008) therefore saw the "social" and the "technical" in technology as one and the same, arguing that the means of social interaction would be modified when new technologies transform how people relate to the spaces they interact with. In this sense, technology is a significant factor influencing perceptions of time and space as practices are modified.

Examining temporalities in relation to practice or theories of practice seemed to be a plausible approach in trying to understand the issue (see Greene, Hansen, Hoolohan et al. 2022, Shove, Trentmann and Wilk 2009). Additionally, Green (2002:281) provided evidence that the structuring of time in everyday life in relation to mobile use was largely linked to engrained time-based social practices. With time being an abstract concept that seemed to have material impact, associating time with practice could better elucidate the materiality of time. Greene et al. (2022) explored the "disruption" which the pandemic seemed to be. For Greene et al. (2022), practices were "constituting and producing temporalities that shape the experience and performance of daily life as well as the resource implications that emerge" (p.217). Routines were ceaselessly created and modified through actions and over time, and practice sequences referred to the ordering of activities and events (Greene et al. 2022). Greene et al. (2022) suggested that the pandemic brought about an undoing and reassembling of practices in the household which in turn fragmented the "bundles" or sequences in routines. Eventually, new sequences in routines were developed as practices are re-sequenced, coordinated and negotiated (Greene et al. 2022). The study by Greene et al. (2022) was particularly relevant to my

analysis, not only due to us having the same subject topic (pandemic) but also because the authors illustrated how routines were torn apart and recreated which I also observed in participants' narratives. However, whereas Greene et al. (2022) examined the shifts in routines in relation to household practices, my focus was on the shifts in routines of individual (but not isolated) youths. Just as Greene et al. (2022) studied routines that were disrupted by the atypical pandemic, Shove et al. (2009) identified a need to examine both peculiar events and mundane routines. They observed that time had rhythms accentuated by peculiar events among the mundane routines (Shove et al. 2009). Through a focus on the temporality of practice, rhythms could be seen as "achievements of coordinating and stabilizing relationships between practices" (Shove et al. 2009:10). Everyday life could then be viewed as a scene where inescapably unstable sequences would be breached and re-established (Shove et al. 2009). Routines, practice sequences, peculiar events and rhythms could therefore help to frame the temporalities of everyday life.

Shifts in space might also contribute to shifts in time perception. Against older dualistic notions of time and space, May and Thrift (2001:3) stated, "time is irrecoverably bound up with the spatial constitution of society (and vice versa)". This relation between space and time was exceptionally important to consider in my analysis since some pandemic measures such as school closures altered access to spaces during the pandemic. Referring to the compression of time and space with digital communication, McLeod (2017) also suggested that they were not two distinct entities. That is, shifts in spatial organisations could influence perceptions of time and vice versa. For instance, mobile phones that filled "dead time", or time that was generally not perceived as productive, with communication also seemed to render location insignificant (Wajcman 2008). Shove et al. (2009) similarly highlighted that routine and rhythm not only mutually influenced each other, but also each involved elements of space. May and Thrift (2001) went so far as to employ the term TimeSpace to highlight the "multiplicity of space-time" (p. 3). When attention is directed to the relations between time and space, the correlations to practices might be neglected. Thus, Latour (2005:178) posited a three-way correlation between space, time and action as he argued that "a shift in space, a shift in time, and a shift in actor or actant" would always occur simultaneously. Not only that, but Shove et al. (2009:2) also suggested that "[t]ime is about coordination and rhythm, but it also involves material, emotional, moral and political dimensions". Jordheim (2014:509-10) too observed the political dimension of time such that he utilized the term "temporal regime", with an emphasis on "regime" as a "governing structure", to illustrate that the practices employed to organise rhythms involved power. Therefore, it seemed that perceptions of time involved spatial, practical as well as material and political domains.

Several scholars have hinted at the multiplicity of time. Hassard (1990) provided time metaphors for understanding the repetitive yet flowing features of time: circular-time which relates to the repetitive character of events such as day and night and seasons and the rhythm of time passing, and linear-time which is associated with the sequence of events and time passing continuously. The repetitive characteristic of time could be illustrated by the rhythms and the "everydayness" of life (May and Thrift 2001:31). On the other hand, describing time as past, present and future could invoke the imagery of time as linear. Of course, as McLeod (2017) noted, temporality was more about "the messy, moving relations between past, present and future" (p. 13) than a uni-directional flow of time. McLeod (2017) hence posited that multiple and non-linear temporalities were involved in longitudinal qualitative research. Apart from describing time as past, present and future, speed and acceleration might also be significant expressions of time. For example, capitalism has been described to bring about an apparent acceleration of time

(May and Thrift 2001). May and Thrift (2001) further contended that the apparent acceleration would entail not only the more contested speeding up of time but also the antithetical slowness. In addition, perceiving the apparent acceleration that came with capitalism, the distinction between the present and future became blurred as the future was increasingly seen as an extended present (Suckert 2021). This suggested that the different concepts of time might also be overlapping descriptions of the time. In sum, to address the multiplicity of time, one could consider the metaphors of linear- and circular-times, categories of past, present and future as well as issues of speed and acceleration when analysing time and temporalities.

The multiplicity of time might also be called upon in conversations and narrations. McLeod (2017) saw oral and life histories as narrations about how the past might be recalled and reconstructed in the present. In other words, in the present moment when we talk about our past experiences, we do not actually tell the complete experience as we experienced it. Rather, we communicate these experiences according to how we remember them and select the experiences we find relevant to share in the present moment. Conrad (2012) also observed a "dynamic temporality" when investigating temporalities imagined by young writers. Time did not flow linearly from past towards the present and future in the imaginations and expressions of these young writers; rather, multiple time frames intersected in their consciousness (Conrad 2012). Multiple temporalities might thus be engaged in conversations. McLeod (2017:19) referred to two complementary approaches to understanding this form of temporalities: "temporal modes of becoming" (Nielsen 2016:9) and "space of experience and horizon of expectation" (Koselleck 2004:259). The former recommended viewing time as both linear and non-linear (Nielsen 2016) while the latter proposed employing experience as the "present past" and expectation as the "future made present" (Koselleck 2004:259). In other words, in perceiving this paper as my interpretation of participants' interpretations of their experience during the pandemic, I should note that multiple temporalities could be involved not only in their experience but also in their interpretations as well as my interpretation, and these might not necessarily be discrete multiples.

In sum, I found a discussion of time and temporality to be meaningful in this project not only because the concept of time is highly related to age which children and youths are general categories of, but also based on my conversations with the participants. Since adults might not be privy to the institutional and structural contexts surrounding this generation of children and youths, it cannot be assumed that our senses of time are the same. Several scholars have proposed the use of theories of practice when examining temporalities. Through this approach of practice, technology has been identified as a potential influence on the perceptions of time and space by stimulating changes in practices. Similarly, shifts in space would spur shifts in time perception as practices would be modified. In other words, space, time and action appear to be closely related. Since time is both repetitive and flowing, Hassard's (1990) time metaphors of time as circular and linear could provide a simple way to think and talk about each form of time. Sequences, routines, peculiar events and rhythms were also terms that could support an understanding of time, especially in the repetition of everyday life. The categories of past, present and future, as well as speed and acceleration, might be more applicable in describing the linear flow of time. However, I acknowledge McLeod's (2017) caution against viewing this flow of time as moving only in a single direction. Rather, there could be multiple and non-linear temporalities involved, especially in research such as this project which requested for participants' sharing of past experiences. As such, multiple temporalities might be involved both in their descriptions of their pandemic experiences and in my interpretation of their

experiences based on their sharing. With the ideas from childhood studies and the concepts of time in mind, I sought to illustrate how sense of time and temporalities have been reflected in participants' pandemic experiences.

3 Methodology

The underlying approach to the way this research project was carried out is documented in this chapter. In line with the theoretical framework of this project, I chose to employ a phenomenological approach in which my analysis should be read as a representation of my interpretation of participants' interpretations of their pandemic experiences. More details on the methodology guiding this project are explicated in the first section of this chapter. Next, I detail the motivations behind the project, the choice of location and target demographic. I also elaborate on the participant recruitment process as well as the participants of this project. In the section on data collection, I explain the choice of methods and tools used in this project. The methods chosen for this project included a pre-interview survey, a semi-structured interview and a post-interview survey. After going through the data collection process, I expound on the data analysis process – from transcription and coding to the selection of time as a main theme and theoretical framework for this project. Lastly, I briefly elaborate on the writing process of this paper, including the deliberations behind the representation of participants and myself in the paper.

3.1 Methodology: a phenomenological / qualitative approach

According to Beazley (2006), the methodology of a research project should be guided by the theoretical framework of how humans were to be perceived. Subsequently, methods and tools would be selected according to the methodology to support the research process (Beazley 2006). As elaborated in the chapter for Theoretical Framework, two significant theoretical assumptions influenced the methodology: first, that individuals' subjective experiences were worth being represented as depictions of their unique individualities, and second, that individuals were positioned within a larger network of relations. Accordingly, the methodology to be employed in this project should relate to these two assumptions.

Since descriptions of experiences would be the main data sought for in this project, the issue of voice became significant in the execution of the project. While it might be easy to say that voice could be given just through representation in research, James (2007:262) warned that "giving voice to children is not simply or only about letting children speak; it is about exploring the unique contribution to our understanding of and theorizing about the social world that children's perspectives can provide". In other words, giving voice to children entailed discursive issues of power (Spyrou 2011). In line with the second assumption of how the individual would be perceived, I would strive to bring to light the structural and relational influences surrounding participants through the sharing of their unique experiences. As James (2007) also recommended, participants' voices should be put in context. In this project, the context of reference would be their youthhood during the pandemic, mainly in Trondheim, Norway but with reference to other geographical locations as well for some participants (this would be clarified later in Section 3.3.1). Furthermore, issues of authenticity of voices, potentially oversight of diversity as well as the disposition of children's participation would be involved (James 2007). Authenticity would relate to concerns of interpretation and representation (James 2007). One might think that "polyvocality", which means having more narratives speaking similarly and consequently viewing quantity (i.e. the number of individuals saying the same thing) as a measure for reliability, might be a plausible solution, but it is not (Spyrou 2011). After all,

each narrative would be a unique representation of an individual. Polyvocality might conversely encourage the second issue of overlooking diversity. How then could I be certain that my representation of participants' voices in this project would be accurate? The answer to this question would relate to the second theoretical assumption of the project.

In perceiving individuals as constantly influenced by their surroundings, "the important reality [would be] what people perceive it to be" (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014:30). A phenomenological approach which would attend to grasping how individuals interpret and explain social phenomena would therefore align with the underlying assumption of this project (see Brinkmann and Kvale 2014). Along the lines of the phenomenological approach, research could be seen as involving multiple layers of interpretations - the researcher's interpretation of the informant's interpretation of his/her situation (see Geertz 1973). As the prominent proponent of phenomenology Schutz (1970:273) argued, the work of social scientists were second-degree constructs, "constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene". Communication would therefore involve interpretation (Wood 2013). This would imply that the meaning of a message is never completely transmitted as sent. Rather, the message would be received and ascribed meaning by the recipient (Wood 2013). Woodhead and Faulkner (2008:12) disclosed that research with children used to be "adult discourses about children's development". Possibly due to the power dynamics involved in adult-child relationships, adults might tend to view children as requiring support in communication. In emphasizing participants' voice in this project, I would also be susceptible to the risk of assuming that participants could not speak for themselves (see James 2007). To guard against this, I would apply an "ignorance of age" for which Solberg (1996) advocated. This could downplay the biological age factor that differentiated between children, youths and adults, and consequently reduces perceptions and assumptions of difference. Ignoring biological age does not mean that participants' age-associated contexts such as schooling should be ignored. Rather, it just means that I saw participants not as individuals of a certain age, but as individuals surrounded by particular set-ups of institutions and relations. This would be in line with the theoretical framework of positioning participants in a larger network of relations. Still, since this project would present my interpretation of participants' interpretations between which messages would not be fully transmitted, the short answer to the question above would be that I can never be certain and completely accurate.

Instead, I could as much as possible ensure that what I would present in this project was not going against their words. In the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), Article 13 stated that "[t]he child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice" (United Nations 1989). This clause was possibly an extension of Article 19[2] in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), giving examples of the possible forms of expressions including oral, written and art. It might seem counterintuitive that I have referenced childhood studies and the UNCRC despite suggesting an ignorance of biological age. Still, I have found the approaches in childhood studies crucial in reminding me the potential challenges that should not be missed in carrying out a research project. That is, perhaps due to concerns over issues such as representation and power, childhood studies seemed to provide a more careful and

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[2] "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (United Nations 1948).

mindful approach to research that could be valuable to any research regardless of age. For example, Ennew, Abebe, Bangyai et al. (2009) paraphrased Article 13 of the UNCRC to research terms, and suggested that methods employed should support individuals' expression of their perspectives and opinions. The same idea could correspond to Article 19 of the UDHR as well. That is, since communicative differences would exist, be it due to cultural differences or individual differences, I must first ensure that participants were able to express themselves comfortably in order to ensure that participants could be understood in their own terms. I managed this during the project by accepting multiple formats for participants' choice of expressing their experiences (to be elaborated in Section 3.4.1).

Apart from influencing issues of voice, the second assumption of the project would imply that even within the research setting, participants were influenced not just by the field but also by me. Then, unlike traditional tendencies to view the researcher as an "observer" or "audience" and the "researched" as asocial objects (see Woodhead 2013, Woodhead and Faulkner 2008), both the researcher and the researched as well as their interactions and surroundings should be perceived as influences to the research outcome. Research roles may instead be viewed as negotiated in the meeting and social interactions of two individuals (Solberg 1996). Along with his proposal on the multi-layer interpretation involved in research, Geertz (1973:29) set forth that "[i]nterpretive anthropology is a science whose progress is marked less by a perfection of consensus than by a refinement of debate". Bourdieu (1977) recommended reflexivity: to consider the nature and status of knowledge generated in the research through a "discourse of familiarity" (p. 18). That is, I should reflect and explicate the nature of knowledge in the project – including how it was produced and what influenced its production.

Moreover, reflexivity could also enable a more representative depiction of participants' voices through the acceptance of the multi-faceted narrations of participants (Spyrou 2011). Then, to be reflexive in this project, I should consider the assumptions I had prior to the research as well as the quality of my interactions with participants. My attempt to practice reflexivity in this project would be to constantly question my actions and interactions. Several scholars have suggested how to be reflexive at various stages of a research: by questioning my assumptions and expectations for the research (see McNamee and Seymour 2013, Punch 2002), reflecting on the methods and approaches employed during data collection (see Punch 2002), contemplating interpretations, words, referenced concepts and theories (see Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, Nilsen 2005, Saldaña 2013), and even considering the exit or end of the fieldwork (see Corsaro and Molinari 2008). Critically, reflexivity in relation to the issue of power would be important, especially in research as power imbalance could be magnified with the researcher having the final say as to which data and interpretation to include in the publication (Punch 2002). Since research contexts varied across projects, there would unlikely be only one way to be reflexive. In this project, I would and could not say that I have been actively reflexive at every moment that I worked on the project as it was mentally straining to do so over long periods of time. After all, exercising reflexivity felt like I was splitting myself in half – one trying to work while the other constantly doubting my work. Rather, I would say that I have tried to be mindful, present and aware during the data collection and data analysis processes *as much as possible*.

The overarching methodology of this project then would be one of phenomenological or qualitative approach, emphasizing participants' voices yet cautious so as not to assume that participants could not speak for themselves. While "ignoring" age, I would continue to refer to works in the field of childhood studies for their striking attention to issues of

representation, power and ethics. This project should be read as a second-degree construct, a representation of my interpretation of participants' interpretations of the social phenomenon under investigation (the pandemic). As much as possible, I would try to ensure that I would not be representing participants against their words by making sure that they could express themselves easily and being reflexive throughout the research project.

3.2   The beginnings of this project: the proposal

In search for a project that could be conducted under the pandemic situation, I continuously found myself circling back to the question, "can this be done in the current pandemic situation?" As briefly mentioned in the Introduction, the pandemic had significant impact on social settings with its consequent regulations. The research setting is no exception. Hearing from seniors about the effects of the pandemic situation on their thesis projects made the above question one that apparently must be asked for any research at this time. Ultimately, I decided to take this situation as an opportunity to investigate how global phenomena such as the pandemic could affect individuals, and that is how this project emerged with the proposed aim to elucidate youths' experiences of the impact of the pandemic, specifically the measures implemented to curb the spread of COVID-19. In order to provide space for participants' narratives to shine through, the initial research question set at this point was "what were the pandemic experiences of youths in Trondheim?" It was only after data collection and analysis that the final research question surfaced as "what could participants' pandemic experiences tell us about how time might frame interpretations of experiences?" The process through which this final question was developed would be elaborated in a later section (3.5).

In deciding the site of the research, I knew I wanted to do research outside my home country, Singapore, in order to challenge myself to do research in unfamiliar contexts as a budding researcher. Since I was physically in Trondheim, Norway for the master's programme, I decided on Trondheim, somewhere that was a little familiar but still pretty unfamiliar to me. As noted in the previous section, I should come clean with my own position in the site. I had arrived in Trondheim during the pandemic. At the time of my arrival, I had to serve the mandatory 10-day quarantine at one of the hotels by the Trondheim Airport in Stjørdal. In other words, I had no experience in Trondheim before the pandemic.

Apart from Trondheim's youthful image, Trondheim's municipality government also seemed to place great importance on issues concerning children and youth as the municipality operated several activity and leisure clubs specifically for youths (see Trondheim Municipality 2021). Accordingly, I was keen on working with youths in this project. McNamee and Seymour (2013) observed a prominence in research on children between 10 and 12 years old. To address this gap, I sought to cover a less studied demography, choosing to focus on youths between 14 and 17 years old. According to Statistisk sentralbyrå (2021), there were 8881 youths between the ages of 14 and 17 in the municipality of Trondheim. All Norwegians are entitled and obligated to finish primary and lower secondary school (The Norwegian Directorate for Higher Education and Skills; HK-dir n.d.). Youths aged between 14 and 17 are generally still attending school, either in *ungdomsskole* (lower secondary school, usually between ages 13 and 16) or videregående skole (upper secondary school, usually between ages 16 and 19) (HK-dir n.d.). Possibly, this meant that the youths in this age group would have ample experience with the pre-pandemic school system, and therefore might be most able to explicate the effects of the

pandemic on not just their everyday lives but also their school experiences. Most people in Norway can speak fluent English but they might be more comfortable expressing themselves in Norwegian. Since I could not speak fluent Norwegian, I had to find participants who were comfortable with speaking in English. Then, the main requirements set for prospective participants were that they were living in Trondheim, between the ages of 14 and 17 and comfortable with speaking in English.

3.3   Participant recruitment

In order to execute a social research project under the university and in Trondheim, I had to submit an application to the national ethics committee, the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). Upon receiving the approval from the NSD, I began contacting schools in Trondheim for leads to potential participants. Since public secondary schools in Norway were generally taught in Norwegian, I initially targeted the international schools in Trondheim where the main language for teaching was English. When I reached out to the schools via e-mail, I had a relatively positive response from one school and no response from the other. I continued to approach both schools in various ways but the leads extinguished eventually. At one point, I realised that waiting on the schools' responses was not going to work. To make matters worse, the Norwegian government announced that all pandemic-related restrictions were to be lifted. The pandemic almost seemed like a thing in the past, and the project's prospects seemed equally antiquated.

I employed every other means I could think of to recruit participants. Since my requirement was to be comfortable with speaking in English and not to be studying in an international school, I realised I should not have so quickly dismissed the local schools. Consequently, I sent e-mails to all the lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools in Trondheim. Additionally, I posted about the project on various Facebook groups in Trondheim; I reached out to the staff and professors in my department for support; I sent e-mails to youth clubs in Trondheim such as ISAK and Red Cross; I posted on the university's bulletin; I reached out to Trondheim municipality's research support team; I asked everyone I knew or met for leads. Since pandemic measures were lifted completely, I physically visited the two international schools. On hindsight, it was foolish of me to have waited on just the school administration. This did not apply only to the international schools but I had also received no responses from any of the schools I had e-mailed. Possibly, the schools were also busy with catching up lost time from the pandemic situation. Still, if there was one take-away from carrying out an individual research project for the first time, it would be understanding the social dynamics of researcher, gatekeepers and participants. The lack of response from potential participants highlighted the fact that I was still struggling at the level of gatekeepers. I was not even reaching youths at all. I had been trying to reach out to gatekeepers of youths to get to the youths when the formal ethical approval of this project in fact permitted my direct contact with youths aged 15 and above. Still, even as I look back now, I do not know how else I could have reached the youths directly without approaching gatekeepers since I did not personally know any youths living in Trondheim. I wonder if this difficulty in reaching youths might be the reason there was not as much research on the target population of my project as there was for children between 10 and 12 years old (see McNamee and Seymour 2013). In any case, I guess my experience highlighted to me the importance of considering the ease of participant access when developing a research project.

The final sample for this project included 9 youths whose ages ranged from 14 to 17. Although I had targeted a sample size of 10, to have had 9 participants already felt amazing

considering the initial difficulties of recruiting participants. 1 participant was contacted through her parent who saw my post on one of the Facebook groups, another 2 participants were introduced to me by a close friend, 1 participant contacted me after I had spoken to her while distributing flyers at a youth club, 2 participants were directed to me after an acquaintance personally reached out to someone working in an international school, and 3 participants were connected with me by one of the participants. I ended the participant recruitment process at the end of November 2021.

3.3.1 The Participants

In line with the NSD's requirement for anonymity, I replaced participants' names with pseudonyms in this project. At the end of the interview (one of the methods employed in this research, to be detailed in Section 3.4.2), I usually asked the participant for their preference for a pseudonym in order to keep their identity confidential and maintain their anonymity. There were a few participants who said they were fine with using their real names. This raised the issue of balancing confidentiality and participant's voice. Who was I as a researcher to decide that a participant must hide his/her name if he/she preferred so? Yet, who was I as a researcher to disregard the potential risk to a participant if his/her identity was revealed? In the end, I opted to use pseudonyms for all participants since, as Ennew et al. (2009) rightly point out, participants' names were not essential information in the research. As most participants were not immediately sure of what pseudonym they preferred, I asked also for their favourite colours or animals. Subsequently, I have given each participant a representative colour as pseudonym. Then, in Table 3.1, I have listed participants' pseudonyms along with some relevant information.

Participants (Pseudonym)	Age	Gender	Specific information
Alabaster	14	Female	• Left home country and arrived in Trondheim around December 2020
Amber	15	Female	
Nickel	15	Male	
Violet	15	Female	• Have been living in Trondheim for around 4 years (moved from another city in Norway)
Indigo	16	Female	• Left home country and arrived in Trondheim in August 2021 • Had been attending 11th grade in home country
Periwinkle	16	Female	• Left home country and arrived in Trondheim when she was 2 years old • Attended two schools during the pandemic (upon graduation)
Silver	16	Male	• "Half-Norwegian" (one Norwegian parent) • Attended two schools during the pandemic (upon graduation)
Teal	16	Male	• Left home country and arrived in Trondheim in June 2021 • Experienced graduation in home country under pandemic circumstances

Lilac	17	Female	• Not born in Norway, but lived in Norway (Trondheim) most of her life • Attended two schools during the pandemic (upon graduation)

Table 3.1: Participant information

Since the participants joined the project through different means, their educational backgrounds were quite different – some were studying in general Norwegian schools, others were in international schools and yet others were in the International Baccalaureate (IB) programme. Besides using a different language medium in teaching, the international schools and IB programme followed a different education structure in comparison with the public schools. While this information might be significant to their pandemic experiences, I decided not to tie their educational backgrounds to their pseudonyms in the above table as their anonymity would be at risk due to the small cohort sizes at the international schools and IB programme in Trondheim. What I thought could be revealed instead was that some participants had graduated from lower secondary school and started in upper secondary school during the pandemic, as specified in the table above.

Besides the educational background of participants, it should be noted that most of the participants were not born in Norway. However, apart from three participants (Alabaster, age 14; Indigo, age 16; Teal, age 16) who moved to Norway during the pandemic, most participants have lived in Norway for a long time (at least 5 years). In terms of gender, 3 participants were male while 6 were female.

3.4 Data Collection

The methods for data collection were decided prior to participant recruitment. When submitting the NSD application, I engaged in further discussion with my supervisor over the intended methods of the project. I was inclined to employ multiple methods as it was supported theoretically by the potential for triangulation or the cross-checking of data (Ennew et al. 2009). However, I had to also consider whether I was requesting participants to do too much in practice. Ultimately, the methods used in this project were: a pre-interview survey, a semi-structured interview and a post-interview survey. They were not meant as an attempt to triangulate. Rather, I saw the pre-interview survey as a method to introduce the topic and prompt reflections on the topic, the semi-structured interview would be the main source of data, and the post-interview survey was employed to support the practice of reflexivity (to be elaborated in the following sub-sections). While I was in the process of recruiting participants, I scoured through the Norwegian government website and Trondheim municipality website to get a clearer timeline of the pandemic situation as well as a list of measures implemented in Trondheim. Due to the extensive changes in the implementation of measures in the period, only the details relevant to the analysis would be elaborated in Section 4.2. A longer summary of events that occurred as relevant to youths in Trondheim can be found in Appendix C. With more knowledge on the way the pandemic situation played out in Trondheim according to the online reports, I finalised the details within the surveys, interview guide and information letters.

Typically, after initiating contact with a participant, I would send him/her an infographic[3] which summarized the contents of the information letter[4], including the purpose of the project, prospective participant demographic, methods involved and participants' privacy

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[3] Attached in Appendix A.
[4] Attached in Appendix B.

and rights. One of the 11 ethical rules proposed by Ennew et al. (2009) stated the importance for participation to be voluntary. Ennew et al. (2009) advanced that voluntary participation meant that consent was given only after being informed, and being informed meant that participants (and guardians, if involved) should understand what they were agreeing to. Likewise, Cocks (2006:253) defined informed consent as requiring "(1) presentation of information, (2) understanding, followed by (3) a response". Thus, basing off my personal experience of skimming through long documents of terms and conditions, I thought an infographic would be beneficial in ensuring that significant details of the information letter was communicated to the participants. This however could risk participants signing the information letter without reading through it and missing out other details within the information letter. To cope with this risk, I sent the infographic and information letter separately, as if they were two distinct entities. After participants were agreeable to the contents of the infographic, I sent them the information letter and probed them to review the information letter again before signing the consent form. The information letter was designed according to a template from the NSD.

