The Climate Movement - Potentials and Barriers for Mobilizing Towards Systematic Sustainable Change in Denmark

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Abstract

This study draws on semi-structured interviews with representatives from six initiatives within the Danish climate movement. Urban social movements have the potential to change society to becoming more open and emancipating, as has been seen several times in history. The climate movement takes a new shape as an urban social movement, because of the extent of the climate crisis and because the climate crisis is a problem affecting people all over the world. The crisis leads to disagreements and conflicts and must hence be treated as a wicked problem, as we can neither agree whose fault it is, about the extent of the problem, nor can we agree about what solutions it calls for.

This project studies the new rise of the Danish climate movement in order to uncover tendencies they have experienced as barriers and potentials for their ability to impact towards a more sustainable and just society.

Key words: *Climate movement, urban social movements, sustainable development, wicked problems, critical urban theory*

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Enjoy reading!

7th of June 2019

Summary

In this thesis, local and international initiatives within the Danish climate movement have been under the lens. The object has been to map their demands and goals, interactions, tools used in their activism and the specific barriers and potentials they experience in their fight for the climate. During my studies, I found that the climate movement is like a toolbox – full of different types of tools separated by boxes. Therefore, it became important to include a representation of different initiatives in the thesis.

The study draws on semi-structured interviews with representatives from initiatives within the Danish climate movement. Urban social movements have the potential to change society to becoming more open and emancipating, as has been seen several times in history. The climate crisis leads to disagreements and conflicts and must hence be treated as a wicked problem, as we can neither agree whose fault it is, about the extent of the problem, nor can we agree about what solutions it calls for.

Seven initiatives within the Danish climate movement have been included in the study, six of them represented in interviews. The initiatives have been analyzed based on their goals and demands, from the theoretical frame of Lefebvre´s right to the city. The relations between the initiatives have been analyzed in order to find tendencies of constructive and conflictual relations, which can imply the strength of the climate movement as a united force. The actions of the movement have been analyzed to uncover patterns of who the consequences of the actions are affecting. Using critical urban theory, tendencies of crisis and potentials have been uncovered when looking at conflicts between the climate movement and its opponents and the responses to their demands from elected officials.

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1. Introduction

In this thesis, several local and international initiatives within the Danish climate movement have been under the lens. The object has been to map their demands and goals, interactions, tools used in their activism and the specific barriers and potentials they experience in their fight for the climate. During my studies, I found that the climate movement is like a toolbox – full of different types of tools separated in boxes. Therefore, it became important to include a representation of different initiatives in the thesis.

"*We have come here to let you know that change is coming, whether you like it or not. The real power belongs to the people.*" (Thunberg, Fridays for Future, 2019)

These are the words of the now famous climate activist Greta Thunberg who have mobilized a global series of school strikes for the climate. We have learned to know that mass mobilization of the urban social movements has the potential to contribute to societal change. After the activist group Extinction Rebellion announced rebellion week and locked down areas of the city of London in April this year, the British parliament, the Irish parliament, the Welsh government and the Scottish government have declared climate emergency (Climate Emergency Declaration, 2019). Others have taken governments and companies to court. The very first successful lawsuit of its kind was made in 2018 against the Dutch government, which ended with the judges ordering a 25% cut in carbon emissions by 2025 (Neslen, 2019). The lawsuit has inspired lawsuits in other countries including India, Ireland, The UK, New Zealand, Norway, Belgium, Colombia, Portugal, Switzerland, Uganda and the US (Neslen, 2019). These examples demonstrate how societal change can happen – when the public challenges the authorities and demands a new sustainable direction for the future. In Denmark, 2019 will be an important year for the climate movement as it is election year. Naturally, the election will be of great importance for the direction of Danish climate policies.

When grassroots gather in communities, it usually happens on the basis of a common understanding of the consequences of actions and common interests about how society should be (Dewey, 1927). If many communities agree and move in the same direction, it can lead to societal change. Interactions among the unified communities and with the rest of the public can affect their potentials for arriving at the desired societal changes. (Dewey, 1927) John Dewey (1927) argued that we must analyze society as the result of human action, and therefore this project takes its

departure from the actions of grassroots. The grassroots in this project are mobilizing a movement demanding action on the climate crisis

Climate change is an urgent problem; its existence is argued for and proved by an overwhelming percentage of scientists in the field. By now, even countries in the Global North are experiencing can see the changes that are luring. Climate change is a problem that will affect all of us and the following generations. With the available scientific evidence in mind, why are not everyone taking the streets, demanding immediate action?

The concept of "the right to the city" was manifested in Henri Lefebvre´s writings about the Paris Commune in 1966. Lefebvre's thoughts about the right to the city can be put in relation to his interest in the centrality of space and urban life under capitalism (Lefebvre, 1996/1968). Lefebvre defines the right to the city most simply as a '*transformed and renewed right to urban life*' (1996/68). I argue that this is what the climate movement, in its most basic, demands – the right to transform their way of living, as the capitalist system is built up around consumerism and oppresses a sustainable way of life. The right to the city does not mean that all actions must happen within the infrastructural frame of the city, because the city is a part of network which cannot separate urban actions from rural actions. Even so, the city is where most people are gathered – half the citizens of the world live in urban areas (Bulkeley, 2013). And as Castells wrote in 1983; `*only if we are able to understand how people create cities might we be able to create cities for people´* (Castells, 1983, xxi).

2. Problem Area

The climate means something to every single person on the planet. We both love our climate, and yet we fear it – it can be perfidious (Hulme, 2009). Climate can affect where you choose to settle down and where you travel. We expect the climate to perform for us, and it offers benefits for all human cultures; rain, wind, sun which powers and feeds our lands and machines (Hulme, 2009). When we talk about climate, it is important to understand that climate is not a fixed object which can be measured directly by our instruments, like we can with temperature (Hulme, 2009). It is `*the*

average course or condition of the weather at a place usually over a period of year as exhibited by temperature, wind velocity and precipitation´ (Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary, 1998; Hulme, 2009). Rayner (2009) argues that the plasticity of climate change – its ability to be a lot of things to many people - is exactly what has made it a major political issue.
The climate crisis remains a distant concern for some (Bulkeley, 2013).

In parts of the worlds, the fact that human activities are leading to long-term changes in the global atmosphere, is obscured. This is evident in political attempts to deny or undermine the importance of the issue or focusing on scientific uncertainty. It may also be neglected in favor of more pressing concerns dominating everyday life of citizens. (Bulkeley, 2013) These are typical reasons for neglecting climate crisis in Western countries. In other parts of the world, the climate crisis is a more pressing issue. It rumbles in the background of everyday life and comes to the surface in international negotiations or in the shape of climate-related disasters. (Bulkeley, 2013)

In 2018, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) published a report on the impacts of global warming at 1,5°C above pre-industrial levels. The key findings state that human activities are estimated to have caused approximately 1.0°C of global warming above pre-industrial levels, with a likely range of 0.8°C to 1.2°C. Global warming is likely to reach 1.5°C between 2030 and 2052 if it continues to increase at the current rate. The estimated anthropogenic global warming is currently increasing at 0.2°C per decade due to past and ongoing emissions (IPCC, 2018). The goal of the Danish Government is to be carbon neutral by 2050, but with current climate policies, the effort is slowing down towards 2030 and it becomes unlikely to reach this goal (Klimarådet, 2018).

The numbers in the IPCC report and the lack of global unity and action have led to public reaction. The climate crisis is a global problem still in search of a solution, or several solutions (Nulman, 2015). International negotiations have failed, and there have not yet been produced policies that will reduce greenhouse gas emissions significantly (Nulman, 2015). As a response, the climate crisis has caused the mobilization of a global climate movement.

In Denmark, grassroots are criticizing unambitious climate politics and demand action, putting pressure on the existing system. In the last couple of years, several new organisations and initiatives fighting for the climate have mobilized or started up in Denmark. These initiatives are separated

from each other by different approaches to activism. Kids are skipping school to protest in the streets inspired by the Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg (Klimastrejke, 2019), students are sending packages with letters to the climate minister begging for more ambitious climate politics (Mosbech, 2018). A citizen suggestion for a climate law raised over 65.000 signatures (Hannestad, 2019), concerned grandparents stroll the streets with posters and some activists have announced that they are ready to be arrested for their cause. One can consider these actions to be a sign that the climate movement has gained new strength. They are fighting for the right to a stable climate, the right to shape their future, for themselves and future generations. According to Castells (1983), urban social movements have had a radical impact on the turn of society. Vital examples of movements that have shaped today's society are the civil rights movement and the women's rights movement (Castell, 1983).

The climate movement is different from other urban social movements in history. Never before has the issue had such a widespread impact, affecting every human being on the planet, and never has the issue been so abstract (Hulme, 2009). This is not an issue targeting one single group, or an issue where you can point out one single enemy – this is a problem threatening our livelihood and lives, and we have known about it for several decades (Hulme, 2009). However, there are several tendencies pointing towards different problematic qualities in the climate movement related to cohesion. In contrast to other social movements, the issue of climate change is not owned by a particular segment of the population (Hulme, 2009). For instance, the civil rights movement was `owned´ by the African Americans and the women's rights movement was `owned´ by women. Therefore, these issues rise questions such as "who is to blame?" "Who are the victims?" "Who is to solve this issue?" There is no clear solution to the climate crisis. It is a mass of issues tangled together, where every solved problem might lead to a new issue. This is, in urban planning, the short definition of a wicked problem. (Rayner, 2009)

In order to fully understand the climate movement, a short history of the climate movement and its traits is necessary.

3. A brief history of the climate movement

History has shown that when grassroots gather and demand change, significant transformations of society can happen (Castells, 1983). For over 30 years, activists and organisations have mobilized to pressure policymakers to address climate change (Nulman, 2015). Despite their efforts, strong international policy has failed to materialize (Nulman, 2015). In the last year, new impulses in the climate movement has inspired new hope, as youth all over the world has mobilized for the climate (Haynes, 2019). To understand these new impulses and the actions of the movement, it is important to look at the history.

According to Nulman (2015), the climate movement consists of loosely networked individuals, groups and organisations that sprung out from environmentalist, anti-capitalist, development and indigenous movements combined with a new wave of activists and groups with no previous ties to other movements. A social movement can be defined as 'a loose, noninstitutionalized network of informal interactions that may include, as well as individuals and groups who have no organizational affiliation, organizations of varying degree of formality, that are engaged in collective action motivated by shared identity or concern' (Rootes, 2007; Nulman, 2015).

Fuchs et al (2014) points out two movements that grew forward in the late 60's which influenced how the climate policies developed in the Global North. The appropriate technology movement (AT) and the voluntary simplicity movement (VSM) are two linked movements. The AT movement claimed that social power could be fundamentally redistributed through technical choice (Winner, 1986; Fuchs et al, 2014). The VSM, on the other hand, was drawing from a history of anti-materialism and privileged the personal sacrifice and material restraint, without focusing on larger forces of power and structures (Maniates, 2002; Fuchs et al, 2014). This depoliticization of consumption and social change extended into the 1970s, when consumption became incorporated into the academic conversation via the `IPAT´ formula (Ehrlich and Holdren, 1971; Fuchs et al, 2014), which described environmental impact as a function of population, affluence and technology (Impact=Population x Affluence x Technology). Scholars and policymakers found the "affluence" segment of IPAT to be politically unwieldy and shifted their attention to new technologies of production and accommodation, which has led to rising affluence. This was accompanied with a promise of lower environmental costs (Chertow, 2001; Fuchs et al, 2014). These international movements are of relevance to the way the climate crisis is handled by current climate policies.

3.1 Environmentalism and climate action in a Danish context

In a Danish context, environmentalism begun with a student rebellion at a conference in Copenhagen in 1969. After this event, the environmental organization NOAH was established and expanded to local groups all over Denmark (Soneryd & Wettergren, 2017). At the beginning of the 1980s, more professional and traditional organisations became dominating in Denmark, for instance the Danish Society for Nature Conservation (DN), The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) Denmark, Greenpeace Denmark (part of Greenpeace Nordic since 1999), and NOAH became affiliated to Friends of the Earth (FoE) in 1988 (Soneryd & Wettergren, 2017). Compared to NOAH the DN, WWF and Greenpeace were more hierarchical and single-issue oriented, mobilizing a passive membership and not pushing for a fundamental system change (Soneryd & Wettergren, 2017). This represented a transition from grassroot-organized environmental initiatives towards a professionalization and state-organized citizen participation (Soneryd & Wettergren, 2017). In the 1990s, the focus moved from the radical environmentalism to a national consensus around an `ecological modernisation´. This modernization embraced the idea that a sustainable society is possible within the frames of a growth-oriented capitalist economy (Soneryd & Wettergren, 2017).

In 1992, the 92-group was established, which had the function as a coordinator for environmental work in Denmark and performing lobbyism in the name of the environment. Moving forward to 2008, The Climate Movement in Denmark (CMD) was formed. This was the beginning of a shift in focus towards climate change (Soneryd & Wettergren, 2017), which explains why the movement is called `the climate movement´ in this thesis.

