Ageist Language in German Newspapers: Media Images of the Youth Climate Movement and Greta Thunberg

"In what ways is the youth climate movement, which emerged after Greta Thunberg, represented in German newspaper coverage by ageist language, that potentially (re)produces an exclusive hegemony over the youth climate movement?"

Bachelor Thesis

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Abstract

This bachelor thesis aims to uncover the representation of the youth climate movement, which developed after Greta Thunberg, by German newspapers in terms of the use of ageist language, which potentially contributes and maintains exclusive hegemony over the movement. By means of Critical Discourse analysis, the theoretical expectation of the use of ageist language in the newspaper discourse and an exclusive hegemonic setting of the youth climate movement is examined. Also, it includes the theoretical notion of a media trend that iconises and heroises young female activists in regard to Greta Thunberg as a role model of climate activism. These theoretical expectations are corroborated in the discourse from the German newspapers, FAZ and taz. The representations of the youth climate movement including the 'young hero' Greta Thunberg as 'pupils', 'absentees', and 'dreamers' were most conspicuous in the articles. It was found that the newspapers discourse emphasises the activists' role as young people, who are obliged by law to go to school. Also, it was retrieved from the narratives that the authenticity and factuality of the youth climate movement are doubted. Based on these findings, it is suggested adopting measures that enlighten journalists and society on ageist expressions on young people.

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1 Introduction

"We have thus arrived at the issue of POWER: the power of those who can use language for their various vested interests, (...). Language (and other symbolic systems) is used to determine and define similarities and differences; to draw clear BOUNDARIES between 'us' and 'others'." (Wodak, 2012, p. 216)

Although the issue of ageist discourses in public media are found more recently on the desk of gerontologists or media scholars, in youth studies the use of ageist language to portray young people lacks in research and what is found, is in disagreement (Lepianka, 2015a, 2015b; Levinsen & Wien, 2011). The leading discourse scholars on ageism Justine Coupland and Nikolas Coupland examine the domination of older people and outline the power of ageist discourse in regard to its manifestations in politics and society and consequential disadvantages for the older generation (Coupland & Coupland, 1993). This is supported by contemporary research, which reveal that older adults are subjected to ageism in newspapers, twitter and other media platforms cross countries (Coupland & Coupland, 1993; Edström, 2018; Fraser, Kenyon, Lagacé, Wittich, & Southall, 2016; Gendron, Welleford, Inker, & White, 2016; Kroon, Trilling, Van Selm, & Vliegenhart, 2019). Negative stereotypes of older people and ageist language components are parlances in these media coverages. Also, the images that the media create are found to be strongly ageist or even gendered too (Edström, 2018). Such ageist language components are indicated to have a derogatory character (Gendron et al., 2016; Nuessel, 1982). These critical discourse scholars, who focus on ageism towards the elderly, do not short comment nor justify the exclusion of young people in their study of ageist language. The concept of ageism is solely used to mean discrimination and hegemony over older people. The leading argument for the societal relevance of these studies is the demographic shift, that our societies encounter worldwide.

The scientific community is aware of the risk of discriminatory representations and unexposed stereotypes in the public media and its potential effect on the 'insiders' and 'outsiders' when it comes to the vulnerable older generation. As Coupland and Coupland (1993) describe it, "Where it is demonstrably true that individuals are being debarred from security, dignity, services or careers by virtue of age alone, relative to other age-groups, universalistic principles of human rights and equality of opportunity are indeed the appropriate point of reference." (p. 282). However, we do not only encounter a bigger group

of older people, whose rights have to be ensured, but also it implies a shrinking group of young people, that is potentially subject to dominative and discriminatory patterns from an evergrowing older generation. In recent youth studies, scientists are still divided over the (re)production of ageism in media discourses. Negative depictions of the youth are detected (Lepianka, 2015a, 2015b), but also neutral representations in the media (Levinsen & Wien, 2011), as well as positive images of young people, are indicated in the literature (Gendron et al., 2016). The domination of the youth through ageist language in media is still an unresolved issue in science. This points towards the scientific relevance of studying the use of ageist language on young people.

Also, the aim to uncover the discursive exclusion of young people is accompanied by the power of media images and their respective language. Media images supply us with ideas, that are normative and prescriptive (Edström, 2018). The potential discriminatory content in newspaper articles is influential on addressee and reader (Gendron et al., 2016), which makes the specific imaging described here crucial to the perceptions of both parties. As such media imaging "is considered important for ensuring democracy, equality, and human rights" (Edström, 2018, pp. 79-80), it connects with the notions of Coupland and Coupland on ageism and supports the urge of examination of potentially ageist media images. As it has been outlined previously, the news discourses give examples of the contribution and maintenance of ageism towards older people. Also, ageist media images of older people are examined (Edström, 2018). This bachelor thesis sets out to uncover the ageist portrayal of younger people in Germany. As the scientific matter stands now, it is clearly a relevant issue to be solved also in regard to its societal and practical implications.

Germany presents a striking setting for analysis considering the discourse on young people. It holds the record in the lowest share of young people in the EU and comes third after Italy and Greece in regard to the highest share of people aged 65 or older (Eurostat, 2019). It is interesting that young German citizen are currently accountable for generating a "media buzz" because of the frequent climate activism. The youth climate movement, which calls itself Fridays for Future (FfF), emerged after the activism of Greta Thunberg. Only during the time period, which this study is interested in, that is the 20th of August 2018 until the 1st of

¹ Edström (2018) defines the word "media buzz" in regard to the "constant flow of images from the mainstream media that surround us" (p. 78), and henceforth, she refers to these numerous media representations.

May 2019, the online databank WISO (2019a) shows that the German press released 13,355 articles on Greta Thunberg or Fridays for Future. The last global climate strike on the 24th of May 2019 has been reported to have taken place in 131 countries, 1851 cities, and well above 1 million protesters took part (Fridays For Future International, 2019). Germany is thought to be responsible for the most protests worldwide (Haynes, 2019), with joint actions in more than 300 cities (taz, 2019) and over 320.000 protesters (Fridays For Future Germany, 2019). Hence, Germany presents a relevant setting for discourse analysis.

The abundant growth of climate activism in Germany among people might be related to the political scenery in Germany. The public activism of Greta Thunberg and the start of the FfF worldwide grew simultaneously to the meetings of the commission for growth, restructuring, and occupation (referred to as coal commission) in Germany and their final decision on phasing out of coal in Germany until 2050 in 2019 (Kommission "Wachstum, Strukturwandel und Beschäftigung", 2019, p. 64). The FfF in Germany made its business to protest for a faster and more consequential coal phase-out in Germany (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2019a). For politicians, the protest of the progressive youth movement is a wicked issue. Central subjects for debate are missing out of school on Fridays of the protesters and potential climate change adaptation in Germany. Leading German politicians make supportive statements like the Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier (Steinmeier, 2019) and the chancellor and previous party leader of the Christian Democratic party (CDU), Angela Merkel (Merkel, 2019). The leader of the Free Democratic Party (FDP), Christian Lindner (2019), says that 'one cannot expect children and youth to see global contexts, what is technically sensible and economically feasible'. He states that 'this is an affair for professionals' (Lindner, 2019). The general secretary CDU Paul Ziemiak (2019) twitted that 'Greta Thunberg thinks that the German compromise on coal is 'absurd', without her addressing the jobs, security of supply, and affordability'. He states that it is 'only pure ideology' and calls her 'poor Greta' (Ziemiak, 2019).

The statements display how diverse the German public discourse is on the FfF and Greta Thunberg. Even within the conservative party, CDU, leading figures disagree on whether to support the progressive visions of the youth or to support conservative claims on climate action in Germany. Likewise, these statements contain ageist language components in the discourse on youth activism. An older elitist generation is discussing a progressive youth. This potential dominance relation over the youth in Germany is of special interest in this bachelor

thesis, and attention is given to in what ways institutionalized power elites manifest such a social inequality in discourses. As critical discourse analysis (CDA) is relevant to study the relationship between language and power, this method guides this thesis. In a CDA one does not only look at what is said and how it is said but also at the context of the discourse (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 250). As the previous outlined statements of German politicians indicate, it is found that the global environmental governance and discourse is essentially hegemonic and exclusive over "grass-roots movements" in the neo-Gramscian sense (Ford, 2003). The consideration of the whole setting is especially of importance, since "the power of discourse" (Wodak, 2012, p. 217) is shaped by the macro-setting of the discursive hegemon. Language is an enactment of power and depends on political interests or other interests, which those in power vests (Wodak, 2012). This orthodox setting is hence noteworthy to this study in terms of the potential contribution, which the newspapers make to it, by (re)producing ageist language on an excluded youth climate movement. The discourse on the youth climate movement including Greta Thunberg as well as the setting clearly points at the societal relevance of this newspaper study.

Overall, a comment of the German legal scholar Barczak is noteworthy. In this debate on the FfF, he calls attention to the danger of an emerging battle of generations due to climate change (Barczak, 2019). A clash of generations manifesting itself in the creation and maintenance of age-related power structures by newspapers' discourses is of certain interest. As a result, this study operates under the main research question:

"In what ways is the youth climate movement, which emerged after Greta Thunberg, represented in German newspaper coverage by ageist language, that potentially (re)produces an exclusive hegemony over the youth climate movement?"

From the research objectives as well as the main research question, three sub-questions are developed, which guide the data analysis of this CDA. The first research question contributes to the interest in the representation of the youth climate movement in the German newspaper discourse. It is asked, "What media images of the youth climate movement are created by the newspapers in Germany?". The relevance of examining the media representations of a social actor has been given earlier based on their influence on people's perception. The second sub-question then goes more into detail on the contribution

to and maintenance of ageism by this newspaper discourse. The second sub-question is "What are the ageist language components of these newspaper images?". This gives room to find and discuss what ageist language is used in order to portray young people or the youth climate movement in this case. Lastly, the third sub-question deals with the public setting of this newspaper discourse on the youth climate movement. The question is "What does this ageist newspaper discourse on the youth climate movement signify in terms of the exclusive, hegemonic global environmental discourse (in the neo-Gramscian sense)?". However, this will not turn this study into additional policy analysis, but it gives room to interpret the discursive domination in terms of other vested interests. In summary, this bachelor thesis aims discovering an ageist trend in news media in the hegemonic global environmental discourse itself. This seeks to unmask the domination over the youth climate movement in global environmental governance, in regard to the involvement of the hegemon, the German newspaper discourse, with ageist language.

In order to provide a basis for this critical discourse analysis, the next chapter introduces what youth climate movements are and how young activists are presented in the media discourse (2.1). Here, the theoretical insight on the tendency to heroise young female activists is crucial. Following, the hegemonic discourse of the global environmental governance presents a striking insight for this study of the potential domination of the youth climate movement (2.2). Hereafter, the theoretical notions are connected by the leading concept of this study - (juvenile) ageism (2.3). The theoretical expectations, that are developed in these subchapters, are concluded for the sake of clarity (2.4). The third chapter introduces the research design of this thesis (3.1). At the heart of this chapter, is the concrete explanation and justification of the selected case (3.2) and data (3.3) as well as how this is subsequently prepared for the data analysis (3.4). The fourth chapter constitutes the data analysis of this CDA. It is constructed in accord with the media images, which are discovered in the newspaper discourse. These form the subchapters of this chapter and they include the discussion of the use of ageist language. Thereby, the answers for the first and second sub-question are generated simultaneously. The analysis of the third sub-question is presented afterward (4.5). The concluding remarks of this bachelor thesis generate an answer to the main research question (5.1) and they also consider the implications for future research (5.2) as well as for policy and governance (5.3).

2 Theory

This chapter serves as the theoretical foundation for this CDA, which examines the news media images of the youth climate movement. It elaborates on the focal point of the media coverage, the youth climate movements, and here within, the focus is on what discourse the youth climate activists encounter. Firstly, in regard to the media images, that are aimed to be discovered, a theoretical notion of a tendency in media to iconise young girls in activism is developed (2.1). Further, the examination of media images is extended by the elaboration on linguistic and rhetorical means, which provides a basis for this analysis (2.1.1). Secondly, general findings on youth climate movements are discussed. Here, a noteworthy insight is developed, which is the exclusive hegemony over climate movements in environmental governance and discourse (2.2). This hegemony from the neo-Gramscian angle is then connected to the media as (re)producer of an ageist discourse on the youth climate movement, which thereby potentially keeps up with the exclusive hegemony over the youth climate activist(s). Therefore, the concept of ageism, institutional juvenile ageism and the respective scientific findings in media are explained in more detail (2.3). Lastly, this theory chapter is summed up and the theoretical guiding light for the data analysis is elaborated again.

