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Climate activism amongst young Norwegians and their understanding of the #FFF movement

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Declaration

I, Benedicte Lossius Wiig, declare that this thesis is a result of my research and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been sited and a reference list has been appended. This work has not previously been submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Date.....16.08.21.....

Signature...Benedicte Lossuis Wiig

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Abstract

This thesis explores the motivation behind involvement in collective action to tackle climate change. By focusing on the #FFF movement and the climate activist's reflection on own engagement, this study tries to grasp how climate engagement emerges and what the driving factors for engagement in collective action are. To help shed light on these issues, three research questions were asked: 1.) *What makes young Norwegians join the climate movement and what makes them stay?* 2.) *How do young Norwegians understand their role as activist?* 3.) *How does Norwegian climate activist understand the role and impact of the #FFF movement?* The theoretical framework deployed in this thesis draws on concepts such as emotions and collective efficacy, and tries to bridge the gap between theories of social psychology like the VBN- theory presented by Stern *et al.*, (1999) and institutional theory and the role of social rationality presented by Vatn (2015). The thesis deploys a qualitative research strategy and data is collected through semi-structured interviews with 19 climate activists, representatives from the organisations that are behind the climate school strikes in Norway. The results indicates that motivation for involvement in collective action on climate change is many-faceted, but that altruistic values and a utilisation of a social rationality helps the activist cut across the problems posed by free-riding. The data further reveals that the activist have a strong belief in the possible political impacts of the strikes. A belief that is derived from trust in both the political system as well as the organisations behind the strikes, but also is credited their understanding of an emerging new norm to care about the environment that has already started to take hold amongst the younger generations.

Key words: activism, climate activism, FridaysForFuture, #FFF, climate school strikes, institutions, norms, values

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Chapter 1: Introduction

*'Because the term safety has a completely different meaning than what it used to have. Safety used to be about extracting a lot of oil, to earn a lot of money from it, and to create welfare through that. Safety today is rather to prioritise other values. Values that create a sustainable society. A society that we won't get if we prioritise what has always been prioritised.'*¹

- Organisational representative A

1.1 Introduction

In the last couple of years, we have witnessed a new wave of climate engagement amongst younger generations through the *FridaysForFuture* movement. That youth and young adults are in the forefront of raising awareness on environmental problems is not a new phenomenon, however, the rapid growth and the geographical spread of the *FridaysForFuture* movement makes it unprecedented, and the movement clearly left a mark. By the end of 2019 Collins Dictionary had named *climate strike* their word of the year (collinsdictionary.com), whilst the movements leader and symbol, Greta Thunberg, the young girl who took initiative to the strike rewarded Time magazine person of the year in 2019 (Alter, Haynes and Worland, 2019). The movement was also felt in Norway. Thousands of Norwegian kids left school on Fridays to participate in the strike, and the collective, national strikes broke the record for largest climate protest in Norwegian history.

At the same time, young Norwegians report that they are worried by climate change. This concern is combined with a willingness to act; roughly 80 per cent of those under 30 feel like they have a responsibility to reduce their own emissions and are more positive to policies that could contribute to cut in emissions (e.g., increased price on fossil fuels and red meat, expand and develop wind power). Furthermore, there is a stronger believe that there is similar willingness to act amongst the friends and peers, (Aasen *et al.*, 2019). With this rapid expansion of youth and young adults who engage in climate activism, getting a deeper and more

¹Organisational representative A: 'Fordi trygghet har blitt et helt annet begrep enn det det var før. Trygghet før var det å pumpe opp mye olje, og tjene masse penger på det og skape en velferdsstat gjennom det. Trygghet i dag er jo å slutte med olje. Trygghet i dag er jo liksom å prioritere andre verdier, som skaper liksom et bærekraftig samfunn da. Et samfunn vi ikke får om vi prioriterer det som alltid har vært prioritert'

comprehensive understanding of how they use their engagement, what motivates their actions, and what makes them able to cut across the problems imposed by free-riding seems imperative.

By focusing on the #FFF movement and the climate activist's reflection on own engagement, this thesis will investigate how climate engagement emerges and what the driving factors for engagement in collective action are.

In accordance with this objective, three sets of research questions are posted:

1. What makes young Norwegians join the climate movement and makes them stay?

- a) What motivates their engagement?
- b) How does their social network influence their engagement?
- c) How has their engagement in the climate movement influenced their values, preferences, and knowledge?

2. How does young Norwegians understand their role as activists?

- a) How do they do their activism and what arenas do they use?
- b) How do they use their engagement to influence others?

3. How does the Norwegian climate activists understand role and impact of the #FFF movement?

- a) How has the development and growth of the #FFF movement affected the activist's engagement?
- b) What do the activists think and hope that strikes they can achieve?
- c) How does the organisations behind the strikes in Norway understand the strikes, what are their strategies and objectives?

As will be explained in the following chapter, the *FridaysForFuture* movement in Norway has a different organisational structure than what is seen elsewhere, as already established youth environmental organisations has operated as organisers for the school strikes. Social movement organisations have always had a central role in organising and facilitating protests and demonstrations whilst also recruiting new participants and activists. It is argued that having such organisations is important for the health and validity of larger social movements (Elliot and Earl, 2018), and hence the organisations may be important for the continued engagement of youth. Research question 3 c) is therefore directed at the organisations behind the school strikes in Norway.

1.2 Definition of *an activist*

The word *activist* is a term with several connections and understanding. O'Brien *et al.* (2018) argues that activism is disruptive and that it emerges from a dissatisfaction with political status quo. Fisher *et al.* (2010) further argues that activism is contextual and open for change, whilst Stern *et al.* (1999) brings in the aspect of commitment to his definition of activism whilst also highlights that the level of activity can fluctuate from committed activist to more supportive bystander. As will become apparent later in this thesis, some of the participants in this study are hesitant to categorise themselves as activists. The interview process also revealed that common understanding of what a climate activist or environmentalist are, how they dress, act, and behave is deemed outdated by the participants in this study. It therefore becomes apparent that a definition of the term is needed.

This thesis will follow the definition given by Fielding *et al.* (2008, pp. 319). They define activism as “purposeful and effortful engagement in behaviours aimed at preserving or improving the quality of the environment, and increasing public awareness of environmental issues”

The broadness of the definition allows for inclusion of an array of actions, including actions that are more on the private level (e.g., consumer choices like boycotts, and alteration of lifestyle/living more climate friendly); efforts that are directed at raising public awareness (e.g., taking on a role as an advocate for more climate friendly behaviour through conversations, writing op eds and the use of social media); and actions directed at politicians; (e.g., lobbying politicians, engaging in oppositional politics or environmental organisations, signing petitions, participating in demonstrations).

1.3 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 will build on what has been presented in the beginning of this chapter and provide a more thorough explanation of the *FridaysForFuture* movement and the climate school strikes, focusing on both the global as well as the Norwegian context. Before moving on to present the current research on youth political and civic engagement, and how youth and young adults understand, and engage with climate change. Chapter 3 constitutes the theoretical framework for this thesis and this thesis draws on concepts such as emotions and collective efficacy and tries to bridge the

gap between theories of social psychology like the VBN- theory presented by Stern *et al.*, (1999) and institutional theory and the role of social rationality presented by Vatn (2015). The 4 chapter is dedicated to the methodological choices made and will explain the research process and well discuss the limitations and trustworthiness of the thesis. Chapter 5 will present the main findings, and Chapter 6 will bridge the findings presented in chapter 5 with the theories presented in chapter 3 and link it to the research presented in chapter 2. The final chapter will sum up these discussions, and the thesis ends with some concluding remarks and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Background

'I mean, I got like a throwback to Hunger Games, how it works in that movie, that Greta Thunberg have become our Mockingjay into this climate rebellion in a way, and I think that's really cool!'²

- Activist 15

2.1 The #FridaysForFuture movement

In August 2018, three weeks before the Swedish election, then 15-year-old Greta Thunberg showed up outside the Swedish parliament. Wanting to protest the lack of attention given to climate change in the upcoming election/election campaigns and the lack of political will to tackle the problem, she showed up with a homemade poster that read 'school strike for climate' and a plan to go on strike every day up until the upcoming election. and a harsh answer to her critics who argued that she should rather stay in school: "Why should I care about my future if you don't?" (Bakken, 2018). Thunberg's efforts were quickly noticed. Shortly after Swedish media reported on her sit out, she was joined by other Swedish school children who shared her concerns (Bakken, 2018), and within months thousands of school children around the world joined her on what had developed/now become a weekly strike every Friday (Gould, 2019). The strikers gathered under the banner of #FFF which is developed from the original hashtag used by Greta Thunberg; #FridaysForFuture (the movement is also known under banners such as #SchoolStrike4Climate, #YouthStrike4Climate, #Youth4Climate, this thesis will however refer to the movement as the #FFF movement or the alternatively the school strikes or the climate strikes).

Whilst school children have been on strike every Friday since September 2018, the *Fridays for Future* movement have been organising several *Global Day of Climate Action*, the first one taking place in March 2019, and a *Global Week For Future* in September the same year (fridaysforfuture.org), coordinating larger school strikes around the world. The first global event saw 1.6 million participate, and as many as 7.6 million in the week of September 2019,

² A Mockingjay is a fictional species of birds that appears in the *Hunger Games* series. The story's heroine is nicknamed *The Mockingjay* as she leads the whole country in a rebellion against an oppressive government.

making it the single, largest climate movement in history (de Moor *et al.*, 2020; Wahlström *et al.*, 2019).

2.1.1 #FFF movement and the school strikes in Norway

In Norway, the first demonstration related to the #FFF movement was held in September 2018. Organised by Norway's largest environmental organisation for youth, *Natur og Ungdom*, the aim of the demonstration was to show solidarity with Thunberg and her efforts and there was initially no intention to adopt Thunberg's demonstration style.³ However, due to the media attention Thunberg got and the increasing number of school strikes happening around the world, it did not take long until Norwegian youth left school on Fridays to take part in the movement. By the beginning of 2019, several smaller strikes were reported on around Norway and leading up to the *Global Day of Climate Action* in March 2019, *Natur og Ungdom* was contacted by a number of young Norwegians, urging them to organise a national strikes in Norway in correlation with the larger, global movement.⁴

The organisational structure of the school strikes in Norway hence differs slightly from that of the global movement as the school strikes in Norway is rather organised by a coalition of five youth based environmental organisations *Natur og Ungdom*, *Changemaker*, *Spire*, *KFUM-KFUK Global* and *World Saving Hustle*. This organisational structure of the Norwegian school strikes has some benefits. Not only has it given the movement a stronger foundation, but the different organisational structure has also allowed the Norwegian movement to develop a list of political demands that are more direct and concrete than the global ones. The Norwegian strikers gathers behind these four political demands:

1. To reduce 55 per cent of Norwegian emissions by 2030
2. No new licences to search for oil and gas
3. Show international solidarity with climate strikers: Norway must give 65 billion in/to climate finances yearly- and no climate striker shall be persecuted by their governments.
4. Stop the losses of biodiversity

The first national strike was held in Norway March 22nd, 2019, a week after the global strikes. Estimates vary, but the most common referred to numbers are 40 000 strikers nationally, whilst

³ Information gathered from the interviews with activists 6 and 14

⁴ Information gathered from the interviews with activists 6 and 14

15 000 gathered in Oslo (Waale, 2019). Since there has been two national, physical strikes; on May 24th, and August 30th, 2019. The latter was organised in correlation with another larger climate demonstration (*Klimabrølet- the climate roar*). Due to the outbreak of Covid-19, the strike on April 24th, 2020, was moved online, with a second online strike taking place on September 25th, 2020.

Whilst the concept of the #FFF movement is *school strikes*, the movement has gotten a lot of support and the strikes have managed to draw participants from all ages. Adults have taken some time off work or used their lunch break to join the strikers and show their support whilst several universities in Norway have adopted the demonstration tactic and had their own strikes, organised by university students. The breadth in the Norwegian ‘school strikers’ age gap is clearly illustrated with the support of the climate activist organisation ‘*Besteforeldrenes Klimaaksjon*’ (The Grandparents Climate Movement) who have endorsed and joined several of the strikes.

2.2 Previous research

Whilst the climate strikes are a relative new phenomena, a few larger studies have already been conducted. With the emergence of the strikes, Bugden (2020) decided to investigate how effective public demonstration on climate change, like the school strikes, are. His findings show that not only do can climate protest contribute to an increased awareness of the cause, but also tap into the sentiment pools of the one that are witnessing the strikes, making them more positive to the cause. Boulianne *et al.* (2020) has looked into the strikers use of social media and how they communicate and spread awareness about the strikes. Whilst Martiskainen *et al.* (2020) investigated the knowledge, the motivation, emotions, and actions of the climate strikers in six cities in highly industrialised countries where GHG-emissions are considerably higher than the world average, including Stavanger, Norway. The relationship between high economic growth and climate strikers also interested Emilsson *et al.* (2020) who investigated the coherence between the goals and values of the strikers in Sweden. Her findings suggests that whilst most strikers were willing to compromise economic growth to enhance environmental benefits, there was less coherence when asked about their preference for environmental protection or social welfare, something she concludes might stem from the importance given to egalitarianism and social welfare in Sweden.

Two of the most comprehensive studies on the school strikes and the #FFF movement is conducted by de Moor *et al.* (2020) and Wahlström *et al.*, (2019) who surveyed strikers during the first *Global Day of Climate Action* in March 2019, and during the *Global Week For Future* in September the same year. Mapping out the demographic of the strikers, they found what they argue to be a remarkable demographic composition. In nearly all countries surveyed, young girls with high socio-economic status were over-represented. Most of the strikers were further not engaged in a political or environmental organisation, but a large proportion expressed that they were interested in politics, and their participation in the strikes stemmed from a wish to express oneself or to demand political action. Furthermore, whilst friends and classmates had been important for the engagement of many of the activists, the use of social media was deemed important for the large mobilisation achieved as many of the strikers explained that they had heard about the strike through online platforms.

Previous research has shown us that our social context affects us, our knowledge, values, and preferences. Hence it is not surprising that a lot of time and research has been dedicated at investigating the role of family and upbringing and what role these things play for activation and engagement amongst young. Previous research has focused on the role of schools, socio-economic statuses, parents' political engagement as well as parents' involvement in civil society, as well as discussions around politics at home (Ødegård and Faldmoe, 2017; Ødegård and Berglund, 2008b; Shea and Harris, 2006; Andolina *et al.*, 2003).

Several studies over the last couple of years have also slapped back at widely held misconception that today's youth are less engaged than the previous generations. Studies show that youth and young adults are far more politically active and engaged than what they are given credit for (for an overview see e.g., Earl *et al.*, 2017). There is however a novelty in the way youth engage today. Whilst youth are less engaged in political parties than the older generation, youth spend more time volunteering (Shea and Harris, 2006; Andolina *et al.*, 2003), and are more engagement in other civil society activities like protests and demonstrations. There is also an increase in youth who use market-based strategies to express their opinions and contribute to change, mechanisms like boycotts and "buycotts" (Earl *et al.*, 2017). Further, the widespread use of social media has contributed to the alteration of ways youth engage (Earl *et al.*, 2017). Social media is being used to inform about and mobilise to events such as climate protests (Fisher, 2010). And previous studies have found that online activism has not only become more common but is also deemed the most preferred way to express oneself and engage in politics (Velasquez and LaRose, 2015). It becomes apparent that one can detect a trend; studies show

that youth have moved away from the more traditional, formal way of engaging with politics, and political and civic engagement can be characterised to be more cause- oriented (Earl *et al.*, 2017), or what Corner *et al.* (2015) refers to as micro politics. Similar trends are also found when looking at young Norwegians and their civic engagement (Ødegård and Berglund, 2008b). Whilst Ødegård and Fladmoe (2017) found that there has been a significant increase in young who expressed that they were interested in politics, most of the engagement took place outside the traditional arenas, and signing petitions, participating in demonstrations, or boycotting products or firms was deemed the preferred way of engagement.

Regarding young Norwegian's engagement with climate change, previous research has shown that young Norwegians feel like they have high factual knowledge about climate change and that they express a strong trust in science (Fløttum *et al.*, 2016). Further, young Norwegians are more concerned about climate change than the rest of the population. They also express that they are more willing to alter their own behaviour to reduce CO²-emissions and are more positive to the policies that can contribute to this reduction (Aasen *et al.*, 2019). Other studies have shown that young Norwegian's engagement in climate change is closely linked to a feeling of ethical responsibility to act, both as individuals and Norwegian citizens, as well as the responsibility of Norway as a nation (Fløttum *et al.*, 2016; Hayward *et al.*, 2015).

These findings are important and promising; as mentioned above, the social context is important and parents influence youths' engagement, but youth also have influential power. Youth and young adults who are active members of civil society at an early age tends to be more politically engaged throughout their lives (Fisher, 2016; Andolina, *et al.*, 2003) and thus play an important role in the development and preservation of an active civil society and a healthy democracy (Fisher, 2019). Strong civil engagement amongst youth and young adults can also be a contributing factor to the recruitment and engagement of others to their cause. Studies have shown that young climate protesters influence their parents' behaviour and values (Fisher, 2019); that engagement in conversation with friends and peers can encourage civic engagement (Ødegård and Berglund, 2008b; Shea and Harris, 2006), whilst influence from peers is an important motivating factor for youth and young adults that engage in environmental- friendly behaviour (Ojala, 2012).

Chapter 3: Theory

One of the main objectives of this thesis is to gauge what motivates to participation in collective action as collective action is a crucial component in our efforts to find possible solutions to climate change. Engagement in civil society and collective action is often directed at achieving a common good (Vatn, 2015). Whilst some individuals might experience personal gains through engagement in climate action, these actions are often regarded to be altruistic or seen as acts of solidarity. Engagement in collective action does not only require the time, energy, and resources of the activists, but may also encompass personal sacrifices and change of habits (e.g., leisure activities, change of diet, or other consumption patterns). Whilst the problems related to *free-riding* and participation is present in all social movements and collective action efforts, such problems can often be overcome due to either easy distribution of the benefits achieved or a clear understanding of who's rights or benefits one works for (Stern *et al.*, 1999). However, due to the inherent complicated nature of climate change and the interconnectedness of these problems, the barriers imposed by free-rider problematics is often more difficult to cut across.

Theoretical work that provides an explanation for why some are able to overcome these problems and participate in collective action often emphasise the importance of *values*. Values are deemed important as they influence our normative understanding of what is the right thing to do and what is deemed appropriate behaviour. This thesis will follow the definition of values presented by Schwartz's. He argues that values are: "*desirable trans-situational goals varying in importance, which serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity.*" (Schwartz, 1994, pp. 21). Three types of values are often taken into consideration in discussions on climate- and environmental- friendly behaviour: *egocentric*, *biospheric* and *altruistic values*. Whilst the former can be a hinder for pro-environmental behaviour and engagement in collective action, the two latter are often deemed essential for such engagement as these transcends the individual (Bouman and Steg, 2019). Whilst values are often considered to be individual, due to biological and personal differences, values can be influenced and shaped by our upbringing and the societal context one finds oneself in (Vatn, 2015).

As explained in the beginning of this thesis; much of the research on pro-environmental behaviour uses social psychology as a springboard. Departing from a social constructivist point of view, this thesis will not just focus on the internal process of what motivates actions, but also

how the social context influences these motivations. The following chapter will present the theoretical framework for this thesis and is divided into 5 sections. The first sections will present concepts and ideas that are deemed important for engagement, but often considered to be personal factors and motivators for engagement in climate action before moving on the VBN-theory (Stern *et al.*, 1999). However, how we understand a problem, is often influenced by our society's understanding of said problem. As argued by Berger and Luckmann (1967); we cannot understand human action and nature without understanding the human environment in which the individual has been socialised. The last two section will therefor focus on theories that put greater emphasis on the role of society.

3.1 Emotions

The role of emotions and its relationship to pro- environmental behaviour and activism is well explored (for an overview see e.g., Corner *et al.*, 2015). Emotions are often depicted as having a vital role in affecting human behaviour and is understood to be a pivotal determining factor for behaviours and actions that are underpinned by values, such as engagement in civil society and collective action. An understanding that stems from our emotions ability to affect how salient we understand an issue to be and thus influence our decision to be engaged (de Moor *et al.*, 2020). Three sets of emotions have been proven to be vital for political and civic engagement, namely anger/frustration, worry/fear, and hope.

Threats and uncertainties, as those related to climate change, is argued to be a great motivator for action and can contribute to private-sphere behavioural change, affect political choices and voting habits, as well as be a driver for social mobilisation and collective action (see e.g., Vasilopoulos, 2019; Corner *et al.*, 2015). Previous research has detected a clear link between anger, frustration and distrust directed politicians, and increased political participation and civic engagement. Whilst emotions like these often are used to explain low levels of political engagement amongst youth, lack of trust can also operate as a great motivator for oppositional engagement and thus activism and participation in civil society as a willingness to see political or societal change can foster action (Paloneimi and Vailio, 2011; Ødegård and Berglund, 2008a). Anger and frustration has also been described as *approach emotions* (Klandermans *et al.*, 2008, cited in Martiskainen *et al.*, 2020). Approach emotions entails that when an individual identifies with a group and see that their values are represented in a social movement they perceive as strong, they are more likely to experience these approach emotions and thus

also more likely to join the movement. In opposition to approach emotions, one finds the *avoidance emotions*, fear, and worry. Seeing a protest group or a social movement as weak, in decline, or as irrelevant would initiate these emotions and thus lead to an avoidance of the group.