In 2009, Denmark was hosting the United Nations Conference of the Parties 15 (COP 15) summit in Copenhagen (Hoff & Gausset, 2012). Hoff & Gausset (2012) explains that after the COP 15, there was a disillusionment about the failure to reach global agreements. This led to a shift of focus in the climate movement, from a global focus to a focus on the local possibilities for action (Hoff & Gausset, 2012). Since then, events of global scale have occurred, which also mobilized the Danish climate movement. In 2015, 196 countries agreed to the Paris-agreement during COP21, which is a legally binding agreement. This agreement binds the EU to reduce carbon emission with 40 percent by 2030, compared to 1990 levels (Energi-, Forsynings- og Klimaministeriet, n/a [b]). The current

ambition of the government is a carbon neutral Denmark in 2050 (Energi-, Forsynings- og Klimaministeriet, n/a [a]).

In 2018, a Swedish girl named Greta Thunberg started a school strike for the climate every Friday – and mobilized the movement called Fridays for Future (Haynes, 2019). This movement was adopted by grassroots in Denmark in 2019 and mobilized school strikes all over the country (Klimastrejke, 2019). In 2019, the British climate action group Extinction Rebellion also started up on Danish ground and had its first act of civil disobedience in February 2019 (Nielsen, 2019). The 24th of May 2019 school strikes for the climate were arranged in 1300 cities across 125 countries (Fridays for Future, 2019), among them Denmark. The 25th of May over 30.000 people marched for the climate in Copenhagen with *Folkets Klimamarch* (Krogh, 2019), which was twice as many as in September 2018 (Wang, 2018). These recent actions could imply that the climate movement is experiencing an increasing mobilization, which can increase their impact on society.

3.2 Relevant Research

According to Healey (1997), an increasingly complex political configuration for local governance and critics of `blueprint planning´ have led to a turn in planning towards `collaborative practices´, which underlines the importance of taking grassroots and community-based groups into account. Mayer (2003) argues that activists and advocacy organizations might cause more effective participation in planning, but they are usually neglected. In later research, she argues that urban social movements have the potential to create challenge to neoliberal planners, politicians and developers (Mayer, 2012).

Hoff & Gausset (2016) looks at the movement's turn from a global focus to a local focus after COP15. They focus on the cooperation between community-based groups and local governments in climate mitigation project. Their findings point out that the projects that were initiated by citizens had the highest commitment and biggest reduction on greenhouse gas emissions (Hoff & Gausset, 2016). Based on their results, Hoff & Gausset (2016) stress that citizens, as individuals or as parts of smaller or bigger communities, must play an important part in climate change mitigation. In a study of the Danish environmental movement, Soneryd & Wettergren (2017) conclude that climate change, as both a national and transnational agenda for established Danish environmental

movement organizations, can be understood through coexisting transnational processes that link the domestic and the transnational level in multiple ways. The study involved established organizations such as NOAH, Concito, the Ecological Council, Greenpeace Nordic, The 92-group, *Klimabevægelsen* (Climate Movement in Denmark), the Danish Society for Nature Conservation and WWF Denmark. In addition, the green political party Alternative contributed to the study (Soneryd & Wettergren, 2017).

These studies have contributed with inspiration to this thesis, but the focus is not on the transnational network of the movement or its presence in co-creation. This thesis contributes with a focus on the newer initiatives that have risen over the last few years as the global climate movement has sprung forward. These are the self-organized grassroots, working on a voluntary basis. Some of them (XR, KS) are a part of a global movement with a specific approach to activism. The form that these initiatives take tells us that they are driven by something else than the transnational organization with paid employees and has the ability to give new perspectives to the field of study.

4. Problem formulation

The problem area has given a broad explanation of the climate crisis and the grassroots fighting for a sustainable societal change. It is important to understand the history of movements, because it shows that the movement of grassroots is dynamic and changes with its surroundings. With this in mind, and with the collected empirical data, it might be possible to say something about how the climate movement is developing and understand their potentials and barriers for further mobilization. Given the perspective of the project, the following research question seeks to be answered:

- How does the actions of the Danish climate movement present potentials and barriers for societal sustainable development?

To answer this research question, three sub-questions have been formulated. These questions give a structure to the research and lead the way for an analysis based on the theoretical framework.

- What characterizes the demands and goals of the initiatives?
- What characterizes their approach to activism?
- What characterizes the relations between the initiatives and the relations to their surroundings?

5. Research Design

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research design applied in this project, which will be used to justify the theoretical and methodological decisions leading to the arrival at the eventual conclusions answering the research question.

5.1 Hermeneutic study

In order to answer the research question, a hermeneutic approach was chosen, because the goal is to interpret the meanings and actions of the climate movement in Copenhagen. The idea of the hermeneutic approach is that the meaning that is hidden behind our words and actions must be uncovered through the work of interpretation (Højbjerg, 2009).

The hermeneutics consists of many traditions, theories and methods. All the different traditions within hermeneutics have the core idea that understanding, and interpretation comes before explanations. (Højbjerg, 2009) We separate between the methodological, the philosophical and the critical hermeneutic position. The positions have different ideas of what interpretation is, and how the researchers interfere with the material they interpret. (Juul, 2012) The methodological hermeneutics builds upon the epistemological principle that knowledge comes from shifting between a comprehensive understanding and a partly understanding, known as the hermeneutic circle. (Højbjerg, 2009) It is claimed that it is possible to read a text on its own premises. This is rejected by the philosophical hermeneutics which claims that the meaning is created in the meeting between the object and the interpreter - called a fusion of horizons. One person's horizon is the sum of ones condemns and pre understandings. (Højbjerg, 2009)

The tradition of critical hermeneutics takes a point of departure from the prejudices of the researcher, and underlines that these prejudices are brought into the process of interpretation to be challenged (Juul, 2012). Some of the prejudices the researcher brings into the study are a critical perspective which creates the normative horizon the researcher is approaching in the field of study. The critical hermeneutic strives to test, correct and specify a normative draft through dialogue. A critical hermeneutic analysis can be used to justify a critique of societal maldevelopment, without claiming to be neutral, true nor objective. (Juul, 2012). The meanings in this project, are produced

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in the meeting with the interviewees. When using a hermeneutic approach, one must have in mind to that every text, action and statement can be interpreted in many ways depending on the historical context and the interpreter herself. (Juul, 2012)

Interpretation should be the first step in studying the climate movement, because you cannot explain something that is not understood and interpreted forehand. One of the reasons why interpretation is important is that individuals have different frames of understanding, which can be uncovered through dialogue (Højbjerg, 2009). Thus, every interviewed activist can see thing differently and bring new perspectives. According to Højbjerg (2009), interpretation and understanding is one of the most basic terms of seeing the world and being in the world. This approach is also accepted by critical urban theory, as it is argued that Therefore, interview was selected as the main method to collect knowledge in this project.

In politics and planning, hermeneutics are seldom used as a research approach, because of the perception that knowledge is interpretation and cannot contribute to a solid basis one can build society upon (Juul, 2012). This perception leans towards the positivistic research tradition, that strives to generate certain and objective knowledge from empirical observations. The question is if objective knowledge is even possible when studying the social world. (Juul, 2012) Humans are social beings that does not exclusively follow rules and the surroundings, unlike an object falling to the ground due to gravity. Human beings can reflect on and change their behavior, and thereby create their own rules. (Juul, 2012) Therefore, studies of human beings and society must be approached different than studies of nature, in order to capture the intentions and motivations that drives human beings to act in a certain way. (Juul, 2012) As this project is determined to study an urban social movement, and thereby human beings and society, a hermeneutic approach is appropriate to use as a frame of understanding.

5.2 Hermeneutic analysis

Categorization can be used to uncover the meaning of a text and concentrate long interviews into simple categories (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The categories have been developed during the research, and in relation to the chosen theories. The categorization is supporting the meaning condensing, which means to shorten down statements to concrete formulations to highlight the

essential meaning. The interview is read through, and then it is decided what is the meaning entities. Afterwards the questions are asked to the meaning entities from the specific goal of the research, and the theoretical framework. The most important themes have been written together in the analysis. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009)

6. Method

In this project the data was primarily collected from semi-structured interviews with six initiatives within the Danish climate movement (The number of interviewees are written in parentheses): Extinction Rebellion DK (1), Bedsteforældrenes Klimaaktion (1), Så er det nu: Gør valget grønt (1), Folkets Klimamarch (2), Ungdom NOAH (2) and Klimastrejke - Fridays for Future (1). All the interviewees are climate activists working on a voluntary basis. In total, six interviews with eight people were conducted, recorded and transcribed. All the interviews were performed as informal semi-structured interviews and followed the same thematic interview guide. Each interview lasted between 20 and 40 minutes. To support the statements from the interviews, documents in the form of manifests, demands and goals, core values and verdicts written by the initiatives were analysed. Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse (DGSB) has been included in the analysis based on documents.

6.1 Empirical study

Conversation is a traditional way of systematically collecting knowledge, and a method acknowledged by the hermeneutic tradition. Qualitative research is often carried out by interviews, in order to understand the world of the interviewee and uncover their meanings before writing scientific explanations. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) The scientific interview builds upon daily life conversations with a professional approach, a structure and a goal. Due to the planning and the power relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, the conversation lacks the spontaneity of the everyday conversation. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009)

6.2 Semi-structured interviews

In this project the semi-structured interview was the chosen form of interview. It can be defined as an interview with the purpose to collect descriptions of the life world of the interviewee and interpret the meaning of the described phenomenon (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Open questions can lead to the uncovering of important dimensions of experiences. The semi-structured interview is inspired by phenomenology. While phenomenologists are interested to find out how people experience their world, the hermeneutics are concentrated on the interpretation of meaning. By using this method much responsibility lays on the professionality of the interviewer, both regarding methodological reflections during the interview and knowledge about the subject of study. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) Because the interview is an active process in which the interviewer and the interviewee is producing knowledge through their relation, it is important to be clear about the purpose of the interview and the reason why this interviewee is important for the research (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

In a semi-structured interview, the interview guide works as guidelines for the interview, with themes and suggestions for questions. Because it is designed as an open dialogue, the questions can be asked when it feels appropriate during the conversation. If the interview procedure seems spontaneous, it is more likely to collect spontaneous and unexpected answers, even though this can make the structuring for the analysis more difficult. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) During the interviews, I took a position as what Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) calls the traveler - developing and adapting through the process of interviewing.

6.3 Transcription and categorization

All interviews in this project were recorded and afterwards transcribed to text for the analysis. To transcript is to translate from one form to another, from spoken words to written words. This translation makes the transcript a construction of the actual interview. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) The translations were interpreted into shorter statements and categorized in themes from the theoretical framework.

6.4 Choice of interviewees

In this project 8 activists from 6 different initiatives within the Danish climate movement has contributed with their ideas, values, meanings, hopes and struggles. The reason they are called initiatives in this report is because they have different organizational forms, as established organizations, movements, platforms and grassroot-initiatives, and therefore *initiatives* is a covering term.

When reaching out to possible interviewees the scope was initiatives and organizations built up around voluntary work with climate activism. The interviewees are activists, initiative takers and administrators. Table 1 displays an overview of the interviewees and their relevance to the study.

Table 1: Overview of interviewees and their relevance for the study

Name	Initiative	Relevance	Date
Birgitte Ringgaard Diget	Extinction Rebellion	Climate activist, group administrator	26.02.2019
Tais Abrahamsson and Josefine Overbye	Ungdom NOAH	Climate activists	03.04.2019
Birgitte Jensen	Bedsteforældrenes Klimaaktion	Climate activist, group administrator	14.03.2019
Liv Maria Detlif	Så er det nu: Gør valget grønt!	Activist, Initiative taker	26.03.2019
Harald Brønd and Maja Holmegaard	Folkets Klimamarch	Activists, Organizers of this year´s march (May 2019)	27.03.2019
Rikke Damgaard Nielsen	Klimastrejke: Fridays for Future	Activist, part of national coordinator team	11.04.2019

In addition to the initiatives who contributed with interviews, I have chosen to include Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse (DGSB). I was unfortunately not able to get an interview, but they were mentioned in several of the interviews, which made it clear that they should be included in the project. Because DGSB is a more established organization it was easier to get access to their documents including organizational structure, verdicts, work structure, core values and demands, and is therefore included in the document analysis.

In table 2 the six interviewed initiatives and DGSB will be introduced. Behind the names of every initiative a short version of the name is written in parentheses, which will be used in the rest of the report.

