

# **ENDNU ET TABT ÅR**

**THE ESCALATION OF  
DEN GRØNNE STUDENTERBEVÆGELE  
& THE THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examines the new modes of climate activism from Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse (DGSB), observed in a recent outburst of protest and activity in the spring of 2021, through the experiences of an internship with the movement, participatory observations, and semi-structured interviews with DGSB-activists. The Danish climate movement, in its most recent constellation, resurfaced in the wake of Greta Thunberg and the Fridays For Future, and have led to a variety of groups, organizations and grassroots movements, that notably peaked in activity around the Danish parliamentary election of 2019 contributing to a so-called “climate election” and the signing of a Danish climate law. One of these grassroots movements, DGSB, have since then focused the majority of their attention to the implementation of the climate law, though strategic activism with the use of a broad spectrum of methods. DGSB identify themselves as professional, well-organized political agents that engages with transactional politics while advocating for large-scale structural changes in society. Throughout the parliamentary year of 2020-2021 the movement applied these methods on the ongoing negotiations of the governments climate action plan but found the political agreements to be heavily insufficient and a proclaimed betrayal of the climate law and younger generations. In the months leading up to the closing of parliament, the movement was becoming desperate, and observed that their impact on politicians and the attention achieved in public media was diminishing. As such, they aspired to implement new methods and political narrative, and planned a campaign called *Endnu Et Tabt År* that was built around escalating tactics and a heightened dramatic political rhetoric. Through the social movement theory of mainly Mark & Paul Engler, I identified the presence of three elements of nonviolent revolt that they assert have been identified in prior successful social movements. The elements of disruption, sacrifice and escalation are all, to various degrees observed in the protests of *Endnu Et Tabt År*, namely in the blockade of Danish parliament, and in the 8-day hunger strike. These three elements, and supplementary terms from the social movement theory, might aid in understanding what contributed to the perceived success of the campaign. The notion of success was also explored and examined in the context of the campaign and DGSB as a social movement, and although measurable outcomes like a heightened presence in the media and inflow of new activists, the main notion of success was found in the activists’ expressions of renewed motivation and dedication that, according to theorist Bill Moyer, may be vital to the longevity of the movement needed for attaining the long-term goals of the climate movement at large.

# INTRODUCTION

Throughout the spring of 2021, I was in an internship in the youth grassroots movement Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse (DGSB), or “The Green Student Movement”, as part of my master’s degree in Climate Change at the University of Copenhagen.

The internship ended up culminating in the campaign Endnu Et Tabt År, or “another lost year”, that comprised of an escalation of methods and political narrative, towards several protests, civil disobedience, and a hunger strike. The time marked a point of desperation for the movement, but also a surge in motivation, public attention, dedication, and many new activists. As such, this project in practice aim to examine the chain of events and reflections that led to the campaign and the new methods of the movement, incorporate social movement theory, and try to understand what defines a “success” in campaigns like this. I will do this by approaching the research question:

*What characterizes the new modes of climate activism within the recent outburst and escalation in Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse, and what is the impact in terms of internal motivation, strategy, and notions of success?*

I will approach this by outlining the context and history of the movement, the perceived identity of DGSB, the events surrounding the campaign Endnu Et Tabt År and the strategy and political analysis behind these activities. As with my analysis, unless otherwise disclaimed, this will be done with the sole focus on the division of DGSB in Copenhagen, not the national movement. This description is comprised of my own experiences, written coverage of the movements activities as well as the inclusion of statements from semi-structured interviews of involved DGSB activists, done in connection with this paper. These interviews will be paraphrased with the consent of the quoted persons, which will be later explained when addressing the methods of ethnographic research and interviews.

Social movement theory, namely on escalation, the symbolic acts of grassroots activism, and success in relation to movements, will be explored through the works of Paul & Mark Engler and Bill Moyer, as well as supplementary literature, to examine the historical precedence of comparable social movements, and characterize DGSB’s new tactics and methods.

## THE MULTIPLE CRISES AND DANISH CLIMATE POLITICS

The last century has gradually brought about the scientific realization that the rise in greenhouse gas emissions caused by human activity leads to the catastrophic deprivation of livable environments, mass-extinction of living plants and animals, natural disasters, and civil collapses and crises. “Our world is now understood to be planetary in scale, to be changing very fast, and to be situated either at the threshold of a planetary disaster of unprecedented magnitude or at the beginning of a sustainable new era. Whatever the outcome, the new state of the world will not be like it is today.” (Robertson 2014: 3) This notion, although ever-increasingly present in the scientific and academic communities and the public sphere, still struggle to be implemented, tackled and grasped by world leaders, policymakers and institutions, and the reduction-goals of the Paris-agreement and general warnings and recommendations of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change still seem to be largely postponed or ignored. As the understanding of the intersectional nature of what is, in truth, multiple interlocking crises of exploitation, geophysical interplay, discrimination, and inequality, the looming deadlines set by the IPCC’s pathways for future warming grows nearer as global inequality and carbon emissions are still on the rise. (Frantzen, 2021)

An overwhelming of responsibility for this crisis lies among the world’s richest nations and populations. Oxfam estimates that 10% of the world’s richest produce half of the world’s global carbon emissions, which fundamentally changes the actions required by wealthy institutions, like Denmark and its population. (Gore, 2020: 3) Although the domestic GHG-emissions of Denmark only amount to 0,1% of the world’s global emissions, the responsibility of setting the example of a carbon neutral society becomes crucial in the light of the country’s welfare and economic prosperity. (Brøns-Petersen, 2020) This notion is reflected in Danish Minister of Climate and Energy Dan Jørgensen’s frequent statements of the importance of Denmark as a “grønt foregangsland”, a green pioneering country. (Jørgensen, 2021) The central argument of Denmark leading by example, underpins the necessity for delivering just, rapid, and effective climate policies, and the fight for establishment of, and subsequent proper delivery on, a Danish climate law that leads to a 70% reduction of GHG-emissions by 2030, and carbon neutrality by at least 2050, which has become the catalyst for the domestic political effort in recent years. This leads to the influence, pressure, and need for the Danish people’s climate movement.

## **THE DANISH CLIMATE MOVEMENT**

Following the summer of 2018, the global climate movement was entering a collective new burst of activity. Propelled by the now iconic emergence of Greta Thunberg and the Fridays For Future movement, a slew of climate strikes, marches and other protests were spreading across the globe. Many have speculated and analyzed why this outburst happened at this exact point in time, but nonetheless a large pool of predominantly young people was ready to heed the call, also in Denmark. In the fall of 2018, climate strikes and other protests took place in cities across Denmark, and a youth movement of increasing size was gathering momentum. This emerging activity was funneling popularity and attention towards the Danish parliamentary election of 2019, and in the months leading up to the June election several national climate strikes and other demonstrations had brought tens of thousands of people on the streets, culminating in a national climate march taking place in 12 different cities simultaneously and drawing some 40.000 people in Copenhagen. (Folkets Klimamarch, 2019) Thanks in large part to this surmounting public pressure for a green election and ambitious policies, the 2019 election was dubbed a “climate election” and the new government had tied itself to establishing a binding climate law, among other public demands. (DR, 2019) In the heat of this surge of activity, a string of grassroots organizations and groups had formed or been revitalized including Extinction Rebellion, Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse, Fridays For Future, Klimabevægelsen i Danmark, Bedsteforældrenes Klimaaktion and Folkets Klimamarch. These groups are all active to this day and have been part of the climate political scene and public debate in and outside of parliament since the election of 2019.