Previous investigation into the emotions of the climate strikers have shown that whilst fear and anger are prominent, there is also a high level of hope amongst the strikers (de Moor *et al.*, 2020; Martiskainen *et al.*, 2020; Wahlström *et al.*, 2019). An emotion that previous research has deemed a great motivator for engagement in collective action (Ojala, 2012). Whilst there were some overarching tendencies in the emotions expressed by the strikers at the global climate strike; de Moor *et al.* (2020) detected some differences between the cities they visited. This could be due to the role culture, history and socialisation plays in cultivating feelings and emotions. The feelings and emotions we experience when we are faced with a problem is influenced by our social network, our underlying values and how our society and social context depicts and understands the problem. Looking into climate activists' emotions is thus crucial as it will not only give us an understanding of their affective reason behind their involvement and engagement, but also provide us with an insight to how they understand the problem that stimulated their participation; insight that may be useful for further mobilisation (de Moor *et al.*, 2020).

3.2 Collective efficacy

Much research on pro-environmental behaviour and activism has incorporated the aspect of self-efficacy in attempts to gauge what motivates and drives pro-environmental behaviour, and engagement in political and civil society (for an overview see e.g., Corner *et al.*, 2015; Paloneimi and Vailio, 2011; Andolina *et al.*, 2003). Self-efficacy is the individual's beliefs in own capabilities in relation to organising, as well as execute a course of action, that will help ensure the desired outcomes (Bandura, 1997, cited in Velasquez and LaRose, 2015). In other words, it is about the perception of one's own ability to influence and effect change. In relation to pro-environmental behaviour and climate activism this means that the individual needs to believe that their actions or changed behaviour will have an impact and contribute positively to the environment. The higher perceived self-efficacy, the more likely is it that the individual will change behaviour whilst people who doubt that they have the capacity to reach their goals are

less likely to change behaviour in order to pursue them (Sawitri *et al.*, 2015; Velasquez and LaRose, 2015).

Collective efficacy, on the other hand, relates to how the individual understand the role of the group and how capable they are, or will be, at collectively achieving their goals. It is thus more than the individuals' perceptions of self- efficacy and capabilities combined and should rather be understood as a property emerging from the group and its interactions (Velasquez and LaRose, 2015). Collective efficacy is about believing that cooperation is possible and is thus deemed important for engagement as most political activities, and engagement in civil society, takes place in concert with other people (Velasquez and LaRose, 2015). Previous research has shown that there is a clear, positive correlation between increased collective efficacy and an individual's likeliness to engage in collective action. (Swim *et al.*, 2019). In relation to climate activism, an individual's collective efficacy will increase if they perceive that people can work together to solve the problems related to climate change, but also includes the belief that collective action is effective in tackling climate change (Swim *et al.*, 2019).

Whilst previous studies have reported on low levels of self-efficacy amongst youth and young adults (see e.g., Corner *et al.*, 2015), other studies have showed that events such as climate demonstrations can contribute to an increase in collective efficacy amongst the ones that are participating, as well as amongst those who are witnessing the demonstrations (Swim *et al.*, 2019; Budgen, 2020). Swim and colleagues found that people were more optimistic about peoples' ability to work together to tackle climate change after witnessing larger climate marches. This means that by observing people working together to achieve collective action goals (like climate change) may increase the likelihood of further engagement and thus also broader impact and future mobilisation. Whilst climate marches and protests are not a new phenomenon, the *FridaysForFuture* school strikes are unprecedented when it comes to size and global reach. The rapid growth of the #FFF movement can be both a testimony of high perceived collective efficacy amongst young, as well as contributed to an increase amongst strikers and newly engaged youth.

3.3 The value-belief-norm (VBN)- theory

The VBN theory is developed by Stern *et al.* (1999), and whilst the theory is rooted in social psychology, it aims to find a link and a common language between social movement theories and social psychology. In doing so, Stern *et al.* (1999) combines the Norm Activation Theory with the theory of personal values and the New Ecological Paradigm which proposes that greater knowledge about the relationship between human action and environmental distress has contributed to the rise of the growing support of the environmental movement. The theory proposes a framework that consists of a chain with five steps that suggests that values, knowledge, awareness of consequences and ascription of responsibility will lead to the activation of a norm which again will influence behaviour. In other words, norms are activated when a personal belief that one's own action could contribute to dire environmental consequences, and that taking action, or changing behaviour could limit or reduce those consequences (Fig. 1) (Stern *et al.* 1999).

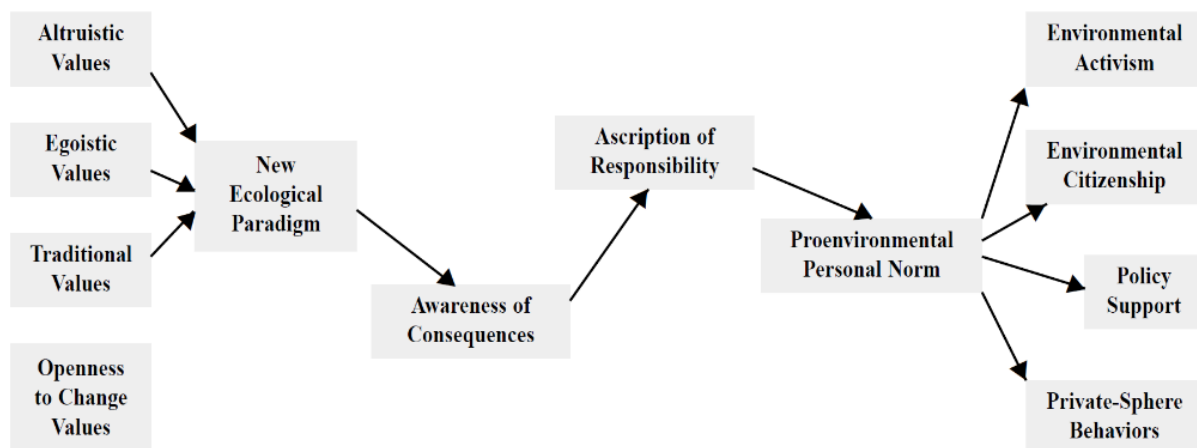


Figure 1: The VBN theory. Source: Stern *et al.* (1999, p. 84)

As discussed above; fear can be a great motivator for engagement in collective action, as well as believing that one's action will be successful. The VBN theory however highlights the importance of knowledge. Studies show that youth and young adults see themselves well informed about climate change (Corner *et al.*, 2015). According to the VBN theory, increased awareness of human action and climate change, combined with the right altruistic or biospheric values could contribute to the activation of a new norm and hence also more environmentally friendly action.

The VBN theory makes a distinction between personal and social norms. The latter relates to what is expected from you, whilst the former is regulated by internal feelings connected to one's own self-evaluation (Stern *et al.* 1999). It is the personal norm that Stern and colleagues propose are activated through the chain. Whilst the VBN explains the role of values in pro-environmental behaviour, the theory does not shed light on how these values come to be and how social dynamics can contribute to the engagement. To bridge the normative understanding between the VBN-theory and theories rooted in social constructivism one can look to Cialdini *et al.* (1991) as they incorporate the influence of contextual factors in norm creation in their *focus theory of normative conduct*. The theory proposed by Cialdini *et al.* makes a distinction between *descriptive norms*, *injunctive norms*, and *personal norms*. The descriptive norms relate to how we understand the behaviour of others, whilst injunctive norms relate to what we *should* do and help the individual determine what is socially acceptable behaviour. Lastly, personal norms are followed due to internal rewards or sanctions. They further argue that our decision to follow a descriptive norm or an injunctive norm is based on our understanding of the norm, and how salient we find it.

3.4 Institutions as social constructs

Institutions are societal rules that guide and regulate human action and interaction and are therefore crucial for the creation, as well as the preservation, of societal organisation, and our development as human beings (Vatn, 2015; Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Institutions can be split into *conventions*, *norms*, and *formally sanctioned rules*. Conventions are generally about coordination as they help us understand how to act and interact in our day-to-day life. By connecting a certain action to a certain problem, they make interaction in society smoother, giving us direction on how to act, and simplify choice situations. Norms may also, just like conventions, be used as a tool to help facilitate coordination, but norms also include an aspect of values. This means that they do not only tell us what to do, but also why we do it, as they give us an indication of what is the right thing to do and what it means "to act in a socially right and responsible way" (Vatn, 2015, p. 109).

As outlined above, there are different theoretical understandings of why a norm is followed and there are theoretical overlaps. The descriptive norms presented by Cialdini *et al.* (1991) correlates with *conventions*, and a personal norm to what Vatn (2015) describes as an

internalised norm. The internalisation of a norm means that a norm is usually followed without any reflection rather than that it is the right thing to do. The process of internalisation of institutions is also often referred to as *socialisation* (Vatn, 2015). And as by Berger and Luckmann (1967) described as the process where we learn what it means to be human in the societal context, we are in. The internalisation of our society's norms will hence influence both our preferences and our values (Vatn, 2015). Some authors see institutions as something that can alter and change not only the preferences of the individual, but also their identities and self-image (March and Olsen, 1989, cited in Hall and Taylor, 1996).

Civil society have always played a central role when it comes to the formation and development of institutions. Particularly when it comes to norms; and Vatn (2015) argues that it is through civil society existing norms are strengthened and new norms created. Engagement in civil society and activism tends to come from a wish to contribute to societal change, and activists can thus not only be seen as agents of change, but also as entrepreneurs of new institutions and norms. The creation of new norms may not be by intent or seen as a planned strategy deployed by the activists, or even the organisations that are connected to the movement but could rather emerge from the interaction between the activists and the communication between the organisations connected to the strikes and the strikers. The size of the school strikes could mean that we are witnessing the rise of a new norm amongst the younger generations. Looking at the #FFF strikes and the climate movement a central question remains if their engagement stems from already existing institutions and to what extent the movement can contribute to new institutions. Further, engagement can also influence the activists. Berger and Luckmann (1967) proposes the term secondary socialisation. This entails that individuals that are already socialised in their culture and the context they grew up and live in are introduced to a new 'sector'. The process of secondary socialisation would then imply that not only will the activist have a new understanding of what it means to be an individual in their new social setting, but that the norms, values, and preferences of the group also will be internalised.

3.5 Rationality

To better understand how climate activists overcome the barriers to collective action, one can try to investigate what kind of rationality they deploy. The literature usually distinguishes between two types of rationalities; the individual and the social. The theory of individual rationality puts the individual in centre and argues that the individual will always act in a way

to ensure that their own, individual utility is maximised. When social rationality on the other hand is deployed, one looks beyond one's own individual utility and take the concerns and well-being of others into account as well (Vat, 2015), implicit then, social rationality often includes a notion of what is the "right thing to do". Vatn (2015) makes a distinction between what he refers to as 'we' rationality and 'they' rationality. The former means that the individual will take the concerns of the group she or he belongs to into account and act accordingly to achieve the best possible outcomes for that group. Whilst the latter consider what are in the best interest of others and thus motivates to actions that often are characterised to be purely altruistic (Vatn, 2015).

We as individuals deploy different rationalities depending on which choice situation we are in, and we can shift between them, depending on our social context. What helps us determine what kind of rationality to use in different contexts are institutions (Vatn, 2015). As discussed above; institutions help us interact in our day- to- day life. One way that they do this is to help us understand which rationality to deploy when faced with certain choice situations. This is however not to say that there are no individual differences, and some are more inclined to act selfishly whilst others are more inclined to take others interests into consideration. However, the societal expectations of deployment of a certain rationality can influence our choices. A norm to deploy a social rationality may thus be followed because one thinks that others expect you to use it and there is a fear of social repercussions, or simply because it is the right thing to do (Vatn, 2015).

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, whilst free-rider problems are present in all efforts at collective action, the problem is even more prominent in climate action. As climate activists devote time, energy, and resources towards the greater good it is natural to assume that activist utilise a social rationality to overcome the problems related to free- riding. Further, given institutions role to influence our deployment of rationalities, the creation of new institutions, or strengthening already existing institutions could contribute to societal change. E.g., the precense norm that that emphasises that when faced with the problems of climate change, a social rationality should be deployed, could thus contribute to the deployment of this rationality, and hence cut across the problem of free- riding.

Chapter 4: Methods

The following chapter will give a detailed description of how I went about to answer the research questions. The chapter describes and argues for the choices made and follows the chronological order of the research process. This includes choices made in regard to research design, sampling strategy, data collection and analysis. The chapter ends with a discussion on the trustworthiness of the research and the ethical considerations made.

4.1 Research strategy

The choice of a research strategy should be guided by the research questions and the overarching objectives of the research, as well as reflect the ontological and epistemological understanding and orientation of the researcher (Bryman, 2016). As Bryman (2016) explain, qualitative research tends to have an interpretivist epistemological position that emphasises how the study participants see and understand the social world and take a constructivist ontological position. This implies that rather than focusing on universal and predetermined truths, our worldviews and understanding of the social environment is affected by our social context and its interactions. As outlined in Chapter 3, this research tries to grasp how society has influenced these activists. How their social context has influenced and shaped their understandings, as well as their actions, and how their activism fits in their social setting.

Whilst choosing a qualitative research strategy restricts my possibility to generalise to the wider population (Bryman, 2016), it opens up the possibilities to get a more comprehensive understanding of the nuances that drives engagement is collective action. A qualitative approach to this study would allow for the uncovering of the nuances and interplay between feelings, knowledge, values, and society, as well as probe into how the participants themselves use their activism to engage others and thus maybe contribute to the creation of new norms.

Based on the above, this study follows an abductive approach to research. Abductive reasoning means that one is deciding what is the most likely explanation for a set of observations. Or in this case, a set of accounts of a social world. This implies that the ones that are being researched and their accounts of their social world and context is made sense of through the theoretical understandings that were presented in chapter 3. The theoretical framework and core concepts have guided the data collection process and analysis. The data is collected through semi-

structured interviews, and the theoretical foundation and the research questions formed the base of the interview guide. This process will be explained in detail in the following chapters.

4.2. Sampling

4.2.1 Sampling strategy and approaches

This study used a purposive sampling strategy which entails that the research questions and the study objectives guide the sampling process. In other words, it is a strategic way to sample as one ensures that those sampled are of relevance to the research questions and thus can help answer them (Bryman, 2016). This project consists of two sampling units; sampling unit I refers to the climate activists, and the larger portion of participants in the study, whilst sampling unit II encompasses the representatives from the organisations that are listed as organisers for the school strikes in Norway.

4.2.1.1 Sampling unit I: the activists

As Bryman (2016) mentions, using a purposive sampling strategy will often entail several different sampling approaches. The initial purposive sampling strategy deployed was a criterion sampling approach which means “sampling all units that meets a particular criterion” (Bryman, 2016, p. 409). Three criteria were set a priori. The first was related to age; as previously discussed, this research project sprung out of the interest of one of the main findings from the ACT-project, namely that young Norwegians, aged 18-30, are more concerned about climate change than the older cohorts of the population whilst also being more positive to alter their own behaviour as well as accepting policies to reduce CO²-emissions (Aasen *et al.*, 2019). Due to these findings, as well as ethical considerations related to interviewing underage kids, participants to this study needed to be between 18-30 years of age. The second criteria was related to the school strikes, and all participants needed to have attended at least one school strike for climate. It is however reasonable to assume that some of the school strikers attended the strikes for other reasons than their concern for climate (see e.g., Martiskainen *et al.*, 2020) and thus being interested and engaged in the climate cause was set as a criteria. Due to issues

regarding self-selection bias, and the numerous definitions and understandings of the word *activist*, this word was not used in the sampling process.

Due to the outbreak of the Coronavirus, there was no larger physical school strike in Norway between March 2020 and the summer of 2021. It was therefore decided that sampling of participants would happen through online platforms, primarily using Facebook. An invitation to participate in the study was posted on different Facebook groups administered by the organisations that are organising the school strikes in Norway. Whilst being a member of these organisations was not a criteria for being sampled, using these channels was deemed an appropriate option as it would ensure that the invitation found people that were active in, or supportive of, the climate movement. Similar invitations were also posted in other Facebook groups that in some ways are affiliated with the strikes, and in Facebook groups for student environmental organisations e.g., *Naturvernstudentene*. Prior to posting, an e-mail or a Facebook message was sent to the administrators of the Facebook groups, explaining the situation and what I was interested in posting, ensuring that such a post were within the guidelines of the Facebook group. The invitation was either posted by me after I was accepted as a group member, or by the administrators themselves, depending on what they preferred.

The Facebook posts did however have a very low response rate and it was therefore deemed necessary to deploy another sampling approach, and I opted for a snowball sampling approach. The snowball approach entails sampling a small group that meet the sampling criteria, and then use this group again to get access to other participants, who in turn will refer you to others (Bryman, 2016). As the first interview was conducted more than a week after the first Facebook posts there was already an understanding that the posts would be quite unfruitful. Hence the snowball approach was deployed already from the first interview. As most of the ones recruited were only able to refer me to one or two others, recruitment was still slow and I therefore decided to reach out to my own network in addition, using their connections to get in contact with other participants. This also ensured that I snowballed from two different ‘pools’, enhancing the variances in the sample.

Issues related to variance is one of the main limitations to using snowball sampling approach. Referral to other possible respondents from one participant may result in a homogeneous group with little variation regarding social context. However, the snowball approach may have helped overcome some of the initial problems related to self-selection biases. At the outset there was a concern that it would be difficult to get in touch with the ones that did not deem themselves ‘engaged enough’. However, as contact was made with the participant due to a referral of a

friend, the ones that were eager to participate, but unsure about their level of engagement suited the purpose of this study, voiced their concerns, and told me a little about themselves to make sure that they were fit to participate. The snowball method may thus have contributed to some of the variances regarding level of engagement that is found in the sample.

4.2.1.2 Sampling unit II: Organisations

Sampling unit II consisted of representatives from the five organisations that were listed as organisers at the national and digital strikes in Norway. All organisations are characterised as youth organisations with a sole, or partly focus on climate and the environment. An email was sent to the leader of the organisation and/or the ones heading the political committee for climate. The email consisted of a short description of the project and brief overview of the themes I wanted to talk to them about. The email also suggested if that there was another person within the organisation that had been responsible for the organising of the school strikes, I would appreciate if they could refer me to them. All who received the email answered within a week, either agreeing to an interview or referred me to a more suitable candidate.

The original study designed included a fourth criteria for participation besides the ones listed above, namely that of residency in Oslo. This criteria was primarily set out of logistical concerns. However, this criteria was abandoned, due to the Covid-19 restrictions it was decided that the interviews were to be conducted using an online platform, and as recruitment proved to be difficult, it was decided to “open up” a bit more. By this time however, a participant from *Oslo Natur og Ungdom* was already invited to participate in the study. Whilst being a local branch of the larger organisation, they are listed as one of the organisers at the first national strike in Norway.

4.3.2 The sample size and the sample

4.3.2.1 Sampling unit I: the activists

Bryman (2016) explains that whilst there is little consensus on how large a sample size should be when it comes to qualitative research, there are a few guidelines that should be kept in mind when deciding on the size of the sample, and for this study, two aspects were taken into

consideration. The first one is related to the research questions; as they are quite broad and general, a larger sample size is required to be able to adequately answer them (Bryman, 2016, p. 418). Furthermore, the composition of the population was taken into account. Climate activism has become more common, and the accessibility and popularity of the school strikes meant that people of different genders, ages and socio-economic status participated in the strikes. At the same time, the level of climate engagement varies greatly amongst the strikers, ranging from those who have been active in the climate movement for years to those whose participation in the strike was the first meeting with the movement (Wahlstöm *et al.*, 2019). The population from which the samples is drawn is therefore quite heterogeneous and thus a larger sample size is required (Bryman, 2016). The original goal of this study was to have between 20 and 25 participants in sampling unit 1. This was deemed large enough to ensure the inherent variability of the population (Bryman, 2016) as well as possible within the timeframes of the thesis.

Due to the recruitment problems discussed above, the sample does however only consist of 19 respondents. Of these 19, 14 are female and five are male. The youngest participant is 18, the oldest 29, whilst 12 of the participants are in the age range of 21-24 years of age. They all have higher education; some had already graduated, whilst others were enrolled in a study program when the interviews took place. Several of the participants had let their concern for climate guide their choice of studies. The exception is the youngest participant, age 18, who was just finishing high school. The level of, and ways of engaging, varies greatly amongst the participants. The majority are active in environmental organisations, and some of them have had central roles in their organisations. Some work with climate change through their involvement in student body politics or in political parties, whilst some of them are somewhat reluctant to use the word *activist* about themselves and rather focuses on the more private aspects of their engagement and their commitment to the cause through their study programme. Most of the participants had attended several school strikes; one of the participants was a very active striker and had been at school strikes for climate 74 times, however, most of the participants can be placed in the range of two to ten strikes. Five of the participants had only attended one school strike, but some of them had participated in other climate demonstrations.