Table 2: Overview of different initiatives, including information, structure and strategy to activism

Name of initiative	About	Structure	Strategy
Extinction Rebellion (XR)	International movement started in London in October 2018. Started up in Copenhagen in February 2019. Uses non-violent civil disobedience to achieve radical change in order to minimise the risk of human extinction and ecological collapse. (XR, 2018)	Organised in small work groups. Are working to build a movement that is participatory, decentralised, and inclusive. (XR, 2018)	Promotes civil disobedience and rebellion. Encourage people to collectively do what is necessary to bring about change. (XR, 2018)
Ungdom NOAH (UngN)	Independent youth organisation established in 2015. Sister organisation to NOAH (Danish environmental organisation). For youth between 15 and 25 years. (Ungdom NOAH, 2018)	Structured in smaller work groups. Weekly meetings, social trips, arranging events (lectures, climate kitchen) to inform about climate and environmental issues. Based on yearly paid memberships. (Ungdom NOAH, 2018)	Main focus is to inform and communicate climate- and environmental issues and advice about how to live in new sustainable ways. (Ungdom NOAH, 2018)
Bedsteforældrenes Klimaaktion (BK)	Initiative under 350 KiD (Climate Movement in Danmark) for worried grandparents and mature people (50+) who wants to take on responsibility for the climate and act to do a difference. (Bedsteforældrenes Klimaaktion, 2019)	Facebook-community, demonstrations, information meetings. Local groups in Copenhagen, Odense, Aalborg and Aarhus. (Jensen, Appendix 3, 05:07)	Inform about individual climate actions, demonstrate and support youth in their climate activism. (Jensen, Appendix 3, 05:07)

Så er det nu: gør valget grønt (SEDN)	SEDN is a voluntary grassroot initiative with the goal to impact the elections for parliament in 2019 to be a green election. (Så er det nu, 2019)	A platform to gather citizens, organisations and initiatives to pressure politicians. All organisations that supports the goal of the campaign can become co-senders with their name and logo on the homepage. (Så er det nu, 2019)	Started with a petition to gather people that agrees that the election should be green. This petition gathered thousands of citizens in a database, which will be used to pressure politicians through a poke-a-politician campaign to make politicians commit to a green generations contract. (Så er det nu, 2019)
Folkets Klimamarch (FK)	Initiative for gathering people to march for the climate. The first march was arranged in 2017 (Brønd, Appendix 5, 09:56). In May 2019 over 30.000 participated in Copenhagen (Krogh, 2019).	Organised by a main group of 10 people, accompanied by a buffer group. (Holmegaard, Appendix 5, 09:56)	Organising marches for the climate all over Denmark (Folkets Klimamarch, 2019)
Klimastrejke – Fridays for Future (KS)	International movement (Fridays for Future) started by Greta Thunberg in 2018. In Denmark the movement is intertwined with DGSB. (Klimastrejke, 2019)	Local striking groups all over the country, organized under a national coordinator team (Nielsen, Appendix 7, 00:05).	School strikes and demonstrations for the climate. Mobilizing young people to protests. (Klimastrejke, 2019)
Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse (DGSB)	DGSB was established in spring 2018 by students. The goal was to become a broad movement characterized by youth and vigor. It is a community for everyone who wants to fight for this and future generations. DGSB is an independent and democratic movement. (DGSB, 2019)	Organized in an assembly, operation groups and activist groups (DGSB, 2019).	DGSB acknowledge all non-violent activities and methods in which contributes to achieving the necessary transformation. DGSB wants to cooperate with all movements, institutions and organisations that works for the same political vision as them. (DGSB, 2019)

6.5 Literature study

The empirical study is supported by a document study. The document study is mainly focusing on the manifests and core values of the initiatives, in order to support the statements of the interviewees. In addition, documents written by DGSB is included in the analysis. A document analysis is often used this way – as a supplement to other methods (Lynggaard, 2010). The analysis can be used to uncover processes, development in norms and practices, change in power relations and the meaning in which the actor gives to social and political phenomenon. (Lynggaard, 2010)

Because the theme of this project is very up to date, and is leaning on many recent events, news articles has been an important literary source. These have been necessary to apply in order to map some of the more recent actions of the climate movement.

6.6 Cautions

Some of the choices regarding methods is done during the interviews, when using open and non-standardized research methods. I have learned in the process and adapts while uncovering new dimensions about the subject. In exploratory researches the questions can develop according to the understanding of the subject which can result in advanced forms of interviews and can include nuances and complexities that are related to the subject of research. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009)

Regarding the number of initiatives included in the project and the number of conducted interviews, it all comes down to time limitations and responses from the contacted initiatives. While most of the initiatives I reach out to were helpful and willing to contribute to the project, others did not respond to my request. Time and resources are also very important to consider (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). As I was doing all the interviews and transcriptions myself, it was necessary to limit the number of interviews to a number in which could be managed within the timeframe of the thesis.

6.7 Limitations

In Chapter 10 sustainable development is presented as a wicked problem – and is treated like a wicked problem throughout this report. The goal is not to find solutions, but to point out important tendencies in a movement that can possibly contribute to change, as urban social movements has done several times in modern history. The tendencies that are uncovered from the interviews of climate activist can give some ideas and reflections and give basis for further discussion on where the movement is going and why. The focus has been on the relations within the movement, the actions they carry out and how they perceive their own potentials and what barriers they meet from their surroundings. There has not been conducted interviews with representatives from opponents of the movement, nor elected officials and decision-makers. This project has been dedicated to understanding the climate movement from the inside and not from their surroundings and opponents.

7. Theory

To answer the presented research question, this thesis takes its departure in the actions of the climate movement, to understand their potential and barriers for further mobilization and impact to systematic sustainable change. When planning for sustainable cities, it is necessary to understand the demands of the local grassroots (Reeves et al, 2013). Because, according to Dewey (1927), human actions define society. Mayer (2012) argues that when grassroots gather in alliances, to urban social movement, they have the potential to reframe the urban question - to discover alternative and self-determined ways of the urban, and open up possibilities for conceiving and living different forms of urban life (Mayer, 2012; Schmid, 2012, p. 58).
In other words, these demands, and the actions based on them, can contribute to steering society in a certain direction. However, the demands will come in multiple variations. In a society with increasingly different social groups, interests and demands, it becomes crucial to be aware of the complexity of planning issues and contradicting interests, because planning issues are wicked (Rittel & Webber, 1974).

8. John Dewey, the public and its problems

In John Dewey ´s (1927) theories of democracy, he does not take his point of departure in an understanding of the good democracy. Instead, he starts with the understanding of human actions. In the tradition of pragmatism, every inquiry should take its departure from practical consequences, and therefore democracy must be seen from this perspective. According to Dewey (1927), the state should be understood from its practical consequences – if it regulates in favor of the citizens, the state is as we desire, and if its actions are repressive for the citizens, the state is undesirable.

Dewey (1927) argues that political facts are constructed by human ideas of how society should be, and society is constructed from the interactions of human beings. Therefore, if you want to understand society, you must approach it practically and investigate the interaction between humans (Dewey, 1927). This thesis strives to understand the interactions between the involved initiatives in the Danish climate movement, but also the actions carried out by the initiatives with possible consequences for other people who possess a different understanding of consequences.
It is important to have in mind that Dewey's theories were written in another contemporary and must be translated to our contemporary to be relevant. Thus, I argue that his theories are still relevant today, as his pragmatic approach to analyze human interactions still can contribute with important concepts and structures to how human interactions construct communities which are steering for society.

8.1 Direct and indirect consequences

Consequences is a central term in Dewey's theory. All human actions lead to consequences. Hence, certain actions are performed or avoided with those consequences in mind, if aware of them. Dewey (1927) divides consequences into two types; direct consequences and indirect consequences. Direct consequences exclusively affect the people involved with the action which leads to the consequences. Indirect consequences affect people that are not involved with the action.
Drawing from the explanation of direct and indirect consequences, Dewey (1927) separates between private and public transactions. It is important to underline that Dewey uses the term transactions the same way we would use interactions. Therefore, the term interaction will be used to avoid confusion.

8.2 Actions and interactions

Private interactions lead to direct consequences and public interactions lead to indirect consequences (Dewey, 1927). An interaction is private if it does not lead to consequences for an additional party. If indirect consequences appear, it becomes a public interaction (Dewey, 1927). Dewey (1927) also separates between individual and social actions. An individual action is an action executed by a single person, and a social action is executed by two or several people. With this division private, public, individual and social actions can be separated and connected. (Dewey, 1927) You can for instance do a public individual action, or a private social action – it depends on who executes the actions and who are affected by them. For instance, if you invite people over for a dinner to discuss climate action it would only affect the people participating at the dinner, but the action is carried out by several people, and is therefore a private social action. If you write an open letter on Facebook, the action is individual but has the potential to affect a range of other people and is therefore also a public interaction. These terms will be used to analyse the interaction of, and the actions carried out by the climate movement.

8.3 Creation of communities

Interactions and their consequences are basic principles for the creation of communities (Dewey, 1927). According to Dewey (1927), community is an organic activity, because it is not something we choose, but something that happens naturally. In relation to this Dewey presents the term associated activity:

`*Associated or joint activity is a condition of the creation of a community. But association itself is physical and organic, while communal life is moral, that is emotionally, intellectually, consciously sustained.*´ (Dewey, 1927, p. 151)

The associated activity connects people because they have a natural connection depending on age, life situation and everyday life, but a community is created through people´s ability to perceive, understand and translate their interests and needs into collective actions. Community is driven by a collective desire to understand and change actions in order to regulate consequences. (Dewey, 1927) The climate movement is a type of community of individuals collectively seeking to regulate

consequences of unsustainable actions on different societal levels. In broad terms, the individuals within the climate movement agrees upon what are desired and undesired consequences and aims to perform actions that leads to good consequences. Consequences are central in human action, both individual and collective. When everyone agrees upon the consequences, their actions will retain the existing structure. (Dewey, 1927).

Basically, common ground is found from the act of communication (Dewey, 1927). Individuals expresses their ideas and meanings, which enables the creation of community. Communication enables individuals to collectively impact society and regulate consequences (Dewey, 1927). In relation to this, one could say that the goal of activism for the climate is to impact for society in a sustainable direction and regulate the consequences of unsustainable behavior through activism. Even though communication is the ground stone of every community, communities comes in various versions in relation to content, shape and size. Communities are dynamic and can change character in sync with their surroundings and if internal developments occur within the community. (Dewey, 1927) When communities change, and the interacting people no longer agrees about certain consequences, the community can split up in smaller communities (Dewey, 1927). To explain this in a practical manner I use this example:

An organization starts out with common goals and understandings of consequences. The board of the organization might vote for economic cuts which will lead to negative consequences for other people working for the organization. The board probably think of the consequences as good and necessary for the organization, but the affected people would see them as undesirable consequences. This is an example of a conflictual relation that can split up a community.

However, communities´ relation to each other is not necessarily based on conflict. People can be a part of several communities, and some communities overlap. These overlaps represent a constructive relation between communities. (Dewey, 1927) In the following I will give prominence to two types of communities which Dewey gives great importance; the local community and the great community.

8.4 The Local Community

According to Dewey (1927), the local community is the most important type of community. In the local community the primarily communication is face-to-face, and the connections between actions and consequences are easier to perceive. Dewey (1927) argues that these communities have a closer bond, because they appear in smaller groups and interact on an everyday basis.

8.5 The Great Community

Dewey´s great community imagine the ideal society where the population is divided into small communities and at the same time integrated in a unifying greater community (Dewey, 1927). In the great community every individual is involved with a community, and acts on its foundation. The great community ensures that every individual have responsibility and ownership, and that the potentials of individuals are developed in favor of the community. (Dewey, 1927) The great community is, according to Dewey, an ideal which can never become reality. However, it should be the society we strive for. (Dewey, 1927)

8.6 The Public and the State

Dewey (1927) describes the public as all those who are affected by indirect consequences of interactions to an extent where it is necessary to systematically care for those consequences. When people understand that regulations are needed, the public arises. The public establishes institutions for regulations and elects' representatives to secure their interests. The elected representatives are called *officials*. (Dewey, 1927) In this thesis the term officials will be used when referring to politicians.

The state is the institutional structure the public constructs - it works as an institutional framework for the regulations of the indirect consequences affecting the public. The state is crucial for the practical management of consequences in the modern world, with its increasing populations, technological development and complex problems. The state can also be understood as a constitution of reactions to given public situations. (Dewey, 1927)

The *officials* should serve in favor of the public. Dewey (1927) presents a dual capacity, which is the opportunity to serve in either your own private interest or in the interest of the public.

`Just as behavior is not anti-social or non-social because privately undertaken, it is not necessarily socially valuable because carried on in the name of the public by public agents´ (Dewey, 1927, p.15)*

A state can only be representative when the public is organized to secure the public interest over private interests. (Dewey, 1927)

8.7 The Eclipse of the Public

In his analysis of the public, Dewey (1927) problematize the actions and self-understanding of the public. He saw the frustration over political processes and tendencies to alienation in his contemporary. He also saw the public´s lack of ability for organization. These tendencies are, according to Dewey (1927), signs of the eclipse of the public – the disability to organize as a community.

The eclipse is a result of a disconnection and disability to understand and act on indirect consequences, and from there to form a community (Dewey, 1927). According to Dewey (1927), there is an eclipse of the public, indirect consequences will not be expediently managed. He does not present concrete solutions to the eclipse of the public but suggests that *communication* is the way towards the *great society* and thereby out of the *eclipse*. In order to use communication to build the society we desire, the communication must be clear about all consequences (Dewey, 1927). Without a clear and open communication, the public will not be able to understand and regulate consequences (Dewey, 1927).