## **DEN GRØNNE STUDENTERBEVÆGELSE**

Prior to the climate strikes and Greta Thunberg in 2018, a group of students had met and laid the foundations of what would become Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse (From here on abbreviated to DGSB). The first meeting was initiated within the academic circles of Copenhagen with the goal of forming a youth group to fight for a just and green transition in Denmark.

Early activities included a mini festival, a 48 hour stay outside the Danish parliament, and pressure in university politics. Once a wish and demand for climate strikes rose in the fall of 2018, the developing network and organizational structure of DGSB became their main planners. Since then, DGSB played a key part in the aforementioned activities leading up to the election of 2019, following which hundreds of young people became daily active in the

movement's activities spread out over some 8-10 local divisions in Danish cities, and in the many independent workgroups that make out the movements central organizational structure. (DGSB, 2020)

The movement has been organized as such, that a central board, secretariat with paid workers or other hierarchal structures have been avoided. As DGSB activist Frida Simon Jahn puts it: "This has formed a somewhat flat organizational structure where, in theory, anyone can walk in from off the street and do exactly what type of activism they feel for, with no regulation but the miniscule rules of the principles voted by a majority at intermittent national gatherings." This has led to a variety in methods of activism that span from demonstrations, strikes, marches, strategizing, banner-drops, and blockades, to podcasting, poetry, political lobbying, internal social care, music, blogging and debating. Across many different climate political topics.

## **THE IDENTITY OF DGSB**

To examine what lead to the escalation and protest of DGSB's campaign *Endnu Et Tabt År* in May 2021, one thing is to account for the history and organizational strategy of the movement that in its essence seem to be designed to be open and fluently adapt to the energy and whims of the activists. The other is to examine what the identity and fabric of what it means to be a climate activist within the movement, and what the movement itself aims to be and do.

A key notion that seemed to be a shared vision in the early stages of DGSBs establishment, is for the movement to set itself apart from previous notions of what climate activism means, and to create an image fitting to contemporary sensibilities and a sympathetic broad appeal. "We agreed that the movement should avoid stereotypical notions of what a climate activist is in light of the grassroots movements of especially the 60's and 70's, and to come off as dutiful, average young people concerned for their future." says Ariel Storm regarding the initial talks at the start of the movement. This has led to what could appear to the public as a group of well-trained, somewhat polite, professional activists that know their science and political theory, and will approach public debate and statements with well-reflected analysis and go beyond expected and common methods of activism. This has been incorporated in the organizational structure that allows for a figuratively unlimited toolbox of methods, and freedom to approach any political topic, theme, or idea within a very intersectional understanding of combatting the

multiple crises is. As such, DGSB has publicly taken part in debate of not just transactional Danish realpolitik following negotiations and topicality, but also intersectional climate justice argumentation (Wandall & Skriver, 2021), scientific and political comments on biodiversity (DGSB, 2019), moral and philosophical implications of the climate crisis (Stavnsbjerg, 2020) and many other topics. This broadens the scope of what the public might expect from the activists having the knowledge, skills, and dedication to do. “The proverbial arenas, context, and spaces that the activists occupy are broader than standing in the streets with signs, but also include ministries, broad array of media outlets and TV-stations, schools, businesses, conferences and research laboratories.” adds Ariel.

Furthermore, many tropes and symbols of the historical climate movement has been avoided. As Frida puts it: “(...) polar bears, melting globes, flowers in the hair, sing-a-longs with acoustic guitars and similar associations are all symbols that we to this day try to avoid. We want to project a breed of activists that don’t add to a narrow type of who we are, which might limit the amount of people willing to join or mirroring themselves in what we do.” This intention is reflected in the aesthetics of many of the movements protest and demonstrations, the banners of which are often sparse in its design, and the participants predominantly void of the clothes and hairstyles associated with the historical references of past climate and environmental movements. Further manifestations are the visual identity of DGSBs social media outlets and its content, as well as the personalities appearing in videos and interviews. “The communication group of DGSB strive to showcase as many different activists as possible to project the great numbers of activists, broaden the possibility of the greatest amount of people mirroring themselves in the activists, and to negate the common image of hierarchy and bureaucracy achieved by having a fixed spokesperson, as often associated with youth-parties or NGOs that we want to somewhat distance ourselves from”, Ariel explains.

These identity-traits presumably have a measurable effect on which tactics and strategies DGSB collectively chooses when pooling activity in common campaigns such as Endnu Et Tabt År. The notion and narrative of having used these diverse methods seem to be actively displayed in the statements legitimizing and explaining the escalation and motivation the protests of the campaign: “For two years we [DGSB] have marked ourselves on the street, stood up against every climate-betrayal, opened dialogue with politicians, partaken in debates, written articles upon articles, and tried to get the people and the science’s voice to be heard. As the government’s bluff becomes more obvious, the climate movement grows, but our influence seems to become smaller. We are in a situation where it’s no longer enough stand with our



banners and protest nicely. What will it take for politicians to listen to us?” (Bergreen et al, 2021) This narrative, and internal rhetoric and motivation mirroring the apparent identity of DGSB, will be further examined to understand the outburst in the movement, and to compare them to broader theories on social movements and their possible political impact.

## **INTERNSHIP AND MY POSITION IN THE MOVEMENT**

Formally, my internship contract is signed by Ariel Storm on behalf of the organization Klimabevægelsen i Danmark that administers the parts of DGSB’s formalities that require the attributes of an official organization. But as per agreement with Ariel Storm, my sole responsibilities and tasks lay with DGSB, administered by myself and the other activists.

In the interest of transparency, I will briefly outline my own history, involvement, and position in DGSB, as well as describing the nature of my internship from February to June of 2021. Further included in my methodical reflections on participatory observation, as my own position and relations within the movement bears influence on my bias towards the movements practice and political content, as well as my access and relation to the movement’s activity and other activists.