In the NSD application, a reason had to be provided if children under 16 years old were to give their own consent. This illustrated an issue of young people's consent addressed by Alderson (2007) and Cocks (2006). An uncertainty on children's competence to give their own consent generally permeated the field of research (Alderson 2007). Children's individual capability needed to be recognized (Alderson 2007), yet the possibility of children's reliance and inexperience also needed to be acknowledged (Cocks 2006). Thus, the consent from a legal guardian was at times necessitated for children under a certain age threshold, which for the NSD was 16 years old. Interestingly, as no "special categories of personal data" would be collected in this project, this age threshold was reduced to 15 for this project, suggesting a flexibility on the part of the ethics committee. "Special categories of personal data" included ethnic origin, political opinions and criminal conviction. In other words, I would only need to seek for additional consent from guardians for youths aged 14. Then, among the 9 participants, I had 1 guardian consent alongside the participant's consent. All other participants gave their own consent.

After a participant had officially given his/her consent to partake in the project, I would send him/her an invitation to the pre-interview survey. At this point, I would let them know that the interview would be conducted about a week after they have completed the pre-interview survey. Then, once we have met for the interview, I would send them an invitation to the post-interview survey the same or next day. In the subsequent sub-sections, I have elaborated on the methods employed in this project.

3.4.1 Pre-interview survey

The pre-interview survey [5] consisted of two sections: an attitude survey about the participant's general experience of COVID-19 and an optional memory recollection of his/her experience of COVID-19 through open-ended question(s). The attitude survey section of the survey included prompt questions such as "first five thoughts when you think about COVID-19" and rating questions such as "rate your experience of school closure". On the other hand, the optional memory recollection section had two open-ended questions for participants to choose one to answer if he/she wished to. Both questions were phrased to prompt a description of participants' experience in the pandemic.

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[5] Attached in Appendix D.

Rapport building, or building a trusting relationship, has been suggested as a prerequisite for good research (Ennew et al. 2009). With the methods that I have selected, I had thought that it would be difficult to build good rapport. Spyrou (2011) similarly noted that misrepresentation could likely occur when researchers connect with children only for a short period of time to collect data swiftly. Considering these issues, I chose to begin the research experience (apart from our interactions for seeking/giving consent) with prompt questions. Without meeting the participants in-person, and giving them the space to think about the discussion topic – COVID-19 and the pandemic situation, I hoped that these prompt questions would ease them into discussing the topic later with me at the interview stage. Additionally, I hoped that the prompt questions would encourage them to reflect on the topic without my influence on their response.

I utilised the list of measures implemented in Trondheim sieved out during the prior review process (refer to Appendix C for summary of regulatory changes) to form rating questions about their opinion on the measures put in place in the city. The data collected from this section provided a general picture of a participant's perception on COVID-19 and its consequent regulations before the interview. At the time of method development, I thought that the collected data might also present an overview of the sample's perceptions and could be used as a prompt for more opinions in the form of "some others thought [overall trend]. What do you think about this?" However, this was eventually not adopted in any of the interviews due to the scattered conditions of the participant recruitment process. One participant might be at the pre-interview survey phase while another participant had already completed the entire research process. I was thus unable to gather and analyse all the pre-interview surveys before most of the interviews. Instead, the data collected were used as prompts during the interview for more in-depth conversations in relation to their experiences with the pandemic measures.

The final section of the pre-interview survey involved the optional memory collection. In consonance with the project's methodology and Article 13 of the UNCRC, I made sure that the chosen survey platform, Nettskjema[6], could support uploads of any file type and specified on the survey to "[f]eel free to use any means of expression - writing, drawing, photos, videos, audio and whatever else you prefer". This section was also deliberately made optional for two reasons – to reduce the time required for participants to work through the survey and to provide participants yet another option of expressing their thoughts verbally during the interview. In opening up to different forms of submission, I hoped to "maximise children's ability to express themselves" (Punch 2002:325) such that participants could be heard in their own terms.

I estimated that it would take about 20 to 40 minutes to fill in this survey, depending on whether the participant chose to answer the memory recollection section. Overall, participants took between 10 minutes and 9 days to complete the survey, with a median duration of 16 minutes. Among the 9 participants, 5 participants completed the memory recollection section.

3.4.2 Semi-structured interview
In order to provide a space for participants to freely and directly share their thoughts, engaging the interview method seemed necessary in the multi-method approach I had

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[6] Nettskjema is an online survey platform developed and operated by the University of Oslo. NTNU has a data processor agreement with the University of Oslo, which ascertains data confidentiality. (https://i.ntnu.no/wiki/-/wiki/Norsk/Nettskjema)

been attempting to take. Ennew et al. (2009) suggested that the efficacy of the interview method depends on the researcher's ability to ask fruitful questions. To prevent myself from not knowing or forgetting what to ask during the interview, I made an interview guide[7] to provide some questions beforehand. The final interview guide I brought along to all the interviews had 5 main themes: rapport building / getting to know the participant, effects of COVID-19 (behavioural experience), experience of COVID-19 (subjective experience), survey follow-up and closing. Again, a part for rapport building was also included in the interview guide (sections 1 and 2) as I believed that building a good rapport with participants was critical not only for how much participants would be willing to share with me but also for determining the level of ease in understanding them. That is, the rapport building part, if done properly, might paint an overt picture of the participant's lifestyle to later understand how the pandemic situation had impacted them.

The next two themes in the interview guide pertained to the discussion topic, COVID-19. I separated the two sections based on behavioural experience (section 3) and subjective experience (section 4). In retrospect, this separation was not effective as descriptions of experience were usually given as a mish-mash of personal reflections. Separating between behavioural and subjective experience was a step that I could consider for analytical purposes, but it did no justice in the interview guide. Fortunately, as the interview guide also had a faint structure of "pre-COVID", "during COVID" and "post-COVID", I found myself asking questions more in relation to these phases than the type of experience. By the later interviews, some of the questions in the interview guide were skipped while new questions were added. This was what I found to be a strong advantage of the semi-structured interview method. With every interview, I could take some time to reflect and add more questions that could prompt richer answers. One such question that was added afterwards was "which aspect of your life do you feel/think was most affected by the pandemic?"

The third theme in the interview guide was a survey follow-up (sections 5 and 6) in order to address one of the disadvantages of the survey method - the lack of an avenue to explain the selections made. As surveys were often conducted as a quantitative method to gain insight on general perceptions, the opportunity for further elaboration would be foregone. In this case, however, since the surveys were not used to identify general perceptions but as stimulus for reflection on the discussion topic, a follow-up would be beneficial. Before the interview, I would look through the participant's survey answers and wrote down questions that I had. For the prompt questions, I usually asked what their impression of the situation was that made them think of the thoughts they shared. For the rating questions, I asked if they wanted to comment on any of the given ratings. In the first few interviews, I had wanted to ask for comments on each rating, but it seemed to be quite exhaustingly repetitive for the participant. As such, I modified the question to instead let them select which ratings they wanted to elaborate on. I would also ask for elaboration on the more extreme ratings (e.g. rated 1 or 9). By incorporating participants' survey results in the interview, each interview would be tailored to the participant in a tiny attempt to include participants' input in shaping how the research method was utilised as advocated in the participatory research approach (see Ennew et al. 2009). As mentioned in the previous section, section 6 was skipped in all interviews. Finally, the closing part of the interview (section 7) was executed after ending the recording. I asked for consent to use images shared by some participants and also asked for a pseudonym to use in this paper.

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[7] Attached in Appendix E.

After a participant had completed the pre-interview survey, I would arrange a time and location for the interview. Once the interview timing and location was set, I would ask the participant what his/her favourite beverage was in preparation for the interview. Having gone through such a struggle to find participants, I was immensely grateful for the youths who agreed to participate in this project. The ethics of reciprocity was a much-discussed issue (Abebe 2009). Reciprocity might be seen as "buying" data and consequently producing false data or as compensation for participants' time and efforts (Abebe 2009). Due to this ethical ambiguity, after making sure that I would not be going against any ethical rules of the NSD, I decided to provide drinks and snacks as refreshments for the interview. Since the provision of refreshments was not written in the recruitment posts or information letter, participants were unlikely motivated by the refreshment, and the risk of the situation of "buying" data would be low.

All the interviews were conducted face-to-face. While a few participants had asked if the interview would be online, when I responded that it was possible but not preferable, they were all agreeable to meeting physically. Online interviews would have involved technological spaces which could potentially entail an additional layer of complication to the research setting. With the exception of one interview, the interviews were conducted on weekdays after school. 7 interviews were done in discussion rooms that I booked in NTNU's campuses, usually at Kalvsinnet campus near the city centre. James (2001) noted the need for reflecting on the siting of the research, on its influence for the research process and product. For these 7 interviews conducted in the discussion rooms, I found them to be less distracting as outside noise would generally be blocked out. There was a lighting issue for one of the interviews where the light would turn off sometimes. We eventually realised that the light sensor was not sensing us and resolved it by moving seats. I did not find this to impact the interview too much as it seemed to become a point of exasperation I shared with the participant and the conversation seemed to carry on smoothly throughout. This is, of course, my interpretation of the situation which could differ from what the participant might have felt in the context, and so I thought it ought to be raised in this writing. 1 interview was executed in the canteen of one of NTNU's campuses as the discussion room I had booked was inaccessible. I was afraid that this could tamper with the promise of privacy and confidentiality I should uphold. Alderson and Morrow (2011:31) defined privacy as "undue intrusion into their personal affairs" while confidentiality was about "concealing their identity and sometimes other details when reporting them". Holding the interview in an open area could risk stranger listening in on our conversation. Fortunately, this interview was conducted on a weekend, so there were not many people around. I also made sure we were sat in an obscure corner of the canteen, so that we would not attract attention. Another 1 interview was carried out in the participant's school library. This turned out to be quite distracting as other students would walk by us, and at one point during the interview the participant was even called away by her friends. I had the same worry for privacy and confidentiality in this interview, and repeatedly asked if the participant was fine with others listening in to our conversations to which she said it was fine. This interview ended most quickly (although by no means short – it lasted 1.25 hours), but I felt that the participant really shared the main thoughts she had on her pandemic experiences.

The interviews were recorded with an audio recorder placed on the table between the participant and me. For data confidentiality, this audio recorder was borrowed from the university (NTNU) specifically for research, and all data was erased before the recorder was returned to the school. Before beginning the interview recording, I made sure to ask for consent to carry out the interview and remind participants of their right to withdraw consent. This decision was informed by Warin's (2011:812) call to view consent as "a

continuing process within the researcher-participant relationship rather than a one-off event". I estimated that the interview would take approximately 1 hour, but the interviews actually lasted between 1.25 and 2.25 hours. After every interview, I would jot down my thoughts about the interview proceedings, my thoughts and feelings as well as the main or most memorable points that I thought the participant was making. To prevent information from one interview overly influencing another interview, the interviews were scheduled at least one day apart.

Through my experience of conducting interviews, I found rapport building to be crucial for the quality of data collected. In one instance, a participant was continuously replying my questions with short answers, such that I had to keep prompting which made me wonder if I was overly guiding the answers or asking leading questions. Retrospectively, I identified two possible reasons. On the one hand, this participant had somewhere to go after the interview, and so she might have been trying to keep the interview short and succinct. This might be attributed as an oversight on my part, as I estimated and stated that the interview would last around an hour in the infographic and information letter. On the other hand, the rapport building took a shorter time with her in comparison to other participants. This might mean that I did not fully immerse myself into her world. Consequently, I found that it might be good to allocate more time than presumably necessary when conducting interviews and to spend time trying to build rapport and "step" into participants' worlds.

3.4.3 Post-interview survey

The main purposes of the post-interview survey[8] were to review the participants' experience with the research itself as a form of reflexivity and to investigate the effects of the research project on the theme discussed. The first section of this survey was an attitude survey regarding the research tools and process. Participants were requested to rate their experience with the different tools such as the pre-interview survey and interview, as well as their experience interacting with the researcher. It might seem like a research feedback survey – and it might indeed also be taken as that – but the underlying aim was to get a gauge on participants' experience of the research process. One of the underlying issues when beginning with a phenomenological approach was the uncertainty of interpretation accuracy as elaborated in Section 3.1. While engaging in reflexivity could alleviate some doubts by ensuring that the nature of the knowledge produced was questioned, I thought it might also be critical to gather the feedback of participants to hear their side of the research experience. Since these questions were not directly relevant to the topic proper, i.e. the pandemic, they were all optional questions.

The second section of the post-interview survey had only one main question: "In your pre-interview survey you rated your overall experience of the pandemic situation as *X*. Having discussed it further in the research, would you still rate your experience a *X*?", with *X* being a number participants had filled in the pre-interview survey. This was meant to look into how participation in a related research project might influence the views of the overall pandemic experience. In this sense, the first section would also be significant data in exploring how participants' research experiences might influence their perceptions on the topic of discussion. Overall, 7 of the 9 participants completed the post-interview survey. Since informed consent was taken as a continuous process in this project, I followed Cocks' (2006) suggestion to assume dissent when consent is unclear. Therefore, after prompting participants who had not completed the post-interview survey a couple of times, I left it as

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[8] Attached in Appendix F.

that. I estimated this survey to take approximately 15 minutes. Participants took between 2 minutes and 8 minutes to complete the survey.

3.5 Data Analysis

After completing the interviews in November 2021, December 2021 was spent transcribing the interviews. These were done in a table, for example:

Time	Voice	Audio content
00:00	R	Hi, you can ignore this [the audio recorder]. Pretend it's not here, even though it is there.

I also started to write down the thoughts that came to me in a separate document while transcribing the interviews as I noticed myself finding potential conjectures during the transcription process. They were written very briefly with the time stamp and thought, such as "39:51 - presence of recorder". I then tried to make sense of my thoughts and categorised them into different themes. Within the realm of thematic analysis, there were various types (Braun, Clarke, Hayfield et al. 2019). Braun et al. (2019) distinguished three approaches to thematic analysis – the "coding reliability", "reflexive" and "codebook" approach. The first approach of "coding reliability" generally sought for "reliability" in the form of consensus, much akin to (post-)positivist approaches that searched for a single truth shared within the data (Braun et al. 2019). Conversely, the "reflexive" approach did not begin with a coding frame, but instead generated and modified codes throughout the process with the purpose of constructing a coherent interpretation of the data for a credibly grounded "storytelling" in the later writing process (Braun et al. 2019). Braun et al. (2019) positioned the last "codebook" approach somewhere between the first two approaches as it involved both a structured way of coding and an openness to generating and modifying codes along the way. Eventually, I employed the "codebook" approach, leaning towards the "reflexive" approach, as it allowed me to include the topics in the interview guide while providing flexibility to code themes that surfaced from my reading of the transcripts. From the interview guide, I started with three main themes for coding – "get-to-know" for conversations about participants' general lifestyle, "pandemic experience" which should correspond to sections 3 and 4 in the interview guide and "pandemic measure" for section 5 in the interview guide. I later added more themes for "definition" as I noticed that some of the conversations related to how participants defined certain terms and pandemic phases, "research setting" to encompass the reflexive thoughts I had about the research setting while reading the transcripts and "aspect most impacted" for questions and answers about the "mosts", the perceivably significant effects of the pandemic that participants identified. Within the themes, I had questions or categories as the major codes, and answers as the sub-codes. For instance, "school" was a code within the theme of pandemic experience to cover discussions surrounding school, and "learning" was a sub-code within "school" to code conversations about the process of learning. In total, I had 294 codes, including 6 main themes, 47 codes and 241 sub-codes. In order to minimise the risk of errors during the coding process, I first coded the transcripts on the word document, for example:

Time	Voice	Audio content	Coding
00:42	R	What kind of hobbies?	Get-to-know\activities\hobbies
00:43	P	Oh, that was like basketball and dancing.	

This served as a visual guide to the coding process in NVivo to ensure that the codes were accurately done in NVivo.

There was too much data to analyse properly within the limits of the paper. The interviews already provided sufficient information, and I still had data from the survey that could be used as well. I came up with an analysis structure in hopes of incorporating as much data from the participants as I could. Yet, in my first draft of the analysis, there were 9 pages on the measures which incorporated data both from the pre-interview survey and the interview, and the measures were supposed to be just one of fifteen points that I wanted to make. Plus, I had not even introduced theories to the analysis. I shortened the first point and trudged on with the other fourteen points in the second draft. However, again without including theory yet, the data was already taking up 40 pages. A concern I had with selecting data was that there seemed to be no basis for the selection. If I were to decide according to my own subject preference, would I truly be presenting the participants' voices? This was possibly an issue of power imbalance which Punch (2002) cautioned against as noted in Section 3.1. Eventually, I decided to focus on the memory recollection section of the pre-interview survey and participants' elaboration about it during the interview. This decision was made in an effort to return the right to select data to participants. The memory recollection was an exercise which provided participants the space to tell their own pandemic stories as they saw fit. Some participants submitted proses and essays while other participants painted or drew their stories. For the participants who did not do this section of the pre-interview section, they were asked "If someone asked you to share your experience of COVID-19, what would you tell or show them?" during the interview. Punch (2002) commented that the current state of childhood impelled children to tend towards trying to please adults and worry over adults' reactions to their words as a manifestation of the power relations between adults and children. Although I could not say for certain that this did not happen in this sharing, I hoped that the effects Punch (2002) described would have been minimised by asking them to express themselves to an imaginary third-person rather than to me, as well as by allowing them to do so without my presence in the memory recollection section.

Besides the use of the memory recollection exercise as the main source of data to be analysed, I also referred to the "aspect most impacted" code, the "main take-aways" notes I made right after each interview (as mentioned in Section 3.4.2) and the quick notes of thoughts I made during the transcription process. From these data, I made a keyword mind map:
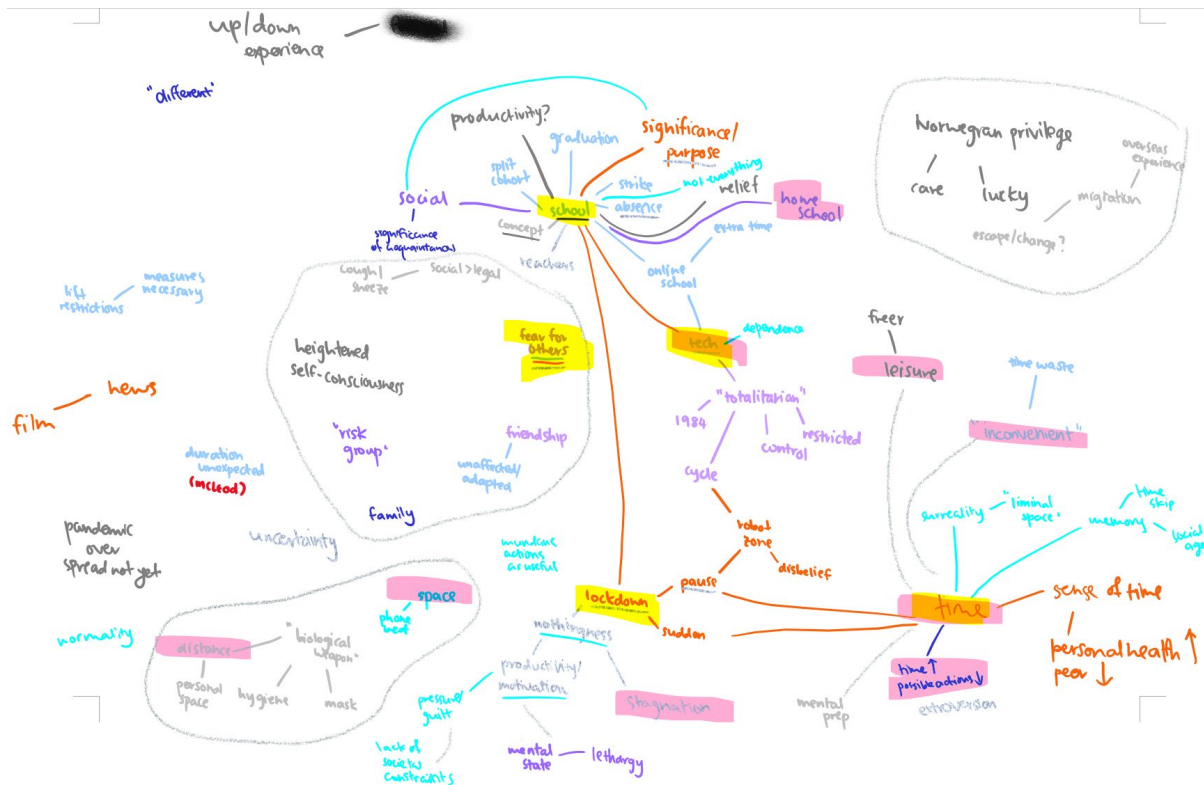
Figure 3.1: Mind map comprising of identified keywords from selected data

Coincidentally, with the pseudonyms of the participants being all colour names, I used different coloured pens to represent each participant in the mind map. As already mentioned earlier, time was not an intended theme during the initial research phase. Most of the methods employed were aimed towards finding out participants' subjective experiences during the pandemic. The questions in the surveys and interview guide were not directly related to time. How time became a part of the research question could be attributed to this mind map. In this mind map, I observed two major nodes – time and school. I found time to be a good point of departure as it could be connected to most of the keywords raised. In contrast, the discussions on school made school seem more like a case study within the context of the pandemic's impact. After identifying time as a potential starting point for analysis, I went into the literature on time and temporality. The more I read, the more fitting it felt. While the keyword of space was floating on its own in the mind map above, it became obvious from the literature that time and space were closely connected, allowing even more keywords to be connected to time. Eventually, time became a main part of the theoretical framework for this project and the research question was revised to include time. The time metaphors of circular- and linear-times that Hassard (1990) provided was employed to frame the analysis and the rest was history.

3.6 The writing process

The writing process generally occurred simultaneously alongside the data collection process, with the exception of the busy months of October and November 2021. I chose to write this paper in first-person to emphasize my presence in the entire research process, including the words and phrasing in this paper. In general, the analysis and theory chapters were worked on simultaneously in order to ensure that the analysis was well supported by the available theory and that the useful theories were listed. One issue that was applicable to this project was the selection of quotes. James (2007) highlighted concerns for

authenticity when quotes would be selected by researchers to support a certain narrative. Spyrou (2011) thus posited that the presentation of voices would inevitably be a representation of specific interests. In this project, I hoped that I was able to portray participants respectfully by portraying them as insightful, creative, considerate, restricted yet agentic individuals.

I began writing this methodology chapter in January 2022, after completing the transcription of the interviews. At that point in time, I wrote the chapter in chronological order of when I worked on a certain part of the research as I had thought that the context of time was significant to position the research process. It still was in the current writing, but I have separated the influences of the temporal context to a different section (4.3) so that the readability of this paper would not be compromised. Consequently, a new chapter was developed in order to address the context surrounding the research project at the time of its execution. The initial background chapter was eventually merged with this new chapter in consideration that both chapters provided context for understanding the analysis. Since much of this background chapter involved the collected data, it was therefore positioned after the methodology chapter. The literature review was conducted before the analysis chapters were written to ensure that I would be covering uncovered grounds with this paper. One issue that surfaced while working on the literature review was the significance of the working language. As a foreigner doing research on a country with its own main language, a significant part of the literature becomes inaccessible or difficult to access. Consequently, the pandemic literature reviewed in this project included literature outside the Norwegian context. The background chapter was eventually finalised after the theory, analysis and methodology chapters were more or less completed. Finally, the conclusion and introduction chapters were written last.

4 Reflexively contextualizing the research

Before getting to the analysis, I would like to pan out some aspects of the context in which this research project took place. First, I briefly review the pandemic literature in relation to youths to identify gaps and common topics in the current literature. Second, it would be vital to think of the pandemic not just as a physical phenomenon but also as a discursive phenomenon. In other words, the pandemic was framed in a certain light and so was participants' relations to the pandemic. Third, since time was identified as a crucial element in this project through a preliminary process of analysis as detailed in Section 3.5, a review of the temporal context of this project would be imperative. Lastly, the relational context, or how participants and I have interacted during the research process was also essential as the phenomenological approach stressed the reading of the analysed data as a second-degree construct (my interpretation of participants' interpretation of their experiences with the pandemic). While the aim of this chapter is to contextualise the research (background), I seek to do so by reflecting on what contexts might be significant and reflecting on how and when the research was carried out as well as how these might have affected the way the research panned out (reflexivity). Some of the quotes and narratives of participants are also included (data analysis) in this reflection. Thus, this chapter can be perceived as a blend between providing background, engaging reflexivity and data analysis.

4.1 Brief review of pandemic-youth literature

It would be important to note that this literature review was conducted only after the interviews were carried out. This was so as not to enter the field with presumptions about the topics to ask during the interviews. That is, I did not want to conduct the interview with assumptions about what participants' experiences might be like according to what scholars have said. As mentioned in Section 3.6, literature in the Norwegian language is unfortunately missing as I do not speak or read Norwegian. To make up for this, similar studies executed in the rest of Europe was also included in this review. Since this research project was an exploratory attempt to illuminate the pandemic experiences of specific individuals, past pandemic literature would not be entirely relevant as they would be researching with different individuals. Thus, this literature review was conducted primarily to identify the gap in the available literature (in the English language) on youths' experiences of the pandemic.

Considering the novel pandemic situation that arose with COVID-19, it was not surprising that scholars in various disciplines are choosing the pandemic as their topic of focus. A simple search for "COVID-19" in the university library returns 688,776 results at the time of writing. The NIPH (2020c) provided a map of 17,607 publications on COVID-19. Up to 9 February 2021, there were 241 publications on children under the category of "Experiences and perception, social, political, economic aspects" and, among them, 202 publications on the secondary impacts on children (NIPH 2021). For this literature review, three search platforms were employed: Epistemonikos' L·OVE platform was employed under the recommendation of the NIPH as a useful source for COVID-19 research (NIPH 2020c); the university library; and google scholar. In order to narrow the literature search to more relevant articles, I focused the general search to Europe. For the university library and google scholar, I searched for articles containing words such as youth and adolescent

in the title to further narrow the search. The specific search queries used for each platform is attached in Appendix A for further reference. Overall, Epistemonikos' L·OVE platform returned 46 results, the university library returned 147 results and google scholar returned about 120 results. There were articles that appeared on more than one platform search as well as less relevant results from each platform. Overall, I went through about 117 articles for this literature review. Not all articles reviewed would be included in this review as some articles are not as relevant for this project.