2.1 Imaging of Young Activists in Media

Because this study examines the news portrayal of the youth climate movement, it is at first relevant to lay the groundwork for this by considering what youth climate movements are and what they are subject to, especially in regard to its media discourse. Thus, a common understanding of the focal point of the media debate, the youth climate movement, is needed first. Youth movements are understood as non-formal organisations of young volunteers, that hold a "specific 'statement-of-belief'" (Goldman, Pe'er and Yavetz, 2017, p. 490). The youth's struggle for social change focusses here on environmental issues, although the youth also shows engagement in topics like human rights, technology or education (Ho, Clarke and Dougherty, 2015). The young activists also organise themselves in other forms, such as formal or for-profit organisations or in advisory boards or social enterprises (Ho et al., 2015). But these types of youth organisations are not of interest to this bachelor thesis. Here, the current youth climate movement is studied, which is internationally known in terms of activism by Greta Thunberg and Fridays for Future movement, which emulates Greta's deeds.

Until now, the most prominent youth climate movements in Germany emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. The anti-war protests, in the context of the Vietnam war, and the antinuclear power and peace movements, which were mostly led and supported by students, shaped this period. Worldwide, the youth movements reflected the topics of engagement of the German youth. In the United States, the students fought against old values and beliefs in terms of opposing the war in Vietnam and fighting environmental issues (Sherkat & Blocker, 1993). In regard to this study of the news media, it is of interest that the largest protest in Germany back then was the student protests against the Axel Springer Publishing Empire, resulting in sit-ins and major street battles. The protests were led due to the assassination attempt in 1968 on Rudi Dutschke, the role model and leading speaker of the student activists. The students blamed the anti-student campaign in magazines and the inflammatory articles and headlines of the German national paper, like 'Stop the red Rudi now!' ("Stoppt den roten Rudi jetzt!") (taz, 2018). This historical event and the public attention, that is given to the central figure of this movement, point towards the need of examining the news discourse of the youth activism, and what images are promoted by the media, especially in terms of a personification of the debate on the role models of activism.

It is noticeable, that this kind of personality cult in media has been discussed by the scientific community in terms of young girl heroism. It is especially examined in the case of Malala Yousafzai. Malala has become a "global political and injustice icon" (Olesen, 2016, p. 308) with her activism on education for girls. The media discourse of her activism in regard to her being a young girl align with the notion that "Adolescent girls have become ideal subjects of neoliberal development and are positioned as vulnerable subjects while also being portrayed as capable of eradicating poverty and global gender inequality" (Khurshid & Pitts, 2019, p. 425). Also, Khurshid and Pitts (2019) and Qazi and Shah (2018) have examined the newspaper discourse of the portrayal and identity construction of Malala due to her being a child (education) activist. Both examinations interpret the portrayal of her as a young girl and vulnerable agent in regard to her Islamic background. As Malala is no exceptional case for a global iconicity, when looking at the cases of Neda Agha Soltan or Eric Garner (Olesen, 2016), or in terms of young female heroism Nadia Murad, it is of interest how this is part of this study's discourse too. This phenomenon can be further exemplified by the winning and nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize of young female activists: Malala was awarded in 2014, Nadia was awarded in 2018, Greta was nominated in 2019.

The role of Greta Thunberg in the youth climate movement, which appears conspicuous in this media discourse, will be given special attention in the examination of the media images. This is based on the theoretical notion of a media trend, that iconises and heroises young female activists in progressive activism. The use of ageist language by the media in portraying the young female hero will be part of the examination of this theoretical expectation as well (see section 2.3).

2.1.1 Linguistic and Rhetorical Devices

By virtue of the interest in the news images of the youth climate movement, it is interesting to look at the theoretical notions of social actor representations. One part of a CDA is to look at how actors are presented by linguistic strategies (Lamb, 2003). The argumentative strategies of nomination and predication are argued to be helpful when looking at the presentation of social actors and "observing patterns" (Lamb, 2013, p. 345). A nomination is the reference to or the naming of a social actor, e.g. according to the actor's function (functionalisation), place (spatialisation), claims (utterance autonomisation), or an applicable mechanism (instrumentalisation) or 'problem' (abstraction) (Lamb, 2013). By such a grouping of an actor in terms of certain characteristics attributed, the actor can be substituted or deleted from the sentence (Lamb, 2013). Having this in mind, images of the youth climate movement and Greta Thunberg will be revealed. Also, the predication in a sentence can indicate characteristics, which are attributed to an actor. The predication is the prepositional phrase, that characterises an actor in terms of specific verbs (Lamb, 2013). These two strategies could be helpful when examining the media discourse on the youth climate movements with respect to the images created. This linguistic analysis can be further extended with the examination of linguistic means, that may be used in the discourse and portrayal of the youth movement. That is because messages about and representations of actors can also be uttered indirectly so that rhetorical means like metaphors or hyperboles are relevant in a CDA (Van Dijk, 1993).

2.2 Hegemony and Exclusion of Climate Movements

Regarding the previous research on youth climate movement in general, most scholars have been concerned with what internal factors shape the youth climate movements, as what affects or causes the youngsters' participation. The dominant argument is that the family

background of the youth, like the social class or the socialisation, affects the participation in climate protests (Goldman et al., 2017; Sherkat & Blocker, 1993; Strandbu & Krange, 2003; Thielking & Moore, 2001). However, scholars have also been interested in the external factors that have an influence on youth climate movements (Burciaga & Martinez, 2017; Ford, 2003; O'Brien, Selboe, & Hayward, 2018).

Here it is of special relevance to look at what the discourse on youth climate movements is like. In this respect, one factor is crucial to this study, namely that the global climate discourse is orthodox and hegemonic over climate movements. This argument is considered, as it gives room to interpret this CDA of ageist media discourse. It is relevant since in a CDA not only the discourse as such is of relevance to the examination but also the context (Van Dijk, 1993). Climate movements operate in the scenery and discourse of the global environmental governance, that is "embedded in the neoliberal political economy, which is hegemonic in the neo-Gramscian sense that dominant power relations are maintained by consent as well as coercion" (Ford, 2003, pp. 120-121). This hegemony is argued to be maintained through an orthodox discourse in global climate politics, which is embedded in social practices (Ford, 2003). It is relevant that although climate movements operate in this setting, it excludes such grass-roots movements (Ford, 2003). This hegemonic exclusive discourse is crucial to the youth climate movement in two respects. First, it is found that young movements do not only tend to struggle in such public settings, but they adapt to the political, legal and discursive contexts in terms of their claims, the respective targets and their strategies and tactics (Burciaga & Martinez, 2017). Secondly, this is crucial to the youth climate movement, as it is argued that the success of youth climate movements to affect social change depends on forming a "dangerous dissent" (O'Brien et al., 2018, p. 6). This means that they have to create an alternative system to the status quo and also it requires having a say and access to the democratic processes (O'Brien et al., 2018).

In regard to this study, it can be concluded that the youth climate movement operates in an exclusive setting that inherits the power in an orthodox and hegemonic discourse over environmental governance. This theoretical assumption is given attention in the critical examination of the creation of images on the youth movement in the newspaper discourse. The contribution of the media towards that power dominance is examined in terms of the use of ageist language as social practice, which potentially contributes and maintains the status quo in this case. As Stegemann and Ossewaarde (2018) outline, in the neo-Gramscian sense,

it "is the discursive element that makes its logic hegemonic" (p. 26). Hence, the next part of this theory introduces the hegemon of this power-relation study, the news media and their discourse on the youth, that potentially exercise the use of ageist language.

2.3 Ageist Media Discourse

For the sake of clarity, the previous argument is elaborated again. This study regards the news media, that produces the discourse on the youth climate movement, as the hegemon. This is studied in terms of the exercise of ageist language. Thus, the hegemony is ageism in media against the youth. This combines the theoretical notion of the exclusion and hegemony over climate movements in the discourse of global environmental governance with the potential domination of the youth in media via ageist language.

The media is of special relevance due to the influential role in public perceptions and social categorisations. Especially, in a CDA the media as a mediator is given much attention. That is because the media does not only possess a role as agenda-setter for politics but also it has an influence on society (Qazi & Shah, 2018). The media affects how people perceive themselves and 'others' and thereby it is crucial to the categorisation of people into groups (Fraser et al., 2016.; Kroon et al., 2019). Here, the categorisation according to the age of people is central. This human pattern gives rise to ingroup and outgroup compositions, which are based upon similarities and differences that are perceived by people. This is likely to create social distance and a discriminatory pattern since we tend to prefer in-group members and discriminate against 'others' (Gendron et al., 2016).

The construct ageism describes the discrimination of people according to their age. In research, this has been primarily understood in terms of prejudices against older people, referring to the introduction of the term by Butler in 1969. He calls it a "deep seated uneasiness of younger generations with ageing" (Butler, 1969, p. 243). The understanding of ageism has been increased by Westman in 1991, who calls the attention to juvenile ageism. Institutional juvenile ageism is the disregard of children's interests by the social system (Westman, 1991). It can be uttered in five different forms, namely when "children are ignored as inherent members of society with development needs as important as the needs and desires of adults; when children are segregated from public places and public media; when parenting is denigrated; when children are treated as adults; and when child-caring systems do not serve the interests of children." (Westman, 1991, p. 240). These notions of what ageism is in terms

of out-grouping and what ageism against the youth specifically includes will inform the CDA of this bachelor thesis.

However, such discrimination is not a new issue to society and science, as sexism or racism is frequently exposed to public discussions and critical discourse analysis. The scientific interest in age discrimination however grew recently in regard to the demographic changes worldwide (Edström, 2018; Gendron et al., 2016; Pritchard-Jones, 2017). When taking a look at the literature on ageism, it is argued that public institutions and the media are a (re)producer of ageism (Lloyd-Sherlock, Ebrahim, McKee, & Prince, 2016; Pritchard-Jones, 2017). Ageism against older people is detected in medial language on a global scale (Edström, 2018; Fraser et al., 2016; Gendron et al., 2016; Kroon et al., 2019). Fraser et al. (2016) expose 13 age-related stereotypes in Canadian print media and outline the media's creation and maintenance of discrimination against older people. Gendron et al. (2016) reveal an ageist language also on social media, which shows that aging is perceived as different and as negative but youth as positive. In regard to juvenile ageism in media, the scientific literature indicates a lack of consensus on how the news depicts young people. Lepianka (2015a) discovered the negative depiction of young people in the Dutch news media. Additionally, Lepianka (2015b) revealed negative depictions of young people in terms of a lack of warmth simultaneously to positive counter-stereotypes, that portrayed them as competent. Also, she suggested a contribution to 'othering' in society (Lepianka, 2015b). Levinsen and Wien (2011) argue for a changed perception of youth in public and make proof of a neutral representation of the youth in the Danish newspaper from 1953 to 2003. The diversity in findings supports a closer investigation of juvenile ageism in the media discourse.

In order to reveal such ageist discourses, it is relevant to gain an understanding of what age discriminatory language looks like. Nuessel (1982) points out that institutionalised ageist language has a deprecatory, negative character and its terms are derogatory and demeaning on the age group described. Gendron et al. (2016) outline the complexity of ageist language, which includes unintended as well as well-intentioned ageist remarks, ranging from contempt, derogatory expressions to positive ones. Although Nuessel and Gendron et al. relate the use of derogatory ageist language to older people, this may serve as a starting point for an analysis of ageist language towards the use. This study then may extend the knowledge in this field too. Overall, the scientific contributions to (juvenile) ageism in terms of the out grouping of the youth, the use of derogatory language and the indications of institutionalised juvenile

ageism, which Westman (1991) gives, contribute to this study by serving as a foundation to the coding scheme, that is applied to the articles to discover the media images on the youth climate movement in the data. This is extended by the discursive and linguistic means, which are used in the representation of social actors, that are discussed in the subchapter of the first part of this theory chapter.

2.4 Conclusion

This second chapter has delivered the theoretical guiding lights for the analysis of the media images of the youth climate movement. The theoretical assumption, that the news media is potentially part of the exclusive hegemony over the youth climate movement in the setting of the global environmental governance by creating media images on the youth climate activism with derogatory ageist language, will be examined and discussed in detail. Secondly, this study incorporates an examination of these media images in terms of the notion of a new media trend, that portrays young girls as heroes of public activism, which includes the examination of ageist language components in the portrayal as well. As the focus is on the portrayal of the youth climate activist(s) by the use of derogatory ageist language, the theoretical contributions to juvenile ageism: out-grouping of the youth, the use of derogatory language and the institutional juvenile ageism by Westman, serve as the foundation to find these media images. This is extended by the use of linguistic strategies and means of representing social actors as the youth climate movement. A more detailed description of how and on what data these theoretical contributions have been applied in this study is explained in the next chapter on the methodology.