I became a part of DGSB in the early fall of 2018 with the founding of a local division at Roskilde University where I was studying at the time. At this stage, DGSB was laying the foundations for local divisions in cities and universities to expand the activity to all parts of the country, and to prepare for the coming national climate strikes. With a brief transfer of experience from forming DGSB in Copenhagen from Frederik Roland Sandby and other activists from that division, me and a few other students formed a group in which we arranged academic and political debates, pushed for demands of education on the climate crisis in the curriculum in all faculties and a climate strike with some 100 participants. For me, this was a sandbox for learning the basics of being a climate activist, and in April of 2019 I moved to Copenhagen to be part of the division there and build on the relations I had made with some of the other activists. From then on, I’ve been, and continually will be, an active member of the movement, generally spending several hours each day, at some points what would be considered a full-time occupation, with DGSB’s daily maintenance, political work, planning of demonstrations and protests and internal organization.

## **PERSONAL HISTORY AND RELATIONS**

Throughout the years I have been partly responsible for the movement's communication on all platforms, part of daily political activity and strategy, publicly speaking on behalf of the movement as well as other activities that undeniably tie my person to the political activity and positioning of the movement. A side from this, I have co-hosted and organized the biweekly gatherings ("mandagsworkshops") in Copenhagen and am in other ways an experienced figure that one would meet daily in connection to many different overlaps in groups and activities, and hence have unofficially, together with several others of the active people, been in the unofficial position of a "face" of the movement's internal activity. I mention this to be transparent of the influence that this inherent implicit authority might have on my interaction with other activists, the space I occupy, and the availability for taking part in many of the central activities of the movement. On top of this, many of the most dedicated activists, and hence some of the key people in the movement's doings, are also some of my best friends that I see both in and outside of the activism of DGSB (if one can make such a distinction). I strived to keep this in mind when specifically gathering information for this project, but went about my daily participation in the activities, interactions, and protest as I would otherwise. I would argue, that even though this might present obvious biases to the objectivity of approaching this research, and in some ways color my interactions with other activists, I feel this is not fundamentally delegitimizing the academic research, especially one being a project in practice as this. I will further elaborate on this with the inclusion of methodical literature.

I predominantly see my history with the movement as having a positive effect on the scope of which I can approach the research question, one perhaps fundamentally different from what a person without prior history in the movement could attain.

## **INTERNSHIP AND TASKS**

I approached the internship with goal of examining some of the preliminary research questions at the time, but otherwise knew that practical structuring of the process would not be organized as a more traditional internship, as the flat organizational structure and general nature of DGSB does not suit this. This means that I had no daily superior or specific organizer to tell me what to do, but hinged on my prior involvement, responsibilities, and general activity of the movement. As such my daily activities in DGSB roughly proceeded as they would have done prior, though with the added time freed from participating in university courses in the timespan of this internship, generally surmounting to some 35 hours a week, with the noticeable

expectance of May that required far more hours with the increase in protest and planning, peaking in the 24/7 participation in the 8-day hunger strike.

Daily tasks consisted of co-managing the incoming email to the movement, administering the communication outputs, content and statements on social media platforms, developing and creating the majority of graphics, editing videos, joining the collective internal organizing meetings and planning of demonstrations and protest, preparing and administrating new office-space for the movement, as well as general participating in meetings with various workgroups such as the climate justice book writing-group, politics and media-group, DGSB blog-group and others. Leading up to and during the campaign Endnu Et Tabt År in May, most other workgroups were put on hold to focus on the development, planning and execution of the logistics, communication, and political strategy in and surrounding the climate march, various protests, civil disobedient blockade and following legal ramifications, and hunger strike. All of which I, with various involvement, took part in.

## **PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION AND SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

Outlined above is the context in which I underwent the internship at DGSB. As the fundamental nature of this project in practice sees myself taking part in the actions, tasks and social space of the observed environment, this paper relies on the method of participatory observation included from Hanne Kathrine Krogstrup og Søren Kristiansen's 'Deltagende observation' from 1999. Herein, the method is described as an unstructured observation in the natural surroundings through partial participation, in which the events and other participants are studied: (...) as subjects, which entail an interpretation of the subjective lived experience, which can only be achieved through an understanding from within. Meaning the context the subjects inhabit". (Kristiansen & Krogstrup, 1999: 57-58) The nature of my personal history and relation with the movement and the other activists outlined above, complicates the notion of remaining as a partial participant, though the need to observe and examine the experiences of the subjects in the environment they inhabit, remain. Additionally, Kristiansen & Krogstrup asserts the complex and chaotic gathering of data in such a process, which very much applies to this field-research. To combat this, I utilized field notes during the internship, and will base as much of the descriptions of the events on outside sources like social media posts and articles, as well as direct quotes from the semi-structured from other participants.

In relation to this project in practice, 5 separate interviews were conducted with participants of the DGSB-activities in question. These are: Frida Simon Jahn, Ariel Storm, Oskar Charlie Dahlin, Sarah Hellebek and Charlie Hejlskov McPhilips. All quotes included in this paper have been approved firsthand by the respective interviewees and a written consent can be produced upon request. The interviews were semi-structured in that the answers only partially rely on prepared questions, but also on the interviewees own train-of-thought and requested recounting of events or previous statements. The interviews were done with the intent of “(...) gathering descriptions of the interviewees lifeworld in regard to interpretate the meaning of the described phenomena”, as defined by Svend Brinkmann. (Brinkmann, 2013: 39)

## **SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY**

To understand the new modes of activism in DGSB, as well as the basic arguments for the political influence of such a movement, I examined the writings on social movement theory and the history that shaped it. In 'This Is an Uprising' by Mark & Paul Engler, a case is made for the potential for nonviolent revolt and mass movements to fundamentally change societies, through the historical precedence of such events. The American civil rights movement, Indian independence, the nonviolent revolution in Serbia, Occupy Wall Street, and others are examined as cases of a devoted group of citizens who strategically, through mass mobilizations or other modes of resistance, lead to the eventual overthrowing or changing of the oppressive or disagreeable political landscape. A central argument for the power of social movements, is the effectiveness of strong symbolic acts of uprising, as seen in Mahatma Gandhi's Salt March of the Indian independence, that resonate throughout political, public, and institutional spheres as a moral and ideological idea that can transcend the immediate concrete changes possible by a small group of people. (Engler & Engler, 2016: 131-138) This argument ties into a distinction and methodical discussion between the need for dramatic transformative movements or strong organizations that focus on transactional progress over time. According to community activist Saul Alinsky, also frequently referenced by the Engler's, the protests that follow an outburst of popularity or outrage in, especially, young movements are: “(...) so fractured with 'confrontations' and crises as ends in themselves that their activities are not actions but a discharge of energy which, like a fireworks spectacle, briefly lights up the skies and then vanishes into the void.” (Alinsky, 1969: 228). The antithesis to this, is the argument that these

outbursts are vital in that: “(...) the drama of such events, combined with the disorder that results, propels new issues to the center of political debate (...)”, as asserted by Professor Frances Fox Piven. (Engler & Engler, 2016: 60) Instead, Alinsky argues that a tight organization building local communities and solving an issue one patient step at the time is needed to create lasting change over time. The Englers, through their analysis of the youth movement Otpor, centrally argue that the need for both, or a hybrid of the two, might be needed to fulfill the potential of change through mass movements. As such, the ways in which activism is done, and the organizational structure of the people involved, vary greatly. But nonetheless the Englers identify reoccurring aspects that seem to overlap between campaigns that are considered successful. Namely three elements, disruption, sacrifice, and escalation, are explored, and will be utilized as framework for examining their presence in Endu Et Tabt År and whether they aid in characterizing the new modes of activism and its success. Furthermore, the theory of Bill Morley will be explored towards expanding the notions of when and how a movement might be considered “successful”, with regards to examine the campaign and the evaluations of the DGSB-activists on its success as a political project, and a catalyst for motivation within the movement.