Dewey (1927) points out five tendencies from his contemporary that contributes to an eclipse of the public; complex indirect consequences, deconstruction of local societies, increased work burden and use of entertainment, presence of critical social science and the dissemination of the media. I have chosen to focus on the two first tendencies (complex indirect consequences and deconstruction

of local communities) because they are of the greater relevance for the topic of this project, when focusing on the actions of the grassroots organizing under the Danish climate movement.

8.7.1   Complex indirect consequences

According to Dewey (1927) one of the tendencies is the complexity of consequences. With an increasingly interconnected globe, production and consumer patterns can act as an example of complex indirect consequences.

Today you might buy a t-shirt from a store in Denmark, but the cotton crops might come from Pakistan, the fabric is made in Vietnam and the clothes are sewn in India. The t-shirt has travelled the world together with millions of other t-shirts, and the elements needed to make the t-shirt has negative consequences for communities far away from Denmark and it has negative consequences for the environment and climate we all share. However, these consequences will affect Denmark the least. The list of complex indirect consequences related to a t-shirt can be long; land grabbing, food security, child labor, CO2-emissions, pollution, water scarcity, poor work conditions. (Williams et al, 2009) The idea of the network of consequences from buying a t-shirt is too complex to perceive, and you will probably rather direct your focus towards direct consequences like dealing with a deadline at work – and mind your own business.

8.7.2   Deconstruction of local communities

Dewey (1927) argues that the technological development leads to a deconstruction of the local community. This comes in extension to the complexity of indirect consequences. When we lose overview of the expanding indirect consequences, we lose the common ground of understanding consequences as good or bad, and thereby loses the engagement and interest in the regulation of them. (Dewey, 1927) The deconstruction of the local communities means a decomposition of the human interactions that are necessary for public cohesion. As a result, several publics appears, and the struggle for unity and organization begins. (Dewey, 1927)

This deconstruction is the condition of the pluralist society, which complicates planning towards sustainability. The pluralist society represents plenty and often contradictory meanings of how

society should progress and develop. This leads to severe complexity and enables wicked problems to grow. (Rittel & Webber, 1973)

9. Critical Urban Theory

From the history of the climate movement (see 3.1), we learned that during the 1980s there was a tendency to move away from radical system-critical and anti-capitalist focus. This turn away from the system-critical standing point happened again after COP15 when the movement split up and turned towards more local activities (see 3.1). But, when trying to understand the climate movement, one cannot avoid talking about the capitalist system and our relation to consumerism. Capitalist cities are arenas for conflicts and contradictions grounded in the historical and geographical specific accumulation strategies. Capitalist cities has therefore served as a space for envision and mobilizing towards capitalism itself. (Brenner et al, 2012) Brenner et al (2012) uses the slogan `cities for people, not profit´ to underline the importance of a political priority of reconstructing cities to correspond with human needs instead of fulfilling the capitalist imperative of profit-making. They argue that critical urban theory must represent an antagonistic relationship to inherited urban knowledge and current urban formations, and insist that alternative, radically democratic, socially just and sustainable forms of urbanism is possible (Brenner et al, 2012). In relation to this, Harvey (2008) argues that the task of critical urban theory must be to outline the way towards alternative and post-capitalist forms of urbanism.

In order to map possible pathways for social transformation one must understand the nature of contemporary patterns of urban reconstruction, and from there analyze their implications for action (Schmid, 2012). In addition, Harvey (2008) argues that a key challenge for scholar and activists is to decipher origins of consequences of a systematic global crisis, and from there identify possible responses to it. Harvey (2008) and Lefebvre (1996/1968) agrees that patterns of sociopolitical conflict must be understood in relation to the role of cities as basing points for production, circulation and consumption of commodities (Brenner et al, 2012). Patterns should also be understood from the evolving governance systems and internal socio-spatial organisation of cities (Brenner et al, 2012). The urban space under capitalism is never fixed – it is continually reshaped as the result of clashes between opposed social forces oriented towards profit and everyday life (Harvey, 2012). Brenner et al (2012) adds how strategies for commodifying urban spaces can fail

and possibly lead to devalorized urban and regional landscapes where labor and capital cannot be combined in a productive manner to satisfy social needs. The consequences of capitalist urbanization are destructive and destabilizing in social and environmental manners. (Brenner et al, 2012) Critical urban theory is explained in its most basic terms in Table 3.

Critical urban theory aims to:
1. Analyze systemic and historically specific intersections between capitalism and urbanization processes
2. Examine changing balances of social forces, power relations, socio-spatial inequalities and political-institutional arrangements that shape and are shaped by the evolution of capitalist urbanization
3. To expose marginalization, injustices and exclusions that are inscribed within the existing urban configurations
4. To decipher contradictions, crisis tendencies and potential conflicts within contemporary cities
5. To demarcate and politicize strategically essential possibilities for more progressive, socially just, emancipatory and sustainable formations of urban life.
(Brenner et al, 2012, pp. 5)

Table 3: Purpose of critical urban theory

In this study of the Danish climate movement, the aim is to uncover and decipher tendencies of crisis and potentials that can impact society. By uncovering tendencies, patterns of marginalization and injustices might occur. The Thesis can lead to new understandings of conflicts in the intersections of capitalism and urbanization processes.

9.1 The right to the city

In this thesis, critical urban theory will be accompanied with Henri Lefebvre´s concept of the right to the city. This phrasing implies urban struggles – which can be related to the struggles of the climate movement fighting to have their impact on society.

`The crisis of the city´ was an important point of departure for urban social movements back in the 1960s, rallying against discrimination and marginalization in cities (Schmid, 2012). This concept has been interpreted in many ways, but in 1968 Lefevre presented it as a quite broad and open concept which is concerned with the cries and demands of the public for the transformation of their urban everyday life. In its most basic form, it was concerned with the access to the resources of the city for every segment of the population and the opportunity to experimenting and realizing alternative ways of life (Schmid, 2012). This is also the reality for the climate movement when struggling for a sustainable alternative to our society, for themselves and for future generations. Lefebvre (1996/1968) argued that to limit the world of commodities is crucial to projects promoting radical democracy, because this provide content to democratic planning and the social needs could be formulated, controlled and managed by those who have a stake in them, and thereby social needs would be prioritized. He argued that the basis of *the right* is the rearticulating of the longstanding demand for the right to self-determination - a right that is crucial for the creation of a different society. (Lefebvre, 2003; Schmid, 2012)

The right to the city is both a cry and a demand. The cry is the response to the existential pain of the crisis of the everyday life in the city and the demand is a command to look the crisis in the eye and create an alternative urban life that is less alienated, more meaningful and playful. But it will always be conflictual and dialectical, open to become something else and open to encounters. (Harvey, 2008)

In order to lift `the right to the city´ to a contemporary relevant term, I will focus on Schmid's interpretation of the theory. He argues that there are three tendencies that gives the right to the city a new importance, but also new content (Schmid, 2012). These tendencies also build upon David Harvey´s definition of the right to the city as the right to control the urbanization process and to institute new modes of urbanization (Harvey, 2008).

The first tendency is related to the massive urbanization of the global south and increasing levels of economic polarization (Schmid, 2012, p.58). This leads the focus towards basic needs such as access to food, clean water, shelter, health and education. For example, when massive natural catastrophes occur, the fulfillment of basic needs are no longer guaranteed. (Schmid, 2012, p.58)

The second tendency is a call for a right to the city represents a response to the withdrawal of the state from certain areas of social life. Tasks are delegated to regional and local levels – which do not only give new importance to the local, but simultaneously results in increased fragmentation, segregation and inequality.(Schmid, 2012, p.58) This development has resulted in people gathering to demand, and through their actions constitutes, a new unity in the fragmented urban regions (Schmid, 2012, p.58).

The third tendency is that these alliances facilitate formations of new collective movements, which have the potential to reframe the urban question and thereby discover new self-determined definitions of the urban. This can possibly lead to new possibilities for conceiving and living different forms of urban life. (Schmid, 2012, p.58).

9.1.1 The right to the city and urban social movements

Urban social movements consist of citizens striving to achieve some degree of control over their urban environment (Nulman, 2015). The term urban social movements were first presented by Manuel Castells (1983) with reference to groups, whose actions contributed to urban social change. In this project the term urban social movements will be used in relation to the Danish climate movement.

From the perspective of critical urban theory and the right to the city, the transformative potential of urban social movements depends on two factors; the objective position, power and the strategies of those in dominating positions and the objective position, power and the strategies of the mobilizing opposition to establish alternative forms of urbanism. (Brenner et al, 2012) The objective position, on both sides, find themselves in a crisis. From the critical urban perspective, this crisis is always somehow rooted in the economic structure, but is also extended to forms of governance, regulation and political consciousness. In the capitalist city, the strategy of those in power is rooted in

neoliberalism in various forms. The nature of the groups that are affected by the existing structures will also vary in their organization, cries and demands. (Brenner et al, 2012)

Marcuse (2012) presents two types of affected groups; the deprived and the discontented. The deprived is immediately exploited, impoverished and discriminated in education and employment. The discontented is disrespected and treated unequally due to religious, political or sexual orientation, forced into alienating jobs, censored in expression and constrained in their capacity to explore the possibilities of life. (Marcuse, 2012) Members of these groups have cause to oppose to the existing system of contemporary forms of urbanism. However, these are presented as heterogeneous groups, and their common interests is not always presented clearly or easily joined. (Marcuse, 2012) According to Castells (1983) the mobilization of urban social movements can be explained by the intensity of urban problems or the contradictions behind these, which means that when the numbers of people feeling oppressed by the current policies, the process of mobilization will intensify.

10.   Sustainable development as a wicked problem

One can say that the climate crisis is a wicked problem and say that the solution(s) to this wicked problem is sustainable development. The goal of climate activism is a sustainable and just future for us and future generations, and by pursuing this they are facing a wicked problem. From the perspective of decision-makers, politicians, planners and in this case activists – sustainable development must be approached as a wicked problem.

According to Rittel and Webber (1973) it is crucial to be aware of the complexity of pressing problems. Rittel and Webber (1973) were the first to describe what we know as wicked problems in urban planning. They argue that:

`In a pluralistic society there is nothing like the undisputable public good; there is no objective definition of equity; policies that respond to social problems cannot be meaningfully correct or false; and it makes no sense to talk about "optimal solutions" to social problems unless severe qualifications are imposed first. Even worse, there are no "solutions" in the sense of definitive and objective answers. ´ (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 155)*

In this quotation Rittel & Webber (1973) sums up the propositions that implies if a problem is wicked. In relation to this, sustainable development will be described as a wicked problem in short terms. Sustainable development can be defined as a `*development that meets the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs and aspirations´*. (WCED, 1987).

A reason why sustainable development is so hard to fulfill is that it is a problem characterized by lack of clarity – a lack of a clear definition of the problem, the task and the solution. When dealing with a wicked problem one must develop exhaustive inventory of all possible solutions ahead of time, because every question for additional information depends upon the understanding of the problem, and its resolution, at that exact time. (Rittel & Webber, 1973)

It is also characterized by uncertainty, ambiguity and high risk and relays on efforts at the national, regional, international level. In addition, sustainable development requires a simultaneously effort towards social, environmental and economic issues. (Pryshlakivsky & Searcy, 2013) All these specters must be addressed when approaching a wicked problem, which complicates the matter. The solutions to a wicked problem are not true or false, and there is no professional who can single handed decide if the answer or solution is the right one. There are usually many parties involved that are equally equipped, interested, and/or entitled to judge the solutions. The decision if a solution is good or bad is always depending on interests. (Rittel & Webber, 1973) Accordingly, the success of sustainable solutions will depend on the acceptance of the involved and affected parties.

The problems scientists and engineers traditionally have had their focus on are what Rittel & Webber (1973) call `tame´ ones. For instance, solving an equation or analyzing the structures of an unknown compound. In these cases, the task is clear, and it becomes clear if the problem has been solved or not. By contrast, when concerned with wicked problems the task is not clear, and there is no way to say that the problem has been solved or not. The reason for this is that wicked problems usually include nearly all public policy issues. (Rittel & Webber, 1973)

When Rittel & Webber (1973) names the problem `wicked´ it is not their intention to personify properties of social system by suggesting a malicious intent. The intention is rather to highlight that

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it becomes morally objectionable to treat a wicked problem as though it was a tame one, or to tame wicked problems prematurely, or even refuse the wickedness of social problems. (Rittel & Webber, 1973)

For a planner working with systems, it is easy to get caught up in the ambiguity of their causal webs (Rittel & Webber,1973). And, according to Rittel & Webber (1973) suggested solutions are confounded by a further set of dilemmas posed by the growing pluralism of contemporary publics, whose valuations of proposals are judged against an array of different and contradicting scales.

11.   Analysis

The outlined theoretical frame will work as the structural and conceptual basis of the analytical work. The empirical data is collected through interviews and analyzed on the basis on categorization (Appendix 8). In Table 4, the short names of the initiatives which will be used in the analysis is repeated.