3 Methods

This third chapter aims to clarify and to justify the methods used for answering the research question of this thesis. Therefore, the research design of the study is examined first and the perspective from which the analysis is conducted, the CDA, is explained (3.1). Then, the case of the study is described and the choice to study the German newspaper discourse on the youth climate movement is discussed (3.2). It continues by explaining the newspaper choice and summarising the respective data collection of the study (3.3). Finally, it is considered how the collected data is analysed with the aid of the theoretical concepts of Chapter two, which are operationalised at this instant (3.4). This includes the presentation and discussion of a theory-driven coding scheme (3.4.1). The chapter concludes by summing up the research activities undertook (3.5).

3.1 Research Design

This research is an interpretative, hermeneutic study. It analyses narratives, which are the journalese found in the two German newspapers, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) and the tageszeitung (taz). Thus, the FAZ and the taz are the units of analysis in this study. Both newspapers are spread daily and nation-wide, but they have a different political stance. The FAZ is known to take a conservative stance, whereas the taz is known for a left-wing viewpoint. The newspaper choice is elaborated in section 3.3. Respectively, the units of observation are the articles that portray the youth climate movement, which is specified in this thesis as reporting on Fridays for Future and Greta Thunberg. This choice is motivated by the reason that the two names are representative of the youth climate movement in Germany. Since this research is specifically interested in the media images, that are created by the use of derogatory ageist language and hence the (re)production of ageism in these media narratives, the ageist expressions are the central research objects. This ageist language component is operationalised in a theory-driven coding scheme, that enables to retrieve the respective media images from the FAZ and taz articles.

As this study hence aims to uncover the discursive domination of the youth climate movement by an ageist image creation of the newspapers, the best suitable method to analyse this discourse is the critical discourse analysis. The nature of the CDA goes in line with the interest of this study, "namely to get more insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality." (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 253). The CDA is driven by

pressing social issues, in which minority groups face prejudices and discriminations (Van Dijk, 1993). Furthermore, the CDA gives room for the analysis of text and talk with respect to its context and all possible forms of appearances of the discourse (Van Dijk, 1993). Here, it can be observed what and how images of the youth climate movement are created by considering the ageist language component too. Lastly, the observations are interpreted in the scope of the theory, which focuses on the domination and power exertion by the news media over the youth climate movement and young representatives of youth activism in terms of the (re)production of ageism and hence the contribution to and maintenance of an exclusive and hegemonic discourse over climate movements in the global environmental politics.

Lastly, potential threats to the validity of the research design need to be discussed. Regarding the external validity, one may be concerned that this youth climate movement discourse in the German newspapers presents an exceptional case. The rapid and immense growth of young climate activism after the protests of Greta Thunberg may go along with a singular discussion, also in regard to the political scenery. Certainly, this study gives room to the political context to be considered as well as newspapers of two different political stances are chosen and analysed. Thereby, a certain variety in units is ensured. The study of the political circumstances is not at the heart of this study and may serve as a starting point for further research on the youth climate movement.

3.2 Case Selection

This study's case is the German newspaper discourse on the youth climate movement. In general, the worldwide media debate on the youth climate activism can be traced back to the start of the 'school strikes for climate' from Greta Thunberg in front of the Swedish Reichstag on the 20th of August 2018. The interest in her climate activism grew with her speeches on political major events, as the COP24 in Katowice, and her ongoing protest on Fridays. The climate protest has been emulated in Germany and many other nations under the name "Fridays for Future". Germany presents a distinctive setting for a study since the German youth climate movement is accountable for the highest numbers of protests and an immense public debate. In Germany, more than 320.000 people demonstrated in over 300 cities at the global climate strike on the 24th of May 2019. Worldwide, over one million people in 131 countries and 1851 cities protested for the climate (see section 1.). Thus, the German youth climate activism hold a great share of the worldwide protests.

Also, Germany presents a distinctive setting since the phasing out of coal was decided upon in January 2019, which promoted the youth activism and their claims are focussing on a fast coal phase-out in Germany. This movement was then highly discussed in the public, from politicians and the media, ranging from banning the protests due to the skipping of school while demonstrating to lowering the minimum age for voting. The big media debate is reflected in the press articles, which were released on Greta Thunberg or Fridays for Future, from the 20th August 2018 until the 1st May 2019 (end of data collection). During this period, the database WISO (2019b) shows that 16,222 press articles have been released in all newspapers worldwide, that the database has access to. The German press is accountable for 13,355 of all these articles. Although WISO is a German database and it may be argued, that it is unrepresentative to give the numbers of articles, the website includes the press releases of news agencies, Austrian and Swiss and international press. Therefore, it is useful to show the distinctiveness and relevance of German coverage. In regard to potential ageist imaging, German newspapers can be seen as an illustrative case of discriminatory media discourse, as it has been proven widely (Van Dijk, 2015), and the theory chapter gives an indication of ageist media discourses worldwide.

3.3 Data collection

In this CDA, qualitative data from the FAZ and taz is analysed. The nature of both newspapers is comparable, as both of them report daily and nation-wide. Also, they are quality papers, but they differ in their political stance. The FAZ is known for taking a conservative viewpoint, whereas the taz is regarded as part of the left-wing spectrum. Here, the FAZ and the taz are chosen, as they are widely known to represent these stances. The study of two different political stances gives room to the two variables of interest, ageism and its patriarchal connotation, and the progressive youth climate movement, that fights conservative policies. This includes the current conservative status quo in Germany and the new rise of a left-green wing political interest, which is represented in the movement but also the turnout of the recent EU elections in Germany in 2019, in this study. The green party in Germany became the second-strongest party with 20,5 %. Also, the choice opens up the study of the newspaper discourse based on the given theoretical expectations to be verified and to be falsified. That is because, German conservative papers are found to be a wielder of discrimination and domination (Van Dijk, 2015), but one may not expect this from a left-wing newspaper. Due to

the newspaper choice, this study aligns with van Dijk's notion in a CDA "to summarize complex ideological configurations" (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 9).

The data is in the form of articles published by the two newspapers. To get the articles of the taz, the WISO was used, whereas the private archive of the FAZ was used to obtain their articles. In the two different search engines, it was searched for 'Greta Thunberg' or 'Fridays for Future' from the 20.08.2018 to the 01.05.2019. The time span refers to the start of Greta's protests to the end of the data collection process. Thereby, 228 articles from the FAZ and 162 articles from the taz were obtained. These 390 articles were all checked on content, as it was expected that the headings could not serve as a good indicator due to abstract references to the youth climate activism. Since this number of articles could not be studied in the time frame of the study, several decisions had to be made. Articles under 100 words, short quotes or news statements of a few sentences were excluded, as those are seen as low in substance. Because the FAZ archive includes all their different papers, it was decided to limit the sources here, in order to concentrate on the daily coverage available to the reader. This means that for the FAZ the national and regional (Rhein-Main newspaper) and the daily online articles are included, but other sources of FAZ are excluded (FAZ Einspruch, FAZ Magazin, FAZ Metropol, FAZ Quarterly, FAZ Sonntagszeitung, FAZ Woche). Thereby, the data is brought to the same level of the taz, since the WISO covers the taz's daily national coverage and the regional coverage (Berlin, Nord, NRW), which were considered then. Additionally, letters to the editor or opinions by the public are excluded, as this is no journalese of the newspaper.

Regarding the content check of the articles, they had to report on the FfF or Greta directly, or their claims or activities. Also, Interviews or debates specifically related to them are selected. Articles, which referred or named only shortly (one of) these factors but mainly focussed on other events, like a party or international congresses or policy decisions are excluded. That is because they do not intend to cover the youth climate movement. The preselection resulted in 71 articles from the taz and 100 articles from the FAZ. Since this number of articles still could not be studied in a limited time, the articles were finally selected in regard to their title. Here, three factors were decisive. The title had to either directly or indirectly refer to the *names Greta Thunberg or FfF*, their climate protest, or their young age, whereas for the indirect references the coding scheme of the data operationalisation was considered. Instead of their full names, rhetorical elements may be used (e.g. Skipping of school for future) and also the climate protests may be referred to as what they are 'famous' for (e.g. strike or

skipping of school). The factor of age was considered in order not to leave out the articles that already use specific rhetoric in their title, which this study is finally interested in. Since the content check has been done before, it could be ensured that the articles are relevant to the youth climate activism debate.

The final selection includes 39 articles of the taz and 59 of the FAZ, leading to a data set of 98 articles. Due to this final selection, the focus is on the articles, which are recognisably connected to the debate for the everyday reader. Hence, the selection presents what images of the youth climate movement the newspaper creates to them. To make these choices understandable but also public to criticism, the pre-selection and the final selection are included in the appendix (table 3). The word(s) in the title, that lead to the final selection according to the factors named, are highlighted.

3.4 Data Operationalisation and Data Analysis

Finally, this section elaborates on how this CDA is executed. In order to discover the media images of the youth climate movement, that are leading the discourse, a theory-driven coding scheme has been applied to the data set. The analysis was supported by the use of the data analysis software ATLAS.ti.

The coding scheme represents the theoretical findings on ageism against young people (Westman, 1991), how ageism may be uttered in language (Gendron et al., 2016; Nuessel, 1982) and what the concept ageism in media as such is and implies (Fraser et al., 2016; Gendron et al., 2016; Kroon et al., 2019). The findings of Lepianka (2015a, 2015b) and Levinsen and Wien (2011) are not included. This is because they refer to a three-fold spectrum of representation (positive, neutral, negative), which is seen low in substance for this study of ageist language. Also, they are in disagreement so that they are considered in the interpretation of this study, to maybe contribute to a clearer picture of youth representation. Additionally, the coding scheme includes how social actors may be referred to or how they are described, in order to give room to specific journalese on the youth climate movement. The nine codes, which are developed based on these insights of chapter two, are illustrated with keywords, which exemplify the journalese, that may be used. Hence, the coding scheme has been a useful tool to discover the narratives, that represent the youth climate movement in reference to their age. This coding scheme does not include the theoretical expectation of young girl heroism in media, in order to give space to discover the full extent of this potential

media image. Hence, it has informed the ATLAS.ti activities additionally. Then, it can be revealed whether this kind of personality cult may emerge as a new media trend in portraying progressive activism as one part of the imaging of the youth climate activism. By applying this coding scheme and the theoretical expectation on young girl heroism to the chosen dataset, the first sub-question, which aims to discover the relevant media images on the youth climate activist(s), could be studied.

3.4.1 Coding Scheme

Text analysis	Concept	Code	Keyword(s) (exemplary)
A. Content	Institutional juvenile ageism	Youth is subordinated	Inferior, Uninformed, Inexperienced, My child, Our children
		Youth does not belong in public	Out of place, Illegitimate, Misguided
		Parenting is a burden	Exhausting, Stressful, Demanding
		Youth is treated as adults	Women, Men, Immature
		Youth's interests are minor	Unimportant, Unrealistic (interests, claims)
	Derogatory language	Youngsters have negative characteristics	Childish, Naïve (to be explored)
	Outgroup discrimination	Youth is different	They, The Children/ Youth, Young, We/ us
		Being young is negative	Too Young, Only Old, Childish
		Old is good	Wise, Manner, Knowledgeable
B. Linguistic Strategies	Predication	Youth do have certain characteristics (in	(To be explored)

	terms of the codes of A. Content)
Nomination	Functionalisation (To be explored) (actor named as: what the actor does)
	Abstraction (To be explored) (actor named as: what 'problem' might be related to the actor)
	Spatialisation (To be explored) (actor named as: what place may be referred to the actor)
	Utterance autonomisation (To be explored) (actor named as: what the actor claims)
	Instrumentalisation (To be explored) (actor named as: what mechanism the actor applies or is applicable to)
Rhetorical elements	Examples: (To be explored) Metaphor, Hyperboles, Comparisons

Although small differences in the newspaper coverage between the FAZ and the taz were noticed in terms of a more frequent and linguistically stronger derogation of the youth in the FAZ, the overall depiction can be summarised in four main images, which are analysed in the next chapter. Also, it has been observed that the dataset includes articles of the newspapers, which report on the issue of this study, namely the ageism or heroism of young representatives. However, throughout their depiction, they practically still inherit this language, which reasons their examination and discussion. Examples for this observation are given in the data analysis chapter.