## **DISRUPTION, SACRIFICE AND ESCALATION**

“Time and again, in uprisings that steal the spotlight and illuminate injustices that are otherwise ignored, we see three elements —disruption, sacrifice, and escalation—combining in forceful ways. The persistent reappearance of these elements provides compelling reason to examine their strange and combusive alchemy.” (Engler & Engler, 2016: 158)

The Englers bring about these elements in connection to understanding why some protests and campaigns hit the broad public and why some are ignored. As such, these elements will mainly be used as tools to examine them in context to the strategy and possible influence of Endnu Et Tabt År and the impact on the identity of DGSB, and not as criteria for what constitutes, say, a necessary dogma for the movement going forward.

In the context of disruption as a part of protests, the Englers assert that: “(...) the more a protest directly affects members of the public, and the more it interferes with an adversary’s ability to do business, the more likely it is to draw widespread attention”, and propose common examples of disruption as: “Snarling traffic, interrupting a public event, shutting down a convention, stopping a construction project, making a scene at the mall, or impeding operations at a factory” (ibid.: 158). They elaborate that a sliding-scale of how much a protest disrupts can be made,

that a public assembly or showing of banners entail far less disruption than a strike, sit-in or blockade that actively make certain tasks or work impossible or difficult.

Personal sacrifice in protests is often exemplified “(...) through showing a willingness to endure hardship, to face arrest, or even to risk physical harm in dramatizing an injustice.” (ibid.: 161). Displays of sacrifice showcase the dedication of the activists, and through this effectively communicate the seriousness of the issue and challenge the empathy of the observer: “When bystanders see someone in front of them suffering, it is difficult for them to remain detached and uninvolved. The scene compels them to pick a side.” (ibid.: 163), although the Englers argue this has been proven as a strategic benefit, the impact has: “(...) much more to do with affecting one’s friends. When people decide to risk their safety or to face arrest, their decisions have the effect of mobilizing the communities closest to them.”

The combination of disruption and sacrifice is also said to be especially effective: “Sacrifice helps to address two of the great problems of disruptive protest: the risk of public backlash and the danger of swift and severe repression. First, by invoking an empathetic response in the public, sacrifice dampens negative reactions (...) Second, sacrifice can take the crackdowns that often accompany disruptive protests and turn them into unexpected assets.” (ibid.: 164-165)

Escalation is defined as “(...) endeavoring to carry out ever-bolder displays of noncompliance over the course of a campaign.” (ibid.: 169). The idea is that movements need to advance through different modes of protest as not to stagnate, and that “(...) to sustain a long struggle, activists cannot deploy just one tactic. Rather, they need to create a sequence of actions that builds over time. The goal (...) is the escalation of disorder without violence.” (ibid.: 170)

Building a campaign around escalation in the sense of prior nonviolent revolt is not done often, as there are usually many reservations, the main one being fear: “(...) it takes courage to engage in a protest that might involve physical harm or legal sanction. Risking these repercussions once is significant. Doing it repeatedly requires an even more uncommon commitment.” (ibid.: 171)

## **SUCCESS?**

Defining success for a social movement like DGSB can be difficult, and as the Englers remark, history can be tough on the evaluation of even widely known movements like Occupy Wall Street: “Observers who compare the actual political reverberations of Occupy with its most grandiose pronouncements can easily conclude that it achieved nothing close to its stated goals. (...) After all, participants aspired to nothing less than a revolutionary shift in America’s

economic structures and a grassroots reinvention of political democracy.” (Engler & Engler, 2016: 177) With a movement like DGSB or the climate movement at large, where the overall goal is not only grandiose in terms of the structural changes needed, but also contain a time frame that goes way beyond the lifespan of the average social movement, some alternative sort of criteria for measuring success is needed. With the Occupy movement, its greatest impact did not lie in the minor transactional political goals achieved, but in “(...) shifting the national debate, prompting a change that had important ramifications in the realms of policy and electoral politics.” (ibid.)

Arriving at some shared conceptions of success is, according to Bill Moyer, vital in avoiding burnout, and in providing tools or reflections to define a campaign or development in terms of a longer time span with points of success. With this in mind, he created the Movement Action Plan (MAP) to “(...) enable local activists to clearly see a direct connection between their own efforts and their impact at the national level.” (Moyer, 1987) The MAP consists of an 8-step progression and was designed as a theoretical generalization of past successful social movements, and is, in his own words, not meant to apply directly or precisely to each case. (Appendix A) “(...) social movements will neither fit exactly nor move through the stages linearly, smoothly, or precisely in the manner outlined. “(ibid.: 5) As such, I will briefly relate the MAP to DGSB and the climate movement when examining its success, but not delve into the specifics of each step or the concrete strategic application of the model. The more profound emphasis drawn from Morley’s theory is the need for internal motivation that help avoid burnout, and to perpetuate what he defines as the central power of social movements as a: “(...) upset, impassioned, and motivated populace set into motion”. The conclusion of motivation, dedication and energy must then be built upon the perceived subjective experiences of the activists, represented here through the interviewees, in addition to a measurable rise in attendance within the movement and reach through the press and interactions on social media.

## **ANALYSIS OF ENDNU ET TABT ÅR**

The campaign Endnu Et Tabt År, a side from being the main body of work in my internship, marks a development in DGSB's methods and identity and will be the main case of my analysis. To understand the perceived need for escalation in DGSB, as well as the strategic reflections that led up to the campaign, I will go through the events and developments that led to the campaign, the campaign itself, and apply the theoretical framework of social movement theory, disruption, sacrifice and escalation, and the expanded notions of success, with the concurrent reflections and evaluations from the interviewed DGSB-activists.