The severity of the pandemic differed among countries and even among cities, as indicated by the Norwegian government's later recommendation for the municipality governments to make the best judgement accordingly. Consequently, I begin the review with the more relevant literature discussing youths' experiences of the pandemic in the Norwegian context. Firstly, several studies considered the impact of the pandemic on youths' mental and physical health. In a longitudinal study conducted with 11th grade youths in Norway, it was found that the self-reported mental and physical health before and during the pandemic was relatively similar (Burdzovic Andreas and Brunborg 2021). Still, they highlighted that youths generally participated less in organised sports and youths who had high pandemic anxiety[9] were more susceptible to poor physical health and depression symptoms (Burdzovic Andreas and Brunborg 2021). Likewise, Hafstad, Sætren, Wentzel-Larsen et al. (2021) examined the possible negative effects of the pandemic, specifically the "lockdown" regulations, on the mental health of youths between 13 and 16 years old in Norway. They posited that the observed increase in anxiety and depressive symptoms between 2019 and 2020 was likely due more to the increase in age of youths than to the pandemic-induced regulations (Hafstad et al. 2021). Turning the focus on rates of violence and abuse, Augusti, Sætren and Hafstad (2021) found that youths (between 13 and 16 years old in Norway) were unequally affected by the pandemic regulations. Perceived family affluence and parents' mental health problems were most strongly associated with physical abuse and maltreatment during lockdown (Augusti et al. 2021). There were also two similar studies that were conducted in specific municipalities, although not Trondheim, in Norway. In Oslo, Ulset and von Soest (2022) inquired about the presence of posttraumatic growth[10] among upper and lower secondary school students. They identified life satisfaction, care of parents, worries over the pandemic situation and immigrant status as the most significant predictors of posttraumatic growth (Ulset and von Soest 2022). In other words, a migrant youth displayed satisfaction with life, had caring parents or worried (relatively more) about the pandemic would be more likely to experience a positive mental shift following the pandemic experience. On the other hand, in Bergen, Lehmann, Skogen, Sandal et al. (2022) observed an overall increase in the total mental health problems during the COVID-19 pandemic among youths aged between 11 and 18. This increase was attributed mainly to internalising difficulties, which consisted of emotional and peer problems, as opposed to externalising difficulties, such as conduct and hyperactivity problems (Lehmann et al. 2022). Overall, these studies focused on the impact of the pandemic and the associated regulations on health (Burdzovic Andreas and Brunborg 2021, Lehmann et al. 2022), anxiety and depression (Hafstad et al. 2021), violence and abuse

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[9] The level of pandemic anxiety was measured on a Pandemic Anxiety Scale which surveyed youths' level of worry over potential coronavirus infection and attending school online from home (Burdzovic Andreas and Brunborg 2021).

[10] Ulset and von Soest (2022:942) defined posttraumatic growth as "a positive psychological change that may occur when individuals encounter a traumatic experience, a crisis, or a highly stressful event".

(Augusti et al. 2021) and youths' adaptability in the form of posttraumatic growth (Ulset and von Soest 2022).

Another group of studies done in the Norwegian context looked into youths' perceptions and accumulation of information on the pandemic. Ulset, Bakken and von Soest (2021) studied the perceived consequences of the pandemic among youths in lower and upper secondary schools. The study was conducted around a year since pandemic-related measures were implemented in Norway (Ulset et al. 2021). They revealed that youths generally thought the pandemic had more negative than positive consequences, and the demographic of those who might be particularly affected by the negative consequences were females, older youths, youths with low socioeconomic background and youth living in municipalities with higher infection rates (Ulset et al. 2021). When Lehmann, Skogen, Haug et al. (2021) delved into the perceived consequences and worries among youths aged between 12 and 19 in Bergen, they also reported similar findings, with females, older youths and youths with low socioeconomic background having a harder time during lockdown. The only different and additional demographic identified by Lehmann et al. (2021) was migrant youths from developing countries. In terms of how youths obtained information about the pandemic, Riiser, Helseth, Haraldstad et al. (2020) found that Norwegian youths (aged between 16 and 19) rely on the television and family as main sources of information on the COVID-19 pandemic. This differed from Kaiser, Kyrrestad and Martinussen (2021) study of youths (between 11th and 13th grade) in the two northernmost counties (Troms and Finnmark, and Nordland) who relied on the internet as a primary information source despite the pandemic information being generally framed for adult audiences. While Kaiser et al. (2021) additionally highlighted the types of information that youths wanted greater access to (information related to changes in school, the virus and the future), Riiser et al. (2020) pinpointed the three most known measures of the pandemic among the youths (handwashing, physical distancing and limiting the number of social contacts). Riiser et al. (2020) also posited that Norwegian youths in general were highly literate and inclined to abide by the provided guidelines even as some of the preventive measures disrupted important aspects of youths' quality of life. More specifically, von Soest, Pedersen, Bakken et al. (2020) established that migrant youths (lower and upper secondary school students) in Oslo complied more often with the pandemic measures. All in all, these studies discussed youths' ideas of the pandemic in terms of perceived consequences (Lehmann et al. 2021, Ulset et al. 2021), information sources (Kaiser et al. 2021, Riiser et al. 2020) and compliance (von Soest et al. 2020).

These studies conducted in the Norwegian context all involved either surveys or questionnaires, and might be seen as taking the quantitative approach with the large sample sizes involved. There might thus be a lack of more in-depth narratives of youths about their pandemic experiences in Norway. Outside of Norway, a few studies in Europe attempted to present youths' narratives about their pandemic experience. In Italy, Fioretti, Palladino, Nocentini et al. (2020) illuminated youths' (aged between 14 and 20) narratives by employing narrative tasks. They identified four main themes each for negative and positive experiences, which were "'Staying home as a limitation of autonomy,' 'School as an educational, not relational environment,' the impact of a 'new life routine,' and experiencing 'anguish and loss'" (p. 1) and "'Being part of an extraordinary experience,' 'Discovering oneself,' 'Re-discovering family,' and 'Sharing life at a distance.'" (p. 1) respectively (Fioretti et al. 2020). On the other hand, through the use of qualitative diaries and interviews, Scott, McGowan and Visram (2021) reported three themes among the youths (aged 13 to 17) in northeast England, including effects on mental health, impacts on education and schooling and senses of annoyance and obligation. In southwest England,

youths (aged 12 to 17) disclosed varied experiences with studying online, scrutiny over other people's disregard for pandemic rules and altruistic reasonings for being vaccinated (Fisher, Lambert, Hickman et al. 2021). Comparing the three studies, it seemed that education and schooling was significant to youths even in different contexts.

Another two studies investigated youths' experiences of coping with the pandemic. Adler, Stančaitienė, Grauslienė et al. (2021) identified seven strategies from semi-structured interviews with youths (aged 13 to 17) in Lithuania. These were behaviours of withdrawing, concentrating on selected activities, finding comfort in family or friends online, letting out strong feelings, disagreeing with the quarantine restrictions, trying to remain active and self-discovery in relation to the lockdown (Adler et al. 2021). In the context of Portugal, Branquinho, Kelly, Arevalo et al. (2020) grouped the pandemic experiences of youths (aged 16 to 24) in terms of the physical, mental and social impacts. Through a qualitative analysis of questionnaire results, they indicated optimism and forming routines as the coping strategies of these Portuguese youths (Branquinho et al. 2020).

Perhaps due to the significance of school, as well as technology, in the lives of youths, Tzankova, Compare, Marzana et al. (2022) interviewed youths (aged 16 to 19) in Italy about their online school learning experiences. They purported challenges such as inadequate structure online, excessive assignments, distractions, stress and disconnect from teachers and classmates as well as opportunities like new freedoms and discretions (Tzankova et al. 2022). Similarly, Literat (2021) presented a thematic analysis of selected hashtags related to the online school experience on TikTok, a popular social media platform. She noticed that youths depicted the online school experience as overboard and unyielding on top of the backdrop of the unnerving pandemic (Literat 2021). Also related to technology, Kutsar and Kurvet-Käosaar (2021) approached the topic of relationships during the pandemic from the "new sociology of childhood" perspective. Through the use of diaries and interviews, Kutsar and Kurvet-Käosaar (2021) illustrated how youths (aged between 8 and 18) in Estonia coped with the pandemic by using technology to aid with interactions. Unfortunately, communication through technology was inadequate to make up for the lack of physical contact with friends (Kutsar and Kurvet-Käosaar 2021). The use of technology during the pandemic seemed substantial both for school and maintaining or fostering relationships.

Similar to the Norwegian literature above, the emphasis on mental health was also present in overseas literature. For examples, Marchi, Johansson, Sarkadi et al. (2021) conducted a scoping review on the pandemic's impact on children and youths' mental health, Szentiványi, Horvath, Kjeldsen et al. (2021) explored the mental health and quality of life among youths globally during the pandemic, and Panda, Gupta, Chowdhury et al. (2020) conducted a systematic review to clarify the psychological and behavioural impact of the pandemic on youths globally. Engel de Abreu, Neumann, Wealer et al. (2021) also studied the subjective well-being of youths aged between 10 and 16 in the varying cultural contexts of Luxembourg, Germany and Brazil. Similar to the findings in the Norwegian context, Engel de Abreu et al. (2021) also pointed to gender and socioeconomic status, among other factors, to correlate with individuals' subjective well-being during the pandemic. Likewise, Ng, Cosma, Svacina et al. (2021) determined females and older youths to fare worse in mental well-being among youths aged 11 to 15 in Czech Republic. Forte, Orri, Brandizzi et al. (2021) also stated that females were reportedly more likely than males to have experienced feelings of rage, restlessness, anguish and listlessness during the pandemic among youths (aged 14 to 19) in Italy, Romania and Croatia.

The experiences of more specific populations have also been gathered. Such populations included youths with chronic fatigue syndrome/myalgic encephalomyelitis in Norway (Similä, Nøst, Helland et al. 2021), youths in the Swedish autistic community (Fridell, Norrman, Girke et al. 2022), and adolescent psychiatric inpatients in Greece (Giannakopoulos, Mylona, Zisimopoulou et al. 2021). On the other hand, some studies examined youths' experiences in relation to specific topics like stress (in southern Sweden; Hörbo, Johansson, Garnow et al. 2021), gaming (in Denmark; Bengtsson, Bom and Fynbo 2021), compliance with pandemic measures (in the Netherlands; Koning, Hagedoorn, Stams et al. 2022), knowledge about the pandemic (in Spain; Aguilar-Latorre, Asensio-Martínez, García-Sanz et al. 2022), cybervictimization (in Germany; Schunk, Zeh and Trommsdorff 2022), food habits (in Poland; Głąbska, Skolmowska and Guzek 2020a, Głąbska, Skolmowska and Guzek 2020b, Guzek, Skolmowska and Głąbska 2020, Skolmowska, Głąbska and Guzek 2021a, Skolmowska, Głąbska and Guzek 2021b), physical activity and fitness level (in Croatia; Sekulic, Blazevic, Gilic et al. 2020, Sunda, Gilic, Peric et al. 2021), leisure and routine (in Italy; Panarese and Azzarita 2021), adulthood transition (in Wales; Roberts, Mannay, Rees et al. 2021) and risk perception (in Italy; Commodari and La Rosa 2020). Levstek, Barnby, Pocock et al. (2021) also presented an interesting multi-stakeholder study of using music as a tool during the pandemic. Another significant study investigated children's participation in shaping pandemic responses in European countries through contact with professionals (Larkins, Stoecklin, Milkova et al. 2020).

In summary, there seemed to be a lack of studies exploring youths' narratives in the Norwegian context. Studies in the Norwegian context generally concentrated on the impact of the pandemic and its consequent measures on various aspects such as physical and mental health or on the perceptions and information accumulation of the pandemic. There were some studies outside Norway which looked into youths' narratives generally or specifically in relation to school, technology and other specific topics. From these studies on youths' narratives, a few topics seemed to show up repeatedly. These were school, distance, mental health, coping strategies and relationships. In other words, the pandemic phenomenon might have much more to say about various topics than just the phenomenon itself. In looking at the online school experience prompted by the pandemic for instance, both Tzankova et al. (2022) and Literat (2021) could identify elements that might improve the quality of education such as collaborative learning and incorporating youths' perspectives. Pandemic research thus was not just about the pandemic itself, but also an opportunity to reflect on other aspects of life.

4.2 The physical-and-discursive context of the pandemic

Several scholars have suggested that the pandemic has been framed as "a historical rupture and a state of exception" (Chan 2020:13.2), causing "macro-systemic disruptions" (Greene et al. 2022:216). During the past two years since the first discovery of coronavirus in December 2019, interest in the COVID-19 pandemic piqued in the media and academia. A quick search in the university library database returned more than 970,000 results for the term "COVID-19", and more than 12.8 billion results on Google for the same search term as of June 2022. As Alabaster (age 14) recalled, "everyone in the media was like screaming about corona. And, yeah, a lot of things about corona happen, like I hear corona more than I hear my own name." I cannot say for sure whether it was because the media increasingly reported about COVID-19 that made people interested in it or it was due to people's curiosity about COVID-19 that fuelled more media releases on it. Perhaps, even by centring my project around the pandemic, I was also contributing to the discourse that

the pandemic was an interesting exception. What was however certain was that the pandemic was both a tangible and discursive phenomenon (Gjerde 2021). That is, while the coronavirus had indeed been spreading globally and quickly to "earn" its pandemic title, labelling it as a pandemic also shifted the discourses surrounding the spread of the coronavirus.

Being labelled as a pandemic by definition meant that the effects were potentially on a global scale. It provided a context to declare "war" against the coronavirus (Gjerde 2021). Gjerde (2021) proposed that discourses of inclusion and exclusion were employed in Norway. Utilising the culturally relevant concept of *dugnad*, which referred to voluntary efforts for the sake of the community in the Norwegian context, the Norwegian government stressed the inclusion of everyone's efforts and the need for trust and voluntarism (Gjerde 2021). Contrastingly, positioning the coronavirus as the enemy and the pandemic as war, the Norwegian government thus framed individual efforts as team effort against the common enemy of all humans (Gjerde 2021). As a result, it was deemed necessary for the Norwegian government to implement a strict set of measures, that was at times described as a "lockdown" (see Langford and Sandvik 2020, Ursin, Skjesol and Tritter 2020), on 12 March 2020. This set of measures included the closure of schools, institutions and shops, the cancellation of events, prohibition of selected activities and tightened border control (Helsedirektoratet 2020). Ursin et al. (2020) provided a table summary of the measures implemented on 12 March 2020:

Government recommendations	
Hand hygiene and cough etiquette	Wash hands frequently and thoroughly
	Avoid shaking hands and hugging people you do not live with.
	Cough or sneeze into a paper tissue or the crook of your elbow.
Work from home	Home working should be used if possible
Public transport	Use of public transport should be avoided
Domestic travel	Limit leisure travel in Norway
Health institutions	No visits to members of vulnerable groups
Mandated by law with potential sanctions	
Stay at Home	People with respiratory tract infection symptoms must stay at home until at least 1 day after they feel completely well.
Home Quarantine	People who travelled abroad must quarantine in their home for 14 days from the day they returned to the country. Backdated to 27.02.2020. Exception for travel from Finland and Sweden.
	People who have been in close contact with someone with a confirmed case of COVID-19 must home quarantine for 14 days.
	Those in quarantine must remain at home and not attend school or work. They can go outside, carry out necessary shopping maintaining social distancing of at least 1 metre but not use public transport.
	People who live in the same household are not quarantined.
Home isolation	People with confirmed COVID-19 must be isolated at home or in a healthcare institution else. The isolation lasts until 3 days after you have recovered and at least 8 days after you became ill.
	They can go outside in private garden or balcony and should try to maintain social distance from others in their household; people in the same household are in quarantine.
Closure	Educational institutions (from Kindergarten to Higher Education) Exception: Open to children of key workers up to 10, and children with special needs
	Restaurants, bars, pubs and clubs. Exception: If they can serve food to customers maintaining social distancing of 1 metre.
	Fitness centres, swimming pools and waterparks.
	Hairdressers, tattoo and piercing parlours, massage studios, spas and beauty parlours.
Cancelled/postponed	All organised sports activities, competitions and cultural events.
International travel ban	Applies to healthcare professionals with patient contact.

Figure 4.1: COVID-19 policies issued by Norwegian government on 12 March 2020 (Ursin et al. 2020:665)

The swift implementation of this legion of measures was enabled by the prior establishment of various provisions such as the Health Emergency Preparedness Act and other temporary laws. The Health Emergency Preparedness Act, also sometimes translated as the Health Contingency Act, provided the government with the powers to promptly implement new legal measures (Høie 2020). A temporary corona law that allowed the implementation of

apparently necessary laws in relation to the infection and a temporary law that stated exceptions from established acts such that municipalities could act quickly as deemed necessary were also implemented (Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet 2020, Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet 2020).

While this set of strict measures was gradually lifted in the following months, some measures such as social distancing remained. In August 2020, the use of face masks was also introduced (Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet 2020). In focusing on power and rule, Gjerde (2021) asserted that the Norwegian government exercised liberal governmentality with respect to handling the pandemic. This, he stated, related to the discourse of the *dugnad* (Gjerde 2021). Most measures were not strictly enforced but individuals were encouraged to take specific actions for the sake of the community. In this sense, while individuals were not forced to comply, they were still coerced to act accordingly as a member of a community. The employment of liberal governmentality then had two immediate effects. First, in the attempt to balance individuals' "freedom" while ensuring the safety of the community, the requirements of the measures constantly changed based on the perceived situation. For instance, the social distancing measure sometimes required 1-metre distance between individuals and 2 metres at other times. It could also vary with the categories of people one was interacting with. In October 2020, the concept of cohort was introduced in the school context, with a statement that young people in the same cohort in school were exempted from distance requirements at events (Barne- og familiedepartementet, Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet and Kunnskapsdepartementet 2020). Additionally, measures would be lifted and reinstated according to the situation as well. The Norwegian government announced a major re-opening on 25 September 2021, with most rules including social distancing and gathering requirements removed (Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet, Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet et al. 2021). A little more than a month later in November, the municipality government of Trondheim adopted infection control regulations and recommendations such as mandatory face masks on public transport on 10 November 2021 (Børstad, Karlsen, Solheim et al. 2021). Due to the numerous changes in the pandemic measures over the course of the pandemic, I have documented the way the pandemic measures relevant to youths in Trondheim had evolved over time in greater detail in Appendix C.

The second effect of employing liberal governmentality and the *dugnad* discourse was that everyone was perceived as responsible for the counter-attacks in the war against the coronavirus. In this way, even if an individual was not infected by the coronavirus or at high risk of being infected, he/she was still affected by the ever-changing regulations and recommendations implemented by the Norwegian national government and Trondheim municipality government. The closure of schools and other institutions, for example, would have impacted all students and employees regardless of whether one was infected by the coronavirus. Moreover, the individual's "freedom" was afforded only if he/she exercised it "appropriately" (Gjerde 2021:481). When the "appropriateness" of actions was left up to the municipality governments and individuals, they might conversely observe the measures stricter than necessary. In a government article released in November 2020, the Norwegian government cautioned that the municipalities and individuals might be implementing measures stricter than necessary, constraining the services available for children and young people which should have been kept open (Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet, Kultur- og likestillingsdepartementet and Kunnskapsdepartementet 2020). Outside the "lockdown" phase, school closures were at times implemented for a short period if the spread of infection in the school was deemed

uncontrollable. As a result, some participants reported experiencing multiple school closures. In this sense, even individuals who might not be directly affected by the coronavirus, they were inevitably impacted by the all-encompassing measures implemented to curb the spread of the coronavirus.

Besides the concept of "cohort" that was introduced to categorise social contacts, another prominent concept was that of "risk group". A general perception of (healthy) youths being less at-risk seemed to permeate in the media at the same time as the portrayal of the pandemic's severity. For instance, the Norwegian Institute of Public Health (NIPH 2020b) reported generally low risk among children and adolescents. Perhaps consequently, participants were less impacted by the coronavirus itself than the government restrictions put in place. As Nickel (age 15) wrote in his prose, "the primary influence covid had on my life [was] mostly caused by government restrictions." Most participants saw themselves as less at-risk of COVID-19's health impact (Amber, age 15; Indigo, age 16; Lilac, age 17; Periwinkle, age 16; Violet, age 15). Still, the same participants also emphasized the possibility of themselves spreading the virus to others in higher-risk groups. In fact, participants voiced that they were more worried about affecting other people than for themselves (Amber, age 15; Lilac, age 17; Periwinkle, age 16; Violet, age 15). For instance, Periwinkle (age 16) explained that she was more worried for the people around her than for herself as she was young, "COVID probably wouldn't affect me as badly as if I was 65 or something". Thus, under the influence of both the *dugnad* discourse requesting for everyone's participation and the concept of risk group positioning youths as less at-risk, participants were aware of the possibility of becoming a vessel for transmission while still seeing themselves as less likely to be affected if infected. Also, in consequence of being less directly affected by the coronavirus as a part of the lower-risk group, some participants expressed nonchalance about the pandemic (Amber, age 15; Nickel, age 15; Periwinkle, age 16; Violet, age 15). Nickel (age 15), for example, elaborated, "I get that there is severity with it, I just don't, I can't really grasp it. So, it doesn't really make me feel any sort of way." In this sense, there seemed to be a general positioning of participants as both standing in the margins of the danger zone of the pandemic and still a member of the pandemic-affected community.

Indeed, the effects of the pandemic was real. Numerous lives were lost and millions of people were infected. Yet, the pandemic also existed as a part of a discourse. In Norway, the concepts of a *dugnad* and war were employed to frame the pandemic as a war in which people of the *dugnad* in Norway needed to collaboratively fight against (Gjerde 2021). Measures were implemented, strict or otherwise, in the name of the community and this was permitted by temporary emergency provisions such as the Health Emergency Preparedness Act. The Norwegian government's use of liberal governmentality left parts of the decision to partake in the *dugnad* to the individual. In order to do so, the measures continuously changed according to the perceived situation of the infection spread. To leave the determination of "appropriateness" to the municipality governments and individuals also meant that different municipalities and individuals, while affected differently, were all affected. Consequently, participants seemed to perceive themselves, being of a lower-risk group, as marginal to the pandemic but still a member of the community. They were therefore more worried about affecting others than for themselves.

4.3   The temporal context

While the passing of time might be something easily forgotten in research, it should not be neglected as the research process itself took time and variables to the research could

occur in that time. This point was impressed on me when I consulted Associate Professor Jan Frode Haugseth from NTNU about his research about youths and the pandemic. I remember his recommendation that I should conduct my data collection as soon as possible because memories were fleeting and, at that point in time, the pandemic restrictions were about to be lifted. While it might not have been the exact point he was trying to make, I was reminded of the potential influence of the temporal context. The rapid speed at which the pandemic situation changed possibly made time and temporal contexts even more influential to the project. For instance, a very different interview might have occurred in December 2021 when the pandemic situation worsened again as compared to in October 2021 when the newly elected Norwegian government decided to remove all local restrictions for the pandemic. As such, it would be critical to map out the times of data collection against the pandemic timeline.

At the phase of selecting the research methods between July and August 2021, the pandemic situation in Trondheim seemed to be recovering and the pandemic was almost no longer as significant as it had been. This had an impact on the final choice of methods as it meant that the pandemic might have been a thing of the past instead of an ongoing event. I had initially considered using the diary method to gather relatively real-time information about participants' experiences with the pandemic. However, this would have been both time-consuming and impractical if the pandemic were to really have ended then. Consequently, the diary method was replaced with the optional memory recollection section of the pre-interview survey which would be more of a retrospective exercise. In a way then, perhaps in deciding on the memory recollection instead of the diary, the temporality of the data I would get might have been drastically changed from a look at the present to a look into the past.

The first pre-interview survey was sent out on 15 October 2021 and the final one on 21 November 2021. Similarly, the first interview was carried out on 30 October 2021 and the final one on 29 November 2021. When the first participant was contacted, there were no longer any pandemic measures in place as the Norwegian government had announced that all restrictions were lifted on 25 September 2021. Consequently, one of the questions I included in the final interview guide targeted this, asking for participants' experiences with the lifting of restrictions specifically. By the end of October, infection rates were up again, and this might have influenced participants' responses during the interview regarding the lifting of restrictions. While a couple of participants supported lifting restrictions on business operations, several participants felt that the restrictions were often lifted too early (Amber, age 15; Lilac, age 17; Periwinkle, age 16; Silver, age 16). Additionally, the municipality reinstated some of the pandemic measures including mandatory mask-wearing on 10 November 2021. That meant that while the first few interviews occurred in a time when regulations were unnecessary, the later interviews happened while pandemic measures were mandated. This could impact the discussion we would have. For example, Teal (age 16) referenced to the return of the measures and shared that it was difficult to get back into the habit of bringing a mask on the bus. In this sense, the pandemic context that was current at the time of the interview might have been a significant reference point as the "present" state of the pandemic situation for which participants' sharing of the pandemic experiences would be framed around.

Moreover, just as Conrad (2012) observed the "overlapping of multiple time frames in consciousness" in the works of young writers, a similar mishmash of time frames would exist in the oral narrations of participants' experiences during the interview. As mentioned in the Theoretical Framework, oral histories could be seen as the perceptions of the past

from the present (McLeod 2017). In the semi-structured interviews, not only was I curious about their perceived pasts, but I was also intrigued by their imagined futures. Unbeknownst to me at the point of the interviews since I only decided to look into the concepts of time and temporality during the analysis phase, participants and I were at times conversing both in terms of how things had been and how participants had thought things would have turned out. For instance, Periwinkle (age 16), Teal (age 16) and Violet (age 15) had not expected the pandemic to last so long. Specifically, Teal (age 16) did not expect that the pandemic would return with such force that he had to undergo a second lockdown. Even on his school calendar, work for only two weeks had been set up, and so he had thought it would end quickly. One of the approaches McLeod (2017) referenced separated experience and expectation (see Koselleck 2004). It was then interesting then in this case, it was a conversation about a past event yet an expectation of the past. In other words, the semi-structured interview not only involved temporalities that connected pasts and presents as well as presents and futures, but it also included temporalities associated with the anticipated futures of the pasts as remembered in the present. Thus, it was not just the selected methods that could influence the temporalities being discussed, rather it might also have been a part of our consciousness that could reference multiple temporalities simultaneously and communicate and interpret these interlaced temporalities.