Activist No.	Gender	Age	No. of strikes	Main engagement type
1	Female	23	2	Academic and private engagement
2	Female	23	1	Active in party politics
3	Female	21	2-3	Active member of an environmental organisation
4	Female	21	2	Active member of an environmental organisation
5	Male	23	1	Active in party politics
6	Male	24	5-10	Active member of an environmental organisation*
7	Female	23	74	Active member of an environmental organisation
8	Female	22	2	Active member of an environmental organisation
9	Female	29	3	Active in party politics and private engagement
10	Female	23	1-2	Academic and private engagement
11	Female	27	3	Active member of an environmental organisation*
12	Male	24	4-5	Student body politics
13	Male	25	1-2	Academic and private engagement
14	Female	22	6	Active member of an environmental organisation
15	Female	21	4	Student body politics
16	Female	24	3	Defines herself as an activist, but not organised
17	Male	26	1	Active member of environmental organisation and party politics
18	Female	25	5-6	Active in student body politics and environmental organisation
19	Female	18	4	Active member of environmental organisation

*Has left the organisation due to age

4.3.2.2 Sampling unit II: the organisations

Whilst the organisational representatives had different roles and titles, ranging from leader of organisation, board member or leader of climate committee, they all had played vital roles in planning and organising the school strikes. However, since these organisations are primarily youth based, member organisations, there had been some changes in the elected roles the last couple of years. Hence, some of the ones interviewed had only had their elected role in the

period where there have been digital strikes as the ones that held the role during the larger, physical school strikes had moved on or left the organisation.

4.4 Data collection

One of the advantages and strengths of interviewing in qualitative research is the possibility to get an insight into the perspectives of the ones that are being interviewed by letting them elaborate and dwell on what they find important, as well as letting them take part in steering the conversation (Bryman, 2016). A qualitative interview allowed me to get an understanding of what the interviewees saw as important and how they explain and understand the issues that are being discussed, and hence such an approach was deemed the most suitable choice.

As I entered the research process with a clear view of what I was interested in and what kind of topics I wanted to address, a semi-structured approach to the interviews was preferred (Bryman, 2016). Semi-structured interviews are a flexible form of interviewing; and whilst an interview guide was developed to ensure that the conversations covered the topics that I wanted to discuss (for further discussion see next section) the semi-structured interview is still flexible, open for improvisation and leeway. This leeway was important as I wanted to have a natural flow of conversation in the interviews. The topics and themes discussed during the interviews are well-connected and thus the semi-structured approach allowed for some flexibility and to discuss topics in different order if they came. The approach also allowed for me to ask follow-up questions, either to probe or to clarify, and to follow the directions taken by the interviewee. Furthermore, some of the issues discussed was quite personal, e.g., their feelings related to climate change, difficulties related to their engagement as well as their relationship to their friends and families. The flexibility of the semi-structured interviews thus contributed to ensure a natural flow of the conversation.

4.4.1 Interview guide

As already outlined above; this study uses an abductive approach. The interview guides are therefore based on the theoretical understandings outlined in chapter 3 and the research questions. Two different interview guides were prepared, one for each sampling unit. For sampling unit I, an interview guide with 17 questions was developed (Appendix. 1). The

interview guide starts off with some general questions, including the number of school strikes the participant had attended and whether they had participated in any other protest or demonstration before. These questions did not only work as a soft introduction to the topics that were to be discussed, but often also spurred a discussion regarding their level of engagement, membership, and engagement in civil society organisations, or how they did not see themselves as the ‘activist type’. The rest of the interview guide was divided into three themes. The first theme focused on the participants engagement and climate action, whilst the second theme concentrated on motivation for action. Theme three centred the interview back to the school strikes and focused on the participants understanding of, and thoughts about, the movement.

A second interview guide was developed for the representatives from the organisations (Appendix 2). To give the interviews a softer opening it starts off with some general questions regarding their role in the organisation and what role they had played in the planning and organising of the climate school strikes. The main part of the interview guide consisting of eight main questions, divided into three themes; the organisations wish to be affiliated with the strikes, strategies regarding mobilisation of strikers and desired outcome and goals of the strikes. As mentioned, interview guides are merely a guide, and more often than not questions were asked in a different order than what was outlined following the flow of the conversation and picking up on topics brought up by the interviewee.

4.4.2 Data collection

Due to local Covid-19 restrictions in Oslo during the winter/spring of 2021, all the interviews were conducted online. When choosing an online platform for the interviews Microsoft Teams was deemed appropriate for several reasons. Unlike some other similar platforms, the use of Microsoft Teams does not require any download of software for the ones that are invited to participate in the meeting, making it easier and more convenient for the participants. Furthermore, the use of Microsoft Teams through my NMBU account meant that all the recordings of the interviews were uploaded directly to my Microsoft One Drive, ensuring that the data was stored within the guidelines of the university. Conducting the interviews online proved to be both easy and unproblematic. Not only did it remove logistical problems related to travel and finding suitable interview spots as the participants could attend the interviews from their own home or office space. Furthermore, all the participants were well acquainted with the

use of online platforms, either through their studies or organisational work. Whilst most the participants were centred in Oslo or the county of Viken the use of an online platform made it possible to conduct interviews with people outside of these counties.

Regarding the interviews with sampling unit I, the first interview was conducted in beginning of March 2021, but due to the recruitment problems the last interview was conducted in the last days of May 2021. The interviews lasted between 38- 65 minutes, with an average time of roughly 50 minutes. Interviews with the representatives from the organisations were conducted in the week of 19th- 25th of February 2021. Four of the interviews lasted for roughly half an hour, one of the interviews were nearly twice as long. Since *Natur og Ungdom*, and their local branch *Oslo Natur og Ungdom* were both listed as organisers at the strikes in Oslo two representatives from *Natur og Ungdom* were interviewed. One of the representatives had a central role in planning the larger physical strikes in Oslo, whilst the other had taken the role as national strike coordinator and contact person after the strikes went digital. Whilst their roles are quite different, they were both representatives for the same organisation and some overlapping was foreseen, it was therefore agreed to interview them at the same time.

In order to be able to transcribe the interviews they were all recorded. As advised by Bryman (2016) the interviews were transcribed and coded within days after the interviews were conducted. This was done not only to avoid having large amount of data in the end, but also to be aware of emerging themes that would appear in the interviews, and thus provide me with a chance to probe into these themes in the following interviews. All the interviews were transcribed in their full length and did not only focus on what was being said, but also how things were said. The transcripts thus include things like pauses, laughter, hesitations, facial expressions and gestures when these were thought to provide a more contextual understanding of what was being said.

4.5 Analysis

This study made use of thematic analysis. Elaborating on what a theme is, Bryman (2016) explains that a theme should be identified through the analysis of the data, relatable to the research focus and build on the codes in the transcripts. He further explains there are several things one should look for when identifying themes, two of them were deployed during this analysis. The first one is related to repetition of topics discussed in the interviews, whilst the

other one is related to the theoretical material and core-concepts outlined in Chapter 3 which Bryman explains can be used as springboards for themes (Bryman, 2016). Doing a thematic analysis is a two- step process (Bryman, 2016). After the interviews were transcribed, they were coded with two different sets of codes; predefined codes derived from the theoretical framework and codes derived from the data itself. These codes were developed as new issues and topics were introduced during the interviews. After this initial process, all the codes were linked to relevant concepts from the theoretical framework which, as mentioned, formed the base of the themes. This process resulted in eight themes: *The use of engagement, emotions- as motivators for action, collective efficacy, awareness of consequences, values, responsibility, secondary socialisation, and influencers/activators of norms*

4.6 Limitations and trustworthiness

As have been discussed in the previous chapters; there are some limitations to this study. First and foremost, the sampling method that was deployed has certainly affected the results. Whilst generalisation was not the goal of the research, the high number of participants engaged in environmental organisations makes it more difficult to draw conclusions that are applicable outside of these organisations. These issues will be discussed in the following chapters. Further, whilst not having a goal of a somewhat equal gender population, a larger proportion of male participants would have been a positive attribute. Secondly, conducting the research in Norwegian inherently brings about some problems (van Nes *et al.*, 2010).

It has been suggested that qualitative studies should be evaluated by their *trustworthiness*. To do this one usually looks at four criterias; namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Bryman, 2016). The criteria credibility revolves around the epistemological understanding often brought into qualitative research, namely that there are different understandings of a social reality. In other words, achieving credibility means the researcher arrives at a credible account of that reality, and that there is a correspondence between the data and the conclusions that are being drawn (Bryman, 2016). The best way to enhance credibility is to ensure that your research participants feel that they have been depicted in a right and fair manner. This can be done by letting the research participants read through the findings, letting them confirm that they are accurate and in line with their own understanding of their social world (Bryman, 2016). This was however not done in this research process due to the time

limitations of the thesis. However, to account for this, and enhance credibility, I made sure to ask follow-up questions when the participants were unclear, or when their answer contradicted the accounts and answers they had given earlier. Furthermore, I made sure to ask all the interviewees if they had something to add, or if they felt like I hadn't asked them about something they found important by the end of all interviews. I also made sure to emphasise that they could get in touch with me if something came to mind after the interview was over. As mentioned above, interviewing in Norwegian before presenting the results in English can be problematic. To avoid meanings getting lost in translation, the initial coding and analysis happened in Norwegian, and translation did not happen until the presentation of the results. By doing most of the analysis in Norwegian I hoped to avoid misinterpretations of metaphors, concepts, and the surrounding context of what was being explained (van Nes *et al.*, 2010).

The criteria of transferability is related to whether the results found, and the conclusions drawn, are applicable to others outside of the study. In other words, can the results be generalised to other social settings beyond this specific research context (Bryman, 2016). As discussed above; there are some limitations tied to the sampling approach, and the utilisations of a snowball sampling method has affected the transferability of this study. As the first participants I interviewed were active members of environmental organisations, they referred me to other active members, resulting in a sample that is somewhat skewed, where the majority of the participants in sampling unit I are involved in an environmental organisation. As mentioned above, these issues and implications will be further elaborated on and discussed in the following chapters. Bryman (2016) suggests that one should use *thick description*, and through these accounts give a more detailed description of what context the research is conducted in, as well as the cultural specifics of the phenomena studied. This is strived for in this thesis through a rich use of quotes in the findings chapter (van Nes *et al.*, 2010), a detailed description of the #FFF movement and the Norwegian context in the background chapter, and an explanation for why the theoretical framework fits this study in the theory chapter. By doing this, other researcher can themselves evaluate the trustworthiness of the research

To establish dependability Bryman (2016) suggests an auditing trail which means that complete records of the entire research project is kept, is accessible, and revisited. Further, the researcher should let peers have access to all the material and act as auditors. As previously described, all the interviews were transcribed in their full length and included pauses, facial expressions, and gestures when these were thought to provide a more contextual understanding of what was being said. Having these transcriptions allowed for a more thorough inspection of the data and

made it easier to go back and check if I was unsure about a topic or if my original understanding of the data was correct. Some level of auditing has also been happening during the research project as the thesis supervisor have been involved and included in discussions regarding several of the choices made in the research process.

The last criteria is conformability and is concerned with objectivity and neutrality of the researcher. As it is impossible to achieve absolute objectivity, Bryman (2016) argues that the best way to ensure that you meet this criteria is through auditing and to be aware of your own biases. Such a bias is for example evident through my support of the school strikes and the #FFF movement. Something I have tried to be aware of throughout the research process. There is however the aspect of social desirability bias (Bryman, 2016). As the study participants were aware of my study programme, it is reasonable to assume that they also were aware of my support for the movement, something that might have affected the answers they gave.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Finally, I would like to draw attention to some of the ethical considerations that was done in the timespan of the research period. To ensure that the research process was in line within the official ethical standards the project was filed with The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) before the research process began. Due to the nature of this project, many of the themes and topics discussed with the study participants are categorised as sensitive personal information. This includes their philosophical understandings, political persuasion and in some cases, their religious believes⁵. Such issues require that the data is stored and handled with great care. As mentioned above, due to the use of Microsoft Teams for the interviews, recordings were directly uploaded to a safe storing. Further treatment, coding, and analysis of the raw data was all done online/in this space.

Before each interview session the participants were sent an information sheet which included information about the project, the aim of the research, how the data would be collected and stored, and their rights as participants. Two different information forms sheets were developed

⁵ KFUK-KFUM Global (known globally as Y Justice?) is a humanitarian organisation focusing on solidarity and aid. The organisation is owned by the Norge KFUK-KFUM and KFUK-KFUM *speiderne* [YWMA-YMCA Scouts]. Both organisations are based on the Christian belief and one can therefore draw certain assumptions from organisational membership in this organisation.

for the two different sampling units (Appendix 3 and 4). Consents to participate in the study was given through email correspondence and affirmed at the beginning of each interview. Whilst the informed consent sheet included the aspect of recording, this was also reaffirmed in the beginning of the interview sessions. An important element to every informed consent is the participants right to withdraw at any time during the research process (Banks and Scheyvens, 2014). This right was stressed in the information sheet and mentioned again at the end of every interview. All the participants were further reassured that all the information they provided would be treated with confidentiality and they were ensured anonymity (with the exception on the participants in sampling unit II due to their public role in the organisations, something that they accepted).

Due to the problems related to sampling, it was in the early stages of the sampling process decided to include an incentive to participate. A universal gift certificate of 1000NOK was purchased, and possible participants were informed that participation will include them in the run to win the gift certificate. One interview was already conducted at this time, and the participant was informed about the gift card on e-mail and was also included in the draw. The draw took place after all the interviews were conducted and both the winner, and everyone who hadn't won was informed by e-mail.

Chapter 5: Analysis

The following chapter introduces the data gathered during the interviews and presents the main findings from the analysis. The chapter is divided into four sections. 5.1 revisits the participants in the study and explains the concept of archetypes and patterns and trends found amongst the activists in the initial analysis. The three following sections will follow the outline of the research question and the subsequent sub-research questions.

5.1 The participants

5.1.1 Sampling unit I: the activists

As the participants in sampling unit I are *activists*, they will hereafter be referred to as activist 1-19. The activists are further divided into four main archetypes (hereafter referred to as group 1-4). The classification of the archetypes happened in the initial stages of the analysis. Analysis of the data revealed some patterns and trends amongst the activists, that they shared certain characteristics, experiences, and understandings of their climate engagement and their activism. Whilst the individuals' experiences of activism and the social environment they operate in are unique, there are some characteristics and experiences that are shared, or at least, similar amongst the activists in this study. Oberslack and Eisenack (2017) proposes archetypes as an analytical tool to understand these nuances, patterns, and trends. As they argue; looking at archetypes will help you avoid the pitfalls of overgeneralisation, where one might overlook important variances and nuances that will enrich the analysis. At the same time, a sole focus on the uniqueness of every case or individual experience will “impede the transfer of knowledge” (Oberslack and Eisenack, 2017, pp. 5). Hence, to make archetypes work as analytical tools it is important to ensure that they are broad enough to encompass several cases or individuals, but not too broad, as this will render them useless (Oberslack and Eisenack, 2017). In other words, archetypes can help us understand the dynamics of social systems. By acknowledging that each case has some uniqueness to it, but looking for similarities and patterns, it may be easier to understand the role of institutional influence and how social interactions affect our thoughts, values and behaviours, understandings that may be useful if we are to promote further pro-environmental behaviour. Building on this understanding, the activists are divided into the four following archetypes:

Group 1: the non-activists

Not organised and slightly uncomfortable with activism

Group 1 consist of three participants; activist 1, 10 and 13. They are not active members of environmental organisations nor political parties and are somewhat reluctant to use the word *activist*⁶ about themselves. Still, they have participated in one or two school strikes for climate. Their concern for climate change and the environment has guided their choice of studies. Meeting new people at university or folk high school have contributed to their engagement.

Group 2: the activists by social influence

Active party politics and organisations. Heavily influenced by their social network

Group 2 is made up of five participants; activist 8, 9, 12, 18 and 19 and all of them are active in political parties, student politics or environmental organisations. Whilst the activists in group 2 always have been somewhat engaged, meeting other engaged people have been imperative for their engagement. The rise of the #FFF movement has further fuelled their engagement, and these activists are the ones that are most affected by the movement and the school strikes.

Group 3: the activist with climate anxiety

Very involved in the climate movement and have had a feeling of climate anxiety

Group 3 also consist of five participants; activist 3, 11, 14, 15 and 16. Activist 3, 11 and 14 have been, or still are, active members of an environmental organisation, activist 15 are active in student politics, whilst activist 16 is neither active in an organisation nor in politics. However, what they all have in common are the negative feelings of fear and anxiety derived from climate change, and that being engaged have helped them tackle these feelings and emotions. Due to their engagement in the climate movement the #FFF movement and the strikes has not affected their engagement too much, but the strikes have provided them with new hope.

⁶ The hesitance to use the word activist is related to their understanding of an activist as someone that are active in protests and is one that is on “the barricades”. For the rests of this thesis these participants will however be referred to as activists, following the definition given in chapter 1.

Group 4: the pragmatic activists

Very active members of the movement, not too driven by emotions, but have a pragmatic approach

Group 4 also has three participants; activist 4, 6 and 7, all active members of an environmental organisation with a longstanding engagement. In contrast to the participants in group 3, the participants in group 4 are not driven by their fear of climate change, but rather have a pragmatic approach to climate change and their engagement. Their quest for knowledge has been important for their engagement, and their engagement is explained as a way to express themselves.

However, Oberslack and Eisenack, (2017) stresses that archetypes can be understood to be building blocks. This means that not all cases can be completely explained by archetypes, and that overlaps will occur. This also means that some cases cannot be explained by archetypes as they have certain characteristics that differ. The following three participants fall outside of the archetypes described above:

Activist 2. Activist 2 is active in party politics and her climate engagement is present in several aspects of her life, including her studies, jobs, free-time activities as well as in her political activities. Whilst many similarities with the activists in group 4, she has never been one to participate in demonstration or been involved in an environmental organisation. She only participated in one school strike, and whilst she liked it, the school strikes and the #FFF movement has not had an impact on her engagement. She further explains that she prefers to work “within the system” and that she finds it more useful.

Activist 5. Activist 5 is also active in party politics, his concern for climate is however not what got him into politics but comes from what he describes as a natural development of his political engagement. Like the activists in group 1, activist 5 do not characterise himself as an activist, and his friend’s participation in the strikes was important for his own participation. He does however, in contrast to the activist in group 1, express that he is more positive to activism after the strikes and has a stronger wish to part take in activism himself.

Activist 17. Activist 17 is active in party politics and have been active in several environmental organisations in his life. Being an activist is a central aspect of his identity and stresses the importance of being true to yourself and who you want to be. Further, the community of the climate movement has been imperative for his engagement. He does however stand out from the rest of the sample, whilst having a longstanding engagement like the activists in group 3 and

4, his engagement is more fluctuating. Further, he is not convinced that his political engagement will amount to much, and places larger emphasis on the individual and its role in fostering change than what is found amongst the activists in group 3 and 4.

5.1.2 Sampling unit II – the organisational representatives

As explained in chapter 4, this project has two sampling units. Sampling unit II consists of six representatives from the five organisations that are listed as organisers of the school strikes in Norway. Whilst being five different organisations, their role in the strikes has been joint and thus, to avoid too much focus on the views and argumentations of certain organisations, the organisational representatives are anonymised. The representatives will hereafter be referred to as *organisational representative A-E*. Chapter 4 also outlined the situation surrounding the organisational representatives from *Natur og Unngdom*. Given that they represent the same organisation, they have been given the same identification letter. Whilst the organisational representative also per definition are activists, they will in this thesis not be referred to as such in order to separate the two sampling units.

5.2 Motivation for involvement in the climate movement

*'And just to listen, learn and suck it all in, what other people have done, what they think and mean, that was very triggering for me, I said to myself "now you need to have a look at yourself; what do you think is important and who do you want to be. I don't want to be that smalltown girl anymore who doesn't care. Like, I'm one that cares, and then I need to start showing it". And I think I had a bit of a realisation then and there, and that felt really good.'*⁷

- Activist 15

5.2.1 Motivations for action

5.2.1.1 Emotions and collective efficacy

As outlined in chapter 3, the role of emotions has been given a central position in mapping out climate activists' reason for involvement in the climate movement. When asked about their emotions regarding climate change, most of the activists bring forward emotions that the literature deems relevant; namely hope, frustration, anger, and worry. There is however a difference between the groups, the uncertainty and worry related to climate change seems to play a larger role in the engagement amongst the activists in group 2 and 3 than it has for the activists in group 1 and 4, as well as the three activists that are not grouped who rather express emotions as anger and frustration.

However, with nearly all the activists, discussions regarding frustration and worries evolved into conversations regarding hope, something nearly all the activists deem the most motivating emotion, and it becomes evident that this hope has been imperative for the continued engagement for nearly all activists. Talking about hope, activist 18 explains: *'There is hope, of course it is, if not we could just sit on our hands and wait in a way, and it's why we do it. What gives me hope is that we see the younger generation has started to act and that they are becoming more engaged [...]*¹¹. She is however not the only one that describes the emergence

⁷ Activist 15: *'Og bare høre, og lære og suge inn da, hva andre mennesker har gjort da, og hva de mener, det var veldig utløsende for meg, at nå D15, må du også ta et lite oppgjør med hva du mener og hvem person du har lyst til å være da. Jeg har ikke lyst til å være hun småbyjenta fra Hønefoss lengre som ikke bryr seg, jeg er en som bryr meg liksom, og da må jeg begynne å vise det. Og da tror jeg at jeg fikk litt den oppvåkningen der da, så det var veldig godt'*

- The translation is done by the researcher. This applies to all subsequent quotes presented in this chapter.