### **BUILD-UP, STRATEGY, AND PLANNING**

The activities and developments that led to the creation of Endnu Et Tabt År, was the 7 months of activism running parallel to the negotiations of the Danish government's climate action plan, and the frustration and disappointment it spawned within DGSB. The tactic of ongoing protests and accompanying public debate, became a base argument for the need for escalation, and were frequently referenced in statements as the sort of "nice" methods that had too little apparent influence on the political developments. (Hannestad, 2021) Since the opening of parliament in October 2020, DGSB established a so-called Klimahær, or "climate army", a group of people that signed up to get an SMS-notification with short notice to participate in impromptu protests when the government released statements or decisions on the ongoing climate negotiations. Many people signed up over the following six months, consisting of some 1800 individuals as of today, according to Ariel Storm. This meant that with as short a notice as 4 hours, 100-300 participants would show up to protest an insufficient political development. According to DGSB-activist Oskar Dahlin, the strategy of the Klimahær and ongoing protests were to: "(...) engage the large number of people who want to participate in demonstrations, but who can't necessarily find the time or entry to our daily planning and activism, and to continuously remind politicians and the government of the promises and responsibilities they have to the people's movement that helped get them elected in 2019." By funneling these medium sized crowds to a continuous presence responding to political developments: "(...) we aimed to get some much-needed attention to the catastrophic developments of the negotiations, and to inform the people who felt optimistic from the promises made by the new government that they



were effectively being misled from the highly inadequate action plan and the breach of the climate law.” Oskar states.

From October 2020 to June 2021, in the timespan of the opening and closing of parliament, this tactic was utilized eight times, six of which respectively marked the political developments leading up to the beginning of *Endnu Et Tabt År*. (Appendix B)

The protests were heavily documented on social media, and the negotiations of all sectors, marked by protests or no, were followed by press-releases, articles and videos reacting to developments and political proposals from DGSB. Politically, these negotiations comprise the government’s official climate action plan that by way of the climate law should amount to illustrate the path to a 70% reduction in CO<sub>2</sub>e emissions by 2030. According to Oskar Dahlin: “(...) these negotiations are incredibly important, not just to deliver on actual reductions of the Danish GHG-emissions, but also as a democratic function. The creation of the Danish climate law can be attributed to the immense public pressure and work of grassroot-organizations like DGSB, and functions as a cornerstone for the change theory that DGSB relies on. If the activism, democratic involvement, and pressure of movements like ours doesn’t amount to the factual reductions promised within the climate law. And if the Minister of Climate, Dan Jørgensen, and the Prime Minister can get away with only delivering 1/3 of the promised reductions without repercussions, then the democratic agreement between us as citizens and them as elected officials are effectively betrayed and leave us in a desperate position.” This highlights the immense importance of these action plan agreements to DGSB as a movement and the disappointment and frustration with the lack of influence, impact and attention became a key motivator in exploring new methods. “The protests were energizing and well-executed, and the usual efforts of DGSB’s multi-faceted daily activism was evermore well thought-out and strong. But the reoccurring pattern of method, disregard from the press, and workload contrasted with the ever-growing sense of betrayal and disillusionment as the negotiations neared its end and the closing of parliament, led to talks of reinvention among some of the activists.” says Oskar. This resonates with the need for movements to advance and develop their protest as to avoid stagnation, stressed by the Englers regarding escalation.

On April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2021, some ten people, myself included, from the workgroup that had been planning these protests met to brainstorm activities in relation to Extinction Rebellion’s Spring Rebellion and the time leading up to the closing of parliament on what, at the time, were announced to be May 26<sup>th</sup>. Frida, who also attended the meeting, recalls that: “(...) the group agreed that something “bigger” than the usual demonstrations were needed, and the fatigue

from not being mirrored in the severity and implications of the government's actions rapidly led to discussions of how far we were willing to go, and which new methods could be impactful, fresh, harder to ignore, and more dramatically reflect the desperation we felt." Knowingly or not, these reflections mirror all three of the elements outlined by the Englers; disruption in terms of not wanting to be passed over, the preliminary discussions on how much personal sacrifice they were willing to do, as well as the desire to escalate towards something bigger and new. The notion of building in intensity towards some acts of civil disobedience and a possible hunger strike were considered. Oskar Dahlin describes that: "Once the hunger strike was beginning to seriously be discussed, a quite ecstatic mood was spread in the room, and we immediately gave a presentation of these preliminary ideas at the online common meeting later that night. I feel the decision to work towards a blockade or some other act of civil disobedience where a bit of a no-brainer and something we had kind of tried before, and though I'm sure it was initially perceived as quite radical to some, it seemed like a natural experiment of expanding our toolbox to me." This refers to November of 2020, when DGSB did an illegal blockade of the road outside the Ministry of Climate, Energy and Utilities to pressure the final negotiations of the climate law. Although no legal ramifications came from the blockade, some organizational discussions and questions of identity had been dealt with, with no apparent internal crises emerging at that point. Oskar adds that: "I feel the hunger strike was more of an uncertainty in terms of being accepted as a tactic by all internally, and it certainly created some discussions and anxiety, but also a lot of buzz that contributed to all the activity of May." As described by the Englers, this fear on behalf of the movement when it comes to civil disobedience as the blockade, is also quite common as there: "(...) can be severe consequences to disobedience: formal leaders can be sued, assets can be seized, hard-earned access to mainstream powerbrokers can be compromised." (Engler & Engler, 2016: 171) This might then also play on the fear of losing some of the influence and goodwill from politicians and media that the polite and professional identity of DGSBs past activity might have gained. "(...) I'm sure [that] was part of the anxiety of some of the activists, but as I would argue, at this point we had very little contact with politicians already, compared to the year following the election, and the negotiations were going horribly nonetheless", Oskar expands. In any case the plans of escalation, including civil disobedience and the hunger strike, continued.

## **MAY 2021**

The planning of the campaign functionally put a hold on other DGSB activities to pool time and resources, and the biweekly “mandagsworkshops” were expanded to every week and were seized from the normal format to coordinate and plan the campaign. Eventually, workgroups were formed around respectively planning the large climate march, a string of smaller happenings, the blockade, the hunger strike, a demonstration to mark the closing of parliament, and the political narrative and presswork. Around 40-50 people were part of these groups that met several times a week, and some people were in various ways engaged in the work and planning on a daily basis. Arguably, the movement was already at this point utilizing personal sacrifice in terms of the many hours spend, down-prioritizing of social life, studies, and other activities. A point is made by the Englers to acknowledge these sacrifices as they are both vital to the workings of a volunteer movement, but also impact the sympathy and legitimacy perceived by the public.

A strategy was built around counting down to the closing of parliament with a persistent public pressure on a renegotiation of all climate agreements and a plan, and public implication, of an escalation in strategy. On April 28<sup>th</sup> a video was released referencing the prior protests, the begging of a countdown to the remaining 28 days until the closing of parliament, and the accompanying text: “Since the opening of parliament in October, we’ve been handed nothing but insufficient agreements and a fundamental betrayal of the 70% by 2030 reduction-goal. We’ve been in the streets at all the highlights and partaken in all the political discussions and processes we could. Nonetheless, the government refuses to approach the climate crisis with the gravity needed. What more does it take? Follow along in May, when DGSB implements a new toolbox and escalates if necessary.” (DGSB, 2021B) In terms of characterizing part of DGSB’s activity in Endnu Et Tabt År, the outward narrative of betrayal of the youth, appeal to past efforts and desperation of the movement permeates the movement’s communication in most instances.