Secondly, the narratives, which are found in this respect, exemplify the journalese on the youth climate movement and the media images that are dominating, which are then further explored in terms of the ageist language components. This relates to the interest of the second sub-question on the nature of ageist language in media. Lastly, these observations

made are interpreted in regard to the second chapter on theoretical findings on what discourse youth climate activists encounter and the use of ageist language in media. Here, the main focus is on the (re)production of young girl heroism in the case of Greta Thunberg and the newspapers' contribution and maintenance of ageism on the youth climate movement, which would align to the exclusive and hegemonic discourse of the global climate governance.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research activities of this CDA. The analysis of the newspapers' narratives chosen is three-fold: (1) the coding scheme on juvenile ageism is applied to the data set, to discover the media images on the youth climate movement. It includes the distinctive depiction of young female activists, who are seen as role models of public activism in media. Thereby the first sub-question could be studied, and answers generated. (2) The ageist components of this news coverage are discussed, to identify the derogatory language that is used to portray the movement. This second step then goes more into detail in the general aim to uncover and discover the use of ageist language in this newspaper discourse, which aligns with the second sub-question of this thesis. (3) Lastly, these findings are interpreted in the light of the (re)production of ageism by the media, that maintains the exclusion and hegemony over the youth climate activist(s) in the setting of climate governance. Thereby, this last methodical step gives room to generate an answer to the third sub-question. This finally supplements the objective of answering the general research question of this thesis and arriving at the research aim.

4 Data Analysis

This fourth chapter implicitly develops an answer to the research question and explicitly it generates the answers to the sub-questions of this thesis. It is structured in accord with the media images, which could be discovered with the help of the coding scheme in the newspaper discourse on the youth climate movement. Thus, the observations of the data analysis in terms of the first sub-question are presented in each subchapter first. Also, the theoretical expectation of a media tendency to portray young girls as heroes and icons of progressive activism (see section 2.1) is part of this introductory image debate. The findings on this expectation in the discourse on the youth climate movement and the representative Greta Thunberg constitutes the last, fourth media image (see section 4.4). The observations are organised along with the two substitutes of the theoretical idea on a 'heroisation' and the 'young girl' portrayal. The presentation of the media images goes along with the subsequent interpretation of these findings in the scope of the theory, which has been developed in 2.3. Here, theoretical insights on the use of ageist language in the imaging of the youth climate activism are developed in each subchapter. Hence, the answers to the second sub-question on what ageist language components constitute these media images, are generated. Thereby, the subchapters present the answers on the first two sub-questions on the thesis and elaborate on the study's aim of unmasking media images which are created with the use of ageist language. This chapter then concludes with developing an answer to the third subquestion (see section 4.5), which interprets this ageist newspaper discourse in terms of its contribution to and maintenance of the exclusive and hegemonic global environmental discourse in the neo-Gramscian sense. The chapter ends with a summary and concluding remarks for the data analysis (4.6).

4.1 The Pupils

The most striking media image that both newspapers create throughout the whole discourse is the portrayal of the youth climate movement as a pupil-protest and the nomination of the climate activists in the role of pupils. The frequency of the words "pupil*" or "pupil-protest" itself indicates the magnitude of this news media image of the youth climate movement. In the discourse of both newspapers, the overall reference to the climate activists in terms of the word pupil could be found 383 times in the journalese only (see appendix table 2). This includes 85 articles of the total 98 (see appendix table 1). All coded quotations of the data

analysis in ATLAS.ti and the respective articles can be found in the data file. The journalese, that presents the youth climate activists as absentees, is excluded here because it forms an independent news image, which is discussed in the next subchapter. This image refers to the picturing of the activists as pupils and the picturing of the whole movement as pupil-strike. Since the framings originate from the same reference to the activists' function as pupils, they are discussed jointly. However, at first, it is presented how this image is created, in order to explain this observation. Afterward, the ageist language components of this framing are considered.

To begin with, this image is created by the functionalisation and predication of the climate activists as 'pupils', which appeared 299 times in 82 articles (FAZ: 187 times in 54 articles, taz: 112 in 28 articles). Also, words like the trainee, student, grammar school pupil, fourth-grader or other similar nominations, that refer to the role of the activists in reference to the school education, have been used and are included in the counting and this discussion on the 'pupil'. The following two citations exemplify the journalese, which has been counted, in terms of the use of functionalisations like "pupils" ("Schüler", 122) and the use of predications as "Every Friday morning at 8 am prompt, Greta Thunberg comes carrying her school bag, roll mat and cardboard shield in front of the Swedish Reichstag in Stockholm." ("Jeden Freitagmorgen pünktlich um 8 Uhr kommt Greta Thunberg mit Schulrucksack, Isomatte und einem Pappschild vor den schwedischen Reichs- tag in Stockholm.", 70).

Furthermore, the nomination of the youth climate movement as 'pupil-demonstration', which includes references like the pupil strike, pupils-protest(s) or the strikes during school time, contributes to the 'pupil'-image. These were found 84 times 47 articles (FAZ: 49 times in 28 articles, taz: 35 times in 19 articles). One example is "That is why she will take part in the *pupil-protest* with her sister and her friends on Friday in India's capital Delhi." ("Deshalb wird sie mit ihrer Schwester und ihren Freunden am Freitag zum Schülerprostest in Indiens Hauptstadt Delhi gehen.", 48).

Apart from these linguistic strategies, also rhetorical devices have been used in order to portray the youth climate activism in accord with their position as pupils: "A great advanced course in protest culture" ("Ein prima Leistungskurs in Protestkultur", 56) or "On the road instead of the classroom" ("Auf der Straße statt im Klassenzimmer", 163). This indicates the representation in the form of an 'agent deletion'. Here the actual climate activists or the

climate movement are removed from the sentences, and they are only depicted according to the 'pupil-being'.

4.1.1 The Use of Ageist Language in 'The Pupils'

The following part related this 'pupil-image' of the youth climate movement to the theoretical insights that have been developed in chapter two. The overall argument is that the framing as 'pupil' is of strong ageist nature, whereby the newspapers contribute to and maintain the ageism of the youth climate movement. To begin with, the word itself pupil refers to the age of the activists, since education takes place during childhood and youth. Also, the compulsory education law (in Germany responsibility of the states) refers to people, in this case, German citizens until 18 years (apart from Saarland and Thüringen, where it is 21 years). Thus, the use of the word creates the image to the reader of young people with the characteristic of still being educated and subject to the law. That is why the 'pupil'-reference itself is seen as an ageist language component.

The use of this nomination of the climate activists as pupils directs the focus of the debate on their function as 'pupils', who are in the process of learning, instead of depicting them as what they are essentially doing in the situation, that is protesting for climate adaptation. This diverts the debate from climate activism on to the youthfulness of the activists and that they are not fully educated yet. This is seen as inherently ageist framing, which aligns with the theoretical contributions of Westman (1991) on institutional juvenile ageism. That is first because this imaging neglects what the youth climate movement essentially aims and stands for, which is an adaptation to climate change. This goes in line with Westman's (1991) notion, that children's interests are disregarded by the social system. Furthermore, this 'pupil'-image promotes subordination of the young group, that is being active, and creates an inferior position of them under the public system. That is what Westman (1991) calls the ignorance of children as inherent members of society with an equal stand as adults.

This disregard of the youth climate activism can be further exemplified in the following citation "It is Friday for Future in Rom. For the first time, the movement called for national demonstration, *even if* the schools are closed due to Easter holiday." ("Es ist Friday for Future in Rom. Erstmals hat die Bewegung in Italien zu einer landesweiten Kundgebung aufgerufen, auch wenn die Schulen wegen der Osterferien geschlossen sind.", 2). The citation (as well as

the ones given previously) supports the argument that movement is presented in terms of their 'pupil'-being and that the newspapers strongly focus on that characteristic of the movement instead of their climate claims. Also, the language used to portray the activism supports the notion of Westman (1991) is in his argument that children are segregated from public spaces. This is strongly shown in the following citation, "That pupils' butt into, want to have a say and take to the streets" ("Dass Schüler sich einmischen, mitreden wollen und dafür auf die Straße gehen, (...).", 165). The pupils are portrayed as inherently different when arguing that they interfere because they are protesting. This indicates that young people are not seen as having a place and a say in the public setting. Here, this pupil imaging in terms of 'interfering' creates a role for the activists outside the public realm and different from what 'non-pupils' are eligible to. The corroboration of this theoretical insight on ageism in terms of keeping them outside the public space is discussed to a wider extent in the second media image of the activists as absentees.

Likewise, this observation also shows that this depiction contributes to an out-grouping of the youth climate movement as 'pupils', which aligns with the theoretical notion that the media contributes to the depiction and categorization of social groups (see section 2.3). This is crucial since it promotes 'othering' and discriminatory patterns in society (Gendron et al., 2016). Also, the use of rhetorical elements and linguistic strategies, which delete the youth climate movement as a social actor from the sentences (previous examples), strengthen the image of the pupil. This is relevant to the influence of the media portrayal on public perception. The perception of the youth climate activist as the pupil is promoted. Likewise, this observation shows the frequent use of rhetorical and linguistic devices in portraying social actors. This aligns with the theoretical insights developed in 2.1.1.

Lastly, another conspicuous trend in the media items is underestimation of the capability of 'pupils'. This can be exemplified by the following narratives: "Also, Exner tells self-assuredly that the pupils do everything themselves" ("Selbstbewusst erzählt Exner auch, dass die SchülerInnen alles selbst machen", 47), "Amazingly reflective as youngsters that are said to be too young for political judgments." ("Erstaunlich reflektiert für Jugendliche, die eigentlich noch zu jung für politische Urteile sein sollen.", 34), "Even fourth-grader came." ("Sogar Viertklässler sind gekommen.", 104). Here, the journalists are surprised by the 'positive' characteristics and capabilities of the 'pupils'. These presentations of the activists do not only intensify the othering of the activists, but also it indicates that pupils are very

much underestimated in what they can do and what they care about. This observation conflicts with Lepianka's (2015b) finding, which showed positive counter-stereotyping in the depiction of young people as competent. Although this cannot help to resolve indifferences in scientific observations of section 2.2, it gives room for further examinations of media stereotypes of young people outside of this theory and in potential future studies.

4.2 The Absentees

The second image that is created in this newspaper discourse of the youth climate movement is the 'absentees'. That is because, in the chosen narratives, journalists portray the activists in terms of skipping school or the activism as absenteeism. The image could be found 64 times in sentences of 29 articles (FAZ: 44 times in 19 articles; taz: 20 times in 10 articles; see appendix tables 1, 2). It could be noticed that some articles present the youth climate activists very strongly in terms of 'absenteeism' (55, 67, 105, 131, 142, 149, 155, 163, 164). Also, it has been noticed that four articles criticise that the youth climate movement is discussed in terms of absenteeism (16, 43, 52, 130). Still, the previous counts show that the depiction as absentees permeates the discourse. This subchapter firstly examines how this image has been created by referring to three different kinds of 'absentees'-portrayal. Afterward, the inherently ageist language components are debated.

Firstly, in the newspaper discourse, it is referred to and emphasis is put upon the compulsory education law. This has been done in 14 times in 11 articles (67, 71, 82, 88, 123, 131, 149, 157, 159, 163, 164). Two strong examples for this kind of journalese are "Say again? Tens of thousands of pupils do not attend school and Federal Chancellor approves it? Although the compulsory education law remains in effect?" ("Wie bitte? Zehntausende Schüler nehmen nicht am Unterricht teil, und die Bundeskanzlerin findet das auch noch gut? Wo es doch eine allgemeine Schulpflicht gibt?", 131) and "The task of educators is not throwing themselves at the pupils and coopting their initiatives but opposing them." ("Die Aufgabe von Pädagogen ist es nicht, sich den Schülern an den Hals zu werfen und ihre Initiative zu vereinnahmen, sondern ihnen etwas entgegenzusetzen.", 164).

Secondly, the journalists of both newspapers used predicative strategies, which describe the climate activists or 'pupils' as absentees or as skipping school. This framing is accountable for 37 times in 20 articles of the numbers given as first indication (27, 48, 55, 56,

57, 62, 67, 70, 105, 107, 122, 131, 142, 149, 155, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166). In order to exemplify this language, an example is given "Do *youngsters necessarily have to skip school* to protest for climate protection?" ("Müssen Jugendliche unbedingt die Schule schwänzen, um für mehr Klimaschutz zu demonstrieren?", 105).