¹¹ Activist 18: *'det er håp, ja selvfølgelig er det det, hvis ikke så kunne vi bare satt oss på henda våre og ventet på en måte, og det er jo derfor vi gjør det, og det som gir meg håp da er at vi ser at den unge generasjonen tar tak i dette og engasjerer seg [...].'*

of hope like this. Nearly all the activists credit the feeling of hope to the strikes, mentioning the togetherness they had felt when participating and the importance of witnessing others being engaged. The data thus indicate a close relationship between hope and collective efficacy. Even amongst those activists who have been active in the movement for a long time, the emergence of the strikes provided them with hope, especially amongst the activist in group 3 who have been struggling with high levels of fear and anxiety. However, whilst the strikes contributed to their hope, it appears that their feeling collective efficacy increased already as they joined and became active in the climate movement. Talking about her longstanding involvement in an organisation, activist 11 clearly illustrates this relation between hope and collective efficacy when she explains: *'My hope lies in that we can change things together. And it's there that I find the strength to not get depressed.'*¹²

Two of the activist do however differ; activist 9 (group 2) and activist 6 (group 4). Activist 9 is the oldest participant in the study, and with few activist friends, she has always felt somewhat outside of the movement. The feeling of hope she had felt at the hight of the strike movement had somewhat faded and she now described a feeling of sadness: *'maybe sorrow and despair and... I think I was more worried before, but now it's more a calm understanding that we're screwed in the larger picture, but that we might achieve some change, that we can halt the pace of climate change, more like... a negative calm, like things are definitely going in the wrong direction, but maybe we can change a little, and maybe more at the local level.'*¹³ Activist 6 on the other hand explains that he is a pragmatic and that his engagement has never been dictated by emotions, a situation he explains that he is quite comfortable with. Asked about what emotions he gets when he thinks about climate change, he replies: *'To be honest I'm not really that emotionally connected to it. [...] It's more like when I hear facts about climate change and how things are going, then I rather go to the analysis; how can we use this in our narrative, how should we work with this. I haven't really felt too much on the climate anxiety really. It's more like that I think that it is smart to stop, and yeah, the morally right thing to do. [...]. I think that I get more motivated by anger and engagement, I think that is more important*

¹² Activist 11: *'Mitt håp ligger jo i at vi kan forandre ting sammen. Og det er liksom der jeg finner styrken til å ikke bli deprimert.'*

¹³ Activist 9: *'kanskje sorg og fortvilelse og... jeg var mer ganske engstelig før, men nå er det mer sånn ro om at løpet er nok kjørt på liksom de store linjene men at man kanskje kan få til litt endring, at man kan sakke farten på klimaendringer litt, mer en sånn type... negativ ro da, ja sånn at det går helt klart feil vei, men kanskje man kan få det til litt og kanskje man kan på lokalt plan.'*

*for me. We work with a lot of things and I don't think I've ever had, or I have quite little hope. And generally, that is totally fine.*¹⁵

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, the activists in group 1 and 4, as well as the activists that are not grouped, express that they are angry and/or frustrated. This frustration is directed at politicians, as well as members of civil society, who doesn't seem to understand the urgency of climate change and the slow pace of and the lack of action to deal with these problems. At the same time, as illustrated by activist 6, they can be understood to have a more pragmatic approach to the problem and their engagement. All the activists in group 1 highlighting that enrolling in their study program is guided by their interest and concern for the climate and they characterise it as their biggest contribution to the cause, where nearly all have opted for a study program focused on finding and creating future technical solutions (e.g., renewable energy). This pragmatism is well illustrated by activist 2 (not grouped) who also have chosen a study programme based on her engagement, when asked what kind of feeling she has related to climate change she responds: *'First and foremost I think, I get really engaged [...]. Almost everything that I do revolves around climate, so I do think it's very interesting and intriguing. Often I do think about it as options, as a lot of interesting work to be done.'*¹⁶

The activists in group 2 and 3 are however more concerned and worried. Amongst the activists in group 3 the negative feelings have a stronger hold than amongst the rest of the activist. Upon being asked what emotions she gets when she thinks about climate change, activist 15 answered: *'I get sad. I get very sad and worried, and yeah, I'm not the type to sit around and be anxious, but sometimes I'm boarder lining to just sitting there and being worried and not being able to think about anything else and feeling that climate anxiety.'*¹⁷ Their anxiety had for some led to a feeling of being small and alone and not able to do anything, and for some led to an avoidance of the topic (e.g., abstaining from reading news or leaving the classroom when climate change was discussed). Whilst the participants in group 3 explains that they still sometimes feel that their anxiety is a barrier for action, it is something they tackle better now.

¹⁵ Activist 6: *'For å være helt ærlig så er jeg ikke så emosjonelt knyttet til det. [...] Men når jeg hører liksom fakta om klima og hvordan det går, da er jeg mer sånn på analyse, da tenker jeg sånn hvordan kan vi bruke dette i vårt narrativ, hvordan skal vi jobbe med dette. Ja, jeg har nok ikke følt noe særlig på sånn klimaangst, egentlig. Det er mer det at jeg tenker at det er lurt å stoppe og det er ja, moralsk, å gjøre det [...]. Jeg tror, jeg blir nok mer motivert av sinne og engasjement altså, det er nok viktigere. Vi jobber jo med mye ting som jeg tror nok aldri, eller, jeg har ganske lite håp. Og det generelt går helt greit.'*

¹⁶ Activist 2: *'Først og fremst så synes jeg jo, jeg blir jo engasjert, [...]. Så det er liksom, alt handler om klima, så for min del så er det jo veldig spennende. Jeg, veldig mye av tiden så tenker jeg jo på det som veldig mye muligheter, veldig mye interessant arbeid.'*

¹⁷ Activist 15: *'jeg blir tris, hehe. Jeg blir veldig trist og veldig bekymret og ja, jeg har, jeg er ikke typen som sitter og angster så mye, men noen ganger har det vært på grensen til at man nesten sitter og er bekymra og ikke klarer å tenke på noe annet og kjenner litt på den klimaangsten'*

Finding a community where they could be engaged and understanding that they are not alone was deemed crucial. Further, they explain that engagement in politics or in an environmental organisation has provided them with some tools to work more structurally with the problems and focus on political solutions for climate change. Activist 14, the one that is most riddled with climate anxiety, illustrates this importance well when she talks about her first introduction to an organisation, she explains: *'And I just loved it from the beginning, I thought it was amazing! I was at my first meeting and decided to become vegetarian, not because anyone encouraged me to, but like there was one who mentioned that she was and I though "fuck, that's a great idea, like God, I have to do that!"*. [...] *And it was this, to meet people, that knew so much, who actually had solutions to the problems, like concrete policies one can implement, and that got me to be engaged, to be an activist.*'¹⁸

5.2.1.2 Values and social rationality

Problems related to free-riding is often characterised as one of the biggest obstacles to participate in collective action. Whilst all the activists were familiar with this problem statement, it was not something that they had given much thought. Reflecting on their own participation in the strikes and if it mattered, nearly all the participants explain that they understood that they were just another person in a crowd but stressed that these numbers were important and if everybody fell under the free-riding problem nothing would happen. Activist 18 explains what seems to be the general understanding amongst them; *'And if I know that there is a crisis and I choose to ignore it, then that is just as much taking a stand as if I'm doing anything else. Then I'm just as much a part of the problem.*'¹⁹ One can detect and understanding of responsibility in their answers, both a collective responsibility as well as on a more personal level, this is clearly evident in the answer from activist 13 who argues: *'I feel that one has certain personal responsibility. And I personally find the line of argumentation to be a bit off;*

¹⁸ Activist 14: *'Så bare elsket jeg det fra første stund, jeg syntes det var helt fantastisk. Jeg var på mitt første møte og bestemte meg for å bli vegetarianer, ikke fordi noen liksom oppfordret meg til det, men det var liksom en som nevnte at hun var det og så tenkte jeg 'jaen, det var jo en kjempe god ide, herregud, det må jeg jo!' [...] Og så var det at jeg møtte folk der som kunne så mye, og som faktisk hadde løsninger på problemene, sånn konkret politikk som man kan innføre da, og det fikk meg til å være aktiv og være en aktivist da.'*

¹⁹ Activist 18 *'Og hvis jeg vet at det er en krise og velger å ignorere det så er det like mye å ta et standpunkt som det å gjøre alt mulig annet. Da er jeg like mye med på å være en del av problemet.'*

like “why should I do something if others don’t”, because others do a lot. At least amongst the younger generations, which is way more engaged.²⁰

To further understand what encourages the activists to engage in collective action the activists were asked about what kind of values were important to them. The activists in group 1 stands out from the rest of the sample. Amongst them the biospheric values and their concern for nature is what has been a main driver for their engagement. Activist 1 explains: *‘I think that for me, what I am most concerned about, is nature. And I think that it might come from that we have grown up very close to nature and I was in that kindergarten where we focused on being outside, we have always been a family that hiked, so I think that there has always been a lot of focus on trying to take care of nature. And I think that it might be a bit simpler for me, who has grown up so close to nature, to want to take care of it.’*²¹

In the rest of the sample some of the participants stressed that they did not see these two as conflicting and that they deemed them equally important. Others first drew attention to their biospheric values and their concern for nature, a concern that was often described in conjunction with their childhood; growing up close to nature and coming from a family that has spent a lot of time outdoors (as illustrated by activist 1 above). However, further discussion with these activists revealed that the altruistic values had been just as important for their engagement as the biospheric ones. Most of the activists does however express values that can be deemed altruistic and draw a clear link between climate engagement and concern for other people. Activist 7 explains her activism and understanding of herself like this: *‘I am a human rights activist, that’s what I call myself, I’m not a climate activist, I am a human rights activist, because it is fundamental human rights we are talking about; the right to have a life, the right to have a future [...]’*²²

As discussed in 5.2.1.1, worries related to climate change was strong amongst many of the activists. And whilst some express that they were worried about their own future, their friends, and families, it was not this concern that had gotten them into the movement or made them

²⁰ Activist 13: *‘jeg har jo følt at man har jo et visst ansvar selv. Og jeg synes jo det er litt feil, «hvorfor skal jeg gjøre noe hvis andre ikke gjør noe», for andre gjør jo mye, også. Og i hvert fall i den litt yngre generasjonen som er mer engasjert da.’*

²¹ Activist 1: *‘Jeg tror hovedsakelig for min del at det er mest det med, for naturen da. Og det tror jeg på en måte har kommet litt av det at, ja, vi har vokst opp veldig nært marka og har gått i den friluftsbarnhagen, men vi har alltid gått mye tur, så jeg tror bare alltid det har vært veldig mye fokus på at vi må prøve å gjøre det vi kan da for å faktisk ta vare på det. Og jeg tror på en måte kanskje det har vært litt enklere for min del, som har vokst opp så nært naturen å ha mer lyst til å se på det på den måten da.’*

²² Activist 7: *‘Jeg er menneskerettighetsaktivist, det er det jeg kaller meg selv, jeg er ikke klimaaktivist, jeg er menneskerettighetsaktivist for det er helt grunnleggende menneskerettigheter vi snakker om; retten til å leve, retten til en fremtid [...]’*

participate in the strikes. Nearly all the activists have what can be understood as a *global perspective* on their engagement, stressing the unfair distributional effects of climate change, unfair distribution of resources and the responsibility Norway as a nation as well as their own responsibility as Norwegian citizens. This strong notion of responsibility is well illustrated by activist 14: *'For me, it's a really strong principle, to do something for oneself that one knows have a negative effect on the larger civil society, and the global civil society, to me that's so unethical that I don't manage to do it. I get a stomach-ache from doing things that I know is clearly wrong. And the funny thing is, I'm almost more concerned about the global society than I am about my close relations sometimes.'*²⁴

Their values and notion of responsibility as motivators for actions also becomes evident through aspects related to integrity and self-respect. Several of the activist explains that they have had a "dialogue" with themselves regarding who they want to be and that their participation in the strikes or increased involvement in the climate movement stems from an understanding that they want to be someone that contributes, and that act in accordance with their own values. Whilst no clear distinction between the groups, such an understanding is more prominent amongst the activists in group 2. However, amongst the activists that have been engaged for a while (group 3 and 4, as well as activist 17 (not grouped)) a similar tendency is detected, but is explained more implicit, and rather come forth as issues related to the internal rewards of being an activist; that it provides a good feeling, knowing that you have contributed, and again, acted in accordance with own values and what you find important. Activist 17 explains this well: *'To be engaged in the climate cause, and to be an activist, it has value in itself. You are contributing to a positive change in society. You are building the future. So, I think that is really important. So even though you won't get too much done on the political level, because they are idiots you have still, for your own sake, done a lot. And I think that is really important.'*²⁵

²⁴ Activist 14: *'Fordi at det er, eller for meg så er det et sånt veldig sterkt prinsipp og det å skulle gjøre noe for seg selv som en tenker går utover det større samfunnet da, og det større verdenssamfunnet, det, det blir så uetisk at jeg klarer liksom ikke å gjøre det. Jeg får en sånn klump i magen av å gjøre ting som jeg tenker at dette er åpenbart galt. Og det er morsomt for jeg tror jeg er mer, nesten mer opptatt av verdenssamfunnet enn den nære kretsen av og til.'*

²⁵ Activist 17: *'Da kommer det tilbake igjen, det har en verdi i seg selv å være klimaopptatt og aktivist. Du er med på en bra samfunnsutvikling. Du er med å bygge fremtiden. Så det synes jeg er veldig, veldig, viktig. Så uansett om du ikke får gjort så mye og på topp politisk nivå så er de noen fehuer, så har du uansett, for deg selv, gjort ganske mye. Det tror jeg er veldig viktig.'*

5.2.1.3 Knowledge

Across the sample there was a conviction that the activist's own knowledge regarding climate change was high. The high level of knowledge was however not described as limited to them, and most of the activists explained that they felt that most young Norwegians had high levels of knowledge. There was an understanding that climate change was something their generation had grown up with and a problem they had to related to from an early age (further analysis of this will follow in 5.3.2). Most of the activist had learned about climate change in school, but also brought fore the importance of social media, news and practices related to recycling and reducing food waste at home. However, only a few of the activists explained that climate change was something that they had talked about at home.

Several of the activist explains that knowledge has been important for their engagement and draws a link between learning about climate change and a realisation that action was needed. Knowledge is further explained to have given them direction, making them more aware what is needed and how one can achieve that. Explaining the role acquiring knowledge has had for her engagement, activist 8 explains what seems to be the common understanding in the sample. *Activist 8: 'At least it's been a factor for motivation. When you hear how critical things can get if we don't do anything. And how critical the situation is now, and what needs to be done, then you get a bit more reflected regarding where you should put your energy. And like why it is so important [...] But I don't think that it has been determining. I think that when I entered this, I did now that we needed to reduce things, and that we were heading in the right direction, but I did not know much more than that. But then you learn things along the way, which contributes to further engagement.'*²⁶

As described by activist 8, involvement in the movement has had a positive effect on her level of knowledge and that it has been a gradual process. Almost none of the activists could not pinpoint the moment when their concern or activism started, and it was rather describing it as an evolving process where they have gotten more engaged as time has passed. Activist 2 (not grouped) does however differ slightly, whilst already concerned about climate change, she remembers the moment that more extensive knowledge made her do alteration in her life.

²⁶ Activist 8: 'det er hvertfall en motivasjonsfaktor. Når man hører om hvor kritisk ting kan bli hvis vi ikke gjør noe. Og på en måte hvor kritisk situasjonene er nå og hva som skal til så blir man jo litt mer reflektert over hvor skal man sette inn støtet kanskje. Og hvorfor det er så viktig liksom [...] Men jeg tror også det har vært, men jeg tror ikke det har vært det avgjørende. Jeg tror at da jeg gikk inn i det så visste jeg jo som sagt at man må redusere ting og at vi er på vei i feil retning, men visste ikke så mye mer enn det. Men så lærer man jo ting underveis da, som bidrar til engasjementet.'

Talking about the time they saw Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth* in class, she explains her reaction: *'And I remember that I saw that movie in junior high and that I decided to walk home from school that day, without nagging my mom to come and get me [...], because I thought that I shouldn't use any extra fuel. So, I thought like that for a while, until high school, that I wanted to try to do these small things in my day-to-day life, but I did not think too much about doing more.'*²⁷ However, her decision to join a political party was the result of one of these internal discussions described above, prompted by meeting new and political engaged youth in high school.

There are only a few of the activists that render their knowledge to be the most important factor for their engagement. Knowledge is rather by most explained as important due to other factors such as values, their feeling of responsibility and what they refer to as personality traits. Continuing her story on her meeting with Al Gore's film activist 2 illustrates this well: *'I mean, the knowledge was absolutely triggering, but after we had seen that film, I think I was the only one who left that room and thought: "wow, I really care about this, I want to do something about it!"'. I mean, it was junior high, so people were very "care" as we used to say, but it becomes obvious that knowledge in itself... knowledge alone is not enough.'*²⁸

5.2.2 Social motivators and socialisation

Due to the interrelatedness of research question 1 b) and 1 c) the findings and the analysis of the data for these questions will here be presented together. The data reveals that all the activists are in social environments where climate activism is normal, and that their social networks have been important for their engagement. Whilst all the activists explains that they now mainly have friends that are active in the movement themselves, these friends have been acquired differently. For the activists in group 3 and 4 they come from their longstanding engagement, and the influence of these friends are somewhat more gradual than for the activists in group 1 and 2. For them, introduction to new social environments, primarily through higher education, has

²⁷ Activist 2: *'Og så husker jeg at jeg så den filmen på ungdomsskolen og da bestemte jeg meg plutselig for å gå hjem fra skolen den dagen uten å mase på at mamma skulle hente meg [...], for jeg tenkte at nå skulle jeg ikke bruke ekstra drivstoff. Så var det litt sånn, jeg tenkte litt sånn en stund, frem til VGS, at jeg ville prøve å gjøre de små tingene i hverdagen, men jeg tenkte ikke så veldig mye på å gjøre så veldig mye mer ut av det.'*

²⁸ Activist 2: *'Altså kunnskapen var jo definitivt utløsende, men etter at vi hadde sett den filmen, jeg tror jeg var den eneste personen som gikk ut av det klasserommet og tenkte at 'oi, det her bryr jeg meg skikkelig om, det her har jeg lyst til å gjøre noe med!'. Å så var jo det ungdomsskolen, så folk på ungdomsskolen der jeg gikk var jo veldig «care» som vi pleide å si, men det er jo åpenbart da at kunnskap i seg selv ikke.. Ikke holder alene.'*

influenced and inspired to wider engagement, and these meetings can be deemed imperative for the activists in group 2.

Firstly, looking at the activists in group 3 and 4 as well as activist 17 (not grouped). They all started their engagement at an early age and most of them have been active members of an environmental organisation for several years. This involvement has for obvious reasons affected their social network, and most of these activists explains that their social network today primarily consists of the friends that they have acquired through their involvement. Many of these activists explained that they had joined an environmental organisation as their friends joined, or that a friend had introduced them to the movement, whilst others explains that their initial motivation to join the movement came from a wish to find a social community. They had all however reached the conclusion that climate change was a problem that required action before they joined the organisation, and most had already started to alter their behaviour and consumption patterns. However, they needed a push to further develop their engagement. The experience of activist 6 is illustrative for several of the activist in these groups; talking about how he became introduced to his organisation he explains: *'I had already concluded that I found the environment to be important. But what is an important moment is when a few friends of mine wanted to start a local "branch" of this environmental organisation and asked if I wanted to join. And then I had already started to think about the environment, that I thought it was important and stuff, but I had never heard about this organisation before, but it was fun, so I joined!'*²⁹

As already noted above; the introduction to, and involvement in, an environmental organisation has heavily influenced how the activist in group 3 understanding of climate change as a problem and how they engage with it. This influence is also present amongst the activist in group 4. Their engagement has altered their habits, values and understanding of climate change as a problem and the possible solutions. The process is depicted as a gradual, natural, and somewhat organic development of their engagement. Over the years, being a climate activist has become a central part of their identity. Activist 6 explains that somewhere along the way, climate and the environment became his "main thing", whilst activist 4 explicitly explains how her activism has effected who she is: *'It has kind of shaped me as a person, to be in an environmental*

²⁹ Activist 6: og så hadde jeg jo allerede kommet frem til at miljø det er jo viktig. Og så, det som er det viktige punktet er da at noen venner av meg ville starte lokallag i NU, og spurte om jeg ville bli med. Og da hadde jeg jo allerede tenkt at miljø og det er viktig og sånt, jeg hadde ikke hørt om NU før, men det var jo gøy så jeg ble med der!'

*organisation, absolutely. It's a part of what I feel is my identity.*³⁰ There socialisation in these groups will be prominent through the rest of the analysis and become evident through their harsh resistance to the focus on the individual in the climate debate (5.3.2) and their conviction in the strikes ability to foster change (5.4.2).