## **INITIAL HAPPENINGS**

After a protest on the negotiations on agriculture and some initial published articles containing the political analyses of the campaign, the first happenings were done on May 5<sup>th</sup> with a string of social media stunts of activists running around the building of the Prime Minister’s Office looking for the Prime Minister who had been: “(...) missing in the climate debate” (DGSB, 2021C). The stunts were planned to be small displays of humor and provocation, a method the

Englers also examine through past youth movements like Otpor in Serbia, a takeaway from which mainly is the positive impact this can have and the identity and likeability of a movement, as well as the benefits in terms of mobilization and the projection of a fun thing to be a part of. (Engler & Engler, 2016: 81-82) “We hung “missing” posters on the walls, and livestreamed ourselves trying to find her, [The Prime Minister] eventually calling her secretariat on screen to follow up on the emails we had been sending to set up a meeting with her. The intention wasn’t to actually get a comment or meeting with her, we knew from past experiences that this was impossible, but to highlight the absurdity of young activists having to face the bureaucracy of booking a meeting and the impossible task of breaking through the radio-silence from the Prime Minister on the disastrous development of climate politics”, Oskar Dahlin says, adding: “The goal was mainly to sow seeds for the coming protests and escalation, and to project the notion of us desperately trying to be heard to no avail.” This might reflect healthy expectations for success, as suggested by Moyer, in terms of having the eye on the bigger picture and not relying on the criteria of success at every stage. Although the video of an activist on the phone with the Prime Minister’s secretary gained some views, the protests weren’t picked up by the media. In terms of Englers theory, the absence of all three elements in these protests might explain why it was so easily ignored, but also plays a smaller role as the goal wasn’t for this activity to establish much more than some foundations for future events.

## **OCCUPATION OF THE ENTRANCE TO THE DANISH PARLIAMENT**

On May 11<sup>th</sup>, around 50 DGSB-activist illegally blocked and occupied the steps to the entrance of parliament with banners reading: “Endnu et tabt år” and “Genforhandl alle aftaler” (meaning “renegotiate all agreements”). Shouts and speeches were held by the activists on the steps and additional supportive bystanders, and Anna Bjerre Johansen read aloud a plea from DGSB to the Prime Minister beginning with:

“Dear Mette Frederiksen. We remember your words during the election when you turned your attention to us. Do you remember them yourself? Do you remember us? (...) In 2019 we believed in you. The collective sigh of relief when you agreed to establish a climate law was so big that I’m sure you must have heard it behind the walls of Christiansborg. Since then, our shoulders have become heavy again, because it was one good news, and it came alone. And while we’re still reading the IPCC-reports with greater and greater dread, the papers we fear the most are becoming your climate agreements. Why? Because they are not worthy agreements. From the sole reason that they don’t live up to your own climate law. They don’t

live up to our reduction-goals, they don't live up to the Paris-agreement, and they don't live up to the all-encompassing climate crisis that is towering above us. (...) time is running out. We have been on the streets since you were elected. We have been in the newspapers and attended meetings with politicians across the political spectrum. Yet we stand here with another lost year. What more does it take? What more do you want us to do? Promise us that the government will enter into new agreements that live up to the climate law and the Paris-agreement. Only then will we again believe that you take our future seriously.” (DGSB, 2021C)

The blockade lasted for about an hour before the last activist had been carried away by the police. Some twenty participants refused to walk away, and although the police threatened with taking them into custody, the people being held in the police wagons were eventually freed and the activist got away with having their names taken for subsequent fines. “This was our first real act of civil disobedience, and the first time a DGSB-protest had had legal consequences for the activists. But everyone who ended up being charged by the police had taken part of the prior legal-briefings we held with the help from activists from Extinction Rebellion.” Oskar Dahlin recalls. Little press-coverage came of the blockade, but one video of an activist being carried away by the police superseded the popularity of any prior DGSB video on Instagram and gathered close to 10.000 views. (DGSB, 2021D) This both confirms and challenges the Englers three elements, as this protest arguably contain all three to a point. Disruption was part of the basic function of the blockade, the occupation of the stairs and entrance required all in- and outcoming politicians, journalists, and other people at Christiansborg to either find a different entrance or to struggle with getting through the activists and banners, which some did. The protest also required personal sacrifice on a scale new to most activists, as the ones who refused to vacate the stairs were eventually carried away by the police, risking injuries, enduring the general anxiety of the activity, and more than 20 were subsequently charged with obstructing the public order and is now awaiting sentence and a fine. The escalation of deploying civil disobedient tactics, as well as heightening the drama of the outward political narrative, was new advancements for the movement. When asked about disappointment in the lack of public reactions from media or politicians, Oskar explained that: “To [him], the protest was a huge success regardless of the media attention. The mood before, during, and after the protest was elated and excited, and at the debriefs afterwards both new and old activists expressed how the drama and agitation was a boost of energy and a cathartic release to the desperation they felt.” As such, the elements of disruption, sacrifice and escalation might mainly have contributed to the identity of the movement, more than measurable impact in the moment, but these elements brought some of the desired effects to the internal life of the movement and its participants.

## **DUMPING OF MANURE ON THE CHRISTIANSBORG PALACE SQUARE**

The following morning at 5:30 on May 12<sup>th</sup>, 5-10 activists shoveled a trailer-full of horse manure onto the Christiansborg Palace Square, filmed and photographed it and put it on social media with the sign: “Mindre lort, mere handling” (Less shit, more action). “The stunt was meant to both simultaneously hold our ongoing pressure on the agriculture-negotiations, as well as tie into the overall narrative of escalation of DGSB. To me, although the protest was technically illegal, the escalating aspect was more the brashness and vulgarity that felt very atypical of the professional, methodical, and almost polite nature of our usual activism and political rhetoric. It kind of just signaled that we were becoming fed-up and tired of playing nice.” says Charlie Hejlskov McPhilips on the notion of escalation and his reflections on planning and being part of the protest. He adds: “Just as we were leaving the area the police showed up and demanded, unsurprisingly, that we removed the manure. We decided that there was no sense in refusing, as the benefits of civil disobedience lost its potency without cameras or a clear narrative. So, we complied and drove away.” This resonates with the element of the Engler’s proposed benefits of sacrifice as a communicative and empathetic tool towards the public, rather than a moral goal in and of itself. Even though the protest could have ended with legal ramifications, the notion of sacrifice is hereby understood as mostly instrumental.