Table 4: List of names and initiatives

Name of Interviewee	Initiative	Short name
Diget	Extinction Rebellion	XR
Jensen	Bedsteforældrenes Klimaaktion	BK
Detlif	Så er det nu: gør valget grønt	SEDN
Holmegaard	Folket Klimamarch	FK
Brønd	Folkets Klimamarch	FK
Abrahamsson	Ungdom NOAH	UngN
Overbye	Ungdom NOAH	UngN
Nielsen	Klimastrejke – Fridays for Future	KS
No interviewee	Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse	DGSB

The findings from the empirical study are presented as an introduction to the analysis. From there, the perspectives of *critical urban theory*, the demands and goals of the initiatives is analysed. This section gives an overview of what the initiatives say they are working for and will contribute to an understanding of how the climate movement is claiming a *right to the city*. In the next section the actions that are carried out within the movement and directed towards the public are analysed using Dewey´s terms of *individual/social actions* and *private/public interactions*. The last section will be dedicated to Dewey's ideas about *communities* and their relations and how activism is a communicative tool that might act as a solution to an *eclipse of the public.*

11.1 Findings

The goal of this thesis is to uncover tendencies within the actions of the Danish Climate movement, in order to do an analysis on their ability to impact society. The main findings are listed in Table 5.

Main Findings
• The Danish climate movement includes a diverse set of initiates that relies on, or prefers, different tools in their activism for the climate.
• Activism is presented as a tool to pressure elected officials and industry, but also as a way of giving legitimacy to implement necessary systematic changes.
• The interviewees mainly explain the climate crisis as a structural problem
• According to the activists it is crucial that individual climate actions are supported by systemic sustainable change.
• Some of the interviewees are worried that there will be political division in the struggle for the climate and that this is problematic for making climate change a `unifying cause for the people´
• The interviewees give great importance to local communities and constructive relations between the initiatives.
• The climate movement strives to be an open and including community.

Table 5: Main findings

From the interviews it became clear that there is a high degree of cooperation and overlaps across the initiatives. This observation tells us that many of the issues that was mentioned in the interviews are also discussed within their network and therefore might not represent new information to them. However, the aim of this project is not to give a list of recommendations to the movement, but instead reflects on their potentials and barriers.

11.2   The cries and demands for a sustainable future

The urban space under capitalism is constantly reshaped by clashes between opposed social forces oriented towards profit and everyday life (Harvey, 2012). Based on the interviews and the documents analyzed in this project, I argue that the climate movement is moving in a system critical direction, demanding a sustainable and just alternative to the structure of everyday life. As mentioned in Section 3.1, in the 1980, the climate movements turned their focus away from the

system-critical approach, and after the failure to reach global agreements under COP 15 in 2009, the climate movement directed their focus towards smaller local initiatives. The patterns found in interviews with the activists contributing to this thesis, suggests that their focus is directed towards system change even though the local actions are still important.

Brenner et al (2012) presents capitalist cities as arenas for conflicts and contradictions, and it is within these frames the climate movement is developing. Thus, it is these frames they are developing within they are seeking to change. This reconstruction must turn towards new forms of urbanism, which is radically democratic, socially just and sustainable (Brenner et al, 2012). The demands and goals of the initiatives within the climate movement outlines the direction they want to move towards.

Extinction Rebellion

Demands

- The government must tell the truth about the environment- and climate crisis, withdraw climate damaging legislations and start cooperating with the media in order to communicate to the population.
- The Government must implement legally binding policies to reduce CO2-emmisions to net zero in 2025 and reduce the general level of production and consumption
- There must be established a national Citizen´s assembly, that will act as a steppingstone towards a democracy worthy of the climate challenge.

(Extinction Rebellion, 2019)

Klimastrejke – Fridays for Future

Demands

- Justice for all past, current and future victims of the climate crisis
- The right to live our dreams and hopes.
- The world's decision-makers to take responsibility and solve the climate crisis.

(Fridays for Future, 2019)

Så er det nu: Gør valget grønt

Goals

- Secure that nature covers at least a fifth of the allover areal of Denmark.
- Implement a green transformation which begins straight after the election (May 2019) and secure that the Danish carbon footprint is cut in half in 2030 and is reduces to zero in 2040.
- Protect our drinking water, public health and environment by phasing out pesticides.

(Så er det nu, 2019)

Folkets Klimamarch

Demands

- Implement a green transformation which begins straight after the election (May 2019) and secure that the Danish carbon footprint is cut in half in 2030 and is reduces to zero in 2040.
- A Denmark that prioritizes people and environment over economic growth.
- A Denmark that leads on by becoming an environmentally sustainable and socially just society.
- A Denmark that fights internationally and gives a voice and support to nations, groups and individuals that are the most vulnerable in relation to climate change.

(Folkets Klimamarch, 2019)

Bedsteforældrenes Klimaaktion

Wishes

- Responsible climate policies in which corresponds with the Paris-agreement, the latest UN- reports and other research about climate.
- A new climate law containing long-term goals which corresponds with the Paris-agreement, for 15 years forward with partly goals for every 5th year, and including goals for `cars, buildings and farmers´
- Rightful information about the carbon footprint from consumption and production, including the material and global carbon footprint.
- Better guidelines for the climate choices of everyday life
- Fees and incentives in which promotes a sustainable development and decreases an unsustainable development.

(Bedsteforældrenes Klimaaktion, 2019)

Ungdom NOAH

Goals

- Ungdom NOAH strives to be a obligating community for young people with an interest in the environment and climate.
- Ungdom NOAH is working politically, economic and religiously independent. *Ungdom NOAH supports political actions that coincides with our vision.
- Ungdom NOAH works for a sustainable society in a harmonic relation to nature: reduction of biodiversity. b. That human activity shall not exceed the limits of nature. c. That society only exploit natural resources for the common good and in a sustainable way.
- Ungdom NOAH aims to activate both individuals and society, to inform about the fact that the capacity of earth is already exceeded, and the necessity of acting now.
- to reach the goals, Ungdom NOAH arranges activities such as education, field trips, climate kitchen, manifestations, organizing and campaigns.

(Ungdom NOAH, 2018)

Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse

Goals

- To engage and gather young people in the climate fight in order to give them a stronger voice in the political debate.
- Collective political solutions in respond to the climate crisis instead of an individualization of climate responsibility.
- increased democratic participation in compliance with the planetary limit.
- That Denmark act politically in compliance with the Paris-agreement, IPCC-reports and the newest research within the field of climate and sustainability.
- That Denmark takes an international responsibility by taking the lead on responsible and socially just climate politics.
- That Danish educational institutions prioritize climate and sustainability in respects to all physical facilitations, and in education and research.

(DGSB, 2019)

Table 6: Overview of demands, goals and wishes formulated by the initiatives

In Table 6, all the demands, goals and wishes of the interviewed initiatives are listed. The wording is the same as used by the initiatives when calling their phrasings demands, goals or wishes, because it implies the urgency and who it is directed towards. When listing *demands*, they are demanding something from someone, for instance the government. When listing *goals* and *wishes*, these are perceived as something they need to reach by themselves – goals they are working towards.

These demands, goals and wishes can represent what Lefebvre (1968/1996) would call the cries and demands of the public - for an alternative urbanism. The most concrete and radical demands come from XR, who are demanding a carbon neutral Denmark in 2025. They are also demanding a citizen's assembly that will overlook the political work with climate. This is, as described by Lefebvre (1968/1996), a project concerned with radical democracy, that can provide content to democratic planning and secure that social needs are prioritized. In addition, they demand of the government to tell `the truth´ and cooperate with the media to rightfully inform the public. According to XR (2018) the truth is that:

`*We are facing an unprecedented global emergency. Life on Earth is in crisis: scientists agree we have entered a period of abrupt climate breakdown, and we are in the midst of a mass extinction of our own making.* ´ (Extinction Rebellion, 2018)

Their truth can be seen as the result of the capitalist urbanization – which is deconstructive and destabilizing in both social and environmental manners (Brenner et al, 2012). XR´s demands are directed towards officials, demanding them to work for a systematic change.

When DGSB states that their goal is to `*challenge the dominating growth-paradigm in order to organize society to increased democratic participation in compliance with the planetary limit*´ (DGSB, 2019), they are looking towards alternatives to the contemporary governance and capitalist system, as argued for by Harvey (2008). Their suggestion of increased democratic participation can either mean that they solely want to continue within the governance processes that already exist but wants it to improve in order to be in compliance with the planetary limit. It can also be interpreted as a wish for new governance processes for democratic participation. They are calling out Denmark to take position as a leading country for socially just and sustainable climate policies, which will require systematic changes in economic, governance and regulative terms. These goals are clearly directed towards the Danish government, as is the goal to fulfill the Paris agreement. The goal to `*engage and gather young people in the climate fight in order to give them a stronger voice in the political debat*e´ is a goal for the DGSB themselves. From the perspective of Dewey (1927) this goal would be directed towards building a strong local community, where young people agree about the consequences of the climate crisis and wants to fight for their cause together. The fact that

DGSB is a student movement, underlines the importance to the goals to secure priority to climate and sustainability, both in physical facilitations and education, in education institutions.

SEDN and FK has the same concrete goal with regards to reduction of carbon emissions, demanding a `green transformation which begins straight after the election (May 2019) and secure that the Danish carbon footprint is cut in half in 2030 and is reduced to net zero in 2040´. Similar to XR, they demand more ambitious climate policies than the Paris-agreement calls for. Brønd (Appendix 5, 35:16) explains that they want to be more ambitious than the most ambitious political party, in order to push the debate in the right direction. From this statement, one could say these goals are tools the initiatives are using to pressure politicians to be more ambitious in their strategies for climate policies. FK is, like DGSB, demanding socially just climate policies. They additionally call for a priority of people and environment over economic growth, which would be a systemic reconstruction to correspond with human needs instead of fulfilling the capitalist imperative of profit-making, as phrased by Brenner et al (2012). FK is the only one of the seven initiatives that has specifically phrased a goal that Denmark must take international responsibility and speak for the most vulnerable in relation to the climate crisis. Schmid (2012) argues, the massive urbanization of the global south will lead to challenges in regards of fulfilling basic needs when natural catastrophes occur, and FK imagines that Denmark becomes an active actor in such cases and other cases of global injustices.

SEDN (2019) has a very specific goal to impact the election for parliament in May 2019 and has written their goals specifically directed towards Danish problematics. In addition to their goal for reduction of carbon emission, they formulate clear demands for nature and environmental issues. The goal to `protect our drinking water, public health and environment by phasing out pesticides´ is a concrete goal regarding an environmental issue in Denmark which requires political regulations of farming. Among the initiatives included in this research, this is the only specific environmental goal, which suggests that the overall focus of the climate movement is shifting.

UngN has formulated goals mainly directed towards their own community, working to become `an obligating community for young people with an interest in the environment and climate. ´. When working for `a sustainable society in a harmonic relation to nature´ they focus on the strategy of informing or communicating about their causes. According to Dewey communication is a condition

for the creation of communities which enables individuals to collectively impact society and regulate consequences (Dewey, 1927).

BK wish for a climate law in which corresponds with the Paris-Agreement including 5 year-goals and specific goals for `cars, buildings and farmers´. The specifying of these sources of consumption and commodities suggests that the regulation of these are unsatisfying or that these are main sources of conflict in a fight for sustainable development. Additionally, they call for `rightful information about the carbon footprint from consumption and production, including the material and global carbon footprint ´. These wishes can be interpreted as a need to correct the failure of commodifying urban spaces, as Brenner et al (2012) argues for can devalorize both urban and regional landscapes. Cities are basing points for production, circulation and consumption (Brenner et al, 2012), which ties in farming to the network. In order to move towards a sustainable development, BK sees a need for increased regulation of production and consumption by applying fees and incentives. Similar to XR, BK is implicitly suggesting that the information they receive about the carbon footprint of production and consumption is wrongful or inadequate, which implies that structures or officials are hiding or avoiding facts about these issues. BK also requests better frameworks for individual climate actions. Thus, individual climate actions must be supported by structural changes.

When KS demands `the right to live our hopes and dreams´ it is first and foremost a cry to not take away their foundation of life and their future, which calls the first tendency that gives the right to the city new importance according to Schmid (2012). The tendency is concerned with uncertainties with the foundation of life and basic needs, which is the access to food, clean water, shelter, health and education (Schmid, 2012). If these needs are not fulfilled, there are no space for realization of hopes and dreams. The demand can also be interpreted as a cry for the opportunity to experiment and discover alternative ways of life (Schmid, 2012). They are directing their demands towards politicians and claims that it is their task to take responsibility and solve the climate crisis and secure justice for all people affected by the climate crisis.

The goals and demands listed by the initiatives within the Danish climate movement represents strategic suggestions to more progressive, socially just, emancipatory and sustainable formations.