On the other hand, there is the activists that do not like to call themselves *activists*, the activist in group 1 and participant 5 (not grouped). Through their study environment they have all acquired new friends that are more active and engaged in the climate cause than themselves. These friendships have as contributed to their own engagement, something that they all were well aware off. Talking about the introduction to a new social environment at university, activist 13 says: *'I believe that my engagement really has been affected by moving to here, I'm really fond of the engagement that is here, and people have opinions [...] I don't know but I believe that it has made me discuss politics and society much more than I did before, and I think it is really fun'*³¹. Amongst these activists there is also a common understanding that their friend's participation in the strikes was crucial for their own participation. Whilst they all mentioned that they liked the strikes and that they were important, they were not sure that they would have joined if it had not been for their friends and an invitation to join. Further, their involvement in the #FFF movement was limited to one or two larger strikes and the activists in group 1 all explained that activism and being one on the barricades, is not something that comes naturally to them. Activist 5 differ slightly from the rest; the activism of his friends has led to a more positive outlook on activism and what it can achieve, he explains: *'well you get influenced by the people you have around you, and I'm in an environment where activism isn't only accepted, but encouraged, and that affects me, my thoughts and my actions.'*³². He further explains that he is certain that if it had not been for the pandemic he would have acted more on this new positive outlook on activism.

A similar tendency is detected amongst the activist in group 2, but it seems like these new introductions have been more important for them. Whilst already somewhat engaged, the introduction to a new social environment in high school, folk high school, or university has

³⁰ Translation of all illustrative quotes used in this chapter is done by the researcher.

Activist 4: 'Og ja, det var jo en del som, det har jo vært med på å forme den personen jeg er, å være med i en miljøorganisasjon, absolutt. Så det har jo vært en del av det jeg føler er identiteten min.'

³¹ *Activist 13: 'jeg tror mitt engasjement virkelig har blitt påvirket av å flytte til Ås, jeg har jo virkelig vært glad i engasjementet som har vært her og folk mener jo ting [...] jeg vet ikke, men jeg tror at det har gjort at jeg diskuterer politikk og samfunnet i en mye større grad enn det jeg gjorde før da, og det synes jeg er veldig gøy da.'*

³² *Activist 5: 'nei det jeg tenker er at du blir jo påvirket av de folkene du har rundt deg og det og jeg er jo del av et miljø hvor aktivisme ikke bare er akseptert, men oppfordret til på en måte og det påvirker jo meg og mine tanker og mine handlinger og.'*

played a central role in the evolution of their engagement and can be understood to have been a catalysator. These new friendships have not only influenced them to take more climate friendly consumer choices, but for some also fuelled their involvement in environmental and/or political organisations. Common for the activists in group 2 is that the understanding that they were not alone in their concerns is highlighted as one of the most positive aspects of these meetings, activist 19 explains: *'and I have a lot of friends that are engaged in the climate cause as well, and I think that really helps, that I'm not alone and that we can do things together. We can also push each other as well.'*³³ This realisation had made many of the activists in group 2 more secure and confident in their engagement, made them acquire more knowledge and as discussed above; led to an internal dialogue on who they want to be. (Further analysis on how social factors have influenced the activists in group 2 will follow in section 5.4.1 in regard to how the school strikes have affected them).

Across the sample, all the activists put a lot of emphasis on the community that surrounds their engagement. The comradeship of the climate movement, a feeling of togetherness and an understanding that they are not alone in their concerns, is highlighted as one of the most positive aspects of their engagement, as well as a strong motivator for continued action. The importance of comradeship becomes evident through activist 3 experience in folk high school. Asked what drew her to the strikes in the first place she answers: *'So I was at folk high school that year and were watching all of Greta Thunberg's speeches in my room, alone, and I really missed the community that I had felt in my organisation. So yeah, when the larger strikes were happening, I took the train to Oslo to join the strikes. Because I just knew that this is going to be historic.'*³⁴

The societal influence on the activist also becomes evident through more structural aspects. As explained in 5.2.1.3 the activist had an understanding that the general knowledge amongst young Norwegians regarding climate change was high. There was an understanding amongst the activists that this notion of climate change being all around from an early age had led to young people acknowledging climate change as a problem that needed to be taken seriously and that action was needed. Answering what they think got them engaged in the first place, activist 5 and activist 13 explain this link well. Activist 13 says: *'[...] we who have grown up in the 90's has had this "climate is important" through all of our childhood. So, it might have*

³³ Activist 19: *'Og så har jeg jo mange venner som også er engasjert i miljø, og jeg tror jo det også hjelper veldig, at jeg ikke er helt alene, det er noe vi kan gjøre sammen. Da er også vi med på å pushe hverandre litt.'*

³⁴ Activist 3: *'Så jeg, ja, gikk på folkehøyskole det året og dreiv å så på alle talene til Greta Thunberg og dreiv og holdt på der på rommet mitt alene og savnet skikkelig et felleskap som jeg hadde følt på i NU da. Og så da, når de streikene kom da så tok jeg toget til Oslo. For å bli med på den store da. For jeg bare skjønte at det her kom til å bli historisk.'*

been a little imprinted from there'.³⁵ Whilst activist 5 further expands: *'well, probably a part of that understanding, what should I say, the movement in the entire population, and maybe particularly in my generation which I feel like have occurred in the last 5-10 years. I feel like there has been an increasing engagement for the cause, that it has become more mainstream, it's not just the activists out on the outer skirt of the political spectre that are concerned about this, but it has rather become a public movement and I guess I have been affected by that*'³⁶ Through the analysis it becomes apparent that there is a general understanding amongst the activists that being engaged in the climate cause is a new norm, and that it is starting to take hold, especially amongst younger generations. This shift is further illustrated by participants from all levels of engagement make a distinction between what a stereotypical environmentalist used to be and look like, and the normalisation of activism and climate engagement now. Some argue this was well illustrated by the strikes, and the abolishment of these stereotypes might have contributed to the success of the school strikes and the large number of people who participated. Activist 11, who have been active in the movement for more than a decade illustrates this shift well: *'People are more concerned about the climate now, and they weren't that when I joined the climate movement. It wasn't something that everybody though was important. I mean, climate deniers were our largest enemy, and we don't talk about that anymore, right. So that's a good thing.*'³⁷

5.2.3 Summary of motivation for involvement in the climate movement

Through this analysis it becomes apparent that their rationale for engagement in the climate movement is many faceted. Learning about climate change, the frustration that related to lack of political action, and worries related to possible future scenarios have all contributed to the initial involvement in the movement for all the activists. However, it becomes apparent that their underlying values are highly important and that altruistic values have the strongest hold amongst most of the activists. These values, as well as their feeling of responsibility, a global

³⁵ Activist 13: *'[...] vi som har vokst opp på 90-tallet har jo fått hele denne 'klima er viktig' gjennom hele barndommen da. Så det har jo kanskje bare blitt litt sånn innprentet derfra.'*

³⁶ Activist 5: *'Nei, du altså, sikkert en del av den forståelsen, og hva skal jeg si, bevegelsen i hele befolkningen og kanskje spesielt i min generasjon da som jeg føler har oppstått de siste 5-10 årene liksom. Jeg føler jo at det har ligget et økende engasjement for saken, at det har blitt litt mer mainstream da, at det ikke bare aktivistene ute på ytterkantene som er opptatt av det, men det har blitt veldig sånn en folkebevegelse og jeg har vel vært borti en del av det.'*

³⁷ Activist 11: *'Folk er jo opptatt av klima nå og det var de jo ikke når jeg ble med i klimabevegelsen. Det var jo ikke noe alle mente var viktig. Altså klimafornektene var jo den største fienden vi hadde, det snakker man ikke om lengre, ikke sant. Så det er jo veldig bra.'*

perspective on climate change and the utilisation of a social rationality have helped them overcome the problems imposed by free-riding. It also becomes evident that their social environment has been important for their introduction to the movement, as well as their continued engagement. The comradeship of the movement and witnessing others engagement has contributed to a feeling of hope, as well as increased their collective efficacy giving them incentive for further engagement.

5.3 How do they understand their role as climate activists?

*'I believe that one can get really far by working politically and that it often is the right way to work. There is a reason for why the system is as it is, and a reason for why one should work after the frames that's there. I believe that strikes and civil disobedience should be the considered as last resort. But when one finds oneself in a situation that is desperate enough, one can do it, and it can be really powerful, and I mean that we are far beyond that now, like we have been screaming about a climate emergency for years, and when no one is listening, and when it doesn't get taken seriously, I mean that we must do anything we can to be heard.'*³⁸

- Activist 18

5.3.1 How they use their engagement

As already noted in 5.1.1, the vast majority of the activists has let their concern for climate change led to an engagement in either political organisations, student politics or environmental organisations with the exception of the activists in group 1. Across the sample, all the activists explain that they have done lifestyle choices to reduce their CO²- emissions, there is however a general agreement amongst them that individual efforts are not enough if we are to halt emissions, and all the activist stresses the need for political and structural change.

³⁸ Activist 18: 'Jeg mener at man kommer veldig langt med å jobbe politisk og at det veldig ofte er den riktige måten å jobbe på, det er en grunn til at systemet er som det er og en grunn til at man skal jobbe etter de rammene som finnes, og jeg mener at det med streik og sivil ulydighet skal være det siste man gjør, men når man er i en desperat nok situasjon så kan man gjøre det og så kan det også være veldig virkningsfullt og det, det mener jeg jo absolutt at vi er langt forbi der nå da, at nå har vi skreket om klimakrise i årevis og når det ikke blir lyttet til og når det ikke blir tatt på alvor så mener jeg at vi må gjøre alt det vi kan for å bli hørt på da.'

Regarding lifestyle choices, all the activists explain that they have altered their behaviours to live more climate-friendly and to reduce their emissions, and little difference is detected between the groups. Nearly all the participants explain that they are conscious about their means of transportation. Several of the activists explain that they actively chose more climate-friendly options in their day-to-day life, whilst nearly half explain that they limit, or refrain from flying and rather opt for trains when they go on holidays. Their concern for the climate has also affected their eating habits; again, nearly all the activists explains that they have decided to go vegan or vegetarian, or that they have reduced their intake of red meat and/or other animal products, or that they try to eat locally sourced food and Norwegian produce. Furthermore, many of the activists are active thrifters and they explain that they either limit their consumption of clothes or that they only buy second- hand.

Whilst all the activists speak about these lifestyle choices, these aspects of their engagement are more frequently brought up and given more space and weight in the interviews with the activists in group 2, indicating that they understand these aspects to be more important than the other activist. There is however an agreement across the sample that the small lifestyle choices are not enough to tackle the problems posed by climate change, and all the participants stresses that there is a need for political action and structural changes. Participant 18 (group 2) explains: *'But I also know that, as we talked about earlier, why should tiny me do these choices when the whole world is so broken, when the system is so fucked [...] it's not enough to buy Norwegian carrots at the supermarket if we don't fix the system, that needs to happen'*.³⁹ Talking about what they hope that their engagement can contribute to and achieve, all the activists stresses political action and structural change. There is however a slight difference detected with the activists in group 1. As noted in the beginning of the chapter, these activists, as well as activist 5 (not grouped) are a bit reluctant to use the word *activist* about themselves and stresses that they are not the ones on the barricades. These activists have however let their concern for the climate guide their choice of studies. This is not unique to them, but what makes the activists in group 1 stand out is how they bring fore that their education is one of their main contribution to the cause and how they see it as a central aspect of their engagement. This also becomes evident through the way they express what they hope their engagement can attribute to, as they explain that they wish they can find solutions and contribute to structural change that way. Activist 1 says: *'And just read, and like find ways that I can use my studies to do something*

³⁹ Activist 18: *'Men så vet jeg også at, som vi var inne på i stad, hvorfor skal bitte lille meg gjøre disse valgene når hele verden er så ødelagt da, når systemet er så fucka. [...] det holder ikke å kjøpe Norske gulrøtter på butikken hvis vi ikke fikser systemet, og det må til.'*

about it⁴⁰, whilst activist 13 expands on this and explains: *'I hope that I can make a living out of it. I'm in the middle of a Master's programme now and I wish to contribute, and sometimes I want to not just to put it on the agenda and demand action, but rather be a part of it, like be one that has the knowledge and competence to do changes.'*⁴¹ Several of the activists stresses the importance of organising Norwegian youth if one wants to achieve these goals. Whilst there is no clear distinction between the groups, the activists that have been organised for a long time, namely the activities in group 3 and 4, as well as activist 2 (not grouped) speaks of this more frequently than the rest of the sample. Amongst the activist in group 2, the importance of organising oneself comes across as several of these activists explain that what made them join a political party or environmental organisation was the urgency of climate change.

Regarding their participation in the strikes, there was an agreement across the sample that participation was seen as a way to demand political action as well as getting the chance to voice one's opinions. Participation was almost seen as a given amongst most of the activists in group 3 and 4 due to their involvement in the organisations behind the strikes and they explained that they had been to numerous climate protests before. On the other hand, several of the activists in group 1 and 2 had not been active in climate demonstrations or protests before the emergence of the #FFF movement. As mentioned above the activists in group 1 (as well as activist 2 and 5 who are not grouped) saw their friends' participation in the strikes as crucial for their own involvement. Whilst several of the activists in group 2 mentions their friends' involvement in the strikes and that they had went together, their friend's participation was not deemed as important. In group 2 there was more an understanding that one needed to go, either due to responsibility or to use their voice and a wish to be on "the right side of history". Activist 12 explains why he wanted to participate in the strikes like this: *'And I thought, if this is the movement that makes politicians act, I can look back at it and say that I was a part of it, not just one that watched and didn't care, but rather was one that made it happen. That I was a part of the movement, attempting to initiate change.'*⁴²

⁴⁰ Activist 1: *'Og også bare det å lese meg opp og liksom på en måte prøve å finne en måte som jeg kan bruke studiet mitt til å gjøre noe med det da.'*

⁴¹ Activist 13: *'Jeg ønsker jo å kunne leve av det. Jeg tar jo en master nå og ønsker å kunne bidra, og jeg har jo noen ganger ønsket å ikke bare kunne sette det på agendaen og kreve handling, men også kunne være en del av, på en måte sitte på kunnskapen og kompetansen til å kunne gjøre endringer.'*

⁴² Activist 12: *'Og så tenkte jeg at hvis det her er en bevegelse som gjør at politikere virkelig gjør handlinger så kan jeg se tilbake og si at jeg var med og så på og ikke brydde meg, jeg tok faktisk, ja, var en del av å få det til da. Var en del av den bevegelsen for å få til endringer.'*

5.3.2 Their role as activators of norms

To achieve the desired political action and structural changes does however require a change in public opinion and a willingness to prioritise climate amongst the general population. As already discussed in 5.2.2 the engagement of others has been a catalysator for the engagement of many of the participants in this study. Ultimately this begs the question if they try to use their engagement to influence others? Engaging in conversation with friends and family seems to be the preferred way to influence others for all the participants, and something they find occurring quite naturally. Participant 16 (in group 3) explains, with a laugh, what seems to be a general understanding across the sample: *'I am very fond of it, or one likes to talk about things that one cares about [...] there are a lot of entries to talk about climate engagement, so many entries, so many bridges. It is never a subject I avoid; I find it quite natural to talk about, in all settings.'*⁴³

There is however a difference between the groups when it comes to how much importance they give this aspect of their engagement. Amongst the activist in group 1, engaging in conversation with friends and family is accentuated as one of the main ways they use their engagement, whilst they do however refrain from actively trying to influence others. A resistance that is detected across the sample. The activists in group 2 stand out from the rest of the sample. They are more aware of their role as 'influencers' and how they can lead by example. They are also willing to take a slightly more active and 'nudging' role. Activist 12 illustrates this awareness amongst the activist in group 2 well, he explains: *'I think it was at the 'climate roar' they said that 'we are not droplets in the ocean, we are the rings that occur when the droplets fall in', and that has really made an impact on me. When I speak, yeah, everything that I do, we are social creatures, so my actions affect everyone arounds me. And that's how it spreads. So, yeah, I think that what I do on a personal level will affect the whole world at the end'*⁴⁴

Amongst those who have been active members of environmental organisations for a longer time (group 3 and 4, as well as Participant 2 (not grouped)) trying to influence others is seen as second tiers of their engagement. The hardest resistance against the focus on the individual's

⁴³ Activist 16: *'Jeg er veldig glad i det, eller man er jo glad i å prate om det som betyr noe for en. [...] det er veldig mange innganger til å snakke om miljøengasjement, det er veldig mange innganger, det er veldig mange broer. Så det er aldri et tema jeg unngår hvis det dukker opp liksom; ja, jeg synes det faller meg helt naturlig å snakke om, i alle settinger.'*

⁴⁴ *'Jeg tror det var i klimabrølet så sa de det at 'vi er ikke dråper i havet, vi er ringer i vann', og det har virkelig satt en sånn støkk i meg. Når jeg snakker, ja alt jeg gjør, ser folk rundt meg, vi er jo sosiale vesener, så mine handlinger påvirker alle rundt meg. Og sånn sprer det seg da. Så jo, jeg tenker at det jeg gjør på et personlig nivå vil påvirke hele verden til slutt.'*

responsibility in our efforts to tackle climate change is also found in these groups, something that might stem from their socialisation in these organisations and thus their adaptation of the organisation's views and politics. Especially in the interviews with the activists in group 3 this is resistance is given much time. They all argue that this focus on the individual is not only misdirected, and further explains that such a focus can put too much pressure on the individual, lead to negative feelings like apathy and anxiety and a bad conscious which in the last instance be demotivating and a barrier for action. Activist 11 illustrates this resistance well when she explains why she was so fond of the Norwegian school strikes: *'Now I've been a member of the climate movement long enough to don't believe in recycling and vegetarianism and those sorts of things. And that's why I think that the school strikes were so positive. Because they didn't try to make people eat less meat or to take the bus/use public transport [...] They are rather directed at the structural problems, and especially the Norwegian climate strikes have done just that. [...] The focus has not been on consumer power, but on structural climate action. And personally, I think that is what have made it so powerful to be at these demonstrations, both for me and everyone else, we have felt that we stand together, for a change that not exclusively is about what we/oneself (?) can do, but the fact that we are there together makes us capable of demanding more than just recycling and public transport.'*⁴⁵ However, despite this resistance, the activists in group 3, as well as those in group 4 explain like the rest of the sample that they try to lead by example and they that hope their engagement will inspire others.

The analysis does however reveal that for some of the activists, taking on a role as a norm influencer is motivated by an internal need to see progress, as many of the activists highlight the "confirmation" they get when they understand that their engagement has affected and altered the behaviour of others. This is particularly prominent amongst the activists in group 2. Activist 18, who points out that she has trust in, and like to work "within the system", mentions that the slow pace of political change can be demotivating, and seeing that others make more climate friendly choices due to her actions and influence can be characterised as a pick-me-up that fuels further engagement by giving her a confirmation that her actions matter and contributes to something, she explains: *'So, I think it's like, those small things you probably*

⁴⁵ Activist 11: *'Nå har jeg vært medlem i klimabevegelsen lenge nok til å ikke tro på resirkulering og vegetarianisme og den type ting, og det er derfor jeg også synes at skolestreikene er så positive. For de prøver ikke å få folk til å spise mindre kjøtt eller å få folk til å ta bussen, selv om det helt klart er en del av, et ønske om å ikke gjøre feil, som jeg tror veldig mange unge kjenner på. Så retter det seg mot det strukturelle problemene da, og spesielt de Norske klimastreikene har gjort nettopp det.'* OR *'fokuset har ikke vært på forbrukermakt, men på strukturell klimahandling. Og jeg personlig tror at det er det som har gjort det så kraftfullt å være på disse demonstrasjonene, både for meg og for alle de andre som har vært der; vi har følt at vi står sammen, for en forandring som ikke utelukkende handler om hva vi selv skal gjøre, men det at vi er der sammen gjør at vi kan kreve mer enn bare resirkulering og buss.'*

*notice mostly in the private aspects of your life, and it's really nice to have those, you kind of get a confirmation in your day-to-day life, like those choices that I make, and the things that I talk about get's reinforces quite a few times.*⁴⁶

5.3.3 summary of their role as activists

Whilst political action and systematic change is the main objective of their engagement, all the activists have altered their lifestyles and changed habits and consumption patterns to reduce their own emission. There is however a general agreement amongst the activist that such actions are not enough and there is a strong dissatisfaction against the focus on the individual in climate debates. As discussed in the above section, all the activists are in a social environment where their concerns are shared, and where activism is encouraged. However, being a creator or an activator of norms is not understood to be a central aspect of their engagement and engaging in conversations regarding climate change is deemed the preferred way for all the activist to encourage engagement in others. Beyond this, all the activist explained that they strived to be good role models and lead by example. There are however some nuances, and the activists in group 2 seems to be more aware of their role as influencers. Something that might be related to the importance others engagement has played for the development of their own engagement.

⁴⁶ Activist 18: 'Så jeg tror nok sånn, de bittesmå tingene merker man nok mest privat, og det er veldig deilig å ha de, du får liksom sånn en bekreftelse i hverdagen da, at de valgene jeg tar og de tingene jeg snakker om blir forsterket ganske mange ganger.'

5.4 Their understanding of the #FFF movement

*'In a way that it will be remembered. It is kind of like, I understand (?) the climate strikes to be kind of like other large, important civil society movement. Like, everybody knows what the March on Washington was, and I think that the climate movement will be remembered in the same way.'*⁵⁰

- Activist 14

5.4.1. The strikes effect on the activists

Regarding how the strike movement has affected the activists in this study, a similar tendency is found to what is discussed in 5.2.2. The activists in group 1, as well as activist 2 (not grouped) did, as already noted, mention that their friends' participation in the strikes was seen as a cause for their own involvement. They all stressed that they liked the strikes; that there was a good 'vibe', and that it was nice to be reminded that they were not alone in their concern for the climate. Beyond this, however, none of them felt that the strikes affected them too much; neither inspired them nor contributed to any further engagement.