Finally, it might be worthwhile to note that this paper that you, the reader, are currently reading is a product (stagnant) that was also a culmination of a writing process (ongoing). Pardon the confusion which the tenses in the previous statement might have caused; what I tried to show was that this paper as you read it would remain in the present moment. However, the creation of the paper was a fact of the past. It might be easy to fall into the idea that a completed research paper was a finished product in itself. Yet, in my experience of carrying out this project, I became more aware that a complete paper was also a documentation of a work in progress, and a documentation of the lessons I have learnt through the process of executing this project. It was not written as it would usually be read. The conscious and subconscious selection of words and tenses are veiled within the texts. Thus, I thought it might therefore be helpful to know that this paper was not worked on in the same way it was read. For example, I worked first on the analysis and theory chapters and the introduction chapter was the last chapter I drafted out (see Section 3.6 for more details). Additionally, this paper was written in a certain context, in this case it was completed just a few months (June 2022) after the last announcement of lifting pandemic restrictions in February 2022. If you are reading this paper a few years later, perhaps the circumstances that surround you would be very different.

Not only were the pandemic occurrences prior to the research important, but the happenings throughout the research process were also significant. Since the pandemic context, especially the regulatory context, kept changing even throughout the research period, it was crucial to align the research process with the pandemic happenings in Trondheim. How the pandemic panned out affected both the methods of choice and the discussions in the interviews. The way we thought and spoke also entailed time in the sense that we could be talking about a possible future of the past as recalled in the present moment. Even in this paper, multiple temporalities are involved as the reader interacts with it in the present moment while my writing process would be a part of the past. The temporal context significant to this research project therefore involved the way the pandemic evolved alongside the execution of the research project as well as the way experiences were recounted and represented in this paper.

4.4 The relational context

Following the phenomenological approach to research, the data could be viewed as a product of the interactions between participants and me. That is, the data was not purely participants' interpretation of their experiences but co-produced by each of our interests. After all, I was the one generally asking the questions and guiding the interview's direction, be it consciously or unconsciously. One of the most interesting (in my opinion) exemplifications of the co-production of knowledge during the interview was when I asked Silver (age 16) and Teal (age 16) to elaborate on their illustrations (larger versions of these illustration have been attached within the analysis chapters):

Figure 4.2: Illustrations by Silver (age 16) and Teal (age 16) respectively

In the attempt to better understand their interpretation of their own art pieces, I had thought that it would be paramount that I shared my own interpretation and sought for their corrections on my interpretation. Therefore, I would review the illustrations before the interview and make notes on my interpretation of the illustrations along with questions I would like to ask about them. In Silver's (age 16) case, while I saw the black colour in his illustration as darkness, he clarified that it was represented not darkness but uncertainty (further elaboration on the uncertainty in Section 6.2). Contrarily, when I shared my interpretation of Teal's (age 16) illustration as a reflection when one was holding up the phone on bed, he responded, "Well, I didn't intend it that way, but that's a, that is a clever observation. I would, I would, I would say that I, that that could be quite accurate, actually. […] You know, ah, if you interpret that way, I would definitely interpret that way too." In this sense, the final interpretation of his art was co-produced in our conversations as his interpretation was also shifted with the knowledge of my interpretation.

There were also instances when participants stopped themselves from sharing something with me, when they thought it was irrelevant to the topic or "not so interesting". Here, rather than the power imbalance or a need to please me that Punch (2002) described (as in Section 3.5), I thought it might have been more influenced by their interpretation of what I would need in the project. As mentioned in Section 3.4, I had provided them with an infographic as well as the information letter regarding the project. In both documents, my research purpose was described. Moreover, based on the feedback from the post-

interview survey, participants found it nice and fun to speak with me about their experiences. Instead of a desire to please, I would be more inclined and hopeful to think that their acts of self-censorship could be a display of them having understood what my project was about, which in turn could support my claim for their informed consent. Accordingly, this would also mean that the information participants shared would not be unbiased as they would have certain presumptions as to what sort of information I might be looking for. Consequently, by asking participants about their pandemic experiences as well as informing them of my project's aim beforehand, I would have unavoidably shaped the discussion and possibly framed pandemic experiences as a "different" phenomenon or at least a phenomenon deserving of being questioned about.

It might also be interesting to note that 3 out of the 7 participants who submitted the post-interview survey chose to change their ratings for their overall pandemic experience, indicating that the research environment was not an isolated event. The research experience could influence participants' perception of their pandemic experiences. It could even be a part of their pandemic experiences in later or future recounts of their experiences. In the brief explanations that the participants who changed their ratings left on the survey, phrases like "I didn't realise" or "after thinking more about it" were used, suggesting that by conversing about an issue, certain thoughts might become more prominent. Perhaps equally interesting was that the change in their ratings was just one point away from their old rating for all 3 participants. That is, if a participant had given a rating of 7 in the pre-interview survey, he/she gave a rating of either 6 or 8 in the post-interview survey. Possibly, rather than an overhaul of the previous constructions of their pandemic experiences, the previous constructions might be modified to include the elevated thoughts.

As mentioned in Section 3.5, I created a new theme for "definition" while I was coding the transcripts. One insight that was impressed on me was the way participants and I could communicate with new pandemic-related terms without much trouble. This was raised by Periwinkle when she said:

> Now, terms like quarantine and like testing and lockdown or stuff like that, that kind of thing is just now in my vocabulary. Like, at first, quarantine is like, "what's quarantine? Okay, interesting word". And now, it's just like, "oh, you got to go into quarantine? That, that sucks. Have a good one." (Periwinkle, age 16)

During the pandemic, new terms became popular in order to communicate about the situation. I imagine an interview with someone who has not experienced the pandemic about "lockdown" or "social distancing", that person might respond with a puzzled look. Contrarily, with the participants, the interview flowed relatively smoothly since we each had a general understanding of what the words referred to.

Still, the interpretation of the words used during the pandemic varied among individuals. Besides advocating for accepting multi-faceted narrations, Spyrou (2011) also found that a detailed examination of children's own semantic categories to be beneficial to properly represent their voices according to their own understandings. During the interviews, there were times when I would clarify with the participants what they meant by a certain term. For example, some participants employed the term "quarantine" to refer to the act of staying at home during the lockdown periods when I was asking them about the act of self-isolation upon coming in close contact with an infected person. Perhaps the most significant disconnect was the term COVID-19. The term "COVID-19" could refer to the

coronavirus: "I think, when I think of COVID-19, I think of it as the virus." (Indigo, age 16). It could also refer to the pandemic: "It was a troublesome and worrisome experience, but I hope it was a learning experience in case there was any other worldwide pandemic in the future" (Periwinkle, age 16; in response to my question "what is COVID-19 to you?"). On the other hand, the term "pandemic" could also refer to the set of measures implemented: "I think like the, what we perceive as the pandemic, the pandemic's been not just the spread of COVID, it's been, you know, the, the masks, the social distancing." (Nickel, age 15). There were participants who were clear in distinguishing the three: "I don't think [the pandemic is] over because people still have the virus. But I don't think it's. It's over when COVID's over. I know like the regulations are not a thing anymore, but I try to like have my mask and use my anti-bac and stuff like that" (Amber, age 15). However, on hindsight, even I myself was using the terms COVID-19 and pandemic interchangeably. Thus, in instances when I had not realised the need to clarify a certain term, I would attempt to read within the context in which it was being used in order to decipher its usage.

In accordance to the phenomenological approach, the data produced in this paper should be perceived as a co-production between participants and me. One apparent example of this was the art interpretation process. Instances of participants refraining their sharing of supposedly irrelevant or uninteresting information also hinted that the data produced was not unbiased since there were presumptions made about what would constitute as relevant details. According to the post-survey results, it would seem that the research process might have an effect on participants' perception of their overall experience of a social phenomenon. However, it would more likely be a slight shift in perception than a complete reconstruction of perception. Lastly, the same terms could be understood differently among participants and me. While I have at times tried to clarify the use of certain terms when I noticed the ambiguity, at other times I would try to decipher their uses within the context of their usage. Thus, the analysis that will soon follow in the next chapter should be read not purely as participants' experiences but my interpretation of the experiences that they shared with me. Now that we are more familiar with the general context surrounding the generation, phenomenon, time and relationality of the research, let us explore how time might have been involved in the experiences and framing of experiences of participants during the pandemic.

5 Analysis: Circular-time

In the mind map of keywords from participants' narratives (Figure 3.1), time was a main node (see Section 3.5). The literature review on time and temporality, which I subsequently undertook and presented in Section 2.2, revealed that there were multiple ways of thinking about and discussing time. Then, in order to structure this analysis for clarity, I employ Hassard's (1990) time metaphors of circular-time and linear-time to organise the analysis. The use of these time metaphors should not imply that the reality was as clear-cut. Rather, they are employed for the sake of clarity in the attempt to understand the way time and experiences interacted. By centring this chapter with the theme of circular-time, I attempt to illustrate participants' recurrent practices, the shifts from their pre-pandemic repetitive motions and their repeated sequences during the pandemic.

Greene et al. (2022) provided a simple graphic describing the pandemic's effects on shifting temporalities as routine practices are modified:
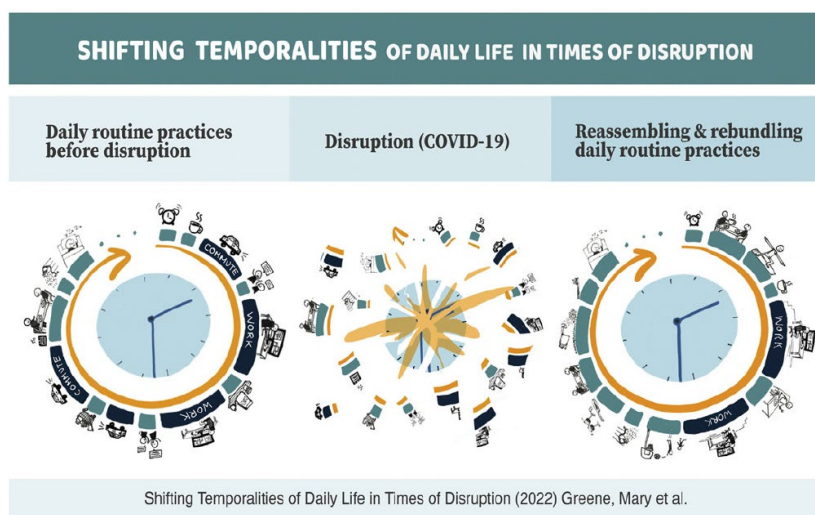
Figure 5.1: Shifting temporalities in times of disruption (Greene et al. 2022:215)

Going through the interview transcripts, I also observed similar sentiments among the participants. Following this view of the pandemic as a disruption to daily routine practices, in this chapter, I review the shifts in action sequences and routines that participants spoke about. By action sequences, I refer to actions that are usually performed consecutively. For instance, after arriving home, an individual might habitually take off his/her shoes and move to the bathroom to wash his/her hands and feet. Specifically, I detail two aspects that might have prompted shifts in action sequences and routines – the greater sense of self-consciousness and altered access to spaces during the pandemic. I then relate some senses and feelings that participants expressed, in their own words of feeling "inconvenienced" or "controlled" and sensing another "normal" or "surrealism", to these shifts in action sequences and routines. The concepts of sequences, mundane routines, peculiar events and rhythms are significant in the discussions of time in this chapter.

5.1 Modifying action sequences and routines I: practicing with heightened self-consciousness

As Adler et al. (2021), Burdzovic Andreas and Brunborg (2021), Greene et al. (2022), Riiser et al. (2020) and Scott et al. (2021) who studied the effects of the pandemic have demonstrated, the everyday practices have been altered with the onset of the pandemic and its associated regulations. In her prose recounting her pandemic experience, Alabaster (age 14) mentioned some of the impacts on daily practices during the pandemic:

> "So one day there's this new type of biological weapon being spread among humans, which can spread through air, and can be killed by simple hygiene, so we kept distance, wear masks, and kept our hygiene."

Firstly, there seemed to be a general consensus in the media and research over the virus' capacity to spread through air and bodily fluids (see for example, NIPH (2020a)). Possibly as a result, acts of coughing and sneezing became more prominent than before:

> I will like be worried over people coughing and sneezing and you know normal stuff that I wouldn't be worried if there's no corona. But like any slight symptom of corona, I will stay 5 meter off you. (Alabaster, age 14)

> If someone sneezes, they will literally stay away from them. (Lilac, age 17)

When these seemingly insignificant actions were brought to centre stage, reactions to these actions might be modified. As both Alabaster and Lilac expressed in the above quotes, one might be more cautious in keeping distance from people who were coughing and sneezing. Coughs and sneezes were possibly associated with the risk of infection, such that participants would still choose to avoid despite their marginal position. The same line of reasoning could explain the importance of hygiene as noted in Alabaster's prose; practicing hygiene might also have been perceptively linked to the (lower) risk of infection. The heightened consciousness of possible infections might have therefore altered the sequence of actions triggered by the sounds of coughs and sneezes regardless of perceived risk group status. That is, whereas in a hypothetical pre-pandemic situation one might not react when another nearby sneezed, the same person might start to move away when another nearby sneezed during the pandemic. In this case, the pre-pandemic action sequence would be to ignore the sneeze upon hearing it (or perhaps not even registering it at all) while the pandemic action sequence would be to shift away. While the change in action sequence might seem minor, it would still involve the use of time on actions that had not been typical before the pandemic. Not only do participants share that they stayed away from people who were sneezing or coughing, Alabaster (age 14) also shared that she "would never cough or sneeze in public". Instead, she would cough or sneeze discreetly or go to a quiet place to let it out. In this sense, time would be spent to avoid being infected and being judged for possibly infecting others.

Secondly, masks and social distancing seemed to be the most significant pandemic measures for participants. When asked to write the first three pandemic measures that came to mind, all 9 participants wrote masks and 7 participants mentioned social distancing. While the sounds of coughing and sneezing seemed to become auditory signifiers of the pandemic, masks might have been a visual representation of the context. Alabaster (age 14) wore masks even at home when she first thought of the pandemic as serious. Periwinkle (age 16) made sure to wear a mask around her friend who was more at-risk. Mask-wearing seemed to be perceived as a simple yet representative step to curb

the pandemic. Perhaps due to its visibility – wearing a mask altered one's visible appearance – and its newly perceived importance, it was the most easily recalled measure and the most symbolic measure to show one's deference to the pandemic regulations. On the other hand, the significance of social distancing seemed to come from having to constantly regulate oneself. Compared to mask-wearing, social distancing was more seen to require the cooperation of others (Alabaster, age 14; Lilac, age 17; Teal, age 16; Violet, age 15). For example, Lilac (age 17) recounted that when she had visited Oslo which was more crowded than Trondheim, social distancing "never worked 'cause if I social distance myself, there will be another person just passing by." A side point to be made from this quote was that Trondheim's small population size with respect to its land size might also have an influence both to the actual and perceived situations which participants' pandemic experiences were formed on. That is, not only did measures vary across countries and cities, but the perceived pandemic impact also differed with the demographic of the location. In this case, as Lilac displayed, the ease of following the regulations of social distancing seemed greater in Trondheim than in Oslo. Nevertheless, since the achievement of social distancing depended on the two individuals involved to keep a certain distance apart, participants would make additional efforts to self-regulate in order not to undermine others' attempts at social distancing. Despite being on the periphery of the pandemic situation, participants were still very much central to the society and the larger collective. Consequently, importance might have been placed on social distancing as their participation was required both for others and themselves to uphold the measure. Pandemic measures like masks and social distancing therefore altered action sequences, for instance in grabbing a mask before heading out.

These modifications made to action sequences might hint at the power dynamics involved in pushing for the modifications. Gjerde (2021) asserted that a form of liberal governmentality was employed in the Norwegian context of the pandemic. He associated the employment of liberal governmentality to the *dugnad* discourse of inclusion which advocated for voluntary actions in the interest of the community (see Section 4.2). Instead of a hard enforcement of regulations, the measures might seem more like advices and recommendations (Gjerde 2021). In this way, individuals were seemingly free as long as they do so "appropriately" (Gjerde 2021). Consequently, the implementation of pandemic measures seemed to follow what Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) suggested in their argument of individualisation in modern society. As the world became more interconnected digitally, a diversity of viewpoints could be communicated, at times in conflict with each other. Greater "social reflexion" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002:26) would then be required from individuals as they processed the multitude of information and selected what they wished to construct their lives around. Alabaster shared that she followed the people and not the rule when she first arrived in Trondheim during the pandemic:

> Because no one is wearing a mask, so I don't wear mask. But at times when people, all the people wear masks, of course I wear mask. (Alabaster, age 14)

When faced with circumstances different from what was legally correct, Alabaster chose to follow what was happening around her. Similarly, Teal (age 16) found importance in sticking to the status quo in a social environment, especially for measures such as social distancing and gathering restrictions that relied on other actors' compliance.

> If people are approaching you, you're not going to say "2 meters distance, please", you know what I mean. That's just like antisocial. That doesn't really work in a social environment, definitely. (Teal, age 16)

Teal demonstrated an understanding of the legal regulations ("2 meters distance, please") but found it inapplicable within the context should he wish to be not antisocial. When the individual faced two sets of rules – legal and social – that differed, he/she might exercise "social reflexion" in selecting what actions to take. In this case, since the legal regulations were not hard rules as Gjerde (2021) had shown and the social regulations or social norms were much more present (in the form of tangible judgements) in the context surrounding the individual at a certain point in time, participants might then disregard the legal regulations in favour of the status quo.

However, the information processed in "social reflexion" might not be all equal. Gjerde (2021:481) noted that "'Appropriately' involves weaponizing one's conduct through the subjection/subjectification as 'partner' assisting the government through conforming to these recommendations." In other words, one would be more inclined to disregard one's freedom and act according to the government's advice to show support for the apparent cause. In employing the liberal governmentality, coercive strategies were employed such that even those who were not keen to take part in the *dugnad* would be guided towards the accepted behaviours (Gjerde 2021). Lilac (age 17) said, "there are people who like if you don't stay away for two metres, you know there's certain consequences." Referencing George Orwell's *1984* (more on this reference in the Section 5.4), Lilac explained that when one sneezed, other people (around) would be really concerned. Similar to how the Big Brother in *1984* was watching the individual, "the people around you are watching you" (Lilac, age 17). Interestingly, Lilac clarified that it was "just the way I thought of it"; she elaborated that even though one might feel as if everyone else was looking at him/her, everyone else was really just concerned about something else, "'cause everyone has their own lives" (Lilac, age 17). What she seemed to suggest was that the "consequences" were more a feeling of being watched than a reality of being watched. This might be connected to panoptic form of power which Foucault (1995) described as it seemed to fulfil the two key features. First, it was visible in the form of other human beings in the surrounding. Second, it was not verifiable as Lilac highlighted – it was not easy to tell if someone was truly watching her or just minding their own business. Rather than with the individual, power might thus have been located with "a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up" (Foucault 1995:202). Consequently, although "social reflexion" was possible or an apparent freedom of choice was presented, the options were not apolitical as some options were more socially and politically acceptable than others.

Perhaps as a result, Nickel found the way people acted with each other or strangers to be the biggest difference during the pandemic:

> …knowing that you have to constantly be watching everything that people are doing. You're always so self-conscious about how you're acting in public now. That's probably the biggest difference. It's just how people act and act with each other or strangers. (Nickel, age 15)

The implementation of the pandemic measures which regulated social behaviours might have increased the amount of information to process when acting in a social environment, leading to a heightened self-consciousness. This heightened self-consciousness could imply that previously neglected contexts might be brought to the foreground, prompting changes to action sequences as exemplified previously with coughs and sneezes. In consequence, similar to Greene et al. (2022) findings, participants seemed to have also shifted the

practices of certain action sequences and routines possibly as a result of a sense of surveillance.

During the pandemic, certain actions like wearing masks were encouraged and others such as coughing and sneezing invited aversion. These social cues would modify action sequences if heeded. It would seem that the employment of liberal governmentality which Gjerde (2021) identified in the Norwegian context during the pandemic also shone through in participants' experiences. There were moments when participants followed the status quo against the recommendations of the legal regulations. However, the apparent freedom to follow (or not) the measures still involved power as certain options were deemed better than others. Rather, the freedom might have been afforded at the expense of minding one's own business. This was especially pertinent to the social distancing measure as it required participants to take part in order to uphold the measure. Consequently, the sense of surveillance might have amplified along with a heightened consciousness as the pandemic might have highlighted previously negligible contexts. Possibly, the sounds of coughing and sneezing might have been auditory symbols while the masks might have been a visual symbol of the pandemic. Still, not only were participants' action sequences and routines possibly altered through feeling as if one was being watched and conversely watching others, but the shifts in access to spaces during the pandemic might have also contributed to the modifications of action sequences and routines.

5.2 Modifying action sequences and routines II: practicing with altered access to spaces

Even as participants might have been on the periphery to the pandemic in terms of infection risk, the disruptions of the pandemic measures still affected them. Significantly, with the implementation of location-limiting measures like border control, quarantine and "lockdown", individuals' access to spaces were altered during the pandemic. Again, while the measures were not strictly enforced on individuals, coercive strategies such as closing schools and shops were used to encourage individuals to stay home (see Gjerde 2021). Movement outside the house was discouraged during the pandemic and the house or private room seemed to become the main area of stay. All participants seemed to have a room of their own and generally stayed in the room for online classes when physical schools were closed. Latour (2005) proposed that shifts in space would have accompanying shifts in practices and time. Greene et al. (2022) also posited a disjoining from institutional rhythms such as work-related rhythms upon shifting to work-from-home arrangements. As much as participants were less at-risk in relation to the coronavirus, the all-inclusive pandemic measures meant that they also had to deconstruct and reconstruct their daily practices and routines.

Two spatial features were brought to my attention by several participants: a single physical space (usually the home or the bedroom) and the virtual space. In his illustration of his pandemic experience, Teal (age 16) seemed to demonstrate a sense of being confined both within a single physical space and the virtual space:

Figure 5.2: Illustration by Teal (age 16)

During the interview, I discussed this illustration with him in more detail. A part of the conversation I had with him regarding this illustration went as follows:

Teal, age 16:	From my point of view at least, it's a, it's a phone, and there's a bed on top of the phone. And then, there's also a person on top of the bed. So, it's just like a, a very rough sketch, but like those are the details which I can, I can say.
Li Yin:	Like a phone screen.
Teal:	Yeah, it's a phone screen, so.
	[…]
Li Yin:	What about the person on the bed?
Teal:	Well, I mean, it's just like sort of face down into bed, I guess. So, just kind of like the, the, the fatigue, I guess. Also, like just, like it's all there is in the frame. Like, that's what I felt like my life was, you know what I mean. It's just like phone, bed, phone, bed, phone, bed, phone, bed. Like over and over and over and over and over and over and over. Like, that was it. So, I don't know whether it's any different in Norway, but you know with anybody like they had different experiences, but this is what it was like. And I guess I tried to also portray it almost like it's in like a room, you know what I mean. Like it's one space that was, that's what it was.

As was stated by Teal, his illustration related more to his pandemic experience outside of Norway. However, considering that he was not the only one to have felt this room-

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technology cycle – Amber (age 15) and Lilac (age 17) shared similar thoughts, I thought it might still resonate with some youths in Trondheim too. Even as Teal (age 16) shifted between physical and virtual spaces, he still felt as if he was confined within one space. In their summary of Huang and Zhao's article in the same book, Shaw and Sui (2021:5) wrote, "although people are confined to the secular/physical world, they can transcend the space-time limitations in the real world and achieve psychological freedom of subjective existence". Yet, Teal's experience seemed to highlight the sense of physical confinement even when interacting with technology. In other words, even if technology could provide a portal to transcend space-time limitations, the physicality of the virtual space being contained within technological devices like phones and computers was not easily erased to provide psychological freedom. Perhaps, Green (2002) was more accurate when she suggested that social space and time was at the same time stretched with technology and locally steadfast. Since Teal could use his phone on his bed, the virtual space could be accessed within the same enclosed physical space. This could then give rise to an impression that all activities took place in one single space.

The significance of the two spatial features of the pandemic seemed to be felt most strongly with reference to school. Of the 9 participants, 7 participants picked school-related measures as the pandemic measure they felt most affected by. I was reminded time and again by various participants the significance of school in their everyday life. Indigo (age 16) for instance said, "school was a main part of my day". This might not be surprising since schools have been seen as a structured institutional space to set children apart from adults (see Bourdillon 2011). When schools in Norway closed in March 2020 (see Section 4.2), students generally studied online from their homes. Since the single activity of school shifted from the physical space of school to occur simultaneously online and at home during the pandemic, I observed the use of the terms "online school" and "home school" seemingly interchangeably by participants. This again implied a blending of the virtual space (online) and single physical space (home).

Violet (age 15) expressed that home-school was the biggest difference from before and during the pandemic and what she would remember most from the pandemic. Home-school was also what she would share about the pandemic:

> Li Yin: If someone asked you to share your experience of COVID-19, and then like this person doesn't know anything about COVID-19, like what is that one thing that you would tell them or show them?
>
> Violet, age 15: Like of my experience? Yeah, it would be home-school, 'cause that's what changed the most for me in my daily life. Yeah, so I would probably talk about how it affected my mental state, but also how it made me realize that I would prefer physical school and I get to socialize with friends and yeah.

The physical space of school was not only significant for schooling but also for peer interactions. For Teal (age 16), socialising with peers was even the main reason and motivation to attend (physical) school. While an alternative space for interaction was provided virtually, the range of resources that technology could provide would not be exactly the same as physical spaces. Chan (2020:4) too posited that "[d]igital lifeworlds are themselves vast assemblages of nodes, networks, interfaces, materials, data, users and much more". Technical issues such as video lags or poor audio or video quality were situations that would occur in online interactions but not in physical interactions

(Periwinkle, age 16). The design of the software would affect one's interactions online as well, as Violet (age 15) illuminated when speaking about the difficulty in relaying facial expressions online. In other words, being physically present and being virtually would provide different contexts for peer interactions. Moreover, the employment of technological resources might not be intuitive. In comparing her experience with online school in lower secondary school and upper secondary school, Lilac (age 17) shared that she had a better experience in upper secondary school when her teachers would facilitate peer communication in the group by checking in and forcing them to talk if they were not doing so. This seemed to imply that online communication was also a learned process. Possibly in consequence, some participants reported that the social aspect of school was lacking when the physical schools were closed (Amber, age 15; Indigo, age 16; Violet, age 15).