Thirdly, the climate activists and the movement are represented as absentee(ism) by the use of the nomination, abstraction, as well as other rhetorical devices. This could be found 13 times in 8 articles (28, 56, 94, 97, 105, 131, 149, 155). To illustrate this depiction of the climate activists according to the problem of 'absenteeism', an example is given "If truancy would be single, one could overlook it." ("Wenn das Schwänzen einmalig wäre, ließe sich noch darüber hinwegsehen.", 105).

This is also done in a more rhetorical manner, "Absenteeism for Future" ("Schwänzen for Future", 155) or "Again a free Friday for thousands of pupils" ("Für Tausende Schüler ist wieder ein freier Friday", 149).

4.2.1 The Use of Ageist Language in 'The Absentees'

In regard to the ageist language components of this coverage, this imaging is argued to be inherently ageist due to the word itself, absenteeism. Introductorily, this can be explained by considering the word itself again. The Cambridge Dictionary online (2019a) offers two definitions of an absentee, which is that someone is absent (American English) and that someone is not at work or at a place where they are supposed to be (Business English). The synonym truancy is defined as "the problem or situation of children being absent from school regularly without permission" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019b). These meanings are supported by the Duden online (2019), which defines absenteeism ('schwänzen') as not taking part because someone does not feel like going. Hence, the use of this word ultimately creates a negative picture to the reader of the climate activists as missing illegitimately and without good reason. Hence, such framing delegitimises and abrogates the youth climate movement and their claims.

Furthermore, the abstraction of the youth climate movement as absenteeism in this newspaper discourse aligns with what Westman (1991) notes in his definition of institutional juvenile ageism. As discussed in the first image on the 'pupil-being', the coverage in regard to the school instead of the climate activism directs the focus and the debate away from the actual interests of the youth movement. Hence, this coverage disregards the interests of this

age group and does not weigh the interests of the youth climate activists' coequal to the one's of the public system, that aims for education. Due to the immanent references to the breaching of the law and the outlining of the 'illegal protests', this coverage is strongly ageist regarding the notion of segregating the youth from public places. That is because this image delegitimises the public protests and argues that pupils are not eligible for the basic human right to demonstrate when they want to.

Likewise, the abstractions and rhetorical devices are used to promote an out-grouping in society, since they are depicted as a different group, with negative characteristics. Here, this image does not only promote 'othering' as it has been put forward in section 2.3, but also, it facilitates the picture of a criminal 'other'. That is because it facilitates negative perceptions of the readers on the youth climate movement, as the focus is directed on 'an indecent youth'. What is very striking in this framing, is the deprecatory and negative character of ageist language, which Nuessel (1982) and Gendron et al. (2016) discuss. The language used here, 'skipping school', 'wagging school, 'truancy' or 'absenteeism', put a negative spin on the youth climate movement and their climate activism. This extends the theoretical notion of the authors on ageist language towards older people in terms of applicability on the ageist language used on young people. In more detail, it derogates their climate activism and climate claims, as something illegitimate and unwarranted. Thereby, this framing takes the findings on juvenile ageism a step further, since this coverage shows criminalisation of the youth based on their activism in public and the claiming of their interests.

Finally, this coverage reconfirms Lepianka's (2015a, 2015b) findings, that the media depicts the youth in a negative way. The notion of Levinsen and Wien (2011) on a change in the presentation of young people in media towards a neutral depiction is still unconfirmed in this case.

4.3 The Dreamers

This third image is the only image, whose name is not explicitly derived from the text. It summarises the kind of news discourse on the youth climate movement, which is characterised by a derogation of the youth movement's claims on climate adaptation. As in the previous news images, which have been discovered in the news discourse on the youth climate movement, an indication of how often this image was applicable to the journalese is given first. Overall the image of 'the dreamers' was applicable to sentences of the chosen

narratives in 46 times in 21 articles (see appendix tables 1, 2). Although the discussion has been done coequal on both newspapers until now, here it is remarkable that the FAZ is accountable for 38 times of the specific coverage in 14 articles (77, 88, 89, 90, 100, 105, 113, 114, 130, 136, 137, 140, 153, 164), whereas this imaging was found 8 times in 7 articles of the taz (7, 14, 23, 26, 34, 49, 55). Firstly, it is presented how this image is created in the newspaper discourse and afterward, the ageist language components of this coverage are discussed and related to the theory of chapter two.

The image of 'the dreamers' is created by presenting the activists as having not thought well about their claims. This kind of coverage makes up 11 quotations of the overall count above (8 Articles: 7, 23, 77, 89, 113, 114, 130, 136). In order to exemplify this journalese, a citation is given "But they share Thunberg's position condemning politicians wholesale: You the powers that be, let us down. Very comfortable." ("Aber gemeinsam haben sie mit Thunbergs Position, dass sie Politiker pauschal kritisieren: Ihr Mächtigen lasst uns im Stich. Sehr bequem.", 114). This portrayal is achieved through taunting and reproachful language.

Furthermore, the claims of the youth climate movement are presented as being unwarranted. This appeared 16 times in the newspaper discourse (7 Articles: 49, 77, 88, 114, 136, 137, 140). What is meant by the presentation as unwarranted, is exemplified by the following citation "That is the flip side of a strategy, which is based on campaigning capability and agitprop that slide over the diversity of interests." ("Das ist die Kehrseite einer auf Kampagnenfähigkeit und Agitprop ausgelegten Strategie, die über Interessenvielfalt hinweggeht.", 136). In the example, it is shown that this discourse on the youth climate movement is led by indirectly referring to the actual actor and also deleting the addressee from the sentence.

In addition, the claims of the youth climate movement are discussed as being unrealistic. This happened in 9 sentences of 6 articles in the discourse (88, 90, 100, 115, 136, 153). The following citation serves as illustration "To go down well with the greenies, Diess merely has to cycle to work. And preferably, never get into a car again." ("Um im Ökolager richtig anzukommen, muss Diess jetzt nur noch mit dem Fahrrad zur Arbeit fahren. Und am besten gar nicht mehr in ein Auto steigen.", 115). It shows that the youth climate movement as an actor, who is represented or addressed, is deleted from the sentences and nominated in regard to their strong activism and climate interests.

Also, it appears twice in the discourse (14, 55) that the journalese frames the activism as not very real or wide-reaching. For example, it is judged as not exerted seriously and that the climate interests do not permeate their whole life.

Lastly, the youth climate activists are portrayed in reference to stereotypes of young people. This was found five times in five articles (26, 34, 100, 130, 164). The following citation serves as an example, "When pupils ask such questions one can sweep it aside, pointing adolescent propensity to drama out" ("Wenn Schüler solche Fragen stellen, kann man das mit dem Hinweis auf einen adoleszenten Hang zur Dramatik beiseitewischen, (...).", 164). Here, the journalists make use of known stereotypes that provoke associations of the youth for the reader.

4.3.1 The Use of Ageist Language in 'The Dreamers'

Although this image again gives examples of the theoretical insights on out-grouping and othering of young people of the movement but also young people in general, and a derogation and disinterest for young people's interests, it is aimed to open a new discussion here. That prevents recurrences of arguments and also it gives room to develop new insights. That is important due to the striking framings and the underlying perceptions of this newspaper image.

All these different kinds of portrayals give an indication of what prejudices of young people exist. It is observable, that the language in each kind is rather indirect and the framing of the actual judgment on the youth climate movement lies more in between the lines rather than being explicitly stated. Also, most of these portrayals address reproaches and accusations to the youth climate movement. In summary, the stereotypes, which this imaging indicates, are that the adolescents (of the climate movement) did not think well about their claims, which is extended by portraying the claims as illegitimate or as unrealistic. Also, the authenticity of the climate activists and their claims is called into question, but also, the activism is portrayed in terms of prevailing stereotypes of young people. Furthermore, the existence of these indicated stereotypes is supported by the previous two newspaper images and the respective portrayals 'The Pupils' and 'The Absentees'. The framings in terms of the 'Pupils'-image support that young people are not taken seriously regarding their interests and are seen as uneducated, which promotes the idea of claims that are not well-wrought or unrealistic. The 'Absentees'-image, which directs the focus on breaching the law and being

unreliable, aligns with the notion of judging the claims as illegitimate and activism as not authentic.

However, the theory chapter of this thesis does not give much room for interpretation on stereotypes of young people. That is because the aim of this thesis was directed on the (re)production of ageism in terms of the image and derogatory language used and it was not expected to find such noteworthy observations in terms of stereotyping. But these findings contribute a striking insight into this study. Especially in regard to the finding of Lepianka (2015b), which reports on the negative depiction in terms of a lack of benevolence of young people but the positive stereotype of young people being competent. Rather, this image supports a different notion, which is the negative depiction in the vein of incompetence of the youth climate activists. This was not foreseen in the theory section 2.3.

4.4 The Young Hero: Greta Thunberg

This last subchapter gives evidence of the theoretical suggestion, which has been formed in section 2.1 on a media trend to heroise young girls in social activism. It is hypothesised that Greta Thunberg is iconised and heroised as a young girl in this newspaper discourse. As this has been the only media image that was considered, it is interesting not only to discuss whether the expectation has been proven right. Also, it is outlined how this report unfolds in this case of Greta Thunberg and how it is connected to an ageist and derogatory language in the data. At first, the image, which has been created of her, the young female hero is presented, and it is examined how the two newspapers have crafted this portrayal. Then, the discussion merges into the ageist language components of this portrayal as a young girl. Here, it is noted that the images, which are discussed in the previous subchapters of the analysis, have been created of her as well. However, this imaging of her is included in the counts and citations of the former discussion as she is essentially a part of the whole movement. That is why the discussion of each of these ageist language framings is not repeated. Certainly, it was noticed that these portrayals have been very personalized on her as individuum, which will be shown.

So, to begin with, it is shown how the two newspapers shape the image of Greta Thunberg as a young female hero and icon in and of the youth climate movement. In the newspaper discourse, the presentation of her as a young girl who initiated the climate movement could be found in 175 sentences in 71 articles (FAZ: 100 times in 43 articles; taz: 75 times in 28 articles; see appendix tables 1, 2). Eight articles of the chosen narratives have been aware of this heroized portrayal of Greta Thunberg and the evolution of a personality cult (7, 9, 11, 43, 49, 88, 100, 130), but as the previous counts show, it still has been practically inherited. The applicability gives proof of the extent of this framing but also the corroboration of this theoretical expectation (see section 2.1).

This part first aims to show the portrayal of Greta Thunberg as a young leader and initiator. In this discourse, iconicity and heroism of Greta Thunberg is mainly created by the use of predications and nominations, which present her as a role model, as a leader and as an initiator of the climate activism. That can be seen in this citation: "With *the idol, the 16-year-old Swede Greta Thunberg*, the movement has penetrated in the grand middle of politics." ("Mit ihrem Idol, der 16-jährigen Schwedin Greta Thunberg, ist die Bewegung zudem in die großen Politarenen vorgedrungen", 57).

Furthermore, the iconicity of Greta Thunberg has been established by portraying her as an ideal example of green-minded behaviour. For example, five articles present her in the role of a girl, who restricts flights and take the train or the e-car only (70, 49, 56, 100, 81). Also, her environmental awareness in other parts of her lifestyle presents her person as an ideal, "I admit that I do *not live as environmentally aware as Greta Thunberg.*" ("Ich gebe zu, dass ich nicht so konsequent klimagerecht lebe wie Greta Thunberg" 88). Moreover, the heroism and iconicity of Greta Thunberg are created by a wide use of rhetorical elements. She is compared to prominent and influential personalities, for example to Ellinor Ostrom (97), Donald Trump (119) or Abba (137).

In regard to the rhetorical devices that are used in order to portray Greta Thunberg, it is evident that the rhetoric tends to create a messianic coverage and sanctification of her (2, 11, 100, 136). This can be exemplified by the following short citations of the discourse: "Gretas mission" ("Gretas Mission", 2) and "Greta, Jesus and the climate catastrophe" ("Greta, Jesus und die Klimakatastrophe", 11). Also, the German idiom "Leviten lesen" is used twice (57, 165) in order to report that she held strong speeches, that criticized non-eco-minded behaviour, in front of many important politicians. The idiom originates from the monasticism and the third book of the Mose, which is also called 'Levitikus'. That is because it is used in order to portray that someone holds a sermon or indoctrination. This strongly promotes her heroic representation.