How the strikes have affected the activists is most noticeable amongst the activists in group 2. Whilst the introduction to a new social environment had been imperative for the collective-efficacy and their increased engagement, the school strikes and the #FFF movement seems to be just as important. They all express that the strikes have played a major role in their engagement as they have contributed to a willingness to increase their knowledge about climate change and what can be done. Further they indicated that they feel more secure in their views, their opinions, and arguments as well as more motivated to continue their engagement after the strikes. Activist 12 explains the strikes effect on him like this: *I've gotten a greater engagement after participating in climate strikes. And I've been more motivated to find facts to get behind what have been the targets (and demands) of the climate strikes and ensured that I have the knowledge. So, it has been a development, whilst there have been climate strikes, that I've gotten even more engaged. [...] I do believe that if there hadn't been climate strikes there would have been a shabbier engagement as well, or, it wouldn't have been so important for me*

⁵⁰ Activist 14: *På en sånn måte at det kommer til å bli husker, det er litt sånn som på en måte, jeg ser på klimastreikerne litt sånn som andre store, viktige, sivil ulydige aksjoner da. Som ja, alle vet jo hva 'the march on Washington' var liksom og jeg tror på et vis at klimastreikkbevegelsen kommer til å bli husket på samme måte da.'*

maybe, if I didn't have the climate strikes to be motivated by.⁵¹ Activist 19 further brings attention to how participation in the strikes have made her hold herself more accountable, she says: *'And it's also kind of for my own awareness, that I need to be more aware of my actions. Because it's like, there's one thing to be there and claim that you stand for something, but you kind of have to contribute as well, so I feel that I am more conscious about my own actions and efforts.'*⁵²

Not surprisingly, given their longstanding involvement in environmental organisations and politics, the school strikes had little effect on the engagement of the activists in group 3 and 4 as well as activist 17 (not grouped). This is well illustrated by activist 14 who explains laughingly: *'And I felt, even though I'm not in school, I mean, the last three years of my life has been a climate strike! I haven't done anything but to work for the climate and the environment in my organisation.'*⁵³ The strikes are still talked about in positive terms in these groups and the participants highlighting how they found it inspiring to see others engagement and that the widespread engagement has provided them with new hope for the climate movement. Activist 11, who has been active in the environmental movement for years and participate in a number of climate demonstrations says: *'I'm certain that it has provided me with some new hope at least! If I don't think that it (her engagement) has changed, I mean, it was the greatest experience, to go to a climate demonstration, like the first big school strike, to come there, and not find any of your friends, or anyone that you knew, because of all the people!'*⁵⁴ One can also detect what can be described as an anticipation amongst the activists in group 3 and their understanding of the strikes. Like witnessing widespread engagement was something they had been waiting for and now it was finally happening.

⁵¹ Activist 12: *'Jeg har fått større engasjement etter at jeg var med på klimastreik selv. Og blitt mer motivert til å finne fakta for å bygge opp under det som har vært målene til klimastreikene og sørge for at man har fakta på sin side, så det har utviklet seg hele tiden mens det har vært klimastreiker til å, til å få enda mer engasjement for det [...]Jeg tror nok at om det ikke hadde vært klimastreiker så hadde det vært mer labert engasjement også, eller at det er, ja, det hadde ikke vært like viktig for meg som person kanskje, om jeg ikke hadde hatt klimastreikene å blitt engasjer av.'*

⁵² Activist 19: *'Og så er det litt for min egen bevissthet, at jeg må skjerpe meg litt også. For det er jo litt sånn, en ting er å stå der å si at man står for noe, men man må jo faktisk bidra litt selv også, så jeg føler at jeg skjerper meg litt i forhold til mine egne tiltak'*

⁵³ Activist 14: *'Og så føler jeg jo at selv om jeg ikke var i skolealdre at, altså, hele livet mitt de siste tre årene har jo vært en klimastreik! Jeg har jo ikke gjort noe annet enn å jobbe for klima og miljø i [organisasjons navn].'*

⁵⁴ Activist 11: *'Helt sikker på at jeg har fått nytt håp iallfall. Om ikke jeg tror at det er forandret, det var, altså den største opplevelsen, å gå på en klimademonstrasjon, som den første store skolestreiken, å komme dit, og ikke finne vennene sine, eller noen man kjente, fordi det var så fult!'*

5.4.2. What the strikes can achieve

Not surprisingly, nearly all the activists express that they believe that the strikes can contribute to political change. Across the sample there is a general understanding that the strikes have not only put climate change on the political agenda, but that the large number of strikers, both in Norway and globally, have put a lot of pressure on politicians to take climate change seriously if they want to keep their electoral base and stay relevant. Activist 13 express what seems to be a general understanding amongst the participants: *'It gets a lot of publicity, and it gets talked about a lot in the media, and I believe, more importantly, that the politicians sees that there is a lot of people who cares about this and who vote (in elections). And now, right, now you won't be taken seriously in politics if you don't acknowledge humanly created climate change and don't have a more or less credible plan for how you shall tackle it.'*⁵⁵

There are however some nuanced in how successful the activists understand the school strike to be. Asked what they think that the strikes can achieve, some of the activists express that they are certain that a political shift will occur and that the strikes have influenced this shift but does not want to credit the whole shift to the strikes alone. Whilst there is no clear link between type of engagement or how long one has been engaged and the believed political impact of the strikes, the majority of the ones that express that they have a strong belief in this impact is found in group 3 and 4. This belief may be related to the knowledge of already accomplished political change or action, which again is more often highlighted by the same activists. Many of the participants in group 3 and 4 are active members in the organisations that are behind the strikes in Norway, and the interviews with the organisational representatives who in their interviews draws attention to similar 'wins', emphasising what the strike movement has already achieved (see 5.4.3)

This belief may also be related to/the difference may also be ascribed to the activist's knowledge and familiarity of the political demands of the strikes. Several of the activists in group 3 and 4 brought fore the demands themselves, highlighting it as one of the more positive aspects of the strikes. One of them was activist 14 who explains: *'[...] and in Norway we managed to have concrete, political demands behind the strikes, and I found that to be motivating, we have a list*

⁵⁵ Activist 13: *'Det får jo mye publisitet og det blir jo mye snakk om det i mediene og jeg tror enda viktigere; at politikerne ser at det er mange som bryr seg om dette og som stemmer. Og nå ikke sant, nå blir du ikke tatt seriøst i politikken hvis du ikke anerkjenner menneskeskapte klimaendringer og ikke har en mer eller mindre troverdig plan til hvordan du skal takle det.'*

*with demands that aren't just 'climate action' in a way. And, yeah, it felt kind of big and important in a way, I mean, one goes to a lot of demonstrations, or at least I do, and it's always difficult to know right, how one should prioritise one's time, and will that demonstration with 300 people at Eidsvollsplass⁵⁶ matter. But with the school strikes I always felt that they mattered, that it was really important, and that it got a lot of attention. And that's really rewarding when one cares so much.*⁵⁷ On the other hand, several of the activists in group 1 and 2 and the activist that are not grouped laughingly admitted that they had little knowledge of the demands; most of them not quite sure what they were, whilst a few did not know they existed. After being presented with the demands, they all however expressed that they were very positive to them, that they found them to be reasonable, and something they could easily get behind. These positive attitudes to the demands may not be too surprisingly given the analysis of the data presented in section 5.3. Further, asked if they had given any thought to how implementation of the demands would affect their lives, most of the activist answered with a shrug, drawing attention to the fact that they already lived quite climate friendly lives, and that they were more than happy to sacrifice some of their living standards. As already mentioned above, several of the activists does however bring fore the importance of further engagement beyond the strikes, and the importance of organising the strikers, either in political parties or environmental organisations, to ensure greater political impact. Again, whilst there is no clear distinction between the groups, this argument is often stressed more amongst the activists in group 3 and 4 as well as activist 2 (not grouped).

Whilst they are reluctant to take on an active role as influencers, in discussions on what the strikes can achieve, nearly all activist draw attention to the fact that the strikes have contributed to raising awareness in civil society and how they might have inspired more climate friendly behaviours amongst the general population. There was a general understanding amongst the activist that the strikes had brought the discussion of climate change “to the dinner table”, and

⁵⁶ Eidsvollsplass is a square in front of the Norwegian Parliament and is often used for public demonstrations and political rallies

⁵⁷ *Activist 14: '[...] og at vi i Norge så fikk vil til å ha faktiske, konkrete politiske krav bak streikene, det synes jeg var motiverende. At her krever vi faktisk noe, vi har en liste med krav liksom som ikke bare er «klimahandling» på en måte. Og så, ja, det føltes stort og viktig da, det er liksom, man drar på mange demonstrasjoner, eller jeg gjør iallfall det, og da er det alltid, det er vanskelig å vite, ikke sant, hva man skal prioritere tiden sin på og kommer den demonstrasjonene med 300 stykker på Eidsvollsplass til å ha noe å si. Men med skolestreikene så følte jeg alltid at det hadde veldig mye å si da, at det var sykt viktig og det fikk jo masse oppmerksomhet, og det er jo utrolig givende når man brenner sånn for en sak da.'*

that they had changed the political and public discourse surrounding climate change as well as inspired more climate friendly behaviour amongst the Norwegian population.

As the interviews were done in a context where the whole #FFF movement and much climate activism is put on hold due to the Coronavirus it was natural to ask the activist how they felt the Covid-19 restrictions and the pandemic had affected the own activism as well as their thoughts and reflections regarding the future of the movement. Regarding the effect on their own activism, only a few of the activists explained that they had participated in the online strikes. Whilst it was characterised as a good experience, they explained that online strikes, as well as online activism in general, lacked the feeling of togetherness and belonging to a community that one would get by physically attending demonstrations, organisational meetings etc. and therefore was not something they appreciated in the same way as more physical activism. A similar explanation was given by the activist that had opted out of the online strikes. Further, it was also explained that since “everything else” was happening online, participating in other online activities did not seem too intriguing. Even activist 7, the samples most active striker had opted out on some of the online strikes and explains that decision like this: *‘before the pandemic I had it as my goal to strike every Friday until we had achieved climate/political action. And I do still stand by that, but it’s just that it is kind of depressing to sit in your room and strike by yourself. I genuinely don’t think it’s any cool at all. And I don’t do this because it’s fun, but it has to somewhat rewarding.*⁵⁸ Still, nearly all activist explained that the pandemic had not affected their level of engagement, and they were convinced that this was the case for most other engaged youth as well. The exception is activist 5 who explains that he has since the strikes been more positive to activism and felt eager to participate more, but the Covid-19 has made it more difficult for him to follow up on that. The general understanding in the sample is however that the outbreak of the Coronavirus was untimely as it occurred when the climate movement has finally gained some momentum, but that young Norwegians were still concerned about climate change and willing to act to make change happen.

⁵⁸ *‘Activist 7: ‘Før pandemien hadde jeg som mål å streike hver fredag frem til vi hadde fått handling, og jeg står egentlig ved det nå, det er bare det at, (puster ut) det er deprimerende å sitte på rommet sitt alene og streike for seg selv, rett og slett. Det er bare rett og slett ikke så veldig kult. Jeg gjør det ikke fordi det er gøy, men det må være noe givende.’*

5.4.3 The strategies and objectives of the organisations behind the school strikes

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis; to get a better understanding of the #FFF movement in Norway, research question 3 c) is directed at the organisations behind the strikes. Through the analysis it becomes apparent that two different roles and objectives has been prominent in the organisations reason for involvement; namely that of a facilitator and the that of being a driver for political change.

One of the main topics in the interviews with the organisational representatives was their role as organisers and their motivation for wanting to be affiliated with the strikes. In these discussions all of the organisational representatives highlighted that they did not understand the strike to be “theirs”. This was not seen as their campaign; they had not initiated it, and the success of the movement should not be credited to them. Talking about this issue and their role at the strikes organisational representative A said: *‘And it’s important when one talks about the organisations and the school strikes to separate those two things from each other, it’s not the organisations, it’s not like that the kids/youth should feel that they have to identify with the organisations if they want to participate, or if they want to join the strike.’*⁵⁹ It was a common understanding amongst the organisational representative who made it clear that the initiative to the strikes came from outside of the organisational core and that the role of organiser felt upon them as an answer to the demands from their member base and other engaged and concerned kids and youth in Norway.

It was thus a general understanding amongst the organisations that their role at the strikes had been that of a facilitator, and the strikes were described as an expression of the concerns and engagement that was amongst Norwegian youth and all the organisations stresses that their main objective had been to provide youth and kids with space where they felt safe, a platform to express their concerns, and to provide them with the tools they needed to utilize their engagement. The organisational representative A explains: *‘Often it can be difficult to know how one can participate, and then, or what we often do, is to kind of provide them with a recipe for what one should do, to make it easier.’*⁶⁰ Further, all the organisations highlighted that they had actively worked to put forward the strikers and the ones that had taken initiative, making

⁵⁹ Organisational representative A: *‘Og så er det jo viktig, eller en sånn viktig greie når man snakker om organisasjonene og om skolestreik er også å skille de to delene litt fra hverandre sånn at, det er ikke organisasjonene, det er ikke sånn at unge skal føle at de må identifisere seg med organisasjonene for at de skal bli, eller for at de føle at de kan være med å streike da.’*

⁶⁰ Organisational rep. A: *‘Ofte kan det være vanskelig å vite hvordan man kan delta, og da er det, eller de vi ofte gjør er å skrive en oppskrift da, for hva man skal gjøre for å gjøre det lettere.’*

sure that their voices and concerns were the ones given speech time and media attention, rather than focus on the organisations' visions and ideas.

Besides from taking on the role as a facilitator, all the organisations stress the importance of encouraging further engagement amongst the strikers, to encourage them to use their voice, also beyond the strikes, making them more aware of the role they can play. Organisational representative B explains: *'Like I've said, one wishes to create a larger engagement, and it's so important to stress that young voices belong in the climate debate, one thinks that there is such a large distance from oneself and the power, but then it really isn't. At least not when one is such a large movement that have the same opinions. So, yeah, I think that is what we wanted to achieve, that youth should be more aware on that role they can play...'*⁶¹. The role as facilitator is further reflected in the organisation's mobilisation strategies. All the representatives stress that there was not a need for a strong mobilisation strategy, and it becomes apparent that there had not been a common strategy or message between the organisations.

There was also a political objective behind the wish to be affiliated with the strikes. Besides from being a facilitator it becomes clear that the organisations wanted to make sure that the strikes amounted to something and that they wanted to help steer the strikes in the "right" direction. Organisational representative D explains this wish: *'In contrast to a lot of other countries where the strikes have been quite large, like Germany, Norwegian kids are very organised. And then it's kind of stupid if this was to turn into a spontaneous thing, like around in Europe when we already are so organised [...] so for me it was kind of important to have it, to control the movement and push it in the rights direction. Not just a power grab, but because I felt that it was the right thing for the environmental movement in Norway.'*⁶²

As discussed in the background chapter, the demands of the strikers in Norway stand out from the global demands of the #FFF movement. The importance of pinpointing these demands was brought to the fore by all the organisational representatives who argued that they gave the strikes legitimacy and made it easier to use the school strikes in their political work. As

⁶¹ Organisational rep. B: *'Som sagt så ønsker man jo å skape et større engasjement, og det er så viktig å fremme det her at unge stemmer høres hjemme i klimadebatten, og man tenker at det er så langt fra en selv og til makta, men så er det egentlig ikke det. Og iallfall ikke når man er en stor bevegelse da, som mener det samme. Så ja, jeg tror på en måte at det er det vi har ønsket å oppnå, at unge skal bli mer bevisst på den rollen man kan spille da...'*

⁶² Organisational representative D: *'Og i motsetning til veldig mange andre land da som streikene var veldig store i som Tyskland og sånt, så er ungdom i Norge veldig organiserte. Og det ble for dumt om det skulle bli en spontan greie ut av ingenting som det ble rundt omkring i Europa, når vi allerede er organiserte [...] å, så for meg så var det veldig viktig det å få, få kontroll på bevegelsen og dytte den i riktig retning da. Ikke bare power grab, men fordi jeg mente det var det riktige for miljøbevegelsen i Norge.'*

organisational representative B makes this clear when she explains why her organisation rationale for being one of the organisers: *‘That this didn’t turn out to be a random strike for climate, but rather have some clear and specific things that we could take to politicians and have way more political impact with.’*⁶³ Whilst organisational representative D explains: *‘... instead of having a, what shall one say, a big, a big ‘just do something’, because Norwegian politicians have been rather good at saying they have done that. So, it was important to make some concrete demands.’*⁶⁴

All the participants stress that coming to an agreement on the demands was fairly easy. Whilst the demands clearly reflect the views and values of the five organisations, an awareness of the wider environmental movement in Norway was taken into consideration in the formulation of the demands. The representatives explain that they aimed at formulating demands that was not too radical and that they avoided taking a stand on issues that are deemed conflictual within the environmental movement (e.g., wind power on land) as such issues would have pushed parts of the environmental movement, as well as strikers, away. Reflecting around the process of setting the demands, organisational representative explains: *‘regarding the demands our thought was to have something big, but that was quite narrow and defined, but that absolutely weren’t inedible [...] like for example, setting an end date for oil drilling had led to an idiotic debate, we believed.’*⁶⁵ Ensuring that the demands would avoid polarisation and contribute to a nuanced debate was deemed important, and as several of the representatives argued, having “softer” demands in the beginning opens up for bringing forward harder demands in the long run.

5.4.4 Summary of the #FFF movement

Whilst there are some nuances variation when it comes to the activists’ perceptions of how much political success the strikes can have, there is a general understanding that the strikes can contribute to a political shift or push climate politics in the right direction, and the findings indicate a strong trust in the school strike’s ability to affect both public and political conception of climate change. Some of the trust must however be credited the widespread engagement amongst young Norwegians. Not surprisingly, there are similarities to have the activists felt that

⁶³ Organisational rep. B: *‘[...] det var viktig for oss å utarbeide det da, at det ikke bare ble en svadastreik fordi klima er viktig liksom. men heller litt tydelige ting vi kunne ta med til politikere og ha mye mer gjennomslagskraft av da.’*

⁶⁴ Organisational rep. D: *‘[...] istedenfor å ha et, hva skal man si, et stort gjør noe som helst, for det har norske politikere vært veldig flinke til å si at de har gjort. Så var det å gjøre noen konkrete krav da.’*

⁶⁵ Organisational rep.D: *‘Med de kravene så var tanken da å ha noe stort, som var ganske spisst, men som absolutt ikke var uspiselig [...] som for eksempel å sette en sluttdato for oljeboring hadde ført til en idiotisk debatt, følte vi da*

the strikes affected their engagement and what was discussed in chapter 5.2.1 (how their social environment has affected and influenced their engagement). Whilst the strikes had little effect on the engagement of the activists in group 3 and 4, the activists in group 2 found the strikes to be very inspiring. Regarding the role of the organisations it becomes evident that they had two objectives; that of fostering political change, but also to facilitate engagement.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The following chapter will connect the findings presented in the previous chapter with the theoretical framework presented in chapter 3 and the existing literature on youth climate engagement presented in chapter 2. The chapter is again organised in accordance with the research questions, but due to the interlinkages between the questions and findings, overlaps do occur.

6.1 Reasons for involvement in the climate movement

The first research questions read '*what makes young Norwegians join the climate movement, and what makes them stay?*' Analysing the activist's reason for involvement in the climate movement reveals that the motivations are many-faceted, and several aspects are deemed important. Like previous research has shown, both their emotions and underlying values were crucial for their initial engagement and is for many of the activists closely related to their feeling of responsibility to contribute. This feeling of responsibility is for many a reason to continue their engagement, but their engagement has also provided them with hope and membership of a community that has been crucial for the continued engagement for many of the activists. Further, having engaged friends and meeting others that are engaged is pivotal for initial engagement, whilst the community of the climate movement is deemed important for continued engagement.

Firstly, turning to the first research question; the role of emotions as a motivator for civic and political engagement, as well as climate action, has been given much attention in previous research. This thesis identifies three sets of emotions that have contributed to activist's engagement in the movement; both their initial wish to join, as well as their continued

engagement; namely anger, fear, and hope. These findings concur with previous studies on climate engagement in general (Corner *et al.*, 2015; Ojala, 2012 and Paloneimi and Vailio, 2011), and the #FFF movement and school strikers more specifically (de Moor *et al.*, 2020; Martiskainen *et al.*, 2020; Wahlström *et al.*, 2019). The emotions expressed by the activist was central in the process of categorising the archetypes as the analysis showed distinguishable patterns between expressed emotions, attitudes towards climate change, reasons, and ways of engaging. The activists in group 1 and 4, as well as the three activists that are not grouped, are more lenient towards feeling angry and frustrated. Their frustration was mostly directed at politicians, their ignorance and negligence of the problem, as well as the slow pace, or lack of action on climate change. Through the analysis it becomes apparent that there is clear link between these emotions and their more pragmatic approach to climate change as a problem and how they use their own engagement. This pragmatism was often expressed as a wish to work systematically and goal oriented, focusing on how to formulate policy suggestions or finding technological solutions. Their pragmatism did however become evident through different forms of engagement and becomes apparent through the study choices amongst the activists in group 1, as well as the engagement in political parties by the ones that are not grouped.