This analysis of the goals and demands of the initiatives has presented how the climate movements aims to impact the Danish society in a more sustainable direction. The formulated goals and demands can be understood as the cries and demands of the public, as Lefebvre would have phrased it. Some of the initiatives (XR, FK, SEDN) has formulated goals in which are more ambitious than the Paris-agreement, some has goals in which corresponds with the fulfillment of the Paris-agreement (DGSB, BK) and some has not formulated concrete demands in relation to reduction of carbon emissions (KS, UngN). The two initiatives without any concrete goals or demands are also the two exclusively for youth activists. SEDN is the only initiative with a concrete goal for environmental issues, which can imply that the overall focus of the Danish climate movement is moving towards a climate focus. XR and DGSB are calling for more radically democratic structures, suggesting a Citizen´s assembly and increased democratic participation. KS, FK and DGSB are demanding a just and sustainable society, which underlines the social structures under the climate crisis which must be considered in climate policies. BK is the only initiative which suggest economic regulations to unsustainable actions.

This summary of the analysis presents goals and demands that calls for a systematically change in environmental, social and economic terms. They build upon different focuses and approaches which highlights some of the similarities and differences between the initiatives. In the next part of the analysis, these similarities and differences will be elaborated in order to analyse on the different approaches to activism carried out by the initiatives.

11.3   The actions and interactions of the climate movement

When analyzing through the lenses of Dewey's theory about the state and the public, you accept that society is a result of human interactions. The interactions of the climate movement will therefore be analyzed using the categories private/public interactions and individual/social actions. The interactions are analyzed this way in order to give perspectives to practical consequences interactions within the movement and their surroundings.

Figure 1 takes departure from the actions described by the interviewees. The actions are mapped from their degree of being private/public interactions and individual/social actions. As explained in Section 8.2 private interactions are when the consequences from the actions only affects the people

involved with pursuing the action. When the interactions affect people not involved with the action, it becomes a public action due to indirect consequences. If an action is pursued by a single person it is an individual action, and when there are two or more people involved it is a social action. (Dewey, 1927)
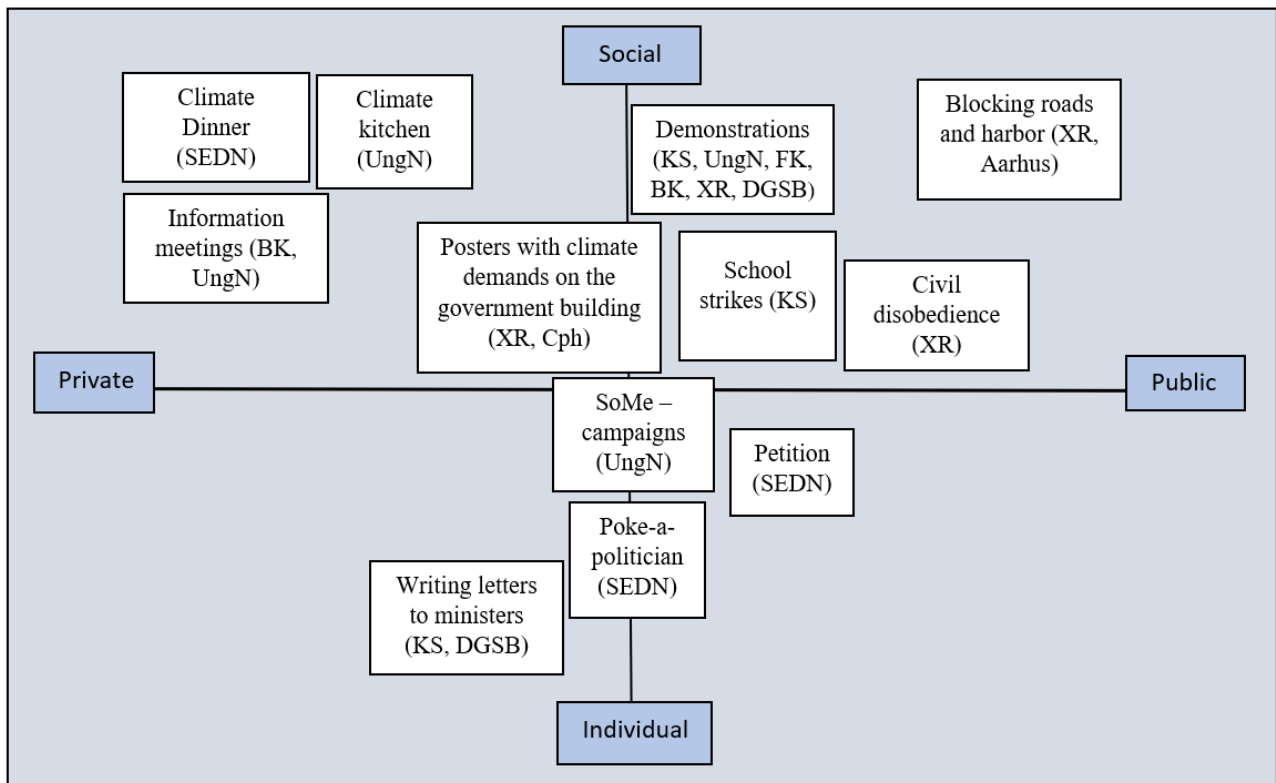

Figure 1: interactions and actions of the climate movement mapped into private/public interactions and individual/social actions. Explanation of Private/Public interactions and Individual/Social actions is to be found in section 8.2. (own figure inspired by the theories of John Dewey)

Mainly, the actions presented in Figure 1 are social - collectively operated by the initiatives, separately or in joined forces. However, some are socially initiated while the actual action is individual. Examples of these are the writing of letters to the climate minister facilitated by DGSB and the poke-a-politician function presented by SEDN. These actions are individually executed, but the facilitation of them are social. For instance, to poke-a-politician you will have to use the platform of SEDN to get access. If you, all by yourself, send a question to a politician and the politicians answers, this would be an individual private action because the consequences will only affect the participating actors. On the SEDN platform all answers from the politicians are publicly displayed, and thereby gives the opportunity to refer to in order to pressure for action, or if promises

are broken. When these promises are displayed publicly, they also have the potential to affect the public. For instance, it can affect who people will vote for.

When people take the street, it is both a social and public action, and according to Brønd ` *It is a manifestation of opinions, and as it always is when people take the streets – it is a form of democratic declaration ´* (Appendix, 04:55). When gathering for social action, the movement is communicating a message and shows how many people who stands behind the message. As argued for by Dewey (1927), communication enables individuals to collectively impact society and regulate consequences. By going together in joined forces and taking the streets, they communicate a message that can be imprinted in the public, by the visual sight of the crowd of people, posters and written messages, but also by the portraying from the media. Regarding the march arranged by FK in September 2018, Brønd states that `*many different decision-makers communicated about the march. At the time, it was a part of the debate for a couple of days, so it was a visible transition from what we did that Saturday to the debate which impacted what people talked about´* (Appendix 5, 04:55). This way, the march led to indirect consequences, when becoming a part of the public debate after marching in the streets.

KS arranges school strikes and demonstrations all over the world, which adds another consequence to the interaction. The consequences are affecting the children participating in the strikes, because they might get marks on their absence record and miss lessons. This is a private social action that can lead to bad consequences, but the strikers might agree that the good consequences for communicating this message weights up for the negative consequences. The more extreme version of this is XR which have announced that they want to get arrested for their actions of civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is a social public interaction, because it can lead to indirect consequences. When an activist is arrested it leads to direct bad consequences for the activist herself. Diget (XR) explains that;

`*Because when you develop a pamphlet, people will not think it is important because you are just standing there handing out pamphlets. But when you go out and say that you want to get a mark on you criminal record for this, that you are ready to go to prison for this, for your children and your grandchildren, then people will understand the importance – and then you are reflecting the realities.´* (Diget, Appendix 2, 09:46)

She argues that to reflect the reality we are facing with the climate crisis; the activism must also lead to real consequences. The school strikes of KS and the civil disobedience of XR are interactions that might lead to bad consequences for the activists themselves, which is a statement of the urgency of the climate crisis. When blocking roads and the public space of the city, the interaction cannot be ignored. This interaction will affect people outside the movement, as the activists take control over the physical landscape. Demonstrations and marches of a substantial size like the ones arranged by FK demands the urban space to communicate their message, because they block streets and thereby demand the attention of other people. When activism is operated in the urban landscape, it will always be a social and public interaction.

When arranging information meeting, climate kitchens, climate dinners and campaigns on social medias the actions are easy to ignore. These interactions might get attention from people outside the movement, but there are no consequences for either activist or other people. The goal is rather to inform and mobilize in a social manner. They do not demand attention and take up the urban landscape, like demonstrations and marches, but are a more local face-to-face activity where people are invited in and can therefore be important for the mobilization of the local community. People might be invited in as an associated activity, which is according to Dewey (1927) physical and organic, and through the act of communication the foundation for community is created. Because these actions do not lead to indirect consequences for people outside the movement, they are social private interactions. These can be important for the community of the climate movement, and a reminder to why their work is important.

This analysis of the actions and interactions aims to characterize the activism of the climate movement, to say something about how they are presented and who they affect by their actions. The most radical approach is the civil disobedience carried out by XR accompanied with the announcement that they want to be arrested to reflect the urgency of the climate crisis. This, together with the school strikes presents consequences for the activists themselves along with the consequences on the public due to blockage of streets and similar actions. The massive marches of FK also fall under this category of claiming the public space to present their cause. These actions are directed towards decision-makers and is communicating a message which consists of the cries for an alternative to today's societal structures. The actions of SEDN are the most specifically

directed and aims to secure promises from politicians to work for sustainable development. The digital and visual element in this action separates it from the action of writing letters to the climate minister as arranged by DGSB and KS. Others carry out actions which are more directed towards themselves as a community, which is the case of UngN, BK and the climate dinners arranged by SEDN. These actions can be an important move to mobilize the local society. In the next part of the analysis the relations within the climate movement will be analysed followed by an analysis of their relations to their surroundings.

11.4   Relations within the movement

From the interviews it became clear that several overlaps appear within the Danish climate movement. Activists are often working with more than one initiative, and there is close cooperation between the existing initiatives. In relation to this, the diversity of the movement is of great importance according to some of the interviewees. This part of the analysis will present an overview of the different initiatives and their strengths, and how they can operate as constructive relations to each other.

It came forward that person overlaps in the climate movement were usual. Diget states it like this: `*Because there is a lot of the same people overlapping, one easily gets involved with something.* ´ (Appendix 2, 00:10)

This statement implies that people are easily involved with activities within the movements, and sometimes in several initiatives. The dynamic gives a picture of a social network where people are easily included in activities after they have found their way into to the movement. Even though the lines are easy to cross after becoming involved with climate activism, the action of becoming involved is not considered.

Both Diget and Holmegaard (FK) are also active in the organisation Afrika Kontakt, which is a solidarity movement working with climate justice and food sovereignty (Appendix 2, 00:05). Nielsen (KS) explains how KS and DGSB has merged into the same initiative some places in Denmark, and that she to is involved with DGSB in addition to KS. That is also the case for FK and KS, as they are working together and are using the same graphic (Appendix 5, 09:56). Additionally,

according to Brønd material developed for FK has been added to SEDNs campaign material (Appendix 5, 09:56).

Besides the overlap in persons and initiatives, there is a well-developed network between the initiatives. Diget talks about the movement as a bouquet, where every initiative has something specific to bring (Appendix 2, 00:06). This explanation is a picture of the development of several communities, as Dewey (1927) argues, which are not in opposition to each other, but rather represents constructive differences. The initiatives are not divided into several parts because of conflicts, but because different tools and approaches are needed to reach their goals. This diversity is mentioned as being key to the success of the climate movement by both Detlif (Appendix 4, 15:05) and Diget (Appendix 2, 04:46).

Diget underlines that XR are not there to challenge other initiatives in the climate movement, but to bring something new to the table. She adds that the movements have done a great work and has mobilized to become a big and broad movement - but new tools are necessary to move forward. She also stresses the importance of being inclusive by accepting the differences and accept the use of different tools. (Appendix 2, 04:46)

Jensen (BK) explains how they often are involved by supporting youth´ initiatives in their activism, for example by helping with safety during demonstrations. They are specifically working with DSB and KS. (Appendix 3, 00:05) She also points out how the youth´ initiatives do more spontaneous actions and work very fast, and that the grandparents could learn something from the way they work and organize (Appendix 3, 10:09). She believes that the grandparents can contribute with important knowledge and experience, and thereby complement the youth movement. This statement underlines the constructive elements of the network within the climate movement, because the work of others highlight how they can improve, but also what qualities they do possess.

Detlif also underlines the importance of being a diverse movement and working together:

`I think it is important that we gather forces, and a part of the idea behind Så er Det Nu was to say that Den Grønne Studenterbevægelse can bring something, the established organisations can bring

something and maybe can we bring something that can gather the different initiatives into concrete political demands.´ (Detlif, Appendix 4, 15:05)

SEDN aims to be a platform for other initiatives and the public in general – a platform where they can gather their political demands (Appendix 4, 04:55). Detlif (Appendix 4, 15:05) adds that the combination of tactics is important – and that things move when different tactics and target groups can be gathered at the same time. This lays up towards Dewey´s (1927) Great Community, if we look at the climate movement as a unified community of smaller communities represented by the initiatives. Both SEDN and FK aims to be initiatives that connects, and establishes a community, across several initiatives, organizations, movements and individuals. The idea to have several smaller communities gathered under a unifying larger community is the society Dewey (1927) argues we should strive for.