Also, it is remarkable that this image has been enforced by a strong personalization of the youth climate movement and its discussion on her as individuum. The discourse gives very personal information on Greta as a person and her family background and that she has Asperger syndrome (49, 51, 100, 116, 119, 136, 140, 153). It is noticed that a trend for each newspaper is detected in regard to their kind of personalization of the debate and this iconicity framing on Greta Thunberg. In the FAZ, it is conspicuous that the articles report very frequently and with the use of high rhetoric competences on Greta, which make her as person an additional 'issue of debate' apart from the climate activism. One example is "What makes Greta Thunberg tick?" ("Wie tickt Greta Thunberg?" 114; Further examples in 96; 97; 100; 119). These chosen narratives of the FAZ on the youth climate movement include four expert interviews Greta Thunberg. In the articles of the taz, it was noteworthy that such interviews could not be found. But her name, Greta (Thunberg), was frequently used in the titles of the taz articles, in order to depict an environmental issue or debate. Here her name was instrumentalized in order to exemplify green-minded behaviour or the climate adaption debate, without essentially reporting on her ([Original] Example: "Being Greta Thunberg" 14; 10; 23; 35; 41). This has been observed two times in the discourse of the FAZ as well (144; 145).

In addition, Khurshid and Pitts (2019) have noticed that the young girl heroism goes alongside a portrayal of the adolescent girls as vulnerable. In this thesis, it is not aimed judging a potential of vulnerability of Greta Thunberg. But two observations are striking regarding this argument. First, the coverage on Greta Thunberg often includes that she has Asperger syndrome (Example: 114). Also, she is frequently depicted as the 'lonely activist'. It could be found four times that she is described as the girl, who has started the climate activism *alone* (41, 49, 52, 68).

The young girlhood, that is part of this 'young girl heroism', is mainly created by the newspapers' nominations and predications of her as either young girl or teeny or as a pupil. Age references in sentences of the discourse could be found 66 times in 47 articles (FAZ: 36 times in 28 articles; taz: 30 times in 19 articles). An example for this framing is the following journalese: "and on almost every protest, one can find a poster with the likeness of the 15-year old girl with long braids." (" (...) und bei fast allen Kundgebungen tauchte auch ein Plakat mit dem Konterfei des 15-jährigen Mädchens mit den langen Zöpfen auf.", 70). The pupil references on Greta could be found 34 times in 29 articles (FAZ: 24 times in 22 articles; taz: 10

times in 7 articles). This is exemplified by the following two citations: "Greta Thunberg is a *schoolgirl* from Sweden" ("Greta Thunberg ist ein Schulmädchen aus Schweden", 100) and "*With her school bag*, Thunberg made the climate crisis an issue of the youth worldwide." ("Mit ihrem Schulstreik hat Thunberg die Klimakrise zu einer Angelegenheit der Jugend weltweit gemacht." (49). It could be shown very extensively that this newspaper coverage includes young girl heroism, which Khurshid and Pitts (2019), Olesen (2016) and Qazi and Shah (2018) found in the depiction of Malala Yousafzai.

4.4.1 The Use of Ageist Language in 'The Young Hero'

The portrayal of her girlhood serves as a useful bridge in order to start the discussion of the ageist language components of this image. The nomination of her as pupil or pupil-girl as well as the age references, which include nominations of her as the 15- or 16-year-old (girl), are seen as ageist framing. Since the discussion and interpretation of the framing as the pupil has been debated in former sections, this is not repeated here. But the 'girlhood' promotion, especially in terms of the nominations of Greta as a young girl and as a 15-year-old girl, is taken up for debate. Here, the previous counting and citations are used, which have been presented on the creation of the girlhood image of Greta Thunberg. This categorization of Greta as young girl and the nomination of her as 15-year-old girl shows that she is portrayed from the specific angle of a young girl. This coverage facilitates the perception of her as different, potentially as 'out-group' in terms of her youthfulness. This goes in line with Gendron et al.'s (2016) notion of a medial contribution to out-grouping. Also, it was noticeable that the media images of the whole climate movement could be found on Greta Thunberg too. As she is not seen as a separate case of the youth climate movement in this thesis, this portrayal of her has been included in the counts and citations of the previous discussions of the pupil, the absentees, and the dreamer.

However, it was striking that even these images were personalised on her as individuum additional to image creation. She is held responsible for the 'absenteeism' of climate activists, "They [the protests] trace back to the Swedish pupil *Greta Thunberg who called for skipping school* on Fridays to draw attention to urging issues." ("Sie gehen auf die schwedische Schülerin Greta Thunberg zurück, die dazu aufgerufen hatte, freitags die Schule zu schwänzen, um auf drängende Probleme aufmerksam zu machen." 162). Also, the image of the dreamer has been discussed in terms of her name and her position, "Mainly German politicians who

blast Thunberg's-horn, appear doubting." (Example: "Besonders deutsche Politiker, die in das Thunberg-Horn stoßen, wirken unglaubwürdig." 136). Lastly, it has been discovered that she is even held responsible for the public derogation on her person, "Who made it that her comment on the German coal compromise is not only widespread but she, a 16-year-old Swede, beguiled the CDU general secretary into attacking her in public." ("Die es geschafft hat, dass ein Kommentar von ihr zum deutschen Kohlekompromiss nicht nur verbreitet wird, sondern den CDU-Generalsekretär sogar dazu verleitet, sie, eine 16 Jahre alte Schwedin, öffentlich anzugreifen.", 153). This promotes the theoretical expectation that the youth is depicted in a negative way and that this is done with the use of demeaning and negative language. It shows again that ageist language has a demeaning and negative character also in the coverage on young people. Lastly, it is outlined that this picturing of Greta Thunberg in the newspapers could be very much extended since she has been discussed very widely and creatively. However, this is not in the scope of this bachelor thesis and it also does not align with the aim of this study.

4.5 The Youth Climate Movement and an Exclusive Setting

Finally, these observations on the newspapers as hegemon, which have been deduced through the use of ageist language on the youth climate movement, are interpreted in terms of its alignment to the exclusive global environmental discourse. Thereby, it is aimed to generate an answer to the third sub-question. Since this policy debate is not the focal point of this study, it is reasonable that the discussion and relationship between both actors here are not elaborated in too much detail. Here, the main point of debate for the actors, the phasing out of coal in Germany is considered.

The environmental governance finds its representation in the coal commission, which has been assigned to decide on the phasing out of coal including the decision on a final date (Kommission "Wachstum, Strukturwandel und Beschäftigung", 2019). The coal commission was established in June 2018, similar to the time when Greta Thunberg started her protests in August 2018. The main aim of the German FfF, which developed thereafter, is phasing out of coal until 2030. The member list of the coal commission shows that no involvement of this movement was planned (Kommission "Wachstum, Strukturwandel und Beschäftigung", 2016). This makes sense regarding the development of the movement after August 2018. But the commission planned hearings and regional visits until the final meeting, in which also the

civil society and citizens initiatives were heard (Kommission "Wachstum, Strukturwandel und Beschäftigung", 2019). Hence, the youth climate movement could have been consulted by the commission.

Additionally, in January 2019 the FfF published an open letter to the delegates of the coal commission and advocated for a consequent and as fast as possible phasing out of coal in Germany (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2019b). This included the claim for phasing out after 2020, supported by research on how to comply with the German climate goals in 2020 and 2030 (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2019b). The letter was signed by the German FfF, the G7 youth delegation, representatives of the voluntary ecological year, the youth ambassadors of the United Nations Decade on Biodiversity and the climate reality leader Germany. Furthermore, the youth climate movement protested in front of the federal ministry of economy in Berlin on the 25th of January 2019, when the coal commission had a final meeting. The FfF reports a turnout of more than 10.000 protesters on that day (Fridays for Future Deutschland, 2019c).

The consultation lists attached to the final report on February 2019, show that the FfF Germany or the movements regional groups were not consulted in the consultative meetings and regional visits between July 2018 and the end of October 2018 (Kommission "Wachstum, Strukturwandel und Beschäftigung", 2019). This is striking in terms of O'Brien et al.'s (2018) notion of having to form a "dangerous dissent" as the youth climate movement. The required say and access in the decision process have not been provided, which limits the creation of alternative systems and actual change (see section 2.2). The coal commission published their final report in February 2019, which decided on the phasing out of coal until 2050 (Kommission "Wachstum, Strukturwandel und Beschäftigung", 2019). However, based on the findings of Burciaga and Martinez (2017), it would be expected that the FfF adopts their activism to the political and discursive context. As the ongoing protests show this did not happen. This presents an unexpected but relevant observation.

These circumstances indicate that the youth climate movement has not been given a voice in the process or the final decision on the phasing out of coal policy. It hints at the exclusion of and hegemony over this grass-roots movement in the setting of the environmental discourse, which was expected in section 2.2 based on Lamb (2003). The previous data analysis has shown, that the newspaper discourse on the youth climate movement has (re)produced this domination over the youth climate movement. The use of

ageist language in the discourse could be clearly found. Therefore, it is concluded that the use of derogatory ageist language by the newspapers in the discourse on the youth climate movement reveals their contribution to and maintenance of the exclusive and hegemonic global environmental discourse, that predominates over the youth climate movement.

4.6 Conclusion

Lastly, the observations and findings are summed up again, by virtue of giving an overview of this data analysis. The analysis of the media images of the youth climate movement was based on a coding scheme, which included theoretical insights on ageism and social actor representation. Hence, the images were expected to be related to ageist expressions in the newspaper discourse, but also it gave room to other media representations. The observations show that as expected, the ageism of the youth is expressed through the use of derogatory language, which portrays the youth as 'pupils', 'absentees', 'dreamers', or also the 'young hero' in this case. The data analysis thereby developed the following theoretical insights on an ageist newspaper discourse: the framing promoted an out-grouping of the youth climate movement; it implied to keep them out of the public in terms of not guaranteeing of basic rights; it disregarded and subordinated their interests under public ones; it had a negative and derogatory character; it underestimated the youth (climate movement) according to their abilities and capabilities. Also, this discourse is characterised by taunting and demeaning language and indirect references to the youth movement (especially nominations, rhetorical devices). Apart from the last insight, this fulfils the theoretical expectations of section 2.4, which also constituted the coding scheme. The last insight contradicts with Lepianka's (2015b) finding in the Dutch news media.

Additionally, within these media images, it was expected that Greta Thunberg is portrayed as a young icon and hero in the youth climate movement discourse. Greta Thunberg has not been discussed only in terms of 'the young female hero', but likewise she was framed as the 'pupil', 'absentee' and 'dreamer' too. Here, the ageist language was clearly used for the depiction of her as a young individuum. Certainly, it was not expected that this derogatory language is used to make her 'the guilty one' (see section 4.4.1). The use of derogatory and demeaning language on her person, that is otherwise portrayed as 'hero' is an ambiguous but interesting finding.

Also, all four newspaper images do give an indication of prevailing stereotypes of the youth (climate movement). Young people are portrayed here as not thinking well about their claims or not being able to do so yet, and their authenticity and factuality is called into question (see section 4.3). The prevalence of a continuous stereotyping of the youth in terms of their capabilities in practice and in theory was expected. Still, it contributes to this study as a relevant observation. Especially because it is in contradiction to the findings of Lepianka (2015b) and Levinsen and Wien (2011).

The summarised findings make proof of the hegemony over the youth climate movement in the newspaper discourse by the use of ageist language. Thereby, the answers to the first sub-question on the media images of the newspaper discourse on the youth climate movement and the respective use of ageist language, which the second sub-question was interested in, could be developed. Also, these observations show that the youth climate movement is not involved nor given actual room in the chosen narratives. It is admitted that the findings may change with respect to another approach to the data collection and operationalisation and finally another chosen discourse. This would be certainly not in line with the aim of this study. In this regard, it is shown that the newspaper discourse on the youth climate movement aligns with the discourse of global environmental governance. The environmental governance decided upon phasing out of coal in Germany, which included the hearings of many civil actors and citizens but not the youth climate movement. This gives room to an answer to sub-question three, which is the contribution and maintenance of the exclusive and hegemonic setting by this newspaper discourse. This study's observations of the newspaper discourse clearly unmask the domination of the youth climate movement in Germany.

These observations hint at paternalism in the ageist newspaper discourse of the youth climate movement. This means that ageism is expressed in the *form of paternalism* on young people in this case. The exertion of paternalism aligns with the literature on the exposure of young people to paternalism in the public setting (De Valk, Kuiper, Van der Helm, Maas, & Stams, 2016; Sheleff, 1984; Vella, 2016). The critical discourse analysis of Vella (2016) explains the power exertion in humanitarianism via the notion of paternalism. She outlines that the "act of imposition is justified by declaring that it is in the best interests of the child" (Vella, 2016, p. 10). Her critique aligns with the observations of this study, which notions partly the source of ageism in the over-stressing of the social rights of young people. This notion of

paternalism on the youth is taken up again in the conclusion of this thesis, as it hints on the practical implications for science and society.