Amongst the activist in group 2 and 3, however, a feeling of fear or worry were most frequently reported. These activists explained that they were concerned about the future; the wellbeing of others, as well as themselves. There were however some nuances amongst these activists. Whilst some only had felt worried, others had been struggling with climate anxiety and their fear played a more prominent role in their lives. Some of the activist felt that their fear could border on apathy, whilst for others their fear had led to periodically avoidance of the subject, either by leaving discussions, dinner tables and classrooms, or a reduction in their consumption of news. Previous studies have already shown that climate change, and the uncertainties surrounding it, can lead to stress, despair, and anxiety (for an overview see e.g., Corner *et al.*, 2015). However, all these activist expresses that being an active member of an (environmental) organisation where one works systematically and politically with climate change, has helped them tackle these negative emotions and provided them with hope, an emotion that was further fuelled by the appearance of the school strikes. This is consistent with previous research where Paloneimi and Vailio (2011) found a clear link between trust in environmental organisations and increased self-efficacy which their research deemed imperative for environmental engagement. Psychologist Peder Kjøs (2020) have argued that activism can be seen as the best way to deal with climate anxiety, whilst previous studies have showed that focusing on the

positive emotions and the notion of hope can help to deal psychologically with emotions such as fear and anxiety (Ojala, 2012). Whilst my thesis has a skewed gender representation, it is however worth noting that only one out of the five male activist is placed in group 2, and there is none in group 3. Whilst it is impossible to draw any conclusions from this sample, previous studies have concluded that women are more concerned about climate change than men (Corner *et al.*, 2015).

Nevertheless, nearly all activists expressed that they were hopeful and that they found hope to be more motivating than the other emotions. Earlier investigations into hope as a motivator for climate action has already reckoned hope to be very constructive (Ojala, 2012), whilst previous research on the #FFF movement and the climate strikes have concluded that a feeling of hope was prominent amongst the strikers around the world (de Moor *et al.*, 2020; Wahlström *et al.*, 2019). These studies do, however, shed little light on where this feeling of hope stems from. Hope, just like our other emotions, explain how we understand a problem, and thus also contribute to an understanding of how our societal context understand the problem. The strong feeling of hope amongst young Norwegians regarding climate change and the future has by earlier research been ascribed to a strong trust in technological fixes and innovations (Fløttum *et al.*, 2016). Such an explanation is inconsistent with the findings of this thesis. Analysis of the data gathered for this thesis indicates that hope is partly related to technological solutions amongst the activist in group 1, as well as activist 2 who hoped that their education which is focused on innovation and technological solutions (e.g., renewable energy) would land them a job where they could use their engagement and contribute that way. It does, however, become apparent that the strong feeling of hope amongst the activist in this study is generated through an increase in collective efficacy and a strong belief in the younger generations ability to raise awareness, put pressure on politicians, and to take climate change seriously. The emergence of the school strikes and the #FFF movement has been imperative for this increase as several of the activists explained that they found it motivating to witness the engagement of others, and that the strikes made them realise they were not alone in their concerns. and it becomes apparent that engaging in activism with others, as well as witnessing the widespread engagement through the strikes can be understood to be a catalysator not only for collective efficacy, but also for hope.

As outlined in chapter 3; having either biospheric or altruistic values is deemed pivotal for pro-environmental behaviour. The analysis does however show a clear correlation between the values expressed by the activists and their social environment. Several of the activist credited

their biospheric values to their childhood, coming from a family that had spent a lot of time outdoors, their love for nature and hiking. Several studies report on similar tendencies and link pro-environmental behaviour with positive experiences in nature (for an overview see Corner *et al.*, 2015). Through the analysis it does however become apparent that most of the activists are driven by their altruistic values. The data showed a clear link between their altruistic values and what can be described as a *global perspective* on climate change and the utilisation of a social rationality regarding matters of climate action. It becomes evident that there is a link between egalitarian values and the importance of contributing to the common good, which is embedded in the Scandinavian model of social democracies, and the activist's climate engagement which can explain their overcoming of the barriers imposed by the free-riding problem.

These values have also contributed to a strong feeling of responsibility amongst the activists. This sense of ethical responsibility is two folded as their responsibility as individuals is clearly a motivator for action, but the notion of Norway's responsibility as a rich, oil-producing nation is also present. This notion of responsibility has been detected in previous studies on Norwegian youth and their understanding of, and engagement with, climate change (Fløttum *et al.*, 2016; Hayward *et al.*, 2015). The notion of responsibility is also evident in their wish to be "on the right side of history", their responsibility to act in accordance with their own values and who they want to be. Such an understanding of responsibility is not just limited to these activists. Previous research has shown that being sustainable and climate friendly is by most Norwegians understood to be a central part of the Norwegian identity, and something Norwegians take pride in (Steentjes *et al.*, 2017). Much like previous arguments have centred on the pride amongst Norwegians in being a peaceful nation and contribute to a better world (Leira, 2007). The data thus indicate that the activists are not creating a new norm, but rather activate an existing norm with a strong connection to the Norwegian identity, in a new setting and context, namely that of environmental and climate concern.

Learning about climate change was deemed important for engagement of the activists, and in line with previous research on young Norwegians understanding of climate change (Fløttum *et al.*, 2016) the activists in this study felt that they had high levels of knowledge regarding climate change. There were, however an understanding amongst the activists that this high level of knowledge was representative for the young population of Norway more generally. According to Stern *et al.* (1999), this would lead contribute to the emergence of a norm and could partially explain the high level of climate engagement amongst young Norwegians that previous research

has detected (Aasen *et al.*, 2019). The activists also explained that whilst they had learned about climate change in school, it was more the notion that climate change had been a central part of public discussions throughout their lives that provided them with knowledge, but also the understanding that action was needed.

Sub- research question 1b) and 1c) tries to incorporate these aspects social influence, as we know that youth are prone to peer-influence, and that the action of one individual often reflects the action of others in that social environment and influence our values, thoughts, and actions (Vatn, 2015). Through the analysis it became apparent that their social network has been imperative for the engagement of the activists in this study and whilst there are some nuances, being active in the climate movement has affected them, both their actions, their knowledge, and their values. All the activists explain that their social network consisted of other engaged people, and except from a few of the activists in group 3 and 4, all activists explain that they have friends that are more engaged than them, or that has sacrificed more. Prima facie this effect on the activists is most evident amongst the activists in group 2 who all explain that meeting others that were engaged had fuelled their engagement, made them more secure in their opinions and made them take it one step further. These findings are not surprising; previous studies have shown the importance of peer influence in encouraging civic and political engagement (Shea and Harris, 2006) and environmental action (Fisher, *et al.*, 2010) as well as engagement in the school strike movement (de Moor *et al.*, 2020; Wahlström *et al.*, 2019). Regarding the activist in group 1, the influence is somewhat more limited. Their friends did however influence their participation in the strikes, and they all express that being in a social environment with other like-minded people has made them engage in more conversations and thus enhanced their knowledge and understanding of climate change.

The experiences of the activists in group 3 and 4, as well as activist 17 (not grouped) differ slightly from that of the rest of the sample, mainly due to their longstanding engagement. Most of the activists in these groups explain that they had already started to care about the environment at a young age, but mainly joined the climate movement and their environmental organisation due to social variables; either that their friends already were members, or that they were searching for a new social environment. The strongest social influence is found in these groups; throughout the interviews they draw attention to what they have learned in their organisations and how their engagement had developed and evolved over the years. This is not surprising; previous research on youths' engagement in such organisation have found that youth who are active members tend to not only be more active than youth who engage individually,

but they also tend to use their engagement in more ways (Elliott and Earl, 2017). Following Berger and Luckman's (1967) argumentation regarding secondary socialisation it becomes evident that the activists in group 3 and 4 have been socialised in these organisations, as several of these activists explains that being a climate activists is understood to be a central aspect of their identity.

All the activists were however well aware of the role that their social environment had played for their engagement. Nearly all draw attention to the community and comradeship of the climate movement explaining that this had not only been crucial for their continued engagement, but also seen as one of the most positive aspects of being engaged as it contributed to an understanding that they were not alone in their concerns, as well as witnessing others engagement was deemed a great motivator.

6.2 Their role as activists

The second research question asks '*how do young Norwegian activists understand their role as climate activists*' and tries grasp how they use and express their engagement and how they understand their own position within the movement. It becomes apparent that their activism takes up much of their time and is present in several aspects of their lives, even amongst the ones that are hesitant to call themselves activists. The data reveals that they want to use their knowledge, engagement, and positions to be good role models and to lead by example and to encourage greater engagement amongst others without being too pushy. At the same time, being a climate activist is understood to be less radical today than it was just a few years ago.

As this thesis focuses on climate activists, there is no surprise that all the participants had done lifestyle choices that had helped reduce their CO²-emissions; like reducing their consumption of red meat, restricted their shopping and opted for a more climate friendly means of transportation in their everyday life or when going on holidays. Behavioural changes that many of the activists explains have developed into habits. Regarding previous research on lifestyle alteration amongst young due to climate change, Corner *et al.*, (2015) explains that youth tend to engage in minimal inconvenience, individual behavioural changes; like recycling and switching of the lights, findings that indicate that when environmental-friendly actions conflict with other interests, they are often not prioritised. The findings of this thesis are however in line with previous research on the school strikes, that found that many strikers had in fact altered

their habits and lifestyles to reduce emissions (Wahlström *et al.* 2019). The activist understanding of the role that the individual play in halting climate change is however inconsistent with the findings of Wahlström *et al.* (2019). Their research found that the strikers see action directed at climate change is an individual responsibility and that individual and their consumption patterns can be the solution to climate change. The activist in this study however expressed dissatisfaction with the focus on the individual in the debates regarding climate change, arguing that it was misdirected, side-tracks the public discussion and could in the worst instances be harmful and halter engagement. All the activists stressed the importance of structural change and political action, and whilst they all had done lifestyle choices to reduce their emissions, there was a general agreement amongst all the activists that such actions were not enough. This conviction of the importance in structural and systematic change also becomes evident through the more public aspects of their engagement (e.g., membership in environmental and/or political organisation/parties) as the vast majority of the activist display their activism through these more public arenas and what they express desired goals of their engagement. It is here, however, important to note that these results may be affected by the sampling method that was deployed (which is discussed in chapter 4). Previous studies have shown a decline in the number of young Norwegians that are active in social movement organisations (Ødegård and Berglund, 2008a), and de Moor *et al.*, (2020) found that few Norwegian climate strikers were active members of environmental organisations. The sample is also skewed regarding gender representation, previous studies have however found that girls are overrepresented in the #FFF movement (de Moor *et al.*, 2020), and that girls are more active in political activities like demonstrations and protests (Ødegård and Fladmoe, 2017).

As discussed above; to be included in an environment where others were engaged was pivotal for the engagement for all the activists. Both their initial involvement, their continued engagement as well as the development of their engagement. Further, their altruistic values and the deployment of social rationality has helped the activists overcome the barriers of the problems related to free-riding. As argued by Vatn (2015), there is a strong relation between the emergence of new norms and the activities that takes place in civil society. Norms spread through interaction, and the witnessing the actions of others. The activist can hence not only be seen as entrepreneurs of new norms, but also as promoters and activators of norms. Hence the second sub-research question (2b.) is directed at understanding how the activist use their role as c activators of the norm to be engaged in the climate cause.

Whilst there were some nuances across the groups in the sample, the overall trend was that the activists refrained from projecting their views and their activism on to people in their social network that weren't a part of the climate movement. There was further a reluctance amongst the activist to come off as too assertive and arrogant, as well as an uncertainty related to how useful such an approach would be. Over the last couple of years, we have seen the emergence of terms like *flying shame*, *meat shame*, but also the campaign *#ProudOilWorker* [*#StoltOljearbeider*] The latter as an answer from people in the oil industry who felt like they were being shamed for their occupation, especially by young environmentalists. The emergence of these terms did not only lead to a polarisation of the climate debate, but also to a public debate regarding how effective shame was to change people's behaviours (Rønningen, 2020; Pettersen, 2019). But as mentioned, some variations were detected between the groups, and the activists in group 2 stand out. They have taken a more active role and are more aware of the role they could play as promoters or activators of norms, something that might be derived from their own experiences; the role of others engagement and how their nudging has influenced them.

All the activists did however explain that they engaged in conversations about climate change with friends and family and this was the preferred way to try to influence others. These conversations were both deemed useful, and something they both enjoy and find occurring naturally. This contrasts previous studies on young Norwegian's engagement with climate change. Fløttum *et al.*, (2016) concludes that climate change is still not considered a 'private matter' and is not discussed at home or with friends. Their research was however conducted a few years prior the emergence of the *#FFF* movement and the school strikes, and this may partially explain the different findings. As discussed in the previous section; there was a common understanding amongst activist (as well as the organisational representatives), that a norm to be climate engaged is not only emerging, but has started to take hold, especially amongst the younger generation. Activism is now not only accepted, but understood to be less radical, and the old stereotypical image of an environmentalist on the outskirts of the political spectre was deemed outdated. Further, there is the aspect of what others do, and what we think others do. Young Norwegians have expressed that they believe that their friends are willing to reduce their own consumption, and they are more prone to accept policies to reduce emissions (Aasen *et al.*, 2019). Believing that others are engaged could encourage the belief that climate concern and engagement is widespread could encourage engagement in others (Bouman and Steg, 2019). Hence, just by being climate activists, participating in demonstrations like the

school strikes, voicing their opinions and engaging in conversation could be enough to encourage engagement amongst others. Or as the activists explained, they tried to encourage engagement in others and pro-environmental behaviour by being good role models.

6.3 The #FFF movement

The third research question is a bit narrower as it focuses specifically on the #FFF movement and the school strikes. It reads as follows: *How does Norwegian climate activist understand the role and impact of the #FFF movement?* Analysis of the data shows a prevalent trust in the strike's ability change public discourse and climate policies. A trust that primarily comes from an increased pressure on politicians, a willingness to act amongst the younger generations, and high levels of trust in the organisations that are behind the strikes in Norway as well as the political demands crafted by them. Their strong belief in the strikes is not surprising as the activists have chosen to dedicate time and resources to participate in the strikes. An interesting, and somewhat surprising finding however, is that there was no major difference between the activists in group 3 and 4, where most of the activist were member of the organisations behind the strikes in Norway and the activists in group 1 (and activist 2) who's participation was reliant on their friends and their engagement.

The first sub-research question asks how the strikes has affected the activists and it becomes evident that the strikes had inspired action amongst the activists. Across the sample, all the activists felt that the strikes had renewed, or increased, their feeling of hope, and the analysis shows a clear correlation between a strong feeling of hope and increased collective efficacy, two things that are deemed important for further, and more extensive engagement (Swim *et al.*, 2019; Ojala, 2012). There were however some differences and nuances between the groups. Amongst the activists that were already fully emerged into the climate movement by the time that the strikes started, the effect of them is rather minimal. However, as previously discussed, this sampled is skewed regarding the number of activist that are active both politic- and civic organisations. Their experiences of the #FFF movement and the school strikes may therefore not be applicable or transferable to other school strikers. The activist in group 1 and to some extend group 2, may therefore be more representative for the wider population of climate strikers in Norway. Whilst the activists in group 1 depict the strikes positively and are positive to their experiences and what the strikes can achieve, the #FFF movement has not affected their engagement too much. They are however the ones that is mostly reliant on expressing their

engagement through other means and explains that being one on the barricades is something that does not come naturally to them. The strikes' ability to inspire action is mostly evident amongst the activists in group 2. Nearly all the activists in group 2 explained that the strikes had positively affected their engagement, making them more active, vocal, and aware of their own actions and habits. The analysis thus indicates that the strikes had the largest effect on the ones that are somewhat already engaged, but needed a confirmation that they were on the "right track" and that they were not alone in their concerns. Whilst the sample is small it is reasonable to assume that the #FFF movement have had a similar effect on other strikers as well, as many of the activists in group 2 explained that the strikes were what made them take their engagement a step further.

The second sub-research question focused on how effectful the activists saw the strikes to be. Regarding the societal outcomes of the school strikes, there was a general understanding amongst the activists that the strikes had raised public awareness, affected people's conception of climate change, and inspired action. Previous research on the effect that climate marches and demonstration have on bystanders, shows that this trust in the strike's capabilities is well warranted (Bugden, 2020; Thackeray *et al.*, 2020; Swim *et al.*, 2019). The activists' understandings of the societal aspects of the strikes are strongly correlated to their belief in the possible political impact of the strikes. The number of strikers, both nationally as well as globally, were deemed important. There was a general understanding amongst the activists that this was noticed and taken into consideration by politicians and led to an understanding that they needed to change if they wanted to stay relevant. Further, the political impacts of the strikes could be ascribed to the new norm of caring about the environment which were deemed to affect voting habits, either by increasing voter turn-out amongst young or nudge more votes to greener parties. These findings are consistent with previous research on young Norwegians that have found a strong trust in democratic processes and a lenience towards asserting influence through voting (Ødegård and Berglund, 2008b). Whilst the strikes have a clear political objective, the trust expressed by the activist in this study is inconsistent with previous research, as the same level of trust has not been detected amongst strikers globally (Wahlstöm *et al.*, 2019). As already discussed, the activists felt a strong ethical responsibility to participate in the strikes, but often concretised their rationale for participating as a way to voice their concerns and opinions as well as demanding political action. Whilst a theoretical distinction is often made between these two objectives (Wahlstöm *et al.*, 2019), my analysis shows that they are deemed equally important for the activists in this study, and they are often mentioned in conjunction

with each other. Previous studies on the climate strikers found that demanding political action was seen as a rational for participation for many of the strikers, still, there was low levels of confidence that the strikes would amount to political action, mostly due to low levels of trust in politicians' willingness to deal with climate change (Wahlstöm *et al.*, 2019).

The belief in the strikes ability to encourage climate action amongst politicians indicates a high level of trust in the organisations behind the movement. Trust in organisations that work for the greater good, like environmental organisations, have traditionally been high in Norway and Ødegård and Berglund (2008a) argue that this trust in these organisations ability to solve problems and change society is strongly correlated to an increased trust in governance and the political system. Whilst there are only smaller variances when it comes to the expressed believed capabilities of the strikes amongst the activists, there are more nuances regarding the activists knowledge about the political demands of the strikes and what had already been accomplished. Whilst the activists in group 3 and 4 brought fore the political demands as one of the most positive aspects if the Norwegian strikes, the level of knowledge regarding these varied greatly amongst the activists in group 1 and 2. There were however a strong support for these demands, Through their research, Ødegård and Berglund (2008a) found that membership in organisations increases the trust in the organisations capabilities which can explain the nuances and variances in the belief in how successful the strikes can be that is detected between the activist in group 1 in contrast to the activists in group 3 and 4.

The third sub-research question is directed at the organisations that are behind the strikes in Norway. As outlined in chapter 2, there is something novel about the way that youth engage today. Social movement organisations have always had a central role in organising and facilitating protests and demonstrations whilst also recruiting new participants and activists. It is argued that having such organisations is important for the health and validity of larger social movements, and youth who are engaged in such organisations tends to be more active than youth who only engage outside of organisations (Elliot and Earl, 2018). Previous research has shown that many social movement organisations fail to communicate that young members are cherished as important members of the organisational constituency (Elliot and Earl, 2018). The organisational representatives on the other hand stressed that they had actively worked to ensure that Norwegian youth felt that the strikes were theirs, that they felt empowered and heard. The organisational representatives also stressed that they did not want the school strikes to be understood to be theirs, and it was important for them to make a distinction between them as organisations and the school strikes. Besides the role of a facilitator, it became apparent that

the organisations also had a political objective. All the organisational representatives emphasised the importance of the political demands and explained that they actively used them in their political work, and in those setting stressed the number of strikers that had gathered behind the demands. The organisational representatives also explained that much thought was given to the formulation of the demands, and that there was a concern that too radical demands would have pushed people away.

Getting close to two years since the last physical strike, there is still a strong belief in the strikes and what they can accomplish. However, only a few of the activists had participated in the online strikes, mainly because it “was not the same”, as they did not expect the online strike to provide them with the same feeling of togetherness. There was also an understanding that the online strikes were not as effectful as physical ones. This understanding was shared by the ones that had participated in the online strikes. Whilst several of the activists expressed that they saw the outbreak of the Coronavirus as untimely with regards to the momentum the climate movement had and the media attention the school strikes and the climate crisis got, there was however an agreement amongst the strikers and the organisational representatives that Covid-19 had not damaged the overall engagement amongst young Norwegians. As previously discussed, there was a strong belief in the new norm amongst the activists which also became evident through their trust in the movements ability to gain momentum again after the restrictions are lifted and the pandemic is over.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore what can be identified as the main motivators for engagement in collective action amongst young Norwegian climate activists. Through the #FFF movement and the school strikes, climate activism has become more common, and hence this thesis incorporates the school strikes into the analysis with an aim at getting a more comprehensive understanding of how the school strikes and the #FFF movement has affected the activist, and how these activists perceive the role and impact of the movement. In order to shed light on these issues, three research questions were/was asked: 1.) *What makes young Norwegians join the climate movement and what makes them stay?* 2.) *How do young Norwegians understand their role as activist?* 3.) *How does Norwegian climate activist understand the role and impact of the #FFF movement?*

As previously mentioned, much research on motivation for pro-environmental behaviour is departs from a social psychology perspective. Trying to map out the middle ground between internal and external motivational factors, the thesis starts of from a social constructivist position and incorporates the aspect of social influence and how the social context of the activists affects their willingness to engage.