Additionally, technology might introduce a shift in social interactions from co-presence to fragmented and disconnected relations (Green 2002). Violet (age 15) highlighted that break time previously spent socialising with friends outside was spent watching Netflix indoors. In the physical space at school, peers were present at the same time. The physical school setting therefore seemed to encourage interactions even with less acquainted peers. Contrarily, in the virtual space of school, peers were also a part of the assemblage but mediated with the technological interfaces involved. It would be easier to ignore an incoming message online than to brush off a social interaction offline. That is, technology allowed from "time-shifting" as actions and parts of action sequences could be postponed or prepared beforehand (Wajcman 2008:71). Thus, to maintain a connection online would require overcoming the disjointedness of the mode of communication. At the same time, technology enabled relations to flourish regardless of physical distance. While Violet mentioned that she had lost contact with most of her classmates, she socialised with her friends outside of school through social media in the same time period of the pandemic. Periwinkle (age 16) also wrote in her prose:

> "In terms of the social aspects affected by the pandemic, I've always kept my circle of friends close so the limitation of guests allowed in one venue did not affect me at all. My friends and I have always preferred playing video games and chatting online over physical meetings, so regardless of those restrictions we still found ways to enjoy time together."

It seemed that connections that had already been primarily maintained online persevered during the pandemic. Since Periwinkle and her friends were already utilising technological resources in their interactions, their friendships seemed to be unaffected during the pandemic. Then, as Green (2002) suggested with reference to Thrift, rather than to substitute offline practices, the use of technology would enable another set of practices. This set of practices would involve different temporal practices such as time-shifting.

The combination of studying at home and online seemed to encourage the use of technology in lull times as Violet (age 15) have illuminated with watching Netflix during breaks. With the onset of mobile technologies, Wajcman (2008:68) proposed that "previously 'dead time' is now saturated with communication". Current technology seemed to facilitate the filling of 'dead time' with not just communication but also entertainment. Beller (2003) described the current state of economy in which the increasingly utilised cinematic mode of production might have placed greater value on attention. In a time when "to look is to labour" (Beller 2003:92) as time spent online seemed to become the new form of capital, the lack of physical checks on online usage might consequently imply an absence of restraint on time spent online. Most participants conveyed an increase in

screen time during the pandemic (Alabaster, age 14; Amber, age 15; Lilac, age 17; Nickel, age 15; Silver, age 16; Violet, age 15). In a way, being in a single physical space might have limited resources for filling in lull times while technology supplied alternative resources to fill in those times, drawing participants to utilise technology more frequently than before. Furthermore, Silver (age 16) and Teal (age 16) suggested that one could pay less attention online. The absence of teachers physically also meant that they could not really check if one was doing the assignments (Periwinkle, age 16; Silver, age 16). Even as routines were being re-constructed during the pandemic, participants were still required to negotiate their social responsibilities as students and friends. That is, they could not completely dismiss their duties in achieving satisfactory educational progress. The responsibility of education then seemed to fall more on the individual students to put in the effort to learn than on the education system to promote the learning process (see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). The advantage of this was the possibility of organising one's own time (Amber, age 15; Indigo, age 16; Periwinkle, age 16; Silver, age 16). Technology's capacity for time-shifting, for instance, not just transformed peer communication but also provided individuals with the opportunity to schedule one's own time such that the activity of school was cleared in a few days of the week, leaving the rest of the week free (Silver, age 16). Simultaneously, the separation between time for study and time for leisure might be less prominent when study time did not need the same attention it previously required. This blurring of distinction could be stressful, for instance when Periwinkle (age 16) could not tell when it was okay to take a break. Hence, in shifting the activity of school from its designated physical space to a virtual space accessed from home, the everyday practices of participants were modified drastically not just in schooling but also in leisure and social interactions.

Space is related to actions and time perceptions. So, the shifts in access to spaces during the pandemic could have effected shifts in actions and time perceptions. During the pandemic, especially during the periods when schools were closed, two spatial features became prominent: a single physical space and the virtual space. Since the virtual space was accessed through a device which could be used within the same physical space, the impression that all activities occurred in a single space could emerge. Technology seemed to provide different contexts for peer interaction as well as school activities. For example, time-shifting was a possibility online which enabled disjointed yet continuous interactions and the scheduling of schoolwork to just a few days of the week. Technology was also engaged in lull times, possibly due to the limited resources in the single physical space. Thus, the shifts in access to spaces seemed to have modified the everyday practices of participants in schooling, social interaction and leisure.

5.3   Practicing another (inconvenient) "normal"

As established in the previous sections and similarly by Greene et al. (2022), the arrival of the pandemic disrupted and reconditioned daily routines. These shifts in action sequences, however minor, could result in "inconveniences" for some. Periwinkle (age 16) repeatedly expressed a sense of being inconvenienced by the pandemic in the interview. She spoke of being inconvenienced in relation to changes in school examination formats (online or postponed), implementation of pandemic restrictions in school, changes in lesson formats and crossed-out seats in cafes. Many of the changes that Periwinkle found to be inconvenient affected how time was spent. In one particular example, Periwinkle described to me a situation before the school closures were officially announced. At that point in time, her school had already implemented measures to address the pandemic such as splitting the class into two separate classrooms. Teachers would be physically present in

one classroom and streaming their lessons to the other classroom. However, this streaming required technology to be set up properly, and time was spent in the attempts to set it up:

> We spent like 30 minutes of each class just trying to figure out the technology to get the other class to hear us. At one point, one student would like, two students from each cohort would just get up, stand at the door and then yell at what the teacher was saying. (Periwinkle, age 16)

When the technology failed to work, a student in each classroom would stand by the door to communicate what the teacher was saying. For instance, when the teacher said to "go to page 89", the student at the door would shout, "page 89!", so that students in the other classroom would know which page to turn to. The feeling of inconvenience seemed to arise from the way time was spent. Might we be too used to the capitalism's apparent acceleration that the seeming slow-down of the pandemic (see Chan 2020) felt like an unproductive use of time in comparison and therefore "inconvenient"? In any case, the shifts in action sequences and possibly daily routines seemed to have altered the sense of time. Greene et al. (2022) similarly observed the disintegrating and reassembling of daily routines which provided a chance for reflection on one's time usage. To reflect on one's time usage would imply a comparison between the past and present of that particular time. To feel inconvenienced therefore involved not only the particular moment's experience but also similar past experiences to illuminate the unfulfilled potential that could have been better utilised in that same time period. The quality of time, as Wajcman (2008) suggested, thus mattered to one's perception of time, and the measure of quality of time could involve pasts, presents and futures.

At the same time, as daily routines were reassembled when action sequences and everyday practices were modified during the pandemic, another form of normality was experienced.

> It's just become so normal. I don't know what it will be like when it is over. It's just a constant up and down at this point of people being like oh masks, anti-bac, six feet apart. (Periwinkle, age 16)

In childhood studies, the concept of normality has been more commonly employed in relation to the body (see Coleman-Fountain 2017, Turmel 2008). Yet, in the case of the pandemic, normality seemed to relate more to the surrounding context than the individual body. According to Misztal (2015), Garfinkel linked the production and acknowledgement of normality to routine and extrinsic restraints. Thus, when reviewing the pandemic in circular-time, we could observe a formulation of another "normal" as practices, action sequences and routines are modified in interaction with surrounding context altered with the onset of the pandemic. Subsequently, even as the new routine during the pandemic was less convenient than the pre-pandemic routine, it could still be perceived as another "normal" when it became routinized. In this sense, a perception of normality during the pandemic could be established when action sequences and routines that would organise the circular-time were reassembled in a relatively stable arrangement. There were however multiple normalities expressed by participants and this would be further elaborated in Section 6.3. While senses of being "inconvenienced" or "normal" might be explained by shifts in routines, feelings of being "controlled" or "surreal" might be more clearly described by shifts in rhythms. Of course, I do not mean that routines and rhythms are two distinct entities. After all, rhythms are partially made up of routines and routines contribute to senses of rhythms. Rather, I see them as linguistic tools that aid the clarifications required in the analysis.

5.4 Surrealism: a cycle for what purpose?

The everyday life is generally made up of repetitive routines, giving rise to a sense of time as circular. Yet, this cyclical motion of daily life under pandemic circumstances seemed to be felt differently from that outside of pandemic circumstances.

> I went into like a, more like a robot, this thing, because I just existed. Yeah, I, I found this series. I watched Grey's Anatomy because it had like so many seasons. So, I woke up did school stuff, and then I went to my room and just watched the series, and then I went to sleep. And then I woke up again, did some school, and then I watched the series, and then I like slept, and maybe I worked out some, sometimes between that. But that was like everything I did. (Amber, age 15)

At another point during the interview, Amber said her experience with the pandemic was almost like shutting down and going into a "robot zone". In describing herself as a robot during the pandemic, it was as if she went about her days on auto-pilot. The sense of rhythms in the everyday life seemed to arise from the mix of mundane routines and peculiar events (Shove et al. 2009). Using the analogy of a rhythm, beats could be suitable representations of activities (SUNY Potsdam 2022), in which mundane activities could be soft repetitive beats and peculiar events might be stronger accentuated beats. In this view, perhaps the lack of opportunities for the occurrence of peculiar events when one was encouraged to stay at home during the pandemic meant that the rhythm of everyday life was only filled with soft indistinct beats which consequently generated an impression of an endless beat. Without peculiar events, the day would be mainly mundane routines made up of similar action sequences which could be thus accomplished seemingly on auto-pilot.

Interestingly, it seemed that although the contents of an activity changed, as in the different episodes of the series Amber was watching, they could not count as peculiar events. What seemed to matter was the type of activity. Amber described her daily experience before the pandemic as one with variations in school and outside school: "We had like a variation of things we did in school. Something was outside, something was inside". A change in space could be a significant symbol associated with a change in activity, and therefore creating more distinctions between the practices that make up a routine. When writing about the incorporation of technology into daily lives, Wajcman (2008) suggested that the temporal boundaries – spatial, organisation and psychological – between home and work would fade. With the minimal shifts in spaces during the pandemic, the distinctions between activities and between times might correspondingly be blurred.

Like Amber, Lilac (age 17) also highlighted the repetitive sense of time during the pandemic. Likening her pandemic experience to the fictional world presented in George Orwell's *1984*, Lilac said:

> It's more like this totalitarian society that you were controlled by staying inside. You only had the option of going outside if you're only allowed to. It felt like you were controlled, you had to have this like thing where, like for example, in online school, you had to wake up a certain time, right, to get to online school, of course. It felt like this daily routine of doing that, instead of the other times before the pandemic, it was more like you wake up, you go to school, and then there's like different mornings. But, in the pandemic, it was like the same mornings every single time. You wake up, you go on your laptop, you listen;

wake up, going to your laptop, listen. Whilst in the mornings when you were on the way to school, anything can happen, there is- I guess it's more fun. You don't realise that you had more fun back then until you're like trapped inside this technology world. (Lilac, age 17)

Apart from the sense of being watched contributing to the *1984* comparison (mentioned in Section 5.1), a comparable sense of being controlled also transpired in terms of both access to spaces and organisation and time. Peculiarly, although institutional regulation of time existed even before the pandemic, i.e. participants still had to turn up in physical school at a specific time for a specific period of time, Lilac articulated a sense of being controlled which stemmed from the regulation of time for school during the pandemic. Greene et al. (2022) postulated that institutional rhythms provided temporal structures to organise daily routines. As hypothesized earlier, when peculiar events were missing in everyday life, a sense of an endless beat could be produced when each beat was almost indistinguishable from another. That is, the rhythm of everyday life was primarily the soft beats of mundane routines. Against this backdrop where the beats outside the institutional rhythms became almost homogeneous, the beats of institutional rhythms might therefore become more accented. Contrariwise, outside of the pandemic context, the beats of rhythms from non-institutional aspects of everyday life might be as resounding as, if not more striking than, the beats of institutional rhythms such that the institutional regulation of time would not be as glaring. As Lilac suggested, there were no "different mornings" during the pandemic when the opportunities for peculiar events were diminished with the minimal shifts in spaces. Consequently, the beats of the institutional rhythms could overshadow other beats of the personal rhythms, prompting a sense of being controlled only during the pandemic despite the institutional regulation of time existing regardless of the pandemic.

Even though participants might be in the periphery to the pandemic context, they had to modify their daily routines, especially due to the altered access to spaces following the pandemic measures. When changes were made without visible objectives, a sense of surrealism seemed to arise. Here, I use the term "surrealism" not as a representation of the art and literary style of the 20th century (Cambridge University Press 2022a), but as the associated noun for something "not seeming real" (Cambridge University Press 2022b).

It didn't feel like real. It was, it was like seeing a film or like a TV series about it, it didn't like feel real. Because when it was home, like we didn't know so many people that like got it when it was at its worst. So, we just like stopped everything we did for something we like didn't know what it was. And then, and we just we would see this all these like headlines on the news and we didn't like, we didn't like see it like in the real world. But everyone was like, yeah, but everyone was wearing mask, and but we didn't like, like, got to like experience it on our bodies. So, for me, it was like watching something that wasn't real. (Amber, age 15)

None of the participants tested positive for the coronavirus, and only a few participants had close family and friends who were tested positive. Indigo (age 16) suggested that "a very different experience" could develop if she had been infected. It might therefore be difficult to grasp the impact of the pandemic which called for all the changes that participants had to manage. Since the effects of the coronavirus were (fortunately) not felt on participants' individual bodies, the effects of the pandemic existed as mere words in news articles, and not in the tangible reality surrounding participants. Teal (age 16) shared similar sentiments and noted that he experienced moments of realisation just when he had

to go to a testing centre. "It doesn't actually feel like almost real until you're seeing it, like with your own eyes," said Teal. The entire pandemic situation could therefore feel surreal as the immediate surrounding was not affected but daily routines still had to be modified.

When Hassard (1990) discussed the metaphor of circular-time, he spoke about the increasing separation of social cycles from natural cycles as time units became more synthetic. That is, the digital clock might be more vital to the current organisation of time than the movements of the sun. Possibly, our sense of time might be more organised based on activities (social rhythms) than on daylight (natural rhythms). Subsequently, time perceptions could be greatly affected when practices and activities were altered. When peculiar events happened less often during the pandemic, the rhythms of everyday life would be mainly shaped by mundane routines. The distinctions between activities and between times would also be obscured along with the minimal shifts in spaces. For some people like Lilac (age 17), the lack of peculiar events in the daily life could give prominence to the beats of the institutional rhythms. As a result, one would feel more controlled during the pandemic than outside pandemic circumstances even when time was regulated by institutions regardless of the pandemic. Added to this, the daily routines and rhythms were modified for an apparent emergency that was not happening within the immediate surrounding of participants. Then, the entire situation including the shifts in their daily routines could feel surreal due to the strangeness of enacting change without seeing any tangible cause and effect. All in all, by relating participants' experiences to the metaphor of circular-time, we could gain clarity on how shifts in action sequences and routines might highlight particular cyclical time perceptions and subsequent expressions of experiences such as being controlled, feeling surreal.

6 Analysis: Linear-time

The time metaphor of linear-time is the focus of this chapter. I seek to delve into participants' experiences of the pandemic as a point in time in their lives. Whereas the previous chapter directed attention primarily on the routines, sequences and rhythms of everyday life, the aim of this chapter is to discuss the pandemic experiences as elements of pasts, presents and futures, with additional reference to speed, acceleration and, again, rhythm. The first section of this chapter delves deeper into the relationship between time and activity (or practices) to understand when an activity might be considered doing "something" or "not anything". Following this, the topic of time warp in the forms of skipping or pausing time is discussed. Finally, I evaluate participants' references to normality to illuminate the multiplicity of normality which might correlate to the multiplicity of temporalities involved in narrations of experiences (see McLeod 2017). It might seem peculiar that the practices in the previous chapters could again be referenced in this chapter. However, if we viewed time as multiple, the same practices could effect multiple senses of time in different temporalities.

6.1 Time × Activity: "something" or "not anything"?

When previous routines broke down during the pandemic as detailed in Chapter 5, time that had been taken up by mundane practices seemed to be "freed up" for reorganisation. Speaking of her everyday life before the pandemic, Indigo (age 16) had "a very set and specific routine" that kept her busy and without time for a lot of (other) things. Time spent on transportation between places was also significantly reduced as access to spaces was restricted. For example, Nickel (age 15) noticed that he had 4 extra hours during the pandemic when he did not and could not go swimming at the pool that was 1-hour away (and thereby 2 hours of travelling both ways) from his house. Yet, Indigo suggested that there was an apparent lack of suitable activities to fill that time:

> There's no one specific object that would define COVID-19 for me because I didn't get infected, thankfully. But it's just that it was a very different experience. It's just that you had so much more time. But then you, you couldn't do everything you wanted to do in that time with yourself. (Indigo, age 16)

Indigo shared that while it was fine initially as she had time to try new things, it became boring after trying so many different things and she just wanted to go out already. Some of the activities she wanted to do, but was not able to, included playing badminton, going back to physical school, going to malls and meeting friends. Although shifts in physical space might be rendered redundant for some activities when technology could connect individuals regardless of distance (Green 2002), other activities might still be very much tied to certain spaces in terms of both material resources enabling the activities and possibly cultural meanings that make those "spaces" specific "places" for the activities. Referring to Anderson's (2015) distinction between space and place, space related to the material field while place dealt with the field which was imbued with meanings. Perhaps it was when these activities previously performed could not be or was not performed during the pandemic that time seemed to be "freed up" and became "more" or "extra" time. This contradiction between time and activity presented by Indigo hinted at not only the

importance of examining practices in studies of time as Greene et al. (2022) opined, but also the relevance of quality of time that Wajcman (2008) proposed. That is, the sense of time seemed to be linked to the types of activities and practices performed in a certain time period.

A prominent example demonstrating the connections between time perceptions and activity types I found was Teal's (age 16) description of the lockdown periods as a "fever dream". To describe the experience as a "fever dream" seemed to suggest that it was not real, again hinting at a sense of surrealism. This sense of surrealism seemed to be motivated not by the shifts in immediate reality for distal circumstances as discussed in Section 5.4, but by an apparent elasticity of time which would be expanded in the next section (6.2). Following his description of the sense of "fever dream" as weird, I asked Teal what made it weird. His response was: "The fact that you didn't need to do anything. Like that was the weird thing" (Teal, age 16). Participants, as students, had school assignments to do even during the pandemic. Yet, as elaborated in Section 5.2, the physical absence of teachers when school was organised online and at home meant that they could not really check if participants were doing the assignments. In another part of the interview, Teal shared that there was no real enforcement or incentive to actually do the work as teachers could not keep tabs on whether students were actually making progress. The possible individualisation of learning (see Section 5.2) implied that one could actually not do the assigned work:

> It was only for the really important stuff that you had to knuckle down, but that was only maybe 1% of the work you were doing. So, the other 99% you could very easily get away with doing nothing. (Teal, age 16)

Other participants seemed to share similar reflections (Amber, age 15; Indigo, age 16; Nickel, age 15). For instances, Amber (age 15) thought she "half-assed everything" during the pandemic and Indigo (age 16) pointed out that "people who didn't want to learn, couldn't learn" as they could easily skip online classes. Since there was no apparent impact whether or not one did the school assignments, there was no *need* to do the work as it was up to the individual whether he/she *wanted* to do it.

Since Teal felt like he was not doing anything in online school during the pandemic, conversely, I asked him what aspect of physical school made him feel like he was doing something, to which he replied:

> Well, I'd say like just the routine itself of just getting up and going to the bus stop, but then, you know, yeah, dropping off at school, going to your class, to your form, depending on what time you're in because. It was, it was like cancelled after COVID, form time actually. And then, and then you'd actually like do some work in your class or you'd work towards like, you know, exam or to like practicals. Like that was, there was something different, you know. You'd, you'd actually like, do the work and it was something different every single time. But, uhm, it feels even more repetitive if you're doing nothing, if that makes sense. So, so there's something different every single day on a lesson in normal school, regardless of whether you actually enjoy it or not. (Teal, age 16)

Clearly, it was not just the routinized characteristic of everyday life that determined whether one felt like he/she was "doing anything". In both situations – pandemic and otherwise, Teal pointed out repetition as a feature of everyday life. It was also not whether

one enjoyed an activity that gave the sense of "doing anything", as Teal mentioned in the last sentence of the quote above. Assuming that we must be doing something at every moment in time (at the very least, we must be breathing!), to feel as if one was not doing anything could indicate a differentiation among activities as "something" or "not anything".

Whether an activity was "something" or "not anything" might be related to the quality of time. In the previous chapter, I proposed that the yardstick for quality of time could entail pasts, presents and futures. While a sense of inconvenience might surface more likely from the intersection of pasts and presents (referring to Section 5.3), the determination of an activity as "something" might be more influenced by the interlinks between presents and futures. Olsen, in conversation with Millei (2021:65), made a point about children's active participation in their own becomings. That is, children themselves were involved in shaping their futures. It would then make sense that some activities were "something" while others were "not anything" depending on whether they appeared to contribute to participants' futures. This would relate to the "horizon of expectation" that Koselleck (2004:259) proposed, in the sense that the categorization of activities engaged in a present moment was influenced by their expectations for potential futures. Temporality then was not just the unilateral movement from past to present and future, but could also entail time-flows in different directions within consciousness (Conrad 2012). Explaining her experience with school closure, Alabaster (age 14) commented, "I mean like yay holiday but I was, I don't like the feeling of being stupid". She elaborated that online school was good for the comfort of being able to lie in bed while learning, but not really good for her educational progress. Evidently, thinking about that moment in particular as a "being", it was a positive moment that seemed like a break from school ("yay holiday"). Yet, it was in relation to her future as a "becoming" that that particular moment was not as positive as it seemed. Along these lines, Teal's (age 16) sense of "doing something" outside the pandemic situation might have emerged from a perceived progress towards a future (as he said above, "you'd actually like do some work in your class or you'd work towards […] exam"). Inversely, the things that Teal was doing during the pandemic such as watching TV were "not anything" contributing to the futures that he might have expected for himself. Likewise, this might justify why participants tended to see activities such as Netflix and playing video games as distractions and picking up new skills and knowledge as better uses of time. As participants might have certain futures envisioned, activities that could seemingly bring them closer to those futures would be "something" and activities that do not do so would not be "anything".

Perhaps correspondingly, participants spoke substantially about the poor quality of education in online school (Alabaster, age 14; Amber, age 15; Lilac, age 17; Silver, age 16; Teal, age 16). For instance, Silver (age 16) thought that digital lessons "were very bad for actual learning" as they were "not very well prepared". Recalling that he did not really learn a lot from attending online school at home, Nickel (age 15) also suggested that online school "mostly just [kept] the process on". Not only might the pandemic have prompted reflection on one's time usage (Greene et al. 2022), but it might have also spurred deliberation over the standard of activities. A few participants as such shared their thoughts on the current education system. Alabaster (age 14) pinned her purpose of going to school to "feeling educated" while Teal (age 16) saw his purpose of going to school as "being social". Teal (age 16) also said that the pandemic highlighted the inefficiency of the general learning process in school. Indeed, these reflections on the education system might have been motivated by the change in the educational format during the pandemic. However, as these discussions on quality of education seemed to revolve around how more could have been learnt within a set time frame, time or reflections on time might have also been

critical in advancing the reflections on the education system. In other words, a reflection on time could inspire a reflection on activity and vice versa.

Although children might be involved in devising their futures, the roles of surrounding adults should not be dismissed. Wyness (2013) cautioned against an overemphasis on children's participation such that their interdependent relationship with adults were neglected. These words of caution should also apply even in a project like this which predominantly circled around youths' experiences. In Teal's (age 16) illustration (Figure 5.2), there was an eye drawn where the home button usually was. The eye was an attempt to represent the "feeling of being watched" (Teal, age 16) even as you were in the supposedly private spaces of your bed and your phone. Again, I am reminded of Foucault's (1995) panopticism whereby Teal seemed to feel a sense of surveillance without truly being able to confirm it. Eerily, as Teal's illustration portrayed, technological devices might have become partners to potential surveillance. Teal explained that he felt that there was a sort of "pressure", for instance when "check[ing] your email to see if somebody was saying you're not doing any work" (Teal, age 16). Prominently, Teal elaborated on this sense of being watched as not truly being watched but more a what-if:

> There was always this sense that you might get caught, you know what I mean. But like you never, you never thought it would, like you almost never thought it would actually happen. Like, otherwise you wouldn't, you would have actually done the work, right. So, like you didn't actually trust that the teachers would, that would actually, you know, call you on not doing anything. (Teal, age 16)

Since he had been doing the essential assignments, even if at a lacklustre standard, "they had no reason to say it like, 'well, you haven't been actually learning anything'" (Teal, age 16). This might point significantly to the impacts of the perceived expectations of teachers and parents on youths' experiences. Besides a personal expectation of feeling educated through school that Alabaster (age 14) portrayed above, the perceived expectations of adults could also influence what participants might expect of themselves. Even without being physically beside participants at all times, significant adult figures might still have an influence over participants as long as the potential for surveillance was present. In Teal's case, while he knew there was little chance for him to be reprimanded since he had been submitting the necessary work, he seemed to be worried that parents and teachers might realise that he was not putting in full efforts in his work. In other words, there might have been an idea of what he *should have been doing*, which was derived from the perceived adult expectations, that could contrast with what he *had actually done*. This contrast might therefore give rise to the sense of pressure, of feeling as if he was being watched even when he knew it was unlikely, and subsequently feeling "guilty" (Teal, age 16) about it.

Still, it might not be beneficial to constantly put full effort into school work or what might be expected of an individual. Nickel (age 15) found it more relaxing psychologically during the pandemic as he was not as stressed during online school. Through the pandemic experience, he noted a realisation of the importance of leisure. He expressed, "it was a lot easier to do school work knowing that it wouldn't take up my entire day and I'd still have time to do free, stuff afterwards" (Nickel, age 15). Just as the rhythm of everyday life could be blurred into an endless beat when peculiar events were missing, the rhythm might also be veiled when the consecutive beats occurred too rapidly in succession. Moreover, as the proverb went, "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy". In positing that a sense of time could be moulded by systems of social discipline, Thrift and May (2001) provided the

example of 'work' time framing 'leisure' time and vice versa. As proposed earlier, activities could be categorised into "something" and "not anything" depending on whether they seemingly contribute towards a potential future. In a way, if we view activities that constitute "work" as activities of "becoming", "leisure" activities might be activities of "being". If all one did was work, perhaps he/she would be too attuned to his/her "becoming", losing sight of his/her "being" self[11].