Finally, it is outlined again that this study has been done within the frame of a bachelor thesis, that focussed on the (re)production of ageism in a hegemonic and exclusive setting. That is why the discussion of the newspaper image of Greta Thunberg had to be narrowed down in accordance with the thesis' aim. Also, two other newspaper images could be observed in the discourse, which are the presentation and framing of the youth climate activism as 'the saviours' (14, 60, 67, 88, 100, 113, 137, 153) and as 'the greenies' (27, 47, 88, 105, 120, 137, 164). Certainly, a discussion of another two images did not fit the scope of this thesis. Also, these images were found way less often in the discourse and these framings are not considered as important to the research aim to uncover juvenile ageism in the newspaper discourse as the other images.

5 Conclusion

5.1 Answer to the Research Question

The data analysis of the German newspaper coverage of the youth climate movement enables answering the guiding research question of this bachelor thesis. The German newspaper discourse (see section 3.3) represents the youth climate movement, which emerged after the activism of Greta Thunberg in terms of their role as *pupils*; the activism and the activists are portrayed as *absentees* and also as *dreamers* in regards to their claims; and it includes the discussion of Greta Thunberg as *the young hero*. The CDA also revealed the frequent use of derogatory ageist language in these media images. Thereby, the German newspaper discourse of FAZ and taz align as hegemon with the exclusive environmental governance discourse on the phasing out of coal in Germany. The most conspicuous insights gathered are presented again, whereas a more detailed summary can be found in section 4.6.

The representation as pupils diverts the discussion of the climate activism from their claims for climate adaptation towards their societal role as not fully educated yet people, who are obliged by law to go to school. Here, the disregard of the interests of the activists on climate action is leading this image debate in the sense of ageism. This observation was expected in theory. Also, it is observed that the young people are portrayed as an inherently different social group when it is mentioning their public protests in terms of *interference* (165). This is further supported by the newspaper coverage of the 'pupils' as *surprisingly* organised, knowledgeable and engaged. Although it was expected that this portrayal gives room to 'othering', it was surprising that a stereotype of incompetence of young people exists. It conflicts with Lepianka's (2015b) finding. This was extended by the framing in terms of what is discussed as *dreamer*-image. The image debate is based on the ageist discourse of the climate activists in terms of an underestimation of their abilities and capabilities of knowing and exerting their climate interests. This imaging gave room to the unexpected discussion of potentially prevalent stereotypes of the climate activists.

Additionally, the chosen newspaper discourse outlines the compulsory education law and makes use of predications, nominations (abstraction) and rhetorical devices in order to emphasise that activists are skipping school to engage in the protests. This image made proof of the expected derogatory and negative language in ageism. Although the theoretical suggestion that young people are kept out of public spaces, aligns with this portrayal of the activists, it was unexpected that this notion goes along criminalisation of the public protests.

That is due to the illegalisation of protests based on compulsory school law. This strongly supports Lepianka's (2015a, 2015b) findings on a negative depiction of young people.

As part of this debate, the expected recurrence of the media portraying a young girl as hero and icon of the activism is corroborated. Greta Thunberg is reported on as the *young pioneer and ideal of environmentalism* these days. Apart from that, it is noticeable that the journalists' rhetoric has a tendency to *sanctify her behaviour*. In addition, it has been expected that she is exposed to ageism in the newspaper discourse too, but it was surprising, that the images with its ageist expressions, that were created on the movement in general, were very much personalised and directed on her *as the source of 'the problems'*. Hence, the cult of personality, which arises from the newspaper coverage, goes along with making her responsible also for the 'negative' sides of activism, which are perceived in the discourse. That is mainly the activism of 'pupils' in general, the 'absenteeism' of the protesters and their ideas for climate adaptation. Here, a statement of the FAZ (153) is remarkable that *held her responsible for a derogatory Twitter statement on herself* from the CDU politician Ziemiak. The *ambiguity* between the newspaper coverage of Greta Thunberg as the *hero and role model* and the portrayal of her person as 'party at fault' is striking and it forms an unexpected finding of this study.

Although the prevalence of ageism over the youth climate movement in the newspaper discourse was expected in this study, it has not been assumed that the imaging of the climate activists would be so inherently age-related. Also, in the choice of the newspapers it was not thought that the taz as 'left-wing paper' would inherit hegemonic tendencies. In general, the theoretical suggestion that the newspaper discourse embodies the hegemon through ageism, which contributes and maintains the exclusive and hegemonic discourse over the youth climate movement, is shown in this study. As subchapter 4.5. discusses, the youth climate movement encounters an exclusive discursive setting in environmental governance, which has been exemplified by the procedure of phasing out of coal in Germany. Due to the ageist derogatory discourse on the youth climate movement, the German newspaper coverage allies as hegemon to the (re)production of the exclusive domination in the environmental discourse over the climate movement.

Finally, the last ethos of this study is taken into account in more detail. This ageist derogation of the youth climate movement assumes a shape of paternalism. This was a

surprising notion, which has not been expected in the theory section. In the exposure of young people to paternalism, it is conspicuous that Sheleff (1984) draws the connection between paternalism and essentialism of relations between young and old. He discusses the legitimisation of paternalism in terms of young people's "lack of experience, and their inability to see to their own interests as children in order to safeguard their future as adults." (Sheleff, 1984, p. 269). This goes in line with the findings of this study regarding the strong emphasis of the need to go to school for young people and their limited assessment of their climate activism. Furthermore, it is interesting that Sheleff outlines the notion of Zimring (1982) that "arguments for full equality used in other contexts – of race and gender, for instance – are not applicable in the category of age." (Sheleff, 1984, p. 273). The prevalence of inequality in agerelated contexts is strongly shown in this study of an ageist discourse as well as in the previously discussed studies of ageism towards young and old people in the public.

5.2 Suggestions for Future Research

The discussion about the notion of synergy between ageism and paternalism towards young people opens up the debate of suggestions for future research in youth studies. As this newspaper discourse revealed ageist expressions of young people, which resembled the nature of paternalism, it is interesting to study the connection between both concepts in the discourse on young people or such occurrence in their public life in other settings. This can contribute to the aim of de-marginalising young people in the public realm, as Moris and Loopmans (2019) studied this aim in the local policy setting of youth work. The issue of paternalism may serve as a point of reference for the public domination of young people, as this thesis hints at.

Additionally, when it comes to studying the civic participation of young people online and offline (Hustinx, Meijs, Handy, & Cnaan, 2011; Miranda, Castillo, & Sandoval-Hernandez, 2017; Pathak-Shelat & Bhatia, 2019), the current climate activism gives room to a general investigation of the living out of citizenship. Not only the young people are an interesting object to study but also, the citizen participation repertoire for such political engagement, which presents an important mediator when considering the literature named, is of interest. However, also media and discourse studies can build upon this bachelor thesis, as the discourse on Greta Thunberg worldwide gives much room for analysis and discussion. As it has been mentioned in subchapter 4.4., the data analysis of the chosen newspaper discourse

could have been very much extended in the vein of an analysis of the role of Greta Thunberg in it. Further analyses of the media images created on Greta Thunberg are interesting in terms of the portrayal as a young female hero also in other cases and countries. But also, the coverage of Greta Thunberg in terms of the Asperger's syndrome gives much room for future studies. Here it could be interesting for example to analyse what role the diagnosis of an autism spectrum disorder of (prominent) individuals plays in their portrayal in newspaper discourses.

Lastly, as a conclusion of this study, it is suggested to be clear and strict about the limits of potential studies that focus on the youth climate movement or Greta Thunberg. That is because in this bachelor thesis, although the discourse was chosen due to its extent and significant factors, it was not expected that the discourse on the youth climate movement and Greta Thunberg has such a big scope and intensity. Thus, many specific decisions had to be made in terms of the data choice and data collection (see section 3.3). Certainly, this may give room to criticism on this study in terms of replicability, because the decisions that were made on the selected articles may bear a subjective evaluation. The magnitude of the discourse should be considered when aiming at an analysis of this youth climate movement or Greta Thunberg.

5.3 Practical Implications for Policy and Governance

Because this bachelor thesis examined the German newspaper discourse of the two widespread papers, FAZ and taz, it has to be considered what measures may have to be undertaken in terms of fair media language. First and foremost, it is argued that this is not supposed to discuss practical implications that constrain freedom of speech or freedom of the press. These basic rights have to be ensured just as the right of not being subjected to discrimination and the right to protest.

The German Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (German abbreviation: BMFSFJ) gives space to tackle age-related threats in public. One of the ministry's agencies is the Federal Department for Media Harmful to Young Persons (German abbreviation: BPjM), which has been renewed in 2003 and henceforth, it is based on the Youth Protection Act (BMFSJF, 2019). The agency BPjM has the task to check whether media coverage is liable to corrupt or threaten young people. Also, it is responsible to support value-based media education and sensitisation and consulting of the public in the realm of youth media protection. With regard to this, the agency could emphasise the impact of everyday

language in the media coverage on youth-related news and events. As this thesis outlined the enhancement of out-grouping and othering of young people through the media depiction, it becomes necessary to stress those effects of possible unintended ageist remarks in public coverage. So is Gendron et al. (2016), who argue "Most troubling, however, is that these language-based discriminatory patterns are normalized and potentially internalized." (p. 998).

The agency could emphasise this in the public by launching a campaign, which sensitise people on media narratives in general and the impacts of everyday language, that potentially discriminate young people. Additionally, this may be promoted by forging an alliance with public and private media and other agencies, that aim for the protection of young people. Here, it would be given room for debate of enlightening and sensitising the journalists and public representatives in Germany on ageist framings, that promote negative perceptions on young people in public. Thereby, the agency could promote the capabilities of the youth climate movement as well. As it has been shown in section 2.2, youth movements tend to adapt to their claims and strategies to the political, legal and discursive environment, which would be negative as it is seen as crucial creating an alternative system to be effective. Hence, open and fair framings on the youth climate movement potentially facilitate their ability to affect social change, and above all, it encounters institutionalised age discrimination against young people.

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Appendix

A. Table 1: Media Images – Articles

In the following table, an overview is given on the articles that include coded quotations, and hence, they are counted as contributing to the respective media image.

Media Image/ Newspaper		FAZ (total 59)	taz (total 39)	tota
The Pupils		55 articles:	30 articles:	85
		81, 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 158, 159, 162,	2, 8, 13, 16, 17, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 34, 41, 43, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71	
		163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169		
The Absent	ees	19 articles: 82, 88, 94, 97, 105, 107, 122, 123, 131, 142, 149, 155, 157, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166	10 articles: 27, 28, 48, 55, 56, 57, 62, 67, 70, 71	29
The Dream	ers	14 articles: 77, 88, 89, 90, 100, 105, 113, 114, 130, 136, 137, 140, 153, 164	7 articles: 7, 14, 23, 26, 34, 49, 55	21
The young Hero: Greta Thunberg	Heroism	43 articles: 77, 81, 86, 88, 92, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 107, 111, 113,114, 116, 119, 120, 122, 124, 130, 131, 133, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, 151, 153, 157, 158, 162, 163, 165, 166, 168, 169	28 articles: 2, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 22, 23, 27, 35, 41, 43, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 62, 67, 68, 70, 71	71
	Young/ Girlhood in Heroism	37 articles: 77, 81, 86, 92, 94, 96, 97, 99 100, 109, 111, 113, 116, 120, 122, 124, 130, 131, 132, 136, 138, 140, 143, 145, 146, 149, 151, 153, 154, 157, 158, 162, 163, 165, 166, 168, 169	20 articles: 9, 22, 32, 41, 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 62, 67, 68, 70, 71	57

B. Table 2: Codes - Articles

This table origins from the Code-Document Table that was retrieved from ATLAS.ti, and it shows how often a code was found in the newspapers, FAZ and taz. It presents the codes and counting that were used for the description of the four main media images. The image 'The Pupils' (see section 4.1) is constructed by the codes 'pupils' and 'pupil-strike'. The image 'The Young Hero' (see section 4.4) is coded as 'Greta: Heroism' and the specific coverage as young girl is coded again as 'Greta: Heroism: Young/ Girlhood'. The codes for the media images 'The Absentees' (see section 4.2) and 'The Dreamers' (see section 4.3) are shown as well.