Regarding the first research question, the results indicate that the activists' reason for engagement in the movement are many-faceted and complex. The data suggests that emotions have been important for the engagement, albeit different emotions have played slightly different roles. This is much in line with previous studies on both strikers and climate activists in general. Hope was however recognised to be the most motivating emotion as most of the activist explains that they feel there is little incentive to act if you don't feel it would lead to anything. The data further suggest that there is a link between the feeling of hope and of increased collective efficacy amongst the activists, and that the emergence of the #FFF movement can be credited an increase in both. These findings contrast previous research that has ascribed hope to trust in innovation and technological solutions. Further, their hope can also be ascribed to what they understand to be the emergence of a new norm that promotes climate engagement and actions. A norm that has already started to take hold amongst the younger generations.

As previous research has suggested, this thesis confirms that the underlying values are important to initiate action. There is a strong lenience towards altruistic values amongst the

activists and they display a strong feeling of ethical responsibility which appears to be closely linked to the traditional egalitarian values and the Norwegian identity as a peace nation and where contribution to the common good is celebrated and characterised as good citizenship. The thesis also confirms the importance social influence, and the role that our social environment plays in fostering engagement. Finding a social group or being introduced to other people who care about the climate and who actively show this engagement has enhanced their engagement. It further becomes apparent that the feeling of belonging to a community has been imperative for the continued engagement for most of the activists. The analysis show that involvement in a social environment where the promotion of a social rationality is prominent and where activism is well established and encouraged has affected the activists and indicate that the norm has been internalised by most of the activist. The data hence confirms the importance of the social context and our social network in encouraging pro-environmental behaviour and climate action.

Turning to look at the second research question, the analysis showed that the activist saw their role to be that of fighter for political and structural change. In contrast with previous research on climate strikers, there is a strong reluctance amongst the activists in this study to what they describe as an increasing focus on the individual and its responsibility to halt emission and to solve the problems related to climate change. Whilst witnessing others engagement has been imperative for their own engagement, being active promoters of the new norm through persuasion is not understood to be a part of their 'role'. They are, however, aware of the role they can play as try to lead by example and be a good role models. This may however be enough to promote a norm and encourage behavioural change, as we are prone to adopt our actions to what others does, as well as following a norm when we think that it is expected from us. And it becomes apparent that meeting others that was more engaged than them, and who were actively voicing their concerns and engagement inspired greater engagement for most of the activists in this study.

The third research question focuses on the #FFF movement and how the activists, understand the movement, the impact of the strikes, and the objectives and strategies of the organisations behind the school strikes in Norway. The results indicates that Norwegian activists and climate strikers have a stronger conviction regarding the possible political impact of the strikes than what previous studies have shown is the case elsewhere. This trust may have grown out from the trust that is in the environmental organisations that are behind the strikes in Norway, as well as a strong trust in political and democratic processes. The understanding that being engaged in

the climate cause is seen as the new normal further contributes to this trust. The data also shows that the school strikes had fuelled and encouraged greater engagement amongst some of the activists, and the analysis suggest that the strikes had the largest effect on the ones that were somewhat engaged but needed a confirmation and a push in the right direction. Findings that are promising as this proportion of the sample can be assumed to represent a large proportion of the average Norwegian climate striker.

Whilst we are getting close to two years since the last physical strike, the hope and engagement derived from these strikes have not faded and there is still a strong trust in what the #FFF movement can achieve. The somewhat more sober level of engagement over the last year and a half is seen as a consequence of the Covid-19 restrictions, and amongst the activist there is a general agreement that this engagement will blossom again when the restrictions are lifted. As one of the activists explained; the engagement had gone into hibernation, but as with all hibernations, it comes to an end, and we will witness similar level of engagement again

As previous mentioned; the activists in group 1, and to some extent group 2, may paint a more representative image of the climate engaged young Norwegian. It did however become apparent that the school strikes and introduction to a new social environment where climate activism and engagement is encouraged has positively affected these activist and their level of engagement. To allow for more certain conclusions and a more thorough analysis of the variances detected between the archetypes, further research should incorporate a larger and more divers sample, directing the focus towards the activists that feel like they are a little bit outside the movement as well as the ones that are newly engaged. As the results of this thesis suggests that collective efficacy is prominent amongst all the activists, I will further suggest to incorporate the aspect of collective efficacy in further analysis of youth climate engagement, as well as more research on more pro-environmental behaviour.

8. References

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9. Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview guide, sampling unit I

Intervju guide for aktivister:

Generell info

- Navn, alder, kjønn

- 1.) Hvor mange streiker har du vært på?
 - Kun de store eller de mindre, ukentlige også?
 - Har du vært med på de digitale også? Evt.: hvorfor ikke?
 - Hvis bare en; hvilken?
 - Har du deltatt på andre protester før?

- 2.) Hvorfor bestemte du deg for å delta på skolestreikene?
 - Hvorfor dro første gang?
 - Hva fikk deg til å dra tilbake?

- 3.) Hva slags betydning tror du det hadde at (akkurat) du var til stede?
 - Hvorfor dro du allikevel/har du tenkt noe over denne problemstillingen før?

Utvikling av engasjement

- 4.) Hvordan oppstod engasjementet ditt for klima?
 - Skjedde det gradvis eller en spesiell hendelse?
 - Hvor har du lært om klimaendringer?
 - Hva var det som gjorde at du bestemte deg for å agere, å gjøre engasjement til handling?

- 5.) Hvordan engasjerer du deg?
 - Hvilke arenaer bruker du?
 - I hvilke arenaer føler du at du har størst gjennomslagskraft/at dine handlinger betyr mest?
I det private/offentlige?
 - Har du møtt noen hindringer?

- 6.) Motivasjon
 - Hvordan er klimaengasjementet i din omgangskrets?
 - Opplever du støtt/motstand for ditt engasjement? (Hvordan og fra hvem?)
 - Prøver du å bruke ditt engasjement for å motivere andre? Hvordan?

- 7.) Hvordan opplever du at kunnskapsnivået om klimaendringer er i din omgangskrets?
 - Hva tenker du om eget kunnskapsnivå?

- 8.) Hva slags type følelser får du når du tenker på klimaendringer?
 - Frykt, sinne, håp – hva er mest motiverende?
- 9.) Hva er viktige verdier for deg? (Biosfæriske, altruistiske, egosentriske)
 - Hvilke tror du har vært viktige for ditt engasjement?
 - Hensyn til andre arter/egen eller andres fremtid?
- 10.) Nå har vi snakket litt om ditt engasjement (følelser, kunnskap, verdier etc.) Har du gjort deg noen tanker om hva som er viktigst for deg?
- 11.) Hva ønsker du å oppnå med ditt engasjement?

#FFF bevegelsen

- 12.) Har engasjementet ditt utviklet/forandret seg på grunn av #FFF bevegelsen?
- 13.) Hvorfor tror du at streikene har fått så stor oppslutning?
- 14.) Hva tror du streikene kan oppnå?
 - Hva håper du? Hva synes du er viktigst?
- 15.) Hovedbudskapet til streikene er krav om klimatiltak og handling fra politikere, har du tenkt noe på hva konsekvensene av et eventuelt gjennomslag kan være?
 - Hvordan vil det påvirke deg og din hverdag?
- 16.) Har din oppfatning av bevegelsen forandret seg i løpet av ditt engasjement?
- 17.) På grunn av Korona så er det over et år siden den siste, store fysiske streiken, hvordan tror du dette påvirker engasjementet (eget/generelt)?
 - Har det påvirket din oppfatning av bevegelsen?

Appendix 2. Interview guide, sampling unit II

Intervjuguide for organisasjoner:

Generell info

- Navn, alder, kjønn
- Hvilken organisasjon? Rolle/stilling?
 - Hvor lenge har du vært med i organisasjonen?
 - Hva fikk deg til å bli medlem?

Ønske om å være tilknyttet streikene

- 1.) Hvorfor ønsket organisasjonen din å være med som medarrangør ved klimastreikene i Oslo?
- 2.) Hva var målsettingen deres; hva ønsker dere å oppnå med streikene?
 - pådriver for politisk handling/bygge en bevegelse.

Mobilisering

- 3.) Hvordan har dere tenkt om, og hvordan har dere jobbet med mobilisering og rekruttering til streikene?
 - Har dere hatt noen strategier for å få til masse mobilisering?
 - Vise at det er viktig vs. Holde momentum (variasjon- at bevegelsen ikke stivner)
- 4.) Hvilke grep/hva har dere gjort for å motivere til deltagelse?
 - Hvordan er organisasjonens deltagelse kommunisert – hva har vært vektlagt i denne kommunikasjonen?
 - Spilt på følelser, kunnskap (og rasjonalitet), verdier, ansvar og/eller normer?
 - Hva har vært vektlagt i kommunikasjonen der dere oppfordrer til deltagelse?
- 5.) Hvorfor tror dere streikene har fått så stor oppslutning?

Gjennomslags

- 6.) Hva håper organisasjonen din at streikene kan oppnå?
 - Hva tenker dere om gjennomslagskraften til bevegelsen/streikene?
 - Oppfordret til annen aktivitet bortsett fra streik?
- 7.) På grunn av Korona så er det over et år siden den siste, store fysiske streiken, hvordan tror dere dette har påvirket engasjementet?
- 8.) Hva tenker dere som organisasjon om skolestreik for klima/#FFF bevegelsen post-Korona?
 - Har dere lært noe?
 - Forandret forståelse av hva som er mulig å oppnå? (Politisk vilje/handlingskraft?)

Appendix 3. Informed consent form, sampling unit I.

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

” Klimaaktivisme blant unge voksne; motivasjon og strategier”?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å utvikle kunnskap og få bedre kjennskap til motivasjonene og strategiene til unge Nordmenn som er engasjert i klimaet. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Dette prosjektet er en Master oppgave. Studenten er tilknyttet programmet Master of International Environmental Studies ved Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet (NMBU). Prosjektet har en varighet på åtte måneder og vil avsluttes i august 2021.

Prosjektet er et samarbeid med CICERO og deres prosjekt ACT- *fra klimamål til handling: folks respons på virkemidler for utslippskutt.*

Prosjektet har som formål å undersøke og bygge kunnskap om klimaaktivisme blant unge voksne. Prosjektet setter et spesielt søkelys på unge voksne som har vært til stede på en eller flere skolestreiker for klimaet og ønsker med dette belyse spørsmål knyttet til forståelse av egen (og andres) rolle som klimaaktivister. Prosjektet ønsker også undersøke hva som motiverer til klimahandling samt hva disse handlingene er. Videre ønsker prosjektet å få innsikt i klimaaktivisters tanker og refleksjoner rundt strategiene, formålene og fremtiden til klimabevegelsen.

Prosjektet ønsker å belyse disse spørsmålene fra to sider og vil også invitere ledere og/ eller ansatte/ styremedlemmer med ansvar for organisering og planlegging av skolestreikene som har funnet sted i Oslo. Både fysisk og digitalt.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet (NMBU) er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Prosjektet gjøres i samarbeid med CICERO – senter for klimaforskning og er et bidrag til CICERO sitt forskningsprosjekt ACT- *fra klimamål til handling: folks respons på virkemidler for utslippskutt.*

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Et av funnene fra ACT prosjektet er at unge voksne mellom 18- 30 år er langt mer bekymret for klimaendringene enn de andre aldersgruppene i den Norske befolkningen. Samtidig er de

mer positive til klimatiltak og politikk som kan virke inngripende og ofte er mindre populære blant resten av befolkningen.

På bakgrunn av dette ønsker dette prosjektet å utvikle kunnskap om unge voksne som er engasjert i klimasaken, både i det private og det offentlige. Unge voksne er i dette prosjektet definert som mellom 18-30 år. Invitasjon til å delta i prosjektet er sendt via de sosiale medier kanalene til organisasjonene som har vært med på å arrangere *Skolestreik for Klimaet* i Oslo samt andre Facebook sider/grupper for klimaengasjerte unge.

Invitasjon til å delta i prosjektet er også sendt til ledere og/ eller aktuelle styremedlem/ansatte i disse organisasjonene da prosjektet også har som ambisjon å belyse forskningsspørsmålene fra organisasjonene sitt ståsted og få et innblikk i deres strategier.

Målet er å ha mellom 20-25 deltagere i prosjektet, inkludert representanter fra nevnte organisasjoner.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Prosjektet baserer seg på intervjuer med deltagerne. For deg betyr det at hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet vil du bli invitert til et intervju. Intervjuet er individuelt og vil ta ca. 45 min og vil foregå via Microsoft Teams.

Intervjuet vil være *semi- strukturert*, og vil gi deg muligheten til å fremheve og prate om det du synes er viktig og relevant innenfor temaene som vil bli tatt opp. Temaene vil være klimaaktivisme, ditt engasjement for klimaet og hvordan dette tas imot i din omgangskrets. Samt refleksjoner rundt egen påvirkningskraft og fremtiden til klimabevegelsen og klimaengasjement blant ungdommer og unge voksne.

I løpet av intervjuet vil informasjon tilknyttet til din politisk oppfatning, filosofisk overbevisning og eventuell religiøs tilhørighet bli innhentet via spørsmål knyttet til din forståelse og engasjement for klimasaken, hvor dette engasjementet stammer fra, motivasjon, samt hvordan du bruker dette engasjementet i hverdagen (og eventuelt medlemskap i miljøorganisasjoner hvis dette er en viktig del av ditt engasjement).

Intervjuet vil bli tatt opp og lagret elektronisk.

Alle som stiller til intervju er med i trekningen av et universalgavekort på 1000,- (dette gjelder ikke representanter fra organisasjoner). Trekningen vil skje etter at alle intervjuene er gjennomført og vinneren vil bli kontaktet av student. Alle deltagere vil få beskjed om trekningen har skjedd.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

- De som vil ha tilgang til dataene og dine personopplysninger er student samt veileder ved oppgaven.
- Ingen uvedkommende vil ha tilgang til dataen din. Informasjon om deg vil bli lagret, analysert og behandlet i studentens bruker ved NMU sin skytjeneste (NMBU OneDrive, Office 365). Dokumentene vil bli klassifisert for å sikre at ingen andre enn student og eventuelt veileder ved oppgaven får tilgang til dokumentene.

Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet så vil oppgaven bli tilgjengelig på Brage- NMBU sitt institusjonelle, åpne vitenarkiv. Det skal ikke være mulig å gjenkjenne deg når oppgaven publiseres. Navn, kjønn og alder vil ikke bli publisert. Eventuelle medlemskap i miljøorganisasjoner vil bli publisert, men ikke din rolle/eventuelle verv.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Opplysningene anonymiseres når oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er i august 2021. Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet vil lydfiler og opptak bli slettet

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg, og
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra NMBU har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- NMBU ved Arild Vatn, veileder ved oppgaven (arild.vatn@nmbu.no) eller student Benedicte Lossius Wiig (benedicte.lossius.wiig@nmbu.no)
- NMBU sitt personvernombud, Hanne Pernille Gulbrandsen (personvernombud@nmbu.no)

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til NSD sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:

- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller på telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Arild Vatn
(Forsker/veileder)

Benedicte Lossius Wiig
(Student)

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet *Klimaaktivisme blant unge voksne; motivasjon og strategier* og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- å delta i intervju
- at opplysninger om meg (eventuelt medlemskap i miljøorganisasjon) publiseres

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 4. Informed consent form, sampling unit II.

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

” Klimaaktivisme blant unge voksne i Oslo; motivasjon og strategier.”?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å utvikle kunnskap og få bedre kjennskap til motivasjonene og strategiene til unge Nordmenn som er engasjert i klimaet. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Dette prosjektet er en Masteroppgave. Studenten er tilknyttet programmet Master of International Environmental Studies ved Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet (NMBU). Prosjektet har en varighet på seks måneder og vil avsluttes medio juni 2021.

Dette prosjektet er et samarbeid med CICERO og deres prosjekt ACT- *fra klimamål til handling: folks respons på virkemidler for utslippskutt.*

Prosjektet har som formål å undersøke og bygge kunnskap om klimaaktivisme blant unge voksne i Oslo. Prosjektet setter et spesielt søkelys på unge voksne som har vært til stede på en eller flere skolestreiker for klimaet og ønsker å belyse spørsmål knyttet til forståelse av egen (og andres) rolle som klimaaktivister. Prosjektet ønsker også undersøke hva som motiverer til klimahandling samt hva disse handlingene er. Videre ønsker prosjektet å få innsikt i klimaaktivisters tanker og refleksjoner rundt strategiene, formålene og fremtiden til klimabevegelsen.

Prosjektet ønsker å belyse disse spørsmålene fra to sider og vil også invitere ledere og/eller ansatte/ styremedlemmer med ansvar for organisering og planlegging av skolestreikene som har funnet sted i Oslo til å bidra til prosjektet.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet (NMBU) er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

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Et av funnene fra ACT prosjektet er at unge voksne mellom 18- 30 år er langt mer bekymret for klimaendringene enn de andre aldersgruppene i den Norske befolkningen. De unge viser videre større vilje til å forandre egen atferd samtidig som de stiller seg mer positive til tiltak og politikk som kan bidra til utslippskutt.

På bakgrunn av dette ønsker dette prosjektet å utvikle kunnskap om unge voksne som er engasjert i klimasaken, både i det private og det offentlige. Hovedgruppen med informanter til dette prosjektet vil være unge voksne som er engasjert i klimasaken og har vært til stede ved minst en *skolestreik for klimaet* i Oslo.

Samtidig ønsker dette prosjektet å belyse spørsmålene knyttet til motivasjon og fremtiden til klimabevegelsen fra to forskjellige ståsteder, samt få et innblikk i strategiene til klimabevegelsen og hvordan disse utvikles. Invitasjon til å delta i prosjektet er derfor også sendt til ledere/administrasjon i organisasjonene som har organisert klimasteikene i Oslo (Natur og Ungdom, Natur og Ungdom Oslo, Changemaker, Spire, World Saving Hustle og KFUM-KFUK Global) med et ønske om å få prate med noen sentralt i organisasjonen som har vært delaktig i å utforme strategier og målsettinger.

Målet er å ha mellom 25- 30 deltagere i prosjektet.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Prosjektet baserer seg på intervjuer med deltagerne. For deg betyr det at hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet vil du bli invitert til et intervju. Intervjuet er individuelt og vil ta ca. 30 min og vil foregå enten fysisk eller via Microsoft Teams/Zoom. (Dette avhenger av dine preferanser og daværende Korona- restriksjoner i Oslo).

Intervjuet vil være *semi- strukturert*, og vil gi deg muligheten til å fremheve og prate om det du synes er viktig og relevant innenfor temaene som vil bli tatt opp. Temaene vil være knyttet opp mot klimabevegelsen og dens gjennomslagskraft, organisasjonens din sin rolle som medarrangør av skolestreikene, samt strategiene, målsettingene og ambisjonene til organisasjonen du representerer. Du blir invitert som en representant for organisasjonen din.

Grunnet disse temaene sin natur vil informasjon knyttet til din politiske oppfatning, filosofiske overbevisning og eventuelle religiøse tilhørighet bli innhentet i løpet av intervjuet.

Intervjuet vil bli tatt opp og lagret elektronisk.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

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Det er kun student og veileder ved oppgaven som vil ha tilgang til dataen og dine personopplysninger.

Ingen uvedkommende har tilgang til dataen din. Informasjonen om deg vil bli lagret, analysert og behandlet i studentens bruker ved NMBU sin skytjeneste (NMBU OneDrive, Office365). Dokumentene vil bli klassifisert for å sikre at ingen andre enn student og eventuelt veileder ved oppgaven får tilgang til dokumentene.

Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet så vil oppgaven bli tilgjengelig på Brage- NMBU sitt institusjonelle åpne vitenarkiv. Navnet ditt, kjønn og din alder vil ikke bli publisert, men navnet på organisasjonen du representerer og at du har/har hatt en sentral rolle i organiseringen og strategiutviklingen til streikene vil bli publisert. Dette betyr at du vil kunne være gjenkjennbar for de som leser oppgaven.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Opplysningene anonymiseres når oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er mot slutten av 2021. Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet vil lydfiler og opptak bli slettet

Dine rettigheter

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Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra NMBU har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

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- NMBU ved Arild Vatn, veileder ved oppgaven (arild.vatn@nmbu.no) eller student Benedicte Lossius Wiig (benedicte.lossius.wiig@nmbu.no)
- Vårt personvernombud Hanne Pernille Gulbrandsen (personvernombud@nmbu.no)

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til NSD sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:

- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller på telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Arild Vatn
(Forsker/veileder)

Benedicte Lossius Wiig
(Student)

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet *Klimaaktivisme blant unge voksne i Oslo; motivasjon og strategier*, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- å delta i intervju
- at opplysninger om meg (medlemskap i den organisasjonen jeg representerer og rolle ift. planlegging av *skolestreik for klima*) publiseres slik at jeg kan gjenkjennes av de som leser oppgaven

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)



Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
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