In UngN they focus on the establishment of a sustainable mindset for youth in our society – a mindset embracing that we live on the premises of nature and not the other way around. Overbye and Abrahamsson (UngN) problematize the existing mindset of our society and argues that youth have a more open mindset and can contribute with creative thinking:

`*Not to say that adults and old people are not creative, but there is another kind of unlimited creativity among young people´* (Overbye, Appendix 6, 10:28)

Overbye and Abrahamsson agrees that if you adapt a sustainable mindset from early age, you are not likely to change it when you reach adulthood and can be politically active (Appendix 6, 05:08). In other words, they work to establish a local community where young people who agrees on the consequences of the climate crisis, can gather and follow into adulthood. Detlif also argues that there is a big strength in the youth involvement in the climate movement, because no one can demand that of them to present technical solutions to complex climate issues (Appendix 4, 15:05). She states that one must respect that it is their future, and it should be their right to shape it as they want it. Like Lefebvre (1996/1968) argues that it should be the citizen's right to demand alternative solutions and transform their urban life. Nielsen points out that KS do not suggest solutions and argues that it should not be their responsibility. She explains that the solutions are there, and they are simply demanding that the politicians consider them. (Appendix 7, 04:28)

As presented in Table 5, the interviewed activists see a great importance in creating a broad and diverse movement. Diversity can be an issue of social groups or it be an issue of diversity of tools used by the initiatives. But it is also a reason for why activists choose to be involved in one initiative over another, which suggests some degree of *conflictual relations*.

Detlif (Appendix 4, 15:05) argues that one should be skeptical to using demonstration as the primary tool in activism, because it only works when there is a lot of people participating. According to her you should always consider what the goal of the activity you are planning is and consider if it will lead to the desired goal. Diget problematize how actions not always reflects the reality of the problem. She explains that she sees it as a problem that activists are acting as `worried´, which is the wording BK and DGSB uses, because it does not reflect the reality of the climate crisis (Appendix 2, 00:06). This way she disagrees with other´s understanding of consequences and chooses to be involved with an initiative she agrees with.

Abrahamsson and Overbye (Appendix 6, 00:03) presents another conflicting relation, related to age. One of the reasons UngN was established four years ago was that there were no real alternatives for youth under 18. Abrahamsson and Overbye explains that if they were to be involved with one of the existing initiatives, they would become overwhelmed with the workload. They needed a community where they could do things their own way and create a social community around it. (Appendix 6, 00:03) Overbye states that:

`*In organisations where you have to be 18, it is difficult to come in because it is confusing and formal. In Ungdom NOAH things are more down to earth´* (Overbye, Appendix 6, 10:28)

This notion suggests that the different initiatives not only are connected by a common understanding of consequences, but also by more organic and physical elements suggested by Dewey (1927) in the form of associated activity. They are connected by physical age, rhythm of life, but also the limitations set by other communities, as Dewey argues that associated activity is a condition of the creation of a community that is physical and organic (Dewey, 1927).

All of these tendencies of constructive and conflicting relations contribute to an understanding of the climate movement as dynamic and cooperative, but the constructive and conflictual elements underline the importance of several existing initiatives. There are different understandings of consequences, natural division due to age and different opinions about the approach to activism. In the next section conflicting relations to other publics will be elaborated.

11.5   Relations to other communities

From the interviews tendencies of conflictual relations was presented. The first is in relation to diversity, or the lack of it. From his perspective, there is an expression of worry that the climate movement becomes an exclusive rather than inclusive movement. Nielsen explains how KS is struggling with representation of social groups, even though it is a larger problem in other countries than Denmark, and that their movement sometimes is perceived by others as exclusive (Appendix 7, 04:28). Detlif adds to this that there must be many alternatives, because not everyone wants to join a march for the climate; `*some activism is for the few, and we want to create something for the many´* (Detlif, Appendix 4, 15:05)

The basis of this worry is that the climate movement fails to include a diverse range of people, which can be connected to, for instance, political affiliation. Brønd expresses a concern that the issue of climate crisis is developing to become a cause `owned´ by the political left, which contributes to increased political division around an issue that should be gathering people – because the consequences will affect us all (Appendix 5, 15:26). FK is aware of this challenge, and are striving to cover the broad political scale, by inviting a diverse range of key notes to the march (Appendix 5, 15:26). FK stresses the importance of being strategic in the recruitment of speakers for the march, because they want to attract people with more moderate political positions, and in that way gather more people. This also concerns NGOs they are seeking support from, as it is necessary to formulate values that they can endorse (Appendix 5, 35:16). This conflict considering values often comes down to inequality, which is, according FK leaning towards the political left. However, in cases where FK attracts a lot of publicity, the NGO´s want to have their name on the banner despite `different´ values. (Appendix 5, 35:16)

Another tendency of conflicting relations can be related to a focus on individualization of responsibility in relation to climate action. Diget (XR) states that:

`I see a huge challenge in the narrative about the individual who saves the world. Everyone wants to go out and save the world, and we have the Nobel prize that praise the individual that does a fantastic difference. And that is also very important, but no one stands alone.´ (Appendix 2, 09:46)

The problem is, according to Diget, that when you put too much responsibility on the individual you move away from the actual size of the issue and turn away from the necessary radical actions; `We should not spend our time in the supermarket choosing the right apples instead of mobilizing for the necessary changes´ (Appendix 2, 00:06).

According to Jensen it is important to act morally on the climate crisis in everyday life, but it is also important to be careful not blaming each other (Appendix 3, 15:13). The challenge of individualism in relation to the climate crisis can also be seen on the light of Dewey´s theory of the eclipse of the public, because the consequences of individual actions can be too complex to understand and act on. Diget do not think people understand the scope of the climate crisis, and that it is easier and more comfortable to stay in the normality (Appendix 2, 04:46). In other words, the complexity of the indirect consequences related to the climate crisis becomes too complex to understand, and it is easier to act on direct consequences related to your everyday life.

`It was a huge frustration to go around with the feeling that you stand beside a burning house and there are people inside. You try to call for help from the people in the streets, but nobody listens and are just saying `no no, relax. Mind yourself`´. That individualization – mind your own business.´(Diget, Appendix 2, 00:05)

From this quote you can read that there are people that do not agree about the consequences, or chooses not to act on them, and are therefore in conflict with the community of the climate movement. In FK they are specifically fighting against the individualization of climate responsibility, which is one of their paroles in the march (Appendix 5, 25:01). Brønd thinks that is does not make sense to separate between an individual and collective responsibility, because it is intertwined (Appendix 5, 25:01). Detlif states that:

`I think there is an individual responsibility, but I think we should be careful not making it an individual responsibility because many people will refrain from the responsibility because of guilt.

Guilt seldom leads to action. Then they will excuse why they are traveling by plane or eating meat or something else. Many will feel rejected by climate communities because they are afraid to drive to the meetings or tell that they enjoy eating steaks. So, I think we should be careful not making it an exclusively individual responsibility because you will push many people away. ´ (Detlif, Appendix 4, 20:03)

This corresponds with the first tendency of not representing a broad range of social groups. Many people will refrain when fingers are pointed, and this can lead to a conflictual relation to the community of the climate movement. According to Nielsen, there is a feeling of exclusivity around the movement:

`I feel that many people are like `you cannot join the climate strike if you are not a vegetarian´, and that is a major lie. Everyone can join in, and it is not about what you do yourself, because it does make a difference. We want to say that everything makes a difference, but it does not make a great enough difference. Reality is that we need companies to move. For me, it is not the individual responsibility that matters. It is to pressure companies and the government. ´ (Nielsen, Appendix 7, 09:45)

This is a statement that indicates that your individual climate actions are less important if you choose to participate in the climate movement. Nielsen implies that people hesitates to join if they feel that they do not fit into to the community. If the climate movement is perceived as an exclusive community, it creates a barrier for mobilization.

This part of the analysis has outlined tendencies of conflictual relations the climate movement experiences, which can become barriers for their mobilization. Opponent communities can act as barriers if they gather and work against the goals of the climate movement. The presented conflictual relations are based in a concern about that the climate movement is or becomes an exclusive community where people of other political affiliation do not feel included and becomes an opponent to the movement. The exclusiveness can also prevent people from participating because they feel excluded because of their personal consume.

11.6   Indirect consequences and the local community

One of the greatest barriers for the movement is, according to Abrahamsson, `*the way we think today* ´ (Appendix 6, 10:28). Diget thinks that people today have an enormous trust to the system, authorities and the democracy and she problematizes that we do not dare to regulate concentrations of interests.

`*We must talk about the realities because we are hiding behind a mask of normality. You cannot hide climate change, but you can hide it behind an EV (electric vehicle), and you can hide the responsibility for people in other parts of the world.* ´ (Diget, Appendix 2, 09:46)

What she presents here is the idea that the reality of climate change is covered up when politicians presents solutions that are not reflecting the extent of the problem. For example, the solution to the climate crisis cannot be found single-handedly in a plan for making more people drive EV´s. This is a way of misleading the public, because if our officials say that we can save the climate by driving an EV, some people might believe that it is the solution. When suggesting simple solutions to a wicked problem, the politicians are refusing the wickedness of the problem. Misleading information about the complexity of wicked problems might lead to an *eclipse of the public*, as Dewey presented in 1927. The disconnection and disability to understand and act on indirect consequences can lead to situations where indirect consequences are not expediently managed – and a disability to organize as a community (Dewey, 1927).

But it is difficult to hide the reality of the climate crisis. The fact that the consequences of the climate crisis are currently experienced nearby affects the public:

`*We are starting to see a change in how much meat we are eating and traveling by plane. There is a consciousness about the small victories, and it became more concrete this summer, which was undoubtedly very hot, and combined with forest fires in Sweden. Suddenly it was not something that was happening in The US or Bangladesh, but something that every Dane experienced as a nearby phenomenon* ´ (Detlif, Appendix 4, 00:05)

This development, as Detlif explains it, has made the climate crisis more concrete in Denmark, which might lead to increased action. In addition to complex indirect consequences, Dewey (1927) argues that technological development leads to a deconstruction of the local community. Detlif explains how there was a disillusion in the climate movement after the COP15 in Copenhagen, which went from having a broad global focus to split up in smaller local initiatives (Appendix 4, 00:05). After this event, there was a larger focus on local action and a growing tendency of distrust to the politicians. It became clear to them that if they wanted something to be done, they had to do it themselves (Appendix 4, 00:05). This is a development where the movement has taken a new direction, which can have led to a mobilization of the local community over the past years.

Diget also highlights the importance of a local focus, and states that one must take the local fight and trust that someone else take the battle elsewhere (Appendix 2, 09:46). This implies that the climate movement is a part of a larger network, and one must trust that others play their part in other local communities. Diget gives new importance to the local community and its role in a global movement.

Jensen (BK) argues that it is a lot of work going out and talk to people, because then they must exit their echo room where everyone believes in the same things as them. When they participate in demonstrations, they are among other climate activist and get the feeling that the whole of Denmark wants the same things (Appendix 3, 05:07). Diget agrees that there is a lot of work and demands a lot of energy to go out and meet people face to face, but she also thinks that is how a movement is built up – from the bottom and up (Appendix 2, 10:00). According to Dewey (1927) the deconstruction of the local communities means a decomposition of the human interactions that are necessary for public cohesion. Hence, the focus on the local community can represent a potential for the mobilization of the climate movement as they are maintaining important human interactions.

This analysis has presented the idea that when the consequences from the climate crisis becomes more concrete, the public finds the ability to organise and act on them. This implies that when the consequences become increasingly urgent people will mobilize. With a focus on the local community, there is potentials for further mobilizing. In the following, activism will be presented as a communicative tool.

11.7   Activism as a communicative tool

According to Dewey (1927), when we lose overview of the expanding indirect consequences, we lose the common ground of understanding consequences as good or bad, and thereby loses the engagement and interest in the regulation of them. He also suggests that the solution to the *eclipse of the public* can be found through the act of *communication*. Nielsen and Diget explains that it is not the goal of their initiatives (XR, KS) to negotiate or cooperate with officials. The goal is to pressure them, or create legitimacy, to act and tell the truth. Thus, they do not want to act as insiders (Appendix 2, 10:00; Appendix 7, 04:28).

According to Dewey (1927), in order to use communication as a tool to build the desired society, the communication must be clear and unambiguous. Without a clear and open communication, the public will not be able to regulate consequences (Dewey, 1927). This calls for a climate movement which is clear about their goals and demands, and officials who presents clear messages about the state of our society.

Diget states that XR are taking the streets and doing civil disobedience to pressure the politicians, but on the other side you could say that they are doing civil disobedience to give the politicians the legitimacy to implement the necessary changes: `*It is a kind of dialogue´* (Appendix 2, 10:00). Detlif (SEDN) follows this up by stating that she does not believe that the politicians are ready to act before the public puts the necessary pressure on them (Appendix 4, 04:55). Jensen believes that it is important to the politicians that the public speaks up and does something, because then they can see that the public is serious about their demands (Appendix 3, 15:13).