## **HUNGER STRIKE**

From May 19<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup>, 8 activists from DGSB underwent a hunger strike. “(...) for eight days we ate nothing and drank only water, herbal tea, and water with electrolytes”, explains Oskar Dahlin, adding: “From morning to late afternoon we would be sitting at our temporary camp-side on Christiansborg Palace Square under signs saying, ‘hunger strike for climate’ and ‘renegotiate all agreements’, and in the evening, we were driven to a dormitory on Nørrebro.” A team of 10-20 other activist were attached to the strike with daily care of the participants, logistics in setting up and taking down of the protest-site, chauffeurs, and handling of the political narrative and press. “We had one participant who had to give up the hunger strike because he got very uncomfortably sick with a fever, which the doctor we were in contact with declared as a deal-breaker. But otherwise, the others only suffered from weight-loss and some tough days”, says Frida Simon Jahn who was part of the logistic and care team of the strike. This naturally displays the willingness for personal sacrifice, in this case as mostly risking the

physical consequences of starvation, but also from the sacrifice of time and resources from the other activists, some of whom were present 24/7 to aid the strikers.

A side from the projection of escalation in the movements prior public statements, the hunger strike displayed a heightened focus on the sacrificial nature of the protest: “The political narrative from DGSB that accompanied the hunger strike through the interviews we gave, and statements and videos released online, was a furthering of the general political analysis and demands from the campaign in general, but with an added emphasis on desperation, dedication and pathos”, Oskar Dahlin explains. A statement co-written by the participants in the hunger strike, which was published in Politiken and released by DGSB as a video essay on social media, reads: “It’s a shame that we ended up here. Because we don't have a desire to quarrel with the police or starve for a week. We have a desire to focus on our studies, our work, our friends, and family. To party, to score, and to fall in love. We want to be young and live in the now. It’s absurd that we have to be so concerned for our future and fight this hard to secure it. It’s absurd that we now feel it necessary to hunger strike.” (Bergreen et al, 2021) This announcement and manifest of the hunger strike was released on the day of initiation with a pre-made agreement with the newspaper Politiken who broke the story publicly.

“When counting now, we can find at least 30 mentions or coverage of the hunger strike in newspapers, radio, podcasts, or TV, some of which, like an article from the Danish Public Radio, gathered a lot of discussion and interaction on social media, and was spread far by both positive and negative reactions. The hunger strike is without a doubt the biggest boost to our social media reach, and the most press-coverage DGSB has even gotten”, Frida recalls. This might give cause to believe that the characteristics of sacrifice and escalation that seem to be the predominantly new elements of the protest compared to prior activities, might have contributed to its public reach and relative success.

## **CLIMATE MARCH**

On May 22<sup>nd</sup>, overlapping with the hunger strike, DGSB arranged a climate march with the help of other grassroots organizations and NGOs, that consisted of an estimated 5.000 participants marching from Nørrebro to the Christiansborg Palace Square where there was a stage with speeches and music. (Bessermann & Fundal, 2021) “The strategy behind the climate march, besides the obvious political pressure of demonstrations such as these, were to harness some of the public and broader appeal from the previous marches, to then show that even though there are now hunger strikes and civil disobedience going on, DGSB and the climate

movement still represent a large part of the Danish population”, explains Sarah Hellebek who were part of the planning of the climate march. Even though the march was the climate mass mobilization with the most participants since the People’s Climate March of 2019 during the C40-meeting, it was only covered in two minor news articles. (ibid.) Frida Simon Jahn comments that this: “(...) certainly gave both some terrible implications in contrast to the large reaction to the hunger strike; If mass mobilizations no longer draw headlines, but 8 people starving for a week does, what does that say about the future of our protests?” Though this analysis of the reactions might be discouraging, it might have just as much to do with what the Englers assert about variation and advancement of activities. Climate marches have been relatively frequent since before the election of 2019, and the novelty of the manifestations might be wearing off. In any case it might not be as newsworthy as long as it doesn’t disrupt public infrastructure or marginally increases in numbers over time, as argued by the Englers. “Nonetheless it fills the important function of strengthening the mandate of our movement. We are fighting on behalf of thousands of others when we do our daily activism, and that’s crucial”, Sarah Hellebek concludes.

## **AFTERMATH AND EVALUATION**

Once the final date for the closing of parliament was revealed to be June 2<sup>nd</sup>, DGSB held one last protest in the style of the short-notice demos prior to Endnu Et Tabt År. Approximately 200-300 people showed up, and people from different NGOs and groups were invited to do evaluative and analytical speeches about the government’s performance.

“For the onboarding meetings following the events of May, we had an inflow of new activists, as well as returning veteran DGSB-activists who had been temporarily inactive, and this demand to facilitate new initiatives and the longevity of the movement has spurred many internal talks about our base organizing strategy that will be continued over the summer”, says Frida Simon Jahn. She sees this as “(...) a testament to the buzz and energy surrounding the protests of Endnu Et Tabt År, as well a renewed sense of relevance and longevity. If anyone were unsure, this signals that we are far from done or shutting down, and that we refuse to give up or stagnate. DGSB was founded on, and revels in, the notion of transforming fear and frustration into action. And the desperation of this last year, funneled into a new surge in activity instead of fizzing out or immobilizing us, definitely proves that”. This resonates with Moyer’s notions of internal motivation and gives cause to define the campaign as a success, if not for its public and political impacts, then in its contribution to the longevity and welfare of



the movement. If one were to assess which stage of the MAP the climate movement is in, I might argue that it resides in a prolonged version of stage 6. (Appendix A) Since the climate election of 2019 and the general notion that a majority of the Danish population sees the climate crisis as a crisis, but an ongoing battle is fought for defining exactly what the scope of the needed policies and actions are, and in what timeframe this need to be executed in. (Moyer, 1989: 26-33) DGSB or any other current movement might not exist long enough to see the stages of resolution and success in 7 and 8 reached in terms of the grandiose transformative goals needed for securing a green and just future. But the ups and downs of the curve within stage 6 are experienced now and need to be acknowledged.

In closing, the campaign was evaluated internally at a debrief and the following workshops, and a party was held at DGSB's new quarters on Nørrebro. "[Since then] the general invitations and inquires from the media have been more than usual, and not just about the recent protest and hunger strike. So some press work and internal organizing has been done since the campaign, but other than this, I think most of us are about ready for some summer vacation", Frida adds in closing.