In articulating a contradiction between time and activity, Indigo (age 16) might have illuminated the linkages between time perceptions and categories of activities. I further related this to Teal's (age 16) feeling of not needing to do anything which seemed to be attributed to inadequate checks on school assignments. Whether an activity constituted "something" or "not anything" seemed to depend on its perceived relevance to participants' futures. That is, some activities might mean "something" when they align with participants' expected futures, and engaging in them might represent progress towards the desired "becomings". Correspondingly, while activities might be categorized as "something" or "not anything" based on time in the form of "future[s] made present" (Koselleck 2004:259), time perceptions might also surface based on the activity types - for example in viewing time as "wasted" when engaging in certain activities. Apart from participants' own expectations, the perceived expectations of teachers and parents might have also influenced participants' experiences. A parallel to Foucault's (1995) panopticism might illustrate how the perceived expectations of adult figures could partake in the arrangement that produced a sense of surveillance. In consequence, on the one hand, one could slack off work; on the other hand, one might feel "guilty" for slacking off work. In addition, slacking off could reduce number of peculiar events experienced in a day which could in turn influence time perceptions such as a sense of "warped time".

6.2 Time warp: the apparent elasticity of time and waiting in uncertainty

Without the apparent need to do anything, the same routine could apply to every day without much modification. The volatile arrangements that Shove et al. (2009) proposed to be shattered and re-established in everyday life, as peculiar events challenged the stability of the practice sequences of routines, might not be as contended when there was no apparent need to do anything. Consequently, each day would seem the same and one might not even realise that there might be things that he/she could not do:

Li Yin:	Would you say it's not doing anything or not being able to do anything?
Teal, age 16:	Well, I mean. I'd say it's definitely not doing anything probably. Because you don't even notice that you're not able to do anything, if that makes sense. Like it's just sort of the same every single day, so you don't even really think about it at that point, yeah.

I found it intriguing that while some participants highlighted their pandemic experiences of not being able to do what they wanted to do (as Lilac (age 17) in Section 5.4 and Indigo (age 16) in Section 6.1 did), Teal (age 16) did not even notice that there might be things he could not do. Perhaps, while Indigo (age 16) and Lilac (age 17) focused on how time

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[11] Of course, to lose sight of the "being" self should not be taken to mean that one was not a "being" at all. It might be more accurate to say that an individual was simultaneously "been, being and becoming" at any point in time.

could have been better spent, Teal (age 16), and possibly Amber (age 15) who felt like she was in a "robot zone", drew attention to how time still flowed regardless of what they spent that time on. In either case however, a tension seemed to exist in relation to whether one was "free" to spend one's own time. Accordingly, Jordheim (2014:510) might be right to claim that "time is also a question of power". That is, whose temporal structure were influencing participants' use of time? Institutional (school) rhythms surely, but perhaps also devices, as May and Thrift (2001) suggested, especially when they were main modes of activities during the pandemic. Lilac (age 17) recalled, "You're just on your phone. And then, there was Tiktok that kind of blew up during the pandemic too, so everyone just, was just scrolling through." Along with the rise of new apps that sought for our attention span, our time might be apparently dictated by capitalism in the digital space.

When each day did not differ much from each other, a sense of "warped time" (Teal, age 16) might retrospectively emerge as every day seemingly melded together. When asked how the pandemic situation was for him overall, Teal responded:

> Well, I'd say it's probably like very surreal. Like I, I said this before, I think, but it feels like the days that we had in lockdown was basically like a day. Like, uh, it felt like one very large period of time. It didn't really have any like constraints to it, like you usually do with like, you know, having to work up, like work or go to school or anything like that. There were no constraints that you usually get from just being in like society. So, it's almost like time disappeared too. (Teal, age 16)

Apart from the strangeness of making changes for far-flung situations (referring to discussions in Section 5.4), it seemed that this time warp wherein many actual days felt like just one day also contributed to a sense of surrealism. To view the days in lockdown as just "a day" or "one very large period of time" implied that repeated patterns such as day and night seemed to have faded away. In retrospect, while both the repetition of day and night and that of the seasons formed cyclical rhythms, they might have involved different scales of rhythms. Then, the concept of rhythm seemed relevant to both circular-time and linear-time. Keeping to the music semblance used in Section 5.4, imagine we could examine time as we would do in an audio editing software. For an audio piece that lasted 1 minute for example, we could zoom out to review the full minute which would overlook minor details or zoom in to review a split second which would magnify the details such that they are not minor after all (see Figure 6.1).
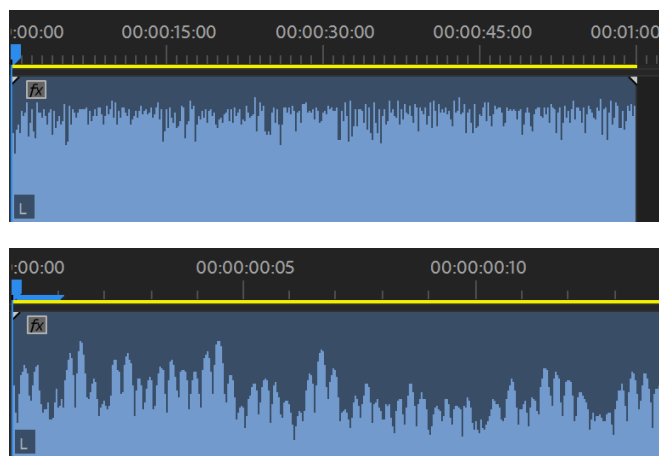
**Figure 6.1: (a) 1-minute audio clip zoomed out (above);
(b) the same 1-minute audio clip zoomed in to milli-seconds (below)**

In the short term (similar to Figure 6.1(b)), there were activities occurring every day which produced the rhythm of everyday life. However, the lack of prominent peculiar events in turn gave rise to a seemingly endless beat on the long-term rhythm (comparable to Figure 6.1(a)) of life. In this way, this rhythm, or apparent lack thereof, of an apparent endless beat might have erased the distinctions of repeated patterns that contributed to the circular notion of short-term time such that time itself seemed to have disappeared. In such manner, there seemed to be different senses of rhythms, possibly based on the scale of reference (short-term or long-term), which co-existed at the same time and mutually influenced each other. In this sense, whether one felt constrained (Lilac, age 17) or a lack of constraints (Teal, age 16) might depend on which scale of reference they were reflecting on. The different feelings Lilac (age 17) and Teal (age 16) expressed could surely be attributed to the fact that different individuals had different experiences. However, could it also partially be that Lilac (age 17) felt constrained when the prominent rhythm in the short-term was the institutional rhythm while Teal (age 16) felt a lack of constraints as all rhythms seemingly blended into an apparent endless beat in the long-term due to the lack of spatial shifts? Likewise, the peculiarity of the pandemic itself seemed to be felt on a different scale of rhythm from the (lack of) peculiar events in the everyday life. A related discussion on "normality" will be presented in Section 6.3. Besides his reference to a "fever dream", Teal also portrayed the entire pandemic period as a time skip. "It feels like I've almost like skipped 2 years of my life in a way," he said. Time seemed to have "disappeared" either into an imaginary space or just altogether. Since time would always exist in present moments, it could only "disappear" in moments outside the present. In this case, it was only in retrospect, i.e. thinking about the "past", that time seemed to have disappeared.

More oddly, Amber expressed different senses of time for the same time period at different points in time:

> No, but when, when I like look back, it's so weird to like think we had like home school for like two months and it, and it didn't feel like two months when I think back. It felt like, like two weeks. But when it happened it felt like years because it was so long. So, my like, my, my time, how I felt like, how I felt the time, that changed very much because some of the days were really long and some of the days was really short. (Amber, age 15)

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If the endless beat analogy could truly be applied when discussing individual's sense of time during the pandemic, then it could follow that one would feel like time was stretched when he/she was within that endless beat. Moreover, the sense of an endless beat likely derived from an apparent lack of activities that meant "something" to do, as elaborated earlier. Whereas high temporal density in the form of multi-tasking could contribute to a sense of harriedness (Wajcman 2008), the opposite might hold that low temporal density could prompt a sense of slowness. As such, "it felt like years" when Amber was in the midst of experiencing the endless beat. While Amber did mention that she was multi-tasking during the pandemic – watching Netflix while exercising or studying, these activities might not have been attributed as much temporal density since they were not performed to full effort. Additionally, as May and Thrift (2001) highlighted, the acceleration of time might involve both speeding up and slowing down. In a way, the temporal density could relate to how packed one's schedule was in circular-time, which would in turn influence the sense of time in linear-time as slow or fast relative to the pace of other points in time. Perhaps, for time to seem short in retrospect, time would have to seem long in that moment.

Whereas Teal (age 16) felt as if time had skipped altogether during the lockdown period, Amber (age 15) expressed a sense of paused time: "Just like everything like being on pause, like out of nowhere and how fast that can happen." What differed between Teal (age 16) and Amber (age 15) might have been the duration of the lockdown. Before arriving in Norway, Teal (age 16) experienced much longer lockdown periods of around five months each that affected him. Amber (age 15), on the other hand, experienced shorter periods of school closure, one of which lasted around two months, in Norway. That is, Teal (age 16) was in lockdown for a longer stretch of time while Amber (age 15) and other participants who were in Norway throughout the pandemic transitioned in and out of shorter periods of school closure. Then, when Teal (age 16) emerged from lockdown, two years passed and seemingly went missing while Amber (age 15) might not have experienced the time skip as strongly since she returned within the same year and age. As Teal (age 16) expressed, "I feel very much 14, not 16". Thus, the duration away from physical school might have accounted for the different sense of time as "skipped" or "paused".

Amber (age 15) was "blown away" by the immediate silence that arrived right after the Prime Minister announced lockdown. One of the first legislation enacted in relation to the pandemic was the Health Emergency Preparedness Act (see Section 4.2). With its provision for legal measures to be swiftly implemented, schools and businesses could then be requested to close as soon as possible. As Silver (age 16) recounted, he had still been thinking that "there's no way that's going to actually reach Norway" on Friday, and then was notified just days later on Monday that he had to attend school from home. The concept of pausing time seemed to imply a clean break from time that was on play. As such, the rapid speed at which the change occurred might have been crucial in forming the sense of paused time.

Like Amber (age 15), Silver (age 16) encapsulated his pandemic experience as "stagnation".

Figure 6.2: Illustration by Silver (age 16) – "Stagnation"

Silver felt that "it's like everything kind of stopped happening". Silver reported similar sentiments as Teal (age 16) as he elaborated, "I wasn't really doing anything in the school classes. Like there were assignments, but the, the teacher wasn't checking if we'd done them." The lack of feedback from teachers seemed to diminish participants' will to do school work, which could also imply that perhaps even supposed personal expectation of feeling educated might have been partially stimulated by adult expectations. Silver (age 16) further recalled not working on creative projects, "I was like I don't feel like doing that now, I'm not going to do it now." Possibly, since Silver placed emphasis on activities such as school and his creative projects, it might seem as if "everything" stopped when he was not engaging in these activities.

Silver spoke about watching YouTube and playing video games in the meantime while waiting for inspiration to work on the projects, but the inspiration didn't arrive "because you don't gain inspiration from watching YouTube and playing video games" (Silver, age 16). I asked if there might be specific activities that could spur inspiration more than YouTube, to which he was not sure. He gave a few examples, such as scrolling through Pinterest, a social media platform for image sharing, for art inspiration, and a good teacher:

> Like if a teacher is good and has a good way of teaching, then that's motivation, like gives me motivation to be interested in the work and to do the work like well. But if the teacher is kind of just not doing very good and not teaching very well, I'll kind of just sit there like I don't feel like doing this. I'm not progressing anywhere, so I don't think I feel the need to do the thing. If that makes sense. (Silver, age 16)

What this seemed to suggest was that "progress" could be an encouragement to work. This could also justify why motivation could dwindle with a lack of feedback from teachers. If we view feedback as reference points for progress, without feedback, one would not be able to gauge his/her progress. Progress could imply a movement through temporalities. In her study on the open-ended waiting that children in Danish asylum centres underwent, Vitus (2010:40) noticed that an "endless present" could snuff out future's capacity as "a

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point of reference for what the children are and what they will become". Perhaps, humans were not designed to only live in the present without connections to pasts and futures. Rather, we might need our "been" and "becoming" selves to make sense and meaning out of our "being" self.

Returning to the sense of "stagnation" as "everything" stopped happening, Silver described his illustration as:

> I guess the picture here was basically just OK, everything is going, and then now like there's just nothing here. If that makes sense, like you just walk, walking along and then there's a gap and there's like a, there's just nothing. And I was like thinking like, OK, well, what am I going to do now? Absolutely nothing. (Silver, age 16)

There was an apparent sense of nothingness in the future. He later elaborated that the black in the illustration was not darkness as I had interpreted but rather "uncertainty":

> I don't see it as like darkness. I think it's more like just like uncertainty. Because it's not necessarily a bad thing, it's just a little bit confusing. (Silver, age 16)

Suckert (2021) posited that the pandemic has thrown any delusion of a predictable future out the window and instead spotlighted the uncertain nature of the future. That was perhaps relatable to what Silver experienced. Shove et al. (2009:4) wrote that time practices consisted of "episodes and experiences of chaos and frenzy alongside those of predictability and routine". Possibly, the mundane routines of everyday life contributed to a perception of a predictable future. When the onset of the pandemic disrupted routines (as elaborated in Chapter 5), the affiliated image of a predictable future would also break down, leading to a heightened awareness of future's uncertainty.

Yet, even as another routine was formed during the pandemic, the perceived predictability of the future did not seem to return. Silver (age 16) conveyed, "it's like I don't know what's going to happen, I'm just going to see what happens, and then nothing happens at all." Indeed, the onset of the pandemic clouded visions of the future. However, as individuals modified their routines accordingly while waiting to see if something would happen, "nothing happens at all". In a way, individuals were thrown into a similar open-ended waiting which Vitus (2010) described in Danish asylum centres. In Danish asylum centres, temporality was in retention time, waiting for a conclusion to one's asylum case (Vitus 2010). "Time as progress" was missing during the wait (Vitus 2010:29). Likewise, Silver's waiting was left unanswered when "nothing happens". Vitus (2010:40) concluded, "[c]hildren and adolescents in Danish asylum centres seem to live neither in the future, preoccupied with their future being and accomplishments, nor in the present, because the seemingly endless waiting time somehow invalidates their here-and-now." As stated in Section 4.2, a significant portrayal of the pandemic was it being a "historical rupture", something out of the ordinary. Periwinkle (age 16) candidly recalled, "The amount of times I heard 'I'm sorry for these unprecedented times' is really annoying." Perhaps, even asking specifically about pandemic experiences in this project had similar effects of depicting the pandemic as exceptional. Such a portrayal of the pandemic might have consequently pushed individuals to wait the pandemic out instead of accepting the pandemic situation as the new way of life. Imagine, for instance, if we had been told firmly that the pandemic's effects were permanent, would we still anticipate a return to pre-pandemic life or would we gradually come to terms with the new way of life? To wait seemed to indicate that the situation at-hand was not deemed to be over. Then, potential futures would remain

obscured as the here-and-now was seemingly nullified in the process of waiting. As such, the uncertainty would remain even after new routines were forged since these routines were formed with the impression that they were only temporary. Additionally, time would therefore "pause", "stop" or "stagnate" as the here-and-now apparently no longer counted in waiting.

Vitus (2010) purported that an open-ended waiting could produce both existential and circumstantial boredoms. This seemed to describe participants' pandemic experiences as well. When Violet (age 15) selected home-school as that which changed the most in her daily life, she added on that it affected her "mental state" (also quoted in Section 5.2). In another part of the interview, she spoke in greater details about feeling bored:

Li Yin:	Were there any significant events at home or at like while home-schooling or anything like that?
Violet, age 15:	No, I wouldn't say. It was pretty calm, nothing special. Just, every day was mostly the same, doing the same thing.
Li Yin:	How did you feel about that? Like the sameness of every day?
Violet:	It got boring. Not as excited, you get tired and just less motivated.
Li Yin:	What were the thoughts that were going through your head during that time?
Violet:	Mostly like when it was going to end. And just hoping that it would stop or there would be some solution to it. Something that would just change, change it.

It almost seemed like the "sameness" of everyday could also be attributed to the waiting. As if in preparation for future changes, one might consequently be compelled to take no risky action and stick to a familiar routine. As Violet suggested, she was anticipating a change to occur, similar to Silver (age 16) when he said he was "just going to see what happens". Suckert (2021:9) too opined that "being able to wait appears a most useful skill in times of radically uncertain futures". However, to see waiting as a skill might be overemphasizing the agency in waiting since a skill implied that it could be used at will. Rather, the ability to wait might be more of an asset than a skill as Suckert (2021) also pointed out that monetary resources were necessary to attain this ability. Waiting time might alternately be an outcome of powerlessness and a loss of agency over time (Vitus 2010). Relating this to the liberal governmentality expounded by Gjerde (2021), waiting was possibly the few remaining "appropriate" options during the pandemic. Subsequently, where participants seemingly chose to wait the pandemic out initially, they might not have been able to end the wait as they desired as represented by Silver's (age 16) narration, "and then nothing happens at all". When I asked Alabaster (age 14) a hypothetical question of what would her past self would have done differently if the current her could go back in time to tell her past self about the pandemic, she responded that she would prepare herself mentally. Individuals might be fine with waiting, but possibly more so if the duration was clearer. In other words, while waiting was a choice, albeit a choice that was coerced under the liberal governmentality, the need for that wait and the duration of that wait during the pandemic might not have been decisions for individuals themselves to make.

In sum, the same routine could be applied day-to-day when there was no apparent need to do anything. This routine might be influenced by institutions as well as technological devices and software as engaged in capitalism. A sense of "warped time" could emerge when the many real days blur into one perceived day, prompting a sense of surrealism.

Employing the concept of rhythm in linear time, there might be multiple rhythms that simultaneously existed on different scales of reference. Accordingly, the peculiarity of the pandemic might be sensed on a different scale of rhythm from the peculiar events of daily life. Then, the elasticity of time might involve an acceleration, which May and Thrift (2001) alluded to, on one scale which would influence the sense of time on another scale. In this case, for time to seem short in retrospect, time might need to seem long in that moment. Additionally, for time to "disappear", it must be outside the present moment. Whether participants described time as "skipped" or "paused" might depend on the duration of change, in this case the duration away from physical school. The rapid speed at which change occurred might also have been critical to the sense of time being "paused" since it foreshadowed a sudden break from time that was on play.

Furthermore, the sense of "everything" stopping might be attributed to the lack of engagement in activities of significance such as school and creative projects during the pandemic. Considering how "progress" seemed to be a compelling motivation, the "been" and "becoming" selves might be fundamental to giving meaning to the "being" self. The future's uncertainty became clearer with the pandemic's disruption to previous routines. However, the substitute routine during the pandemic did not return the perceived predictability of the future, possibly because the peculiarity of the pandemic was not deemed over. In consequence, participants were pushed to wait, possibly by sticking to familiar routines in anticipation of future changes. In this process of waiting, the here-and-now might have been nullified, and time would thus seem like it was "paused", "stopped" or "stagnated". Waiting might have been a choice that was pushed for under the liberal governmentality as the need and duration of the wait were not up to the participants to decide. Possibly in consequence of waiting, the new "normal" established during the pandemic seemingly co-existed with a previous "normal" of which the return was anticipated.

6.3   Multiple normalities in multiple temporalities

In Section 5.3, I concluded that another form of normality was experienced in circular-time during the pandemic. Still, although Periwinkle (age 16) expressed that the daily routines during the pandemic became almost "normal", she also spoke about hoping that people would "stay a little more safe until we can go back to normalcy" (Periwinkle, age 16). In her book titled *Multiple Normalities*, Misztal (2015) emphasized the multiplicity of normalities:

> [A]s people more reflexively and more imaginatively cope with multiple normalities, sociologists' understanding of this process should also become more innovative and creative. […] In short, today's multiplicity of normalities is normality after all. (p. 219)

The way individuals speak about normality seemed fluid. Even when the pandemic situation had become so normal, there was another normal that individuals were waiting to return to. If we relate the multiple normalities with time, perhaps we could better interpret the multiplicity of normalities. Just as everyday interactions and routine constitutive of normality (Misztal 2015), so were rupture and stress (Shove et al. 2009). In this sense, time would be necessarily involved in perceptions of normality. A possible hypothesis for the multiple normalities demonstrated by Periwinkle then could be that they simultaneously existed on different scales of rhythms, similar to how the peculiarity of the pandemic might have been on a different scale from the peculiar events of daily life (as mentioned in the previous section (6.2)). In this way, the apparent contradiction between the way in which

pandemic routines gradually became predictable and mundane and the sense of uncertainty and unpredictability that permeated at the same time could be justified. That is, the normal that was experienced when a stable short-term rhythm made with new routines was formed during the pandemic might not have been viewed as the normal in the long-term rhythm as it was continually portrayed as an extraordinary event. In short, while routines exercised during the pandemic was a new "normal", it was still not "normal" relative to the past and predicted future.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that to be not "normal" would not necessarily connote negativity. Rather, it just indicated difference. As Indigo (age 16) articulated, "There's no one specific object that would define COVID-19 for me because I didn't get infected, thankfully. But it's just that it was a very different experience." Clearly, it was a different experience when access to spaces and practices were limited as elaborated in Chapter 5. Amber (age 15), for instance, spoke of the masks, "I was not like, never expected it to become like this big thing in my life, ordinary day life." The pandemic and its consequence regulations had shifted access to spaces, practices as well as significance of selected materials. For participants who migrated to Norway during the pandemic, the pandemic might have signified change. Teal (age 16), for example, felt as if he teleported to Norway. For some participants, it had also seemed like an experience that might go down in history:

> I had got to live in a pandemic. That's, well, most of us can say that now. (Amber, age 15)

> I thought that, in Norway at least, we haven't experienced this for what, probably like a couple of centuries? And so, I thought it was kind of cool to be able to live it. (Nickel, age 15)

This might potentially highlight history's role not just as a gateway to the past, but also as stimulation towards the future as the lived present could be recorded in future's history. Therefore, maybe we might be acclimated to difference and change since "today's multiplicity of normalities is normality after all" (Misztal 2015:219).

Moreover, change was not necessarily unusual since, again, rupture and stress could be a part of normality (Shove et al. 2009). Take an overseas holiday or vacation, for example. These were breaks from the usual daily routines that could still be seen as not abnormal. Teal communicated this in the following quote:

> I wasn't expecting it to be different for a long period of time, you know, for certain. Because you sort of get used to the same thing, and like, you know, things happen and then they go back to normal. And then like you go on holiday and then you come home and then it's back to normal. So, you sort of expect that out of, like even something like COVID-19, you expect that it's like a, a holiday, you know, and it just goes away after like two weeks, three weeks, and then, and then you're back to normal, so. (Teal, age 16)

It was clear from Teal's comment that differences when "things happen" were generally acceptable since one could still expect for things to "go back to normal". Referring to Garfinkel, Misztal (2015:51) opined that our past knowledge contributed to how we view, categorize and "normalize" events. Perhaps, the closest break from school participants had prior to the pandemic were school holidays, and as such the comparison was made. Yet, school holidays had clearer end dates and probably did not last as long as the pandemic or lockdown did. Alabaster (age 14) recalled when it was announced that she was getting two weeks off school:

Even in, in the first week, I was like, oh no, what is this? Why are we getting two weeks off school? That is not normal for just like a normal flu thing. […] And then, and then my, it was like confirmed. I'm kind of like the overthinker type. So, and it was confirmed when the holidays were like extended. Ah, so, like that's, that's what it is. This is a real pandemic.

While the suddenness of the school holidays (school closure) might have initially rung warning bells, it was when the holidays were extended that seemed to cement the difference between a typical school holiday and the pandemic. Several other participants also disclosed that they did not expect the pandemic to last as long as it did (Periwinkle, age 16; Violet, age 15). It might then be a thought-provoking comparison to make that whereas peculiar events were seemingly missing in the circular-time (see Section 5.4), routines of the linear-time might have been excessively challenged by the (perceived) peculiarity of the pandemic resulting in a breach in the familiar "back to normal" routine.

Overall, it would seem that the multiplicity of normality highlighted by Misztal (2015) also played out in participants' pandemic experiences. Possibly, different normalities were associated to rhythms on different scales of references. During the pandemic, the modified routines might have become "normal" but the pandemic situation was still a peculiar event on a long-term scale of reference. That is, the new "normal" was still not "normal" relative to the past and predicted future. Not "normal" seemed to signify difference rather than to entail a negative connotation. Some participants thought it cool to be a part of history, suggesting that history could also be a source of motivation when perceiving the lived present as a possible moment that could be recorded in future's history. In view of how peculiar events were seemingly missing in circular-time yet the pandemic itself was continuously felt as peculiar in the linear-time, it could be fruitful to consider at what point would stress and rupture no longer seem like a part of normalities. Therefore, in investigating practices with reference to linear-time, the ways in which multiple temporalities could simultaneously be experienced and mutually influence the experiences on other temporalities could be elucidated.

7 Conclusion

> I didn't like when they just like open it [referring to the government's lifting of the pandemic regulations in September 2021] because all the grownups were vaccinated and not all children and because **it affects the children as well as the grownups too**. (Amber, age 16, emphasis added)

In the past two years, the coronavirus has affected most people, if not everyone, in every corner of the world, whether it was becoming infected, taking preventive actions against infection or being restricted by regulations implemented to curb the viral spread. Since (almost) everyone was affected, it might be enticing to think that everyone was experiencing the same thing, or that what one was experiencing was the same as what everyone else was experiencing. I begin the conclusion with a quote from Amber (age 16) above to highlight this fallacy. Indeed, the pandemic concerned adults and children alike, yet consequences and experiences of the pandemic varied. This project has focused therefore on the pandemic experiences of participants from a particular generation (youths aged between 14 and 17) and a particular geographical location (Trondheim, Norway).

The theoretical framework of this project was informed by perspectives in childhood studies and concepts of time. From childhood studies perspectives, youths' narratives were key to their representation in the academia, not as isolated individuals but as unique individuals who were also located in a web of relations which might involve power. Delving into the concepts of time was not a planned move. Rather, it was from the reading and re-reading of participants' narratives which highlighted issues of time that I finally found the frames of time to click with what the participants had said. Specifically, the multiplicity of time as well as the relation between time, space and practice shone through in participants' narratives. In accord with the theoretical framework, I took a phenomenological approach for the methodology of this project. In this approach, I emphasized participants' narratives and at the same time continually highlighted that this paper was a representation of my interpretation of participants' interpretations of the pandemic. To aid the reliability of this approach, I outlined three strategies I would take, which were "ignoring" biological age, facilitating more modes of expression and being reflexive.