	FAZ	taz	Totals
	Gr=864;	Gr=657;	
	GS=59	GS=39	
The Absentees	44	20	64
Gr=64			
Greta: Heroism	100	75	175
Gr=175			
Greta: Heroism: Young/ Girlhood	50	37	87
Gr=87			
The Dreamers	38	8	46
Gr=46			
Pupils	187	112	299
Gr=299			
Pupil-strike	49	35	84
Gr=84			
Totals	468	287	755

C. Table 3: Pre-selected and selected articles

If the article has been part of the final data set, which has been analysed, the last box "selected" contains an x. The framing in the title, which lead to the final selection of this article, is in *italic*.

No.	taz/ FAZ	Title	Words	Selected
1	taz	"Erwachsene haben nicht so viel Zukunft"	1166	
2		Italiens <i>Jugend</i> gibt <i>Gretas</i> Mission starken Linksdrall	255	X
3		Sie haben es nicht verkackt!	1032	
4		"Das ist regenerative Kultur"	1337	
5		Auf sie mit Gebrüll	1136	

6	Das Dilemma der zukünftigen Weltentdecker	885	
7	Future für wen? Nicht nur für die Elite	392	X
8	Die Alten lassen <i>die Jungen</i> im Stich	389	X
9	Aufstand ums Klima	324	X
10	Mit <i>Greta</i> , aber radikaler	680	X
11	Greta, Jesus und die Klimakatastrophe	411	X
12	Die fetten Jahre sind vorbei	3495	
13	Es war wieder <i>Friday</i>	118	X
14	Being Greta Thunberg	484	X
15	Esther Slevogt betrachtet das Treiben auf Berlins Bühnen	406	
16	Future ohne Fridays?	1278	x
17	Komplimente reichen Aktivist*innen nicht	497	х
18	"Wir müssen eben Prioritäten setzen"	731	
19	Streik mit Teach-in	102	
20	Verzichten wir – auf diese Regierung	509	
21	Dumbledore wouldn't let this happen	301	
22	Berlin feiert <i>Greta</i>	609	Х
23	Jeder kann <i>Greta</i> sein	3170	х
24	Fünf Fragen zur Zukunft	460	
25	"Größer als die 68er"	1257	
26	Gute Nachricht wäre: #WiralleforFuture	351	x
27	Schlaue linke <i>Greta-Fans</i>	318	x
28	Lieber Schule schwänzen als nichts fürs Klima tun!	395	Х
29	Eltern wollen keine Sanktionen	104	
30	Tausend fürs Klima	140	x
31	Fieses Schüler-Dilemma	355	
32	Thunberg kommt nach Berlin	140	x
33	"Das ist politische Feigheit vor der Sympathiewelle"	999	
34	Angekettet for future	336	x
35	Greta und Barbie	519	Х
36	Anders als die anderen	359	
37	Radikal angepasst	448	
38	Große Geste in kleinen Städten	595	
39	Fünfmal mehr als erwartet	220	
40	Wie kommen wir uns näher?	328	
41	Make the World <i>Greta</i> again	602	Х
42	"Panik können wir uns nicht leisten"	1531	
43	Nehmt <i>Greta Thunberg</i> ernst	568	Х
44	Weltretter mit Hasenherz	902	
45	Kostümierte Kackhaufen	739	
46	"Wir brauchen die, die jetzt im Bundestag sitzen"	1057	
47	Sie sind jung und sie brauchen die Welt	872	Х
48	Proteste weltweit am Friday for Future	1265	X

49		Greta global	1521	Х
50		Schulstreik begeistert HochschullehrerInnen	460	Х
51		Greta Thunberg – der Star, der keiner sein will	833	Х
52		Tausende streiken mit <i>Greta</i>	235	Х
53		Mit <i>Greta</i> und den Eltern	235	Х
54		"Ganz normal dabei"	611	
55		Warum kritisieren wir Kinder, die für den Erhalt des Planeten auf die Straße gehen?	674	Х
56		Ein prima <i>Leistungskurs in Protestkultu</i> r	607	Х
57		Wunderbarer <i>Freitag</i>	414	Х
58		Politischer Einsatz? Passt PolitikerInnen eher gar nicht	436	
59		Lernziel verfehlt	567	
60		Hüpfen gegen die Kohle	367	Х
61		Achtung, hier kommt mein Kind!	353	Х
62		Fridays for Future: Druck von oben	600	Х
63		Torben Becker sichtet die sozialen Bewegungen der Stadt	344	
64		Hass und Hetze	583	
65		Mehr Druck ist hilfreich	402	
66		Demo fürs Klima	113	Х
67		Irgendjemand muss das Klima ja retten	947	Х
68		25.000 SchülerInnen streiken fürs Klima	229	Х
69		Endspiel um das Abkommen	405	
70		Klimastreik bewegt die Welt	502	X
71		Erst 15, aber knallhart: Die Schülerin <i>Greta</i> Thunberg streikt in Stockholm fürs Klima	497	х
72	FAZ	Selbstherrlich	452	
73	1712	Die Welt ist gar nicht so übel	635	
74		Müllberg auf dem Römerberg	380	
75		Die Revolution auf dem Teller	1506	
76		Der Unrat anderer Leute eingetütet	348	
77		Tausende protestieren in Rom mit <i>Greta</i> Thunberg	487	X
78		Schüler sammeln freiwillig Müll auf Frankfurts Straßen	370	
79		"Er lächelte und lachte die ganze Zeit"	269	
80		Andere Städte – Gleiche Nöte	420	
81		Greta Thunberg trifft auf Papst Franziskus	259	х
82		"Demonstrieren nur außerhalb der Unterrichtszeit"	553	X
83		Wie viel kostet es mich, das Klima zu retten?	941	
84		Unser Abdruck	2074	
85		Bauträger Instone bietet Schülern von "Fridays for Future" Gespräch an	222	Х

86	Hessens Kultusminister kritisiert Schulausfall durch Klimademos	227	х
87	Protestierer mahnen Luftfahrt zur Eile	426	
88	Gretas Protest überfordert uns	2007	X
89	Schüler fordern Nettonull bis 2035	2007	X
90	CDU sucht Gespräch mit	583	X
	Schülerdemonstranten	303	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \
91	Eine Warnung aus dem Dinosaurier-Saal	541	
92	Das sind die Forderungen der "Fridays for	551	X
-	Future"-Demonstranten	331	^
93	Schüler demonstrieren für "Grüne Lunge"	227	X
94	"Ich bin fassungslos, das <i>Schulschwänzen</i>	405	X
	heiliggesprochen wird"	100	
95	Baerbock fordert von Merkel	255	
	Regierungserklärung zum Klimaschutz		
96	"Greta Thunberg ist ein Geschenk"	351	X
97	Greta und der Geist der Utopie	1074	X
98	We will rock you	847	
99	Thunberg in Berlin: Das ist erst der Anfang	121	X
100	Wie <i>Greta</i> , Johanna und Malala zu Gesichtern	1554	X
	von Bewegungen wurden	133 .	^
101	"Wir stehen an einem Scheideweg unserer	536	
	Geschichte"		
102	"Greta ist die Beste"	803	X
103	"In einer Krise muss man sein Verhalten	281	
	ändern"		
104	Mit Kabarettisten doof denken	1286	
105	Klimastreik bei Volkswagen	598	X
106	Mehr Daniel Düsentrieb wagen	1083	
107	Der Greta-Effekt	271	Х
108	Note 6	455	
109	Warum <i>Greta Thunberg</i> jetzt	271	X
	"Atomlobbyismus" vorgeworfen wird		
110	"Protestsignal aufnehmen"	312	
111	Forscher stützen <i>Klimaproteste</i>	547	Х
112	"Meine Familie fliegt schon gerne in den	926	
	Ürlaub"		
113	Am Freitagmorgen wird die Welt gerettet	396	Х
114	Wie tickt <i>Greta Thunberg?</i>	1263	Х
115	Die Europäische Union soll bis 2050	517	
	klimaneutral sein		
116	Schulämter fordern Sanktionen	570	
117	Die Profis sind da	1211	
118	Die Schülerdemos stellen den	461	X
	Kohlekompromiss infrage		
119	"Greta inspiriert dazu, es ihr gleichzutun"	621	X

120	Schüler in mehr als 100 Staaten	758	х
	demonstrieren für mehr Klimaschutz		
121	"Wir wollen eure Hoffnung nicht. Wir wollen,	1172	
	dass ihr euch uns anschließt"		
122	"Wir schwänzen nicht, wir streiken"	885	x
123	Lehrer-Gewerkschaft lehnt Sanktionen gegen	187	x
	protestierende Schüler ab		
124	Greta Thunberg für Friedensnobelpreis	196	x
	vorgeschlagen		
125	Klimaschutz im Unterricht	119	
126	Klimadebatte für Jugendliche	172	х
127	"Das ist eine Sache für Profis"	247	
128	Schulstreiks mit 25 000 Teilnehmern erwartet	505	X
129	Schlotternde Beine und ein Ausflug in den	662	
	Chemieunterricht	002	
130	Kolossale Jugend	1683	X
131	Ob Schulstreiks für das Klima in Ordnung sind	907	X
132	Steinmeier lobt <i>Schülerdemos für Klimaschutz</i>	248	
	-		X
133	Hessens Schüler rufen zu landesweiter Klima- Demo auf	158	X
134	Frauen, die mehr wollen	599	
135	Hasskommentare als gutes Omen	878	
136	In Panik mit <i>Greta</i>	793	Х
137	Die Jugend lehnt sich auf	1246	х
138	Merkel lobt Schülerdemos	475	Х
139	Karliczek lehnt <i>Demonstrieren in der Schulzeit</i> ab	343	Х
140	Applaus für <i>Greta</i> , Buhrufe für Merkel	546	X
141	"Make earth cool again!"	283	
142	"Das rechtfertigt nicht das Schulschwänzen"	381	X
143	Klimaaktivistin Greta Thunberg kommt nach	165	X
143	Hamburg	103	^
144	Wer hat Angst vor <i>Greta</i> ?	188	x
145	Die Greta Thunberg aus Hattersheim	670	X
146	Protest am Freitag	244	x
147	Von Autisten mehr Sachlichkeit lernen	770	
148	"Friss Tofu, du Würstchen"	949	
149	Für <i>Tausende Schüler</i> ist wieder ein <i>freier</i> Friday	445	х
150	Grüne, Klimaschützer und Vielflieger	845	
151	"Wir streiken, bis ihr handelt"	343	X
152	Von Demokratie und Demonstrationen	380	
153	Die Welt, wie sie ihr gefällt	1122	X
154	Ziemiak spottet über Klimaaktivistin Thunberg	187	X
155	Schwänzen für Future	295	X
156	Die große Abholung	1255	
157	"Klimaschutz entbindet nicht von Schulpflicht"	339	X

158	Marburger OB schickt Einladung an Klimaaktivistin	199	х
159	AfD kritisiert Schüler-Demos	455	х
160	Die Selbstgefälligkeit des Umwelt- Weltmeisters	1314	
161	Für Eisbären und für Holland	833	
162	Schüler protestieren gegen Klimapolitik	180	х
163	Auf der Straße statt im Klassenzimmer	763	x
164	Protest am Zeugnistag	364	x
165	"Es bringt ja nichts, für eine Zukunft zu lernen, die es nicht gibt"	444	X
166	"Wir fordern einen Kohleausstieg bis spätestens 2030"	676	X
167	Mit dem Privatjet zur Klimarettung	650	
168	Schulstreik für das Klima	352	х
169	Schüler demonstrieren gegen Klimapolitik	104	х
170	"Ihr seid nicht erwachsen genug, die Wahrheit zu sagen"	599	

D. Table 4: Online Weblinks

Hereafter, the weblinks of the selected articles are given. The actual articles and the coded quotations can be found in the data file.

No.	taz (WISO)/ FAZ (FAZ archive)	Title
	taz (WISO)	
2	x	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20192004.5587005/hitlist/0?all=
7	х	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20191804.5589135/hitlist/0?all=
8	х	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20191804.5586820/hitlist/25?all=
9	х	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20191804.5586821/hitlist/25?all=
10	х	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20191604.5588500/hitlist/25?all=
11	x	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20191504.5584963/hitlist/25?all=
13	x	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20191304.5587444/hitlist/25?all=
14	x	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20191204.5584889/hitlist/25?all=
16	х	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20191004.5583928/hitlist/25?all=
17	x	https://www.wiso-
		net.de/document/TAZT20190904.5583819/hitlist/50?all=

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