## CONCLUSION

The new modes of climate activism explored by Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse (DGSB) throughout the campaign *Endnu Et Tabt År* during the spring of 2021, are characterized by experimenting with the identity and methods of the movement. A sense of desperation and an experience of decreased impact on Danish climate politics and the media, led the movement to reevaluate their methods and strive towards a more dramatic and confrontational strategy. Through the reoccurring new inclusion of elements of disruption, sacrifice, and escalation Mark & Paul Engler argues that a social movement unlocks the most explosive potential of nonviolent revolt through creating a presence that's difficult to ignore. Throughout DGSB's campaign I find expressions of all three elements, especially with displayed notions and execution of sacrifice and escalation, namely found in the acts of civil disobedience, like the blockade of the entrance to the Danish parliament, and in the hunger strike. These protests, although they did not bring about specific political goals like the promise of the government to renegotiate the past year's climate agreements. But they did bring about measurable positive outcomes like an increase in new activists joining the movement as well as an unprecedented reach and coverage in the press and social media. Seemingly more important to the DGSB-

interviewees, the elements of disruption, sacrifice, and escalation might have contributed to an increase in energy and motivation within the movement, which might strengthen the longevity and devotion of the movement in the future. This resonates with the theory accompanying Bill Moyer's Movement Action Plan, of experiencing the contemporary actions, challenges, successes as part of the ongoing movement that might take many years. Moyer argues that such an understanding is important in combatting burnout and immobilization within a movement, and as such the perceived surge in energy and motivation within DGSB following the campaign might be defined as a success for the movement.

## **REFLECTIONS ON LEARNING**

In closing, I will reflect upon the learning in relation to how I acted within the movement, the specific tasks I have been working with, and the academic and personal development following the internship.

Firstly, I will mention that I purposefully included some of these reflections in the outlining of my history and relation to the movement prior and outside of this internship, and as I participated fully in the protests, meetings and activities described in my walkthrough and analysis of the campaign Endnu Et Tabt År, many of the reflections and evaluations expressed by the interviewees are also shared by me. As such, I will keep this chapter somewhat short.

The question of how I acted or collaborated with the other activists during the internship is colored by the prior relation and work I have done within the movement. Many of the people I worked with are personal friends of mine, and the collaboration as such rely on our past experiences and dynamics. With this said, I will add that gathering reflections through the interviews and analysis of the events in this paper, gave me an added sense of proudness of the DGSB-activists, that might affect the relations going forward. In terms of how I acted, the position of an intern, though not very prevalent in my communication with the other activists who treated me as they would have otherwise, did affect the amount of tasks I took on, and the expressions of availability and personal resources I projected to others.

In terms of new skills, I acquired in connections to the tasks I performed, I would highlight the logistics and planning of protest with not just a short notice, but with overlaps and frequency within a short time. The workload of especially the month of May related to the protests, the political and media preparations, and the social media and communications work was all

similar in style to previous tasks, but heightened in intensity, difficulty, and scale. This will be a takeaway from this process as I know more of both the limits and possibilities of such work. Other than this, the personal development undergone in the process also bears mentioning, on the positive side I learned a lot from pushing the limits of dedication and sacrifice from being charged by the police and starving for 8 days, that will be very helpful in approaching similar protest in the future. A downside was my experience with symptoms of stress, anxiety and overwhelm at the height of the tasks related to Endnu Et Tabt År combined with my day-job, university courses and other activism. This also resulted in the postponement of this paper and subsequent analysis, which was luckily not very difficult and a big help.

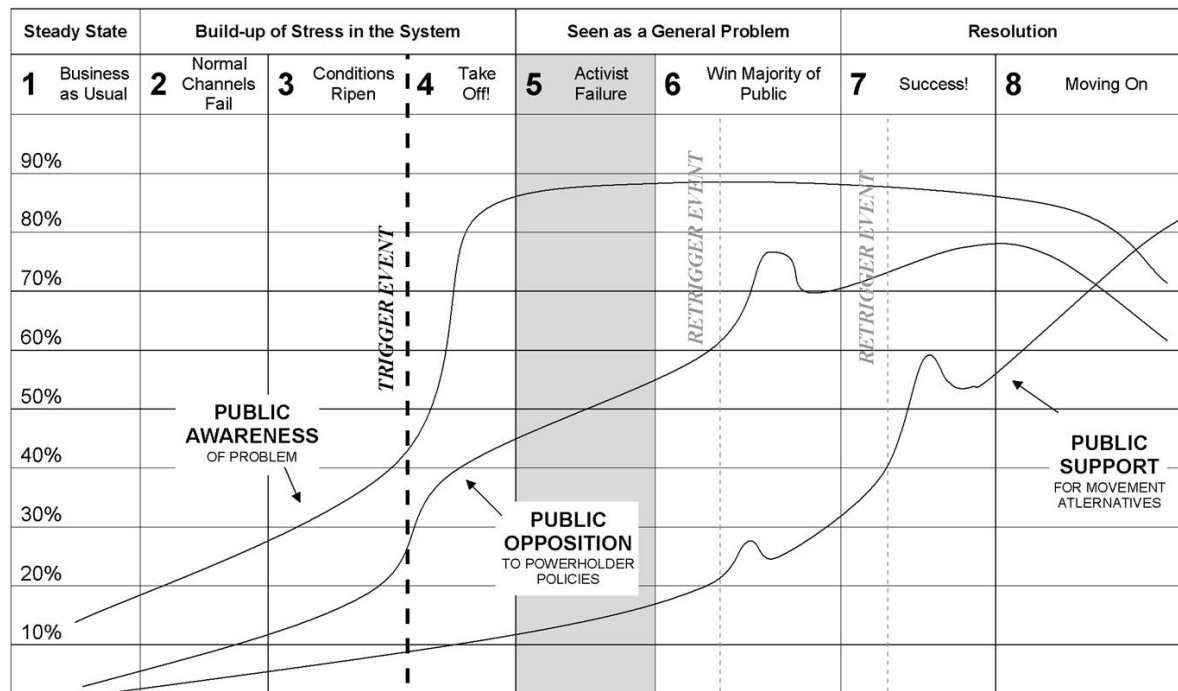
Academically, it has been very meaningful and interesting to not only have the time to analyze and reflect on the actions of the movement, but also to read about the actions of past movements that intensely mirror the experiences and developments of DGSB, and to learn terms and theories on the fundamental ideas of what a social movement is and how DGSB, through the historical precedence, might have and already have had a measurable impact on the Danish society and climate politics. It has been a challenge however, to juggle that role of intern and active participant with the expected objectivity of academic scientific research, and I have gained some notions of how to approach this differently should I enter into participatory observation or the likes in the future.

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## APPENDIX A



*Illustration of The Movement Action Plan by Bill Moyer (Moyer, 1989: 1)*

## APPENDIX B

- The opening of parliament (October 6<sup>th</sup>, 2020, Holmen's Church & Christiansborg Palace Square)
- The beginning of negotiations of the Finance Act and initial demand for a carbon tax (November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2020, Rigsdagsgården)
- Unsatisfactory proposal for the Finance Act (November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020, Ministry of Finance)
- Final signing of the Finance Act without a carbon tax (December 8<sup>th</sup>, 2020, Ministry of Finance)
- A highlight of Klimarådet's (The Danish Council on Climate Change) judgement of the government's plan not living up to the climate law (February 26<sup>th</sup>, 2021, Rigsdagsgården)
- The political proposal for regulations on Danish agriculture (May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2021, Rigsdagsgården)