This project came about initially with a purpose to explore how global phenomena might impact individuals. In an attempt to let participants' narratives guide the research topic, I started with a very open research question, "what were the pandemic experiences of youths in Trondheim?". Ultimately, after reviewing the stories that participants hoped to share about their pandemic experiences, I was led to ask, "what could participants' pandemic experiences tell us about how time might frame interpretations of experiences?" The choice of location, Trondheim, was guided by my current residence in and slight familiarity with the city while the choice of participant demographic was guided by McNamee and Seymour's (2013) call for studies outside the ages of 10 and 12 as well as my linguistic capabilities. 9 youths between the ages of 14 and 17 partook in this project. Participants took part in a pre-interview survey, an interview and a post-interview survey. The interviews were then transcribed and the eventual analysis was written mainly based on the memory recollection exercise and supported by notes I made after each interview and during the transcription process.

In order to understand the pandemic experiences of participants, it was important to first know the context in which their experiences were formed. Firstly, a review of previous literature, while not completely relevant due to the different contexts and the emphasis on participants' unique individualities, illuminated a lack of studies on youths' narratives in the Norwegian context. It was also interesting to note that many of the themes in previous literature also emerged in my conversations with participants, suggesting positively at the existence of a generational unit (see Qvortrup 2009). Again, reporting similar themes should not erase the individual differences in experience and be taken to mean that each individual had the same experience. Rather, the repetition of these themes might be more telling of the structural contexts such as schooling that surrounds today's youths. Secondly, the pandemic was as much a discourse as it was a physical phenomenon (see Gjerde 2021). To label the spread of the coronavirus as a pandemic hinted that its impact was global, yet youths were said to be in a lower risk group. In this discursive context, participants might have been positioned in the margins to the pandemic situation. Thirdly, the temporal context of this project was significant both because of its subject focus on time and due to the incessant regulatory changes that occurred over time. In consequence, the temporal context not only directed the choice of methods but might have also influenced participants' responses during the interviews. Fourthly, the phenomenological approach implied that the data collected in this project would be viewed as knowledge co-produced by participants and me. By asking participants about their pandemic experiences as well as informing them of my project's aim, I would have unavoidably shaped the discussion and possibly framed pandemic experiences as "different" to deserve being questioned about.

I employed Hassard's (1990) time metaphors to organise the analysis. In viewing time as circular, I investigated the modifications to everyday action sequences and routines. Under the liberal governmentality rule imposed by the Norwegian government (see Gjerde 2021), action sequences and routines were modified as participants were pushed to act in a certain way through surveillance and self-discipline. Participants expressed not only a judgement against others' negligence, but also a heightened consciousness over their own actions. Hence, the freedom in the context of liberal governmentality might have been granted by sacrificing one's solitude to mind one's own business. Apart from surveillance and discipline, action sequences and routines were also modified as access to spaces was altered. During the pandemic, especially when schools were closed, participants reported being in a single physical space and in the virtual space. The virtual space could be accessed in the same physical space through a device, as in the example of using a phone on the bed, and so all activities seemed to happen in one single space. Moreover, technology enabled different time practices like time-shifting. Thus, everyday practices in schooling, social interaction and leisure were all modified as access to spaces was altered and technology was employed as a substituted. The significance of shifts in practices and activities to time perception might be due to the increasing correlation between our sense of time and social rhythms (see Hassard 1990). For some, the shifts in action sequences and routines might subsequently produce a sense of being inconvenienced could arise as small units of time were not spent as fruitfully as it apparently could be. For others, a sense of being controlled might emerge as institutional rhythms drew attention when other rhythms of everyday life became unvarying as opportunities for peculiar events were minimised during the pandemic. With action sequences and routines reassembled during the pandemic, another "normal" could emerge to form another cyclical time perception. Yet, considering the participants' peripheral position to the pandemic, the entire pandemic situation, including their modifying action sequences and forming another cyclical routine,

might feel surreal to participants as these changes were made without any tangible cause and effect. By concentrating on time as circular, participants' feelings and senses such as feeling inconvenienced, controlled or surreal could therefore be understood as transpiring from shifts in time perceptions that were associated with shifts in practice and spaces during the pandemic.

Conversely, in viewing time as linear, I explored how time in the forms of pasts, presents and futures, speed and scales of rhythms might influence pandemic experiences. Time was associated with practice not just in the form of social rhythms as understood in circular time but also in perceiving the categorization of activity or quality of time. In unpacking when an activity was considered "something" or "not anything", I posited a relation to participants' future. Correspondingly, when time was spent mostly on activities that were "not anything", time would seem to have been wasted. This might sound very much like a circular fallacy, and I admit that even I got confused while writing, but perhaps it could be perceived as a slight difference in the subject in focus. If one was to recall his/her experiences based on the activities he/she had engaged in, then the categorization of activity would be highlighted. On the other hand, if one concentrated on how he/she spent time, the quality of time would be spotlighted. In this sense, both the categorization of activity and quality of time seemed to be describing experiences similarly in relation to pasts, presents and futures but with just a different subject of emphasis. When there was no apparent need to do anything, the same routine could be applied every day and a sense of "warped time" could surface, along with a consequent sense of surrealism. This time warp might have occurred in relation to occurrences on various scales of rhythms, such that time would seem short in retrospect and yet long when living the moment. Additionally, the sense of time "pausing" or "skipping" during the pandemic might be partially attributed to the swift onset of pandemic regulations which stimulated a sense of sudden break from time that was on play. "Progress" could be an inspiration for action as the "been" and "becoming" selves gave meaning to the "being" self. Accordingly, time spent in waiting might have also disappeared when no "progress" was made. In firmly portraying the pandemic as a peculiar event that would ultimately end, participants were urged to wait for its end. The future's uncertainty also remained spotlighted for the entire period. This portrayal might have thus prompted multiple normalities as the new "normal" of the pandemic was still peculiar or "not normal" in a grander scale. "Not normal" however was not necessarily pessimistic as it could also be a curiously different experience. Hence, utilising the metaphor of linear-time enabled further elucidation into the criteria for quality of time or categorization of activity as "something" or "not anything", the mystery behind the sense of "warped time" and the multiple normalities.

Interestingly, while time could "disappear", it could not disappear completely. Among participants' account of time-warp, the duration of the pandemic or lockdown was shortened to a day, albeit a very long day or two months felt like two weeks. This might remind us that, like the pandemic, the passing of time was as much real as it was discursive. Since real time had eventually passed, time would not be able to vanish completely. Contrarily, descriptions of time might not be as static as time itself when they exist in the discourses about time. Consequently, they could be employed to communicate our feelings or senses of time which in turn shaped how we interpret our experiences. This could shed light on studies involving the concept of social age as opposed to chronological age (see Clark-Kazak 2009), just as Teal (age 16) illustrated with the time skip that he felt "very much 14, not 16".

Although the analysis of this project was framed distinctly in circular- and linear-time, (interpreted) reality was not as clear-cut. That is, occurrences on the circular-time might also be a part of the linear-time and vice versa. Effects felt on the circular-time could also trigger effects on the linear-time and vice versa. For instance, when practices in the cyclical motion of time were all mundane and repetitive without peculiarity, the sense of time warp surfaced along the linear motion of time. The pandemic, while depicted as a significant point in linear time, was also an event in a larger scale of cyclical time as illuminated by Teal's (age 16) comparison to a holiday. Furthermore, Jordheim (2014:508) wrote, "it might be more useful to imagine different temporalities existing in a plane, as parallel lines, paths, tracks, or courses, zigzagging, sometimes touching or even crossing one another, but all equally visible, tangible, and with direct consequences for our lives". Participants' interpreted realities of time were much more complicated, involving more forms of time flows than circular- and linear-times could fully describe. However, in explicating these interpreted realities in comprehensible words and categories, we would hopefully be a step closer to understanding how individuals interpret reality.

A British musician Robert Fripp (n.d.) once said, "The spoken form is in fact a very restrained representation of what is possible in the musical language". Just as the spoken language cannot represent music entirely, it also cannot fully represent our interpreted reality. It can however describe as closely as possible that interpreted reality. The use of analogies such as a holiday would be an instance of an attempt at representing the reality Teal felt. Similarly, references to music and sounds in my analysis were attempts at communicating my interpretation of participants' interpreted reality. One significant disparity between the analogy and participants' interpreted reality was in Figure 6.1. Figure 6.1, which illustrated different audio rhythms on different zoom levels, was employed because I found it helpful to represent how there might have been different rhythms of time on different scales of reference. If we read further into the analogy, soft split-second rhythms would result in a soft full-minute rhythm. Yet, in comparison, although the short-term rhythms were said to be soft and uneventful, the long-term rhythm was still a strong note with the pandemic being viewed as a peculiar event. Peculiarly, the uneventfulness of everyday during the pandemic might have contributed to the sense of oddity in the pandemic. Thus, unlike the music rhythm analogy, while the up-close rhythm of time was soft, the zoomed-out rhythm of the same time points could be accented.

In writing the analysis, a coherent story was produced through the synthesis of the described experiences of several individuals. This story might not be the story that each participant tried to tell separately. Rather, you could see this analysis as a story I am telling with the episodes provided by the participants. Time, for example, was not a chosen theme of participants. Nonetheless, it became the main theme of this analysis because I perceived an association between the pandemic and time by participants when they highlighted time skips and cycles in their narratives. Consequently, just as Misztal (2015) advocated for a greater acceptance of multiple normalities, this analysis took into account that it involved multiple narratives that might have told different tales. Some might feel a lack of constraints (Teal, age 16) while others might feel constrained (Lilac, age 17). Some might feel it became normal (Periwinkle, age 16) while other might think it remained different (Indigo, age 16). The same individual could also find the pandemic normal yet not normal (Periwinkle, age 16). None of these narratives were wrong - there is no right or wrong in describing one's experiences, they were just multiple representations of interpreted realities.

Unfortunately, by choosing time as the theme of this analysis, the voices of some participants might have been suppressed. Nickel (age 15) wrote two proses for the memory recollection exercise, in which he highlighted that the pandemic had been an "up and down experience" and that he felt "privileged enough as Norwegians". In the former, he spoke about how things became harder but at the same time they were allowed to recover easier during the pandemic. I included parts of his elaboration on this point in the analysis but could not include his prose due to confidentiality concerns. In the latter, he elaborated his experience travelling back from overseas and realising that the country he visited became one of the most infected places on the planet. Several other participants like Silver (age 16) and Amber (age 15) also felt lucky or thankful to be living in Norway during the pandemic. I found this point to relate less to time than to geographical location (Norway in comparison to other countries), and therefore could not include it in the analysis. Likewise, the comparisons of countries' situations made by participants who had migrated to Trondheim during the pandemic could not be included as they were more oriented to geographical location than time. Contrastingly, the voices of other participants might have been overemphasized. Much as we commonly say things offhandedly without fully meaning what the words connote, it was possible that I read too much into participants' words when developing the analysis. One such instance was my association of robot with auto-pilot. Perhaps when Amber said she went into robot zone, she meant it as just that or sought to emphasize different features of robots. In that case, my analysis founded on the auto-pilot characteristic could be overstating the robot analogy or even a misrepresentation of her narrative. As such, it would surely be more accurate to take the analysis to be my re-telling of selected pandemic experiences shared by participants.

When I started on this project, I was worried that the project might no longer be relevant once that pandemic was over. Yet, through this project, I observed how experiences of a specific phenomenon could underscore our everyday experiences, in this case with respect to time. In the chinese phrase for crisis (危机; wēi jī), one word (危; wēi) represents danger and the other word (机; jī) represents opportunity. When reflecting on the pandemic, its negative impacts were seemingly obvious as people were falling ill and social interactions were obstructed. However, along with the "dangers" came opportunities for reflection and reorganisation of everyday practices. One of the things that several participants enjoyed during the pandemic was the capacity to manage and schedule one's own time. In a way, during the pandemic, the possible activities that we could spend time on were restricted, but simultaneously we were given the opportunity to restructure our daily routines. Perhaps it was this dichotomy in the pandemic that directed attention to time as a key feature in the ways experiences were interpreted. Accordingly, I hope that this paper has contributed to furthering insights on the potential significance of time in the formation of subjective experiences. Although these are the narratives of selected youths, who is to say that we cannot learn a thing or two from their experiences? I, for one, have had the chance to reflect on how time might have shaped my own experiences. The significance of childhood studies might therefore come not from the focus on the "child" as a subject but from the sharing of perspectives of individuals in different generations.

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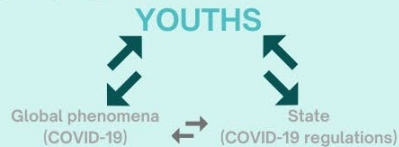
Appendices

A. Infographic
B. Information letter - for participants and guardians
C. How the pandemic measures evolved in Trondheim
D. Pre-interview survey
E. Interview guide
F. Post-interview survey

Appendix A: Infographic

INFO LETTER
IN BRIEF

Project purpose:

YOUTHS

Global phenomena (COVID-19) ⟷ State (COVID-19 regulations)

How have youths in Trondheim experienced COVID-19 and the consequent measures?

WHO

Youths who are:
- Living in **Trondheim**
- between age **14** and **17**
- comfortable with speaking in **English**

WHAT

- Pre-interview survey (20 to 40 minutes)
- Interview (approx. 1 hour)
- Post-interview survey (approx. 15 minutes)

PARTICIPATION IS VOLUNTARY

Privacy:
- Only Lyn will have access to personal data
- Pseudonyms are used
- Data stored on research server, encrypted and locked away

Your rights:
- access to personal data processed about you
- request for personal data to be deleted
- request for incorrect personal data to be corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of personal data
- send complaint to Data Protection Officer or Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding processing of your personal data

Li Yin (Lyn) Ng
liyn@stud.ntnu.no
46236279

NTNU via Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen | Data Protection Officer: Thomas Helgesen | Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD)

Are you interested in taking part in the research project

"Youths' experiences of COVID-19 and the regulations taken in Trondheim, Norway"?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to understand youths' experiences of the impact of global phenomena, such as COVID-19, and the resultant state regulations. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project
In the past year of 2020, much of the attention of the world and its daily news have been taken by a pandemic – COVID-19. Different countries and districts have different measures implemented for tackling COVID-19. Trondheim (Norway), for instance, have social distancing, gathering restriction and mask-wearing measures. Overall, the purpose of this project is to understand the impact of global phenomena, such as COVID-19, and the resultant state regulations on youths' everyday experiences in Trondheim. This project seeks to demonstrate the ways policies shape youths' everyday life as well as the ways youths interact with the implemented policies.
The main research question for this project is "how have youths in Trondheim experienced COVID-19 and the consequent measures?" The end result of this project is a master's thesis paper.

Who is responsible for the research project?
The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) is the institution responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?
The target population for this project is the youth population in Trondheim. Due to language communication challenges, youths who are comfortable with speaking English are asked to participate. As such, youths between the age of 14 and 17 living in Trondheim who are comfortable with speaking English have been asked to participate. This project is looking for at least 10 participants.

What does participation involve for you?
If you choose to take part in the project, this will involve surveys and an interview. There will be two online surveys – one before the interview and another after the interview.
- *Pre-interview survey:* The pre-interview survey should take between 20 to 40 minutes. The pre-interview survey has two sections: an attitude survey about your general experience of COVID-19 and an optional memory recollection of your experience of COVID-19 through open-ended questions. The format of the memory recollection section is open to your preference – writing, drawing, photos, videos, audio, etc. Your answers will be recorded electronically.
- *Interview:* In case of possible restrictions on group activities, the interview shall be one-on-one. Physical interviews are preferred over online interviews. It will take

approximately 1 hour. The interview includes questions about your experience with COVID-19 measures as well as any follow-up questions regarding your response to the pre-interview survey. The interview will be recorded with a specific audio recorder for transcription after the interview.

- *Post-interview survey:* The post-interview survey should take approximately 15 minutes. The post-interview survey includes questions about your overall experience with the project.

Participation is voluntary
Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data
We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).
Only the student researcher will have access to the personal data. Your name and contact details will be replaced with a pseudonym. The list of names, contact details and respective pseudonyms will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data. The data will be stored on a research server, encrypted and locked away.
In the final thesis paper, participants will unlikely be recognisable in publications. Only your pseudonym and age will be published.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?
The project is scheduled to end in June 2022. Personal data will not be kept, other collected data, including any digital recordings, will be stored in anonymous form after the end of the project.

Your rights
So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:
- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your personal data?
We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with NTNU, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?
If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:
- NTNU via Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen.
- Our Data Protection Officer: Thomas Helgesen

- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen   **Li Yin Ng**
Project Leader   Student
(Supervisor)

Consent form
I have received and understood information about the project *Youths' experiences of COVID-19 and the regulations taken in Trondheim, Norway* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- ☐ to participate in a pre-interview survey
- ☐ to participate in an interview
- ☐ to participate in a post-interview survey

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. June 2022

(Name and signature of participant, date)

Is your child interested in taking part in the research project

"Youths' experiences of COVID-19 and the regulations taken in Trondheim, Norway"?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to understand youths' experiences of the impact of global phenomena, such as COVID-19, and the resultant state regulations. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your child's participation will involve.

Purpose of the project
In the past year of 2020, much of the attention of the world and its daily news have been taken by a pandemic – COVID-19. Different countries and districts have different measures implemented for tackling COVID-19. Trondheim (Norway), for instance, have social distancing, gathering restriction and mask-wearing measures. Overall, the purpose of this project is to understand the impact of global phenomena, such as COVID-19, and the resultant state regulations on youths' everyday experiences in Trondheim. This project seeks to demonstrate the ways policies shape youths' everyday life as well as the ways youths interact with the implemented policies.
The main research question for this project is "how have youths in Trondheim experienced COVID-19 and the consequent measures?" The end result of this project is a master's thesis paper.

Who is responsible for the research project?
The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) is the institution responsible for the project.

Why is your child being asked to participate?
The target population for this project is the youth population in Trondheim. Due to language communication challenges, youths who are comfortable with speaking English are asked to participate. As such, youths between the age of 14 and 17 living in Trondheim who are comfortable with speaking English have been asked to participate. This project is looking for at least 10 participants.

What does participation involve for your child?
If your child chooses to take part in the project, this will involve surveys and an interview. There will be two online surveys – one before the interview and another after the interview.
- *Pre-interview survey:* The pre-interview survey should take between 20 to 40 minutes. The pre-interview survey has two sections: an attitude survey about your child's general experience of COVID-19 and an optional memory recollection of your child's experience of COVID-19 through open-ended questions. The format of the memory recollection section is open to your child's preference – writing, drawing, photos, videos, audio, etc. Your child's answers will be recorded electronically.

- *Interview:* In case of possible restrictions on group activities, the interview shall be one-on-one. Physical interviews are preferred over online interviews. It will take approximately 1 hour. The interview includes questions about your child's experience with COVID-19 measures as well as any follow-up questions regarding your child's response to the pre-interview survey. The interview will be recorded with a specific audio recorder for transcription after the interview.
- *Post-interview survey:* The post-interview survey should take approximately 15 minutes. The post-interview survey includes questions about your child's overall experience with the project.

Participation is voluntary
Participation in the project is voluntary. If you gave consent for your child to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about your child will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for your child if you choose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your child's personal privacy – how we will store and use your child's personal data
We will only use your child's personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your child's personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).
Only the student researcher will have access to the personal data. Your child's name and contact details will be replaced with a pseudonym. The list of names, contact details and respective pseudonyms will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data. The data will be stored on a research server, encrypted and locked away.
In the final thesis paper, participants will unlikely be recognisable in publications. Only your child's pseudonym and age will be published.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?
The project is scheduled to end in June 2022. Personal data will not be kept, other collected data, including any digital recordings, will be stored in anonymous form after the end of the project.

Your rights
So long as you child can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:
- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your child's personal data?
We will process your child's personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with NTNU, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?
If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- NTNU via Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen.
- Our Data Protection Officer: Thomas Helgesen
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen   **Li Yin Ng**
Project Leader   Student
(Supervisor)

Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project *Youths' experiences of COVID-19 and the regulations taken in Trondheim, Norway* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent for my child:

- ☐ to participate in a pre-interview survey
- ☐ to participate in an interview
- ☐ to participate in a post-interview survey

I give consent for my child's personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. June 2022

Name of child: _____

(Signed by participant's guardian, date)

Appendix C: How the pandemic measures evolved in Trondheim

- **Comprehensive timeline of pandemic events on the national level:**
  https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/Koronasituasjonen/tidslinje-koronaviruset/id2692402/
- **Details on municipality level:**
  - Requested information from municipality, directed to
    https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/motekalender
  - Internet Archive Wayback Machine for the link
    https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/aktuelt/korona-samleside/korona-hovedsak/disse-koronareglene--gjelder-i-trondheim/
  - Timeline on NRK: https://www.nrk.no/trondelag/koronavirus-i-trondelag-1.14931464 (was only able to scroll back until April 2021)

Date	Level	Specific information
04 Mar 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/kd/pressemeldinger/2020/fravarsgrensen-endres-som-folger-av-koronaviruset/id2692354/ • Absence limit temporarily lifted until 1 Aug 2020 – students would not need to document their absence through a general practitioner
06 Mar 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/8370d2d3685741fcbc709e837ce140aa/hod---kgl.res---fornyet-anvendelse-av-fullmaktsbestemmelsene.pdf • **Health Emergency Preparedness Act**: provided the government with the powers to swiftly implement new legal measures
12 Mar 2020	National	https://www.helsedirektoratet.no/nyheter/helsedirektoratet-har-vedtatt-omfattende-tiltak-for-a-hindre-spredning-av-covid-19 • All educational institutions closed • Events and certain activities prohibited • 14-day quarantine required upon entry • Tightened border control • Limited access to health institutions • "lockdown"
18 Mar 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/ny-koronalov/id2694038/ • Temporary corona law: allowed the implementation of apparently necessary laws in relation to the infection
24 Mar 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2020/tiltakene-mot-koronavirus-viderefores/id2694682/ • Social distancing introduced: $\geq$1m apart in public, $\geq$2m apart indoor • Gathering restrictions: $\leq$5 people in a group • "lockdown" measures extended until 13 April 2020.

17 Apr 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/ny-lov-gir-midlertidig-unntak-fra-kommuneloven-iks-loven-og-partiloven/id2697616/ • Temporary law: exceptions from established acts, so that municipalities could also act quickly as deemed necessary
20 Apr 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/Vil-apne-samfunnet-gradvis-og-kontrollert/id2697060/ • Gradual lifting of measures like school closures and cabin bans • Quarantine remained • Social distancing reduced from 2m to 1m apart • 30 Apr: Events opened for up to 50 people
7 May 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2020/regjeringens-plan-og-justering-av-koronatiltak/id2701493/ • Gathering restrictions: ≤20 people with 1m distance apart • Quarantine: shortened to 10 days • Events and activities resumed with some restrictions
11 May 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/kd/pressemeldinger/2020/skolene-apner-for-alle-elever-fra-11.-mai/id2701512/ • 11 May: schools re-open
15 Jun 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2020/apner-for-flere-fritidsreiser-mellom-norge-og-de-nordiske-landene/id2706368/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2020/justering-av-koronatiltak-fra-15.-juni/id2706388/ • Leisure travel to Nordic countries allowed with quarantine requirements and entry restrictions from regions with high level of infection • Events opened for up to 200 people • Centres for physical activities such as fitness centres and swimming pools re-opened • Young people (under 20) who were attending school-like activities as well as participants in sports and cultural events were exempted from social distancing requirements
15 Jul 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/ud/pressemeldinger/2020/pm_reiseraad200710/id2722569/ • Travel to more countries in the EEA / Schengen area allowed, with a cautionary note that this was not an invitation to travel

15 Aug 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/ud/pressemeldinger/2020/reiserad_forlenges/id2724431/ • Travel Council advised against travel that was not strictly necessary
07 Aug 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/bremser-videre-gjenapning/id2724235/ • Measures tightened again • Introduced use of face masks
19 Aug 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/kd/pressemeldinger/2020/regjeringa-foreslar-mellombelse-endringar-i-fravarsreglane/id2724955/ • Temporary lifting of absence limit for students proposed again
30 Sep 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/flere-nasjonale-smitteverntiltak-erstattes-av-lokale-tiltak-ved-smitteutbrudd/id2767070/ • Differentiated measures among the municipalities allowed
28 Oct 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/nye-nasjonale-innstramminger/id2776995/ • Further tightening of measures • Concept of "cohort" introduced in school context: young people in the same cohort in school were exempted from distance requirements at events
05 Nov 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2020/-hold-dere-hjemme-ha-minst-mulig-sosial-kontakt/id2783763/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2020/-hold-dere-hjemme-ha-minst-mulig-sosial-kontakt/id2783763/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/hod/nyheter/2020ny/videreforer-nasjonale-smitteverntiltak/id2795873/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2020/ma-ha-smitteverntiltak-ogsa-i-julen/id2788526/ • Recommendations to stay home and limit social contact • Advised against unnecessary domestic travel • Advised secondary schools to prepare for changes in light of the increasing infection rates • Measures extended first until mid-Dec 2020, later until second half of Jan 2021 with slight leniency on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve

17 Nov 2020	Municipality	https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500200000583936-1-880171 • Mandatory face masks on public transport at specific times on weekdays and when 1m distance apart was not possible
26 Dec 2020	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/koronavaksine-til-jul/id2814998/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/vaksine-mot-covid-19-blir-gratis/id2770128/ • Vaccination programme kickstarted with the oldest population • Vaccines against COVID-19 were provided for free
26 Dec 2020	Municipality	https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500200000652481-1-985788 • Weekly social contacts limited to 10 per week • All restaurants must register visitors upon arrival • Group training in gym not allowed
03 Jan 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/innforer-flere-nasjonale-smitteverntiltak/id2826466/ • Employed traffic light model to determine level of measures to be implemented in schools • Traffic light model: https://www.udir.no/kvalitet-og-kompetanse/sikkerhet-og-beredskap/informasjon-om-koronaviruset/smittevernveileder/infection-control-guidelines-for-upper-secondary-schools/infection-prevention-measures/ • Most educational institutions returned to the digital realm and secondary schools were announced to be in the red level: separating students into smaller groups or alternating attendance times were recommended • Gathering restrictions: ≤5 people in a group
05 Jan 2021	Municipality	https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000007386-1-1001131 • Quantity limitations in stores and malls to allow 1m distance • Mandatory use of face masks on public transport, beauty services, public indoor spaces and outdoor where social distancing was not possible • Entry registrations at restaurants • Limit social contacts • Sports halls and leisure culture activities cancelled

18 Jan 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2021/pm-18.1/id2828908/ • Secondary schools were declared on the national level as yellow level, but municipalities could maintain the red level to prepare for the transition • Yellow level: entire classes could be in the same classroom but with seats assigned • Young people (under 20) allowed to participate in exercise and leisure activities without social distancing • Gathering restrictions: ≤10 people indoors, ≤20 people outdoors
25 Jan 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/kd/pressemeldinger/2021/nye-regler-for-digital-hjemmeopplaring-under-koronapandemien/id2829795 • In order to provide students with as normal a school day as possible, schools were advised to stay open as much as possible, only employing home education when it was deemed to be in the students' best interests
XX Jan 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/hod/nyheter/2021ny/kraftige-tiltak-i-10-kommuner-etter-utbrudd-av-den-engelske-virusmutasjonen/id2829738/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/hod/nyheter/2021ny/bergensutbruddet-kraftige-tiltak-i-bergen-og-kommunene-rundt/id2831984/ • As the various mutations of the coronavirus including the English and the African variants hit parts of Norway, the government would enforce stricter rules but only to the affected regions
10 Feb 2021	Municipality	https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000081155-1-1108578 • Quantity limitations in stores and malls to allow 1m distance • Mandatory use of face masks on public transport, beauty services, public indoor spaces and outdoor where social distancing was not possible • Entry registrations at restaurants • Limit social contacts to 10 people per household (until 16 Feb 2021)
21 Feb 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-

		solberg/hod/nyheter/2021ny/regjeringen-forenkler-ordningen-med-regionale-koronatiltak/id2835749/ • Introduced simplified schemes level A, B and C to guide regional measures • Generally, these schemes proposed that the local government should make the judgements on the level of measures and closure to apply to schools
16 Mar 2021	Municipality	https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000150688-1-1212574 • Quantity limitations in stores and malls to allow 1m distance • Mandatory use of face masks on public transport and beauty services • Entry registrations at restaurants • ≥2m distance during physical activity • Recommendation: use of face mask in shops and malls
25 Mar 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/regjeringen-innforer-strengere-nasjonale-tiltak/id2841039/ • Strict measures were once again in place during the Easter 2021 • Recommendation: increase in social distance from 1m to 2m • Recommendation: wearing of face masks • Closure of entertainment facilities • Reduction of gathering sizes
27 Mar 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/hod/nyheter/2021ny/innforer-nasjonale-regler-for-ventekarantene/id2842005/ • Waiting quarantine scheme introduced: persons who share a home with someone who was infected and quarantined should also quarantine, or be in waiting quarantine
07 Apr 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/regjeringens-plan-for-gradvis-gjenapning-sammen-ut-av-krisen/id2842670/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/regjeringens-plan-for-gradvis-gjenapning-sammen-ut-av-krisen/id2842670/ • Four-step re-opening plan announced: depended on fulfilment of prerequisites such as infection situation, health service capacity and vaccination • Introduced concept of corona certificate
08 Apr 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/kd/pressemeldinger/2021/muntlig-eksamen-gar-som-vanlig-varen-2021/id2843406/ • Decision on school examinations announced: most exams cancelled except for the oral exams for 10th and VG3 (3rd year of upper secondary school) grades
12 Apr 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-

		solberg/kd/pressemeldinger/2021/bruk-av-munnbind-tas-inn-i-ny-smittevernveileder-for-videregaende-skole/id2841353
		• Mask-wearing introduced to the guide for infection control in upper secondary schools
16 Apr 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2021/regjeringen-starter-pa-forste-trinn-i-gjenapningsplanen/id2844380
		• First step of the re-opening plan, secondary schools remained in the yellow level, and the government continue to recommend that school closures should be limited but that municipalities should make the best judgement accordingly
16 Apr 2021	Municipality	https://web.archive.org/web/20210415114717/https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/aktuelt/korona-samleside/korona-hovedsak/disse-koronareglene--gjelder-i-trondheim/ https://web.archive.org/web/20210428150334/https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/aktuelt/korona-samleside/korona-hovedsak/disse-koronareglene--gjelder-i-trondheim/ https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000212283-1-1301565
		• Previous local regulations and recommendations remained
		• Recommendation: limit social contacts weekly (10 people per person per week)
		• Recommendation: avoid unnecessary travel across municipal boundaries
28 Apr 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/letter-pa-radene-for-fullvaksinerte/id2846398/
		• Advice eased for fully vaccinated people
19 May 2021	Municipality	https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000276892-1-1400717
		• Recommendation: limit social contacts weekly (10 people per person per week)
		• Recommendation: limit unnecessary travel across municipal boundaries
		• Recommendation: limit number of restaurants visited in a day
26 May 2021	Municipality	https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000290103-1-1425236
		• Quantity limitations in stores and malls to allow 1m distance
		• Mandatory use of face masks on public transport, beauty services, public indoor spaces
		• Entry registrations at restaurants
		• ≥2m distance during physical activity
		• ≤10 people at private indoor events in public place
		• Recommendation: limit social contact to 5 people per week
		• Recommendation: limit of 2 guests at home

27 May 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/kd/nyheter/2021/apner-for-gront-tiltaksniva-i-barnehager-og-skoler-og-mer-fysisk-undervisning-for-studentene/id2850286 https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2021/neste-trinn-i-gjenapningen-skjer-27.-mai/id2850347/ • Green level applied to the secondary schools • Municipalities advised to continue assessing the appropriate level of measures locally • Events involving young people (under 20) from the same municipality could be organised for up to 100 people
31 May 2021	Municipality	https://web.archive.org/web/20210603170656/https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/aktuelt/korona-samleside/korona-hovedsak/disse-koronareglene--gjelder-i-trondheim/ https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000302458-1-1443391 https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000336100-1-1481391 • Local regulations tightened • All events prohibited • Gathering restrictions: $\leq$2 guests indoors, $\leq$5 people outdoors • Secondary schools operated at a red level • Mandatory use of face masks • Voluntary and public activities remained open for young people (under age 20)
11 Jun 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/hod/nyheter/2021ny/fritak-fra-innreisekarantene/id2859913/ • With the increased number of people who received a vaccine worldwide, new exemptions from entry quarantine provided for people who were fully vaccinated or recently infected by the coronavirus • For youths aged 18 and under, they could leave quarantine after testing negative three days upon arrival
15 Jun 2021	Municipality	https://web.archive.org/web/20210615100427/https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/aktuelt/korona-samleside/korona-hovedsak/disse-koronareglene--gjelder-i-trondheim/ https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000341427-1-1489433 • Events allowed with restrictions • Secondary schools operated at a yellow level • Face masks mandated on public transport and recommended indoors • Gathering recommendation: $\leq$10 guests in private homes, weekly social contacts $\leq$10 people

20 Jun 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/regjeringen-fortsetter-gjenapningen/id2862266/ • Reached third step of re-opening plan: overseas travel allowed
22 Jun 2021	Municipality	https://web.archive.org/web/20210622095217/https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/aktuelt/korona-samleside/korona-hovedsak/disse-koronareglene--gjelder-i-trondheim/ https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000355754-1-1510955 • No local regulations in place: Trondheim followed national rules and recommendations
01 Jul 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/hod/nyheter/2021ny/avvikler-nasjonal-ventekarantene-fra-og-med-1.-juli/id2864814 • Waiting quarantine scheme abolished
XX Jul 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/trinn-4-utsettes-trinn-tre-i-gjenapningsplanen-justeres/id2865651 https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/trinn-4-iverksettes-ikke-na/id2866643/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2021/blir-staende-pa-trinn-tre/id2869987/ • Step four of re-opening plan postponed time and again
18 Aug 2021	National	https://www.fhi.no/en/news/2021/16-17-year-olds-to-be-offered-coronavirus-vaccination/ https://www.fhi.no/en/news/2021/12-15-year-olds-will-be-offered-coronavirus-vaccination/ • Vaccines offered to youths between 14 and 17 years old in August 2021 after further research was conducted
26 Aug 2021	Municipality	https://web.archive.org/web/20210826125021/https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/aktuelt/korona-samleside/korona-hovedsak/disse-koronareglene--gjelder-i-trondheim https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000475944-1-1639143 https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000497064-1-1672557 • Mandatory face masks on public transport and where social distancing was difficult • Entry registration at restaurants and pubs • Recommendation: limit social contacts weekly (10 people per week)
21 Sep 2021	Municipality	https://web.archive.org/web/20210921084154/https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/aktuelt/korona-samleside/korona-hovedsak/disse-koronareglene--gjelder-i-trondheim/ https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000519502-1-1706587 • Regulations reduced to recommendations

25 Sep 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/smk/pressemeldinger/2021/norge-gar-over-til-en-normal-hverdag-med-okt-beredskap/id2872539 https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/jd/pressemeldinger/2021/restriksjoner-pa-innreise-til-norge-fjernes-gradvis/id2872535/ • Major re-opening announced: move towards "normal everyday life with increased preparedness" • Most rules including social distancing and gathering requirements removed • Entry restrictions gradually removed
27 Sep 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/hod/nyheter/2021ny/innforer-nedjustert-tisk/id2871820/ • More lenient TISK (acronym for testing, isolation, infection detection and quarantine in Norwegian) implemented
01 Oct 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/ud/pressemeldinger/2021/pm_oppheves/id2872528/ • Travel advisories not extended
11 Oct 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-solberg/aktuelt-regjeringen-solberg/kd/pressemeldinger/2021/tilbake-til-normalen-i-skoler-og-barnehager/id2872554/ • Absence limit reinstated in secondary schools
28 Oct 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/beholder-koronatiltak-i-kommunene-og-videreforer-innreisetiltak/id2880763 • Municipalities urged to introduce local measures accordingly as infection rate hit a new high
02 Nov 2021	Municipality	https://www.nrk.no/trondelag/1.15713420 • Use of face masks recommended
04 Nov 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/regjeringen-gjeninnforer-unntak-fra-fravarsreglene-ut-skolearet/id2884378/ • Exemptions to the absence limit re-introduced
10 Nov 2021	Municipality	https://www.nrk.no/trondelag/dette-kan-bli-de-nye-smitteverntiltakene-i-trondheim-_-blir-bestemt-i-formannskapet-1.15724375 https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000607762-1-1845529 • Infection control regulations and recommendations adopted again • Mandatory face masks on public transport and wherever social distancing not possible • Recommendation: use of face masks in shops, malls and beauty services

19 Nov 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/nye-tiltak-ved-innreise-til-norge/id2888683/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/regjeringen-innforer-flere-tiltak-for-a-begrense-spredning-av-ny-virusvariant-til-norge/id2889911/ • New measures introduced for entering Norway with the arrival of the new variant Omicron
24 Nov 2021	Municipality	https://www.nrk.no/trondelag/trondheim-kommune-foreslar-nye-koronatiltak-1.15741090 https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000633057-1-1884017 • Regulations and recommendations remained in place • Mandatory use of face masks in shops and malls where social distancing not possible
29 Nov 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/innforer-tiltak-for-a-forsinke-spredningen-av-omikronvarianten-i-norge/id2890028/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-stoere/utdaterte-aktueltsaker/smk/regjeringen-innforer-nye-nasjonale-tiltak/id2890216/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-stoere/utdaterte-aktueltsaker/smk/regjeringen-innforer-nye-nasjonale-tiltak2/id2890578/ • Updated TISK measures • Recommendation: use of face masks • Contact-reducing measures introduced, applied to everyone regardless of vaccination status
02 Dec 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/alle-som-kommer-til-norge-ma-teste-seg-etter-ankomst/id2890574/ • Stricter entry testing introduced
07 Dec 2021	Municipality	https://innsyn.trondheim.kommune.no/application/getMoteDokument?dokid=500210000663679-1-1931555 • Regulations and recommendations remained in place • Mandatory use of face masks at indoor public events where social distancing not possible
09 Dec 2021	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-stoere/utdaterte-aktueltsaker/smk/nye-nasjonale-smitteverntiltak-for-a-beholde-kontrollen/id2891395/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-stoere/utdaterte-aktueltsaker/smk/strengere-nasjonale-tiltak-for-a-begrense-smitten/id2892042/ • Reinstated previous measures such as social distancing (1 metre) and traffic light model for schools • Concept of cohort employed again in the school context in relation to social distancing and gathering restrictions

14 Jan 2022	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-stoere/utdaterte-aktueltsaker/smk/regjeringen-letter-pa-tiltakene/id2895460/ https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/tiltaksnivaet-i-barnehager-og-skoler-skal-igjen-bestemmes-lokalt/id2895492/ • Measures eased once again • Secondary schools on the green level: the level of measures of schools to be locally determined • Outdoor activities proceeded as usual
26 Jan 2022	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/testing-erstatter-smittekarantene-for-narkontakter/id2898321/ • Daily testing replaced quarantine for close contacts of infected persons
01 Feb 2022	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/regjeringen-stoere/utdaterte-aktueltsaker/smk/regjeringen-fjerner-svart-mange-koronatiltak/id2899220/ • Many measures removed
12 Feb 2022	National	https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/smitteverntiltakene-oppheves/id2900873/ • Almost all the infection control measures such as social distancing, masks and isolation were lifted

Overall, assuming that the spread of the coronavirus would remain contained even after this writing, the measures relating to the pandemic were implemented for almost two years from March 2020 to February 2022. During this time, the measures evolved both in whether they were implemented and how strict they were implemented. For example, before August 2020, face masks were not a part of the official pandemic measures. From August 2020, it was introduced just as a recommendation, and later in April 2021 mandated by the municipality government. It was also sometimes mandated both in public transport and shops/malls and at other times mandated just on public transport and recommended in shops/malls. While it was difficult to reproduce the complete timeline of the changes in the pandemic measures due to missing information, I have provided a brief overview of the evolution of the measures over time in Trondheim as relevant to youths.

Appendix D: Pre-interview survey

Survey 1: Youth experience of COVID-19 and measures

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

Hello! Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research, "Youths' experiences of COVID-19 and the regulations taken in Trondheim, Norway". We are interested to know what your experience with COVID-19 and the consequent regulations has been like. :)

This survey should take 20 to 40 minutes.

Please contact Li Yin Ng (liyn@stud.ntnu.no) if you have any questions.

Part 1: General information

What is your name (first name and surname)? *

What is your current age? *

| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 |

Value

Are you currently living in Trondheim? *

○ Yes

○ No

Page break

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

Part 2: Attitude survey regarding COVID-19 and measures

Let us begin with two simple prompt questions!

Please write down the first five thoughts that come to mind when you think about COVID-19. *

Feel free to write whatever that comes to mind! It does not have to make sense; please do not ponder over the answer too much.

Please write down the first three government rules or recommendations that come to mind when you think about COVID-19. *

Overlaps with the above question are allowed! Just write them here once more. As with the above question, please do not ponder over the answer too much.

Page break

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

Next, let us move on to your experience with specific categories of implemented measures during the pandemic.

Please rate your experience of the following measures:

1 being a negative experience and 9 being a positive experience. Selecting the centre, 5, would mean your experience of the specific measure was neutral, neither positive nor negative.

	1 (negative experience)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 (positive experience)
School closure *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Other changes in school (e.g. digital lessons) *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Social distancing: standing a distance away from others in public and indoors *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Gathering restrictions: limit on the number of people in a gathering / group *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Cancellation of selected activities (e.g. events, concerts, sports, leisure) *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Cabin ban *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Quarantine *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Use of face masks *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Entry registration (e.g. SafeSpot) *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Border control / travel restriction *	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

If the following measure was not enforced, would you still perform it during the pandemic situation?

	Yes	Depends	No
Other changes in school (e.g. digital lessons) *	O	O	O
Social distancing: standing a distance away from others in public and indoors *	O	O	O
Gathering restrictions: limit on the number of people in a gathering / group *	O	O	O
Cancellation of selected activities (e.g. events, concerts, sports, leisure) - i.e. deciding not to attend an activity *	O	O	O
Cabin ban - i.e. not going to cabins *	O	O	O
Quarantine - i.e. self-quarantining *	O	O	O
Use of face masks *	O	O	O
Entry registration (e.g. SafeSpot) *	O	O	O
Border control / travel restriction - i.e. remaining in Norway, not going overseas *	O	O	O

Do you think the following measure was necessary during the pandemic situation?

	Yes	Depends	No
School closure *	O	O	O
Other changes in school (e.g. digital lessons) *	O	O	O
Social distancing: standing a distance away from others in public and indoors *	O	O	O
Gathering restrictions: limit on the number of people in a gathering / group *	O	O	O
Cancellation of selected activities (e.g. events, concerts, sports, leisure) *	O	O	O
Cabin ban *	O	O	O
Quarantine *	O	O	O
Use of face masks *	O	O	O
Entry registration (e.g. SafeSpot) *	O	O	O
Border control / travel restriction *	O	O	O

Are there any other measures not listed that have affected you?

Which measure do you feel affected you the most? *

Select ...

Others? *

ℹ This element is only shown when the option "Others" is selected in the question "Which measure do you feel affected you the most?"

Page break

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

Part 3: Memory recollection regarding COVID-19

The following question is optional as it will also be raised during the interview. If you find it easier to express your thoughts and experiences in conversation, feel free to skip this question now. :)

Please choose one of the following question to answer: See recent changes in Nettskjema

1. You are tasked to tell your personal tale of the past year in the pandemic. What would your story be?
2. You made a new friend from another world. This friend has not seen or experienced COVID-19. How would you describe your experience of the pandemic situation to your new friend?

Feel free to use any means of expression - writing, drawing, photos, videos, audio and whatever else you prefer.

Note: your upload should not include any other persons in image or sound.

Select file

Max 30 MB

≡ Page break

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

How has your overall experience of the pandemic situation been? *

1 being a negative experience and 9 being a positive experience. Selecting the centre, 5, would mean you are not affected at all by the pandemic situation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Value [⌄]

≡ Page break

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

Thank you for completing the survey!

Appendix E: Interview guide

Interview guide

1. **Building rapport:**
- Thank you for participating in this project.
- Your participation is greatly appreciated and important as I want to know your personal experience and feelings through the pandemic.
- In other words, you are the expert since your experience is what matters
- (About consent) while you have already signed the consent form to partake in this interview, I just want to let you know that if you wish to stop the interview at any time, even now, you can always do so. You have the right to withdraw your consent at any point in time during the research.
- (About confidentiality) This interview will be audio-recorded. Only I have the access to the recording and I will erase them immediately after the project ends.

2. **Getting to know the participant**
- Could you tell me a little about yourself?
- How do you usually spend your time? What are your hobbies?

3. **Effects of COVID-19** *(Behavioural experience)*
- Did the way you spend time / your hobby change due to COVID-19? Can you tell me more about how and why it has / has not changed?
- Do you remember when COVID-19 first hit, can you tell me how you felt about the situation? How did you react to the situation?

4. **Experience of COVID-19 (measures)** *(Subjective experience)*
- How was the pandemic situation for you? Can you tell me more about it?
    o When / Where do you feel the effects of COVID-19 (measures) most strongly?
    o Do you feel that the pandemic situation affected you positively / negatively? Can you tell me more about that...?
- If participant **has not** answered memory collection question in Survey 1
    o If someone asked you to share your experience of COVID-19, what would you tell or show them? What do you remember the strongest/most? Can you tell me more about it?
- If participant **has** answered memory collection question in Survey 1
    o You talked about XXX when you recalled your COVID-19 experience. Can you tell me why you chose to focus on this?
    o Was there anything else that you would add if someone asked you to share your experience of COVID-19?
- How did you spend the re-opening day? Can you tell me about more about it?
    o Do you feel that there was a big difference after the opening?
    o What was the first thing you did that you could not have done in the past year?
- (maybe) what do you feel was the biggest difference between before covid, during and after?

5. Survey follow-up
- Can you tell me about your experience with measure X? How did you feel about it? What did you do about it?
    o Why do you feel most affected by measure X? How has it impacted you?

6. Survey / research trends
- I have read that some kids thought XXX. What do you think about this?

7. Closing
- That is all for the interview. I will end the audio recording here.
- Once again, thank you for your time and participation in this project. Your sharing has provided many valuable insights on the topic.
- *If participant shared photos / videos*
    o Can I take a photo / video of what you have shown me?
    o Again, only I will have access to this and it will be erased immediately after the project ends.
    o Would it be okay if I describe this photo / video in the thesis?
    o The photo / video will unlikely appear in image form on thesis, but if it so happens that it should be included in the thesis, I will ask for your permission first. Even then, if you say no, it will not be included in the thesis.
- If you would like to receive a copy of the thesis, please let me know.
- If you have any further thoughts, please feel free to contact me.

Themes	General questions
Effects of COVID-19 *Behavioural experience*	• What have you done differently in the pandemic situation? • What actions have you taken in response to COVID-19?
Experience of COVID-19 (measures) *Subjective experience*	• What has your experience of COVID-19 (measures) been like? • In your opinion, how / in what ways did COVID-19 most affect you? • When do you feel the effects of COVID-19 (measures) most strongly? • Where do you feel the effects of COVID-19 (measures) most strongly?
Reactions to the COVID-19 measures	• How have you reacted to the COVID-19 measures? • What actions have you taken in response to the COVID-19 measures?
Survey follow-up	• Why do you feel most affected by measure *X*? How has it impacted you? • Request for elaboration on open-ended questions • Why did you choose to describe *Y*?

Appendix F: Post-interview survey

Depending on participants' rating input for their overall pandemic experience in the pre-interview survey, they received the corresponding survey invitation. Below is the post-interview survey for participants who previously gave their overall pandemic experience a rating of 4. The reference to this rating is in Part 2 of this survey, for the question "In your pre-interview survey you rated your overall experience of the pandemic situation as *X* [in this case, 4]. Having discussed it further in the research, would you still rate your experience a *X* [4]?"

Survey 2: Youth experience of COVID-19 and measures (4)

Page 1

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

Hello again! Welcome back :)

This survey mainly revolves around your research experience. It should take about 15 minutes to complete this survey.

Please contact Li Yin Ng (liyn@stud.ntnu.no) if you have any questions.

What is your name (first name and surname)? *

[   ]

Page break

Page 2

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

Part 1: Attitude survey regarding research tools

Please rate your experience with the pre-interview survey (Survey 1).

As a refresher, the first survey involved:
- Prompt questions ("first five thoughts")
- Rating your experience of specific measures
- Memory recollection regarding COVID-19

1 being a negative experience and 9 being a positive experience. Selecting the centre, 5, would mean your experience was neutral, neither positive nor negative.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Value [ ]

Any comments / feedback regarding the pre-interview survey?

[   ]

Please rate your experience with the interview.

As a refresher, the interview revolved around the topics of:

- effects of COVID-19 on ways of spending time
- feelings and experience throughout the pandemic
- survey follow-up

1 being a negative experience and 9 being a positive experience. Selecting the centre, 5, would mean your experience was neutral, neither positive nor negative.
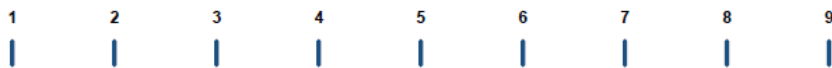
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
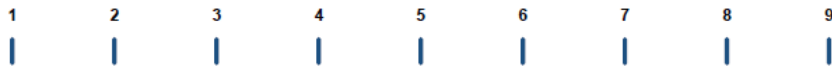
Value [⬍]

Any comments / feedback regarding the interview?

Please rate your experience interacting with the researcher.

1 being a negative experience and 9 being a positive experience. Selecting the centre, 5, would mean your experience was neutral, neither positive nor negative.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Value [⬍]

Any comments / feedback regarding the interactions with the researcher?

Please rate your overall experience of the research process.

1 being a negative experience and 9 being a positive experience. Selecting the centre, 5, would mean your experience was neutral, neither positive nor negative.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Value [⬍]

Any comments / feedback regarding the research in general?

Mandatory fields are marked with a star *

Part 2: Attitude survey regarding COVID-19

In your pre-interview survey you rated your overall experience of the pandemic situation as 4. Having discussed it further in the research, would you still rate your experience a 4? *

1 being a negative experience and 9 being a positive experience. Selecting the centre, 5, would mean your experience was neutral, neither positive nor negative.

○ Yes

○ No

Why? *

ℹ This element is only shown when the option "Yes" is selected in the question "In your pre-interview survey you rated your overall experience of the pandemic situation as 4. Having discussed it further in the research, would you still rate your experience a 4?"

What would your new rating be? *

ℹ This element is only shown when the option "No" is selected in the question "In your pre-interview survey you rated your overall experience of the pandemic situation as 4. Having discussed it further in the research, would you still rate your experience a 4?"

1 being a negative experience and 9 being a positive experience. Selecting the centre, 5, would mean your experience was neutral, neither positive nor negative.
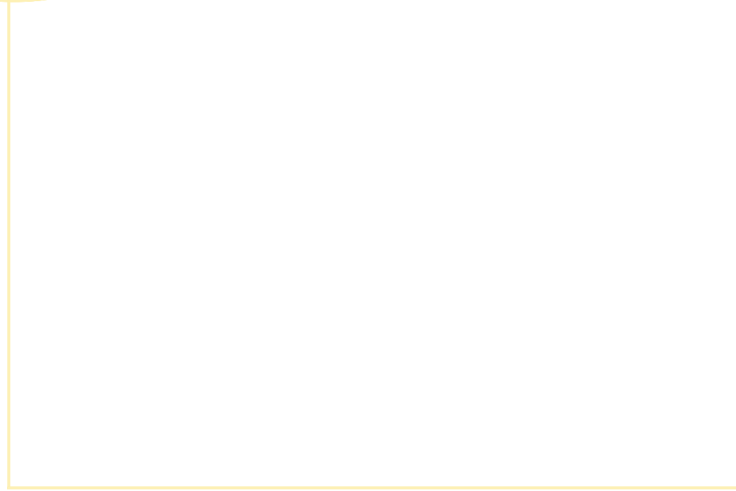
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
|	|	|	|	|	|	|	|	|

Value [◊]

Why? *

ℹ This element is only shown when the option "No" is selected in the question "In your pre-interview survey you rated your overall experience of the pandemic situation as 4. Having discussed it further in the research, would you still rate your experience a 4?"