`*The citizens are underestimated, and we think that everything can be fixed by authorities, experts or the system – the people that are `above´ you. But it comes down to the citizens all the time, and they have to go out and define what they want their society to be like. The citizens must interfere more than every fourth year from the voting booth´* (Diget, Appendix 2, 04:45)

This quote calls for people to gather in their demands and ask for more from their officials. It is necessary to regulate the actions of officials more frequently to secure that they act on behalf of the public. Using the words of Dewey (1927), it calls for a public regulation of the dual capacity of

officials. This can be done though activism, as a dialogue between the public and the state. After all, the state is the institutional structure created by the public (Dewey, 1927).

To a question about what the greatest barriers for their activism to succeed are, Holmegaard responds that:

`Power… or the lack of power. To have some power over the system you are in. It is easy to shout out the politicians to take responsibility and decision-makers to change the system. But it is far from the shouts to an actual change. I think that things will happen in small twitches, even though I would like it to happen in big twitches. It is a gigantic transformation we will have to go through, if we shall have any hope of climate change not running wild over the next decades´. (Holmegaard, Appendix 5, 09:56)

Even though she points out the lack of power as a barrier, she also suggests that activism can move some things, even if it comes in small twitches. By calling out the officials they might move the debate and move closer to their goals. It is also said in respect to the extent of the climate crisis, as she acknowledges that it is requires a `gigantic transformation´, and thereby acknowledge sustainable development as a wicked problem. When dealing with a wicked problem one must develop exhaustive inventory for all possible future solutions, and must identify possible consequences of environmental, social and economic character (Rittel & Webber, 1973). This can contribute to a slow process, but using activism as a communicative tool might give the legitimacy to speed the process up. Nielsen adds an important element to activism as a communicative tool by explaining that in KS, there are many young people who cannot vote, so this is their way to show politicians that they are tired of the discourse about the climate crisis and want an alternative (Appendix 7, 00:03).

This part of the analysis is based on the view that communication can be a way out of the eclipse of the public (Dewey, 1927). The climate movement is using activism in various forms, as a communicative tool to present their demands to the state and the public. Activism is explained as a form of dialogue, a way of pressuring politicians and a way of giving legitimacy to implement the necessary structural transformations of society.

12.   Discussion

In the discussion, I will take a further look at the barriers and potentials for the climate movement to impact a systematic sustainable change based on the result from the analysis. The barriers and potentials can contribute with perspectives to further activism for the climate.

12.1 Demands that unite

In section 11.2 the demands and goals of the climate movement were analysed. This presented a Danish climate movement that represents various forms of initiatives. Some of the initiatives have formulated concrete goals directed to officials, others have goals more directed towards themselves as a community.

It might be a problem that the climate movement presents few concrete and aligned demands. As Holmegaard explains, it has been suggested to formulate collective goals for the whole movement, but this has not happened (appendix 5, 30:43). In response to this, Brønd suggests that the initiatives are competitive in regards of goals and demands, but also underlines that they are consciously using the same goals for carbon emission reductions as SEDN (Appendix 5, 30:43). This implies that they see a benefit in presenting the same goals. So, why do the rest of the initiatives not gather under the same goals and demands?

This can be a sign of a misalignment of understanding the consequences, which can be a sign of a disability to organize as a community. However, the network and cooperation that is built up across the initiatives do not display a disability to organize. The different characters of goals and demands might be a matter of community and associated actions, because different `organic´ groups have different focuses and approaches to reach their goals, which is the reason why there is a need for a big and diverse movement. If the format of the activism becomes too radical, they might lose people as a result of feeling excluded from the community.

It could be challenging that many of the goals and demands can be interpreted in several ways, which may not lead to concrete actions. It is tempting to say that the climate movement could

benefit of working closer together and towards the same demands. But this might lead to more serious conflictual relations in the movement if they fail to agree about their demands. The broad and complex cause of the climate crisis might also represent a cause too big to understand the indirect consequences it leads to, and thereby present a barrier to translate ideas into action. However, if more concrete demands were presented, it could lead to actions that demands even more attention and provoke reactions. To a question about the diversity of the movement, Detlif responds that:

`*I think it is crucial. I think that you sometimes become too focused on your own little cause, formulation or logo, and you should not forget that we are fighting for the same cause. It is only when we gather in a massive pressure that we can move something, because otherwise we are only 500 here and 1000 there… But the politicians do not like it when united demands are presented.*´ (Detlif, Appendix 4, 15:05)

This underlines the importance of not becoming too concerned with your own small issue or focus, because you might forget the greater cause of the climate movement. When the concern is directed towards the logo of your initiative instead of the greater cause, the collective movement is forgotten. Detlif also presents another issue, which is that politicians do not appreciate a collective pressure. This leads to the next part of the discussion, which is concerned with the official´s response to the climate crisis.

12.2 Refusing the wickedness

An American research conducted by Bluic et al (2015) argues that the division between what can be called `believers´ and `sceptics´ best can be explained as a socio-political conflict, and stresses that a widespread public agreement about the fact that human activity causes climate change is crucial for building political will. Brønd underlines that there are very few `sceptics´ in Denmark, and those who are, are not taken seriously (Appendix 5, 15:26). This is supported by Friis Lund & Jacobsen (2019), who argue that it is rare to deny anthropogenic climate change in the Danish climate debate, but there is a new kind of climate skepticism on the rise. This is the kind of climate skepticism that undermines challenges and questions possible solutions (Friis Lund & Jacobsen, 2019). This tendency to a systematic disparagement of the climate crisis and what it takes to solve it, is an

example of the attempt to prematurely tame wicked problems, but also to refuse the wickedness of the sustainable development (Rittel & Webber, 1973). This kind of scepticism can find its roots in the two movements which have impacted the relation to consumerism in the Global North: The appropriate technology movement and the voluntary simplicity movement (Winner, 1986; Fuchs et al, 2014). The trust in technology to solve the climate crisis can find its roots in the AT movement, and the individualization of climate action can be connected to the VSM movement, with focus on personal sacrifice. These ways of approaching the climate crisis are both important, but none of these focuses can represent the whole solution, and by adapting only one perspective, the wickedness is refused.

The Minister of Climate and Energy in Denmark, Lars Christian Lilleholt, recently announced that Denmark will reach the goals of the Paris-Agreement with the current climate policies of the government. However, recent calculations by the organization CARE reveals that the goals of the Paris-Agreement will not be reached before year 2115 with the current climate policies (Nielsen, 2019). By claiming that the current climate policies are sufficient to reach the goals, the minister is misleading the public. According to Diget, this is an undemocratic action because when officials publicly announce a message `*people go out and believe it. Hence, you take the choice away from them. Somehow, I think it is enormously undemocratic when the government goes out and lie to us.* ´ (Appendix 2, 09:46)

This can also be seen in the light of Dewey´s statement that officials should serve in favor of the public, and an action is not necessarily socially valuable just because it is carried out by public agents (Dewey, 127, p. 15). A part of the tendency to refuse the wickedness of the climate crisis is to direct the responsibility towards individuals, and undermine the legitimacy of climate activists or officials if they do not fulfill every demand of a sustainable way of life (Holmegaard, Appendix 5, 25:01). If the responsibility is directed towards individuals, and officials presents wrongful statements about the climate crisis, climate action becomes undeniably complex. According to Fuchs et al (2014), there is an issue of neglection of power in research and action in relation to sustainable consumption. When individuals are discredited for their climate action, the issue comes down to their private consumption.

The pointing of fingers can come from both sides, and when it comes from the climate movement, they create a barrier for themselves. If the climate movement fails to be inclusive, they possibly fail to represent the broad spectrum of communities. If these communities find themselves in a conflictual relation to the climate movement, it can contribute to oppositional action, according to Bluic et al (2015). Holmegaard and Brønd agree that most of the people involved with FK belongs to the political left, even though they are trying to attract people with more moderate political values (Appendix 5, 35:16). This is a matter of political opinions and values, but the consequence of acting as an exclusive movement can also be that people feel that they are not fulfilling the criteria to be a climate activist.

According to Fuchs et al (2014), change can arise when we create conditions that initiate and accommodate real net reductions in consumption in planned and just ways. This can only emerge `*through collective action, adroit organizing, and the focused exertion of influence; in short, through the dynamics of power´*. (Fuchs et al, 2014, p. 298)

And this comes down to the question *who has the power?* Greta Thunberg (2019) claims that the power belongs to the people, as stated in the introduction of this thesis. However, the people live within a system and a society with conflicting and contradicting interests and opinions – which means that the people opposite of the climate movement also have the power. And, it also comes down to officials and their approach to the climate crisis – accepting its wickedness and working for complimentary complex solutions, or refusing the wickedness by suggesting partial solutions and misleading the public.

12.3 Alternative forms of urban life

It is a clash of power, and the climate movement only represents a voice among many other voices. There are various interests and understandings of consequences in the communities affected by the climate crisis. Brenner et al (2012) argues that the transformative potentials of urban social movements depend on two factors, which are the objective position, power and strategy of those in dominating positions (officials) and the objective position, power and strategy of the mobilizing opposition (the climate movement).

The cries and demands of the climate movement are a result of impact by the existing structures, and are based on a wish for everyday life free from unjust and unsustainable frames. As the climate crisis becomes increasingly urgent, the mobilization of people feeling oppressed by the existing system might also increase. This happens because the mobilization of urban social movements can be explained by the intensity of urban problems and the contradictions behind these. Currently, the problems from the climate crisis and the efforts of elected officials are contracting. Hence, if officials continue to refuse the wickedness of the problem, the mobilization will increase in sync with an increased number of discontented individuals. The discontented is an affected group of individuals who feel disrespected, discriminated and constrained by their capacity to explore possibilities of life (Marcuse, 2012). In the future, the climate crisis might reduce the possibilities of everyday life, and a deprived group might grow forward. The deprived is a group of individuals who feel immediately exploited and impoverished (Marcuse, 2012). Currently, the Danish climate movement mainly consists of a group of discontented individuals who sometimes act on behalf of other deprived individuals in the Global South or imagined in future generation.

According to Brønd, `*the climate fight is basically about justice and whether we can justify the way we live and the consequences of it - because it does not affect us - but it does affect people in the Global South.´* (Appendix 5, 20:30). The climate crisis is a systemic global crisis, which origins from global systems of consumption - the result of a destructive and destabilizing urbanism. The reaction to the crisis is therefore connected to a whole global system, but must be translated to action locally. The climate movement represents a complex size which is various in their demands and approaches, and whose justice they are fighting for. The cry of the climate movement is that our everyday life and future is in crisis, and the demand is to take action and explore more sustainable, democratic and emancipating alternatives.

12.4 Reflections on results

The presented results of the analysis are based on the perspectives of activists from the Danish climate movement, investigated through a chosen theoretical framework accompanied with an interpretative approach. Using the chosen theories and research design, it is important to underline that these results should be seen as a snapshot of a specific situation, because of its dependence on history, individuals and the personal preunderstanding of the researcher. In another time, these

points of view could have changed if this exact study was to be conducted again. However, the results can be used to say something about a situation that can act as a contribution to urban knowledge, and can uncover possible sustainable developments.

The choice of theories also has an important impact on the results, because they are the glasses you look at your object of study through. When applying Dewey's theories, it is important to have in mind that they were written in another contemporary. When analyzing the actions of the climate movement using the categories for different types of interactions, I suggest that the division between private and public interactions are too simple. Because, even if an interaction does not lead to severe consequences for people not directly involved, they might impact people in other ways. For instance, a dinner with focus on the climate might lead to new ideas and perspectives for the people involved, and these new impulses might be transferred to the way they act and interact with other people. In that way, this action might lead to indirect consequences, and thereby becomes a public interaction. However, these patterns might be complex and challenging to study, and one could say that the complexity of consequences makes the division of private and public interactions hard to adapt to real life situations. It is not to say that the theory is not adaptable to modern society, because it contributes with important concepts and directions that can be used to understand interactions that contribute to the development of society.

13.   Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the opportunities and barriers of the climate movement to mobilize towards systematic sustainable change in Denmark. Seven initiatives within the Danish climate movement have been included in the study, six of them represented in interviews. To reach the conclusion and answer the research question, the initiatives have been analyzed based on their goals and demands, from the theoretical frame of Lefebvre´s right to the city. The relations between the initiatives have been analyzed in order to find tendencies of constructive and conflictual relations, which can imply the strength of the climate movement as a united force. The actions of the movement have been analyzed to uncover patterns of who the consequences of the actions are affecting. Using critical urban theory, the tendencies of crisis and potentials have been uncovered when looking at conflicts between the climate movement and its opponents and the responses to their demands from elected officials. The research question to be answered is:

> *How do the actions of the Danish climate movement present potentials and barriers for societal sustainable development*?

The diversity of the climate movement can present both barriers and potentials for impacting society. If the climate movement fails to formulate clear and unifying demands, it might become a challenge to translate the demands to concrete actions that can impact society. The diversity also presents several options for people who wants to be involved, which can lead to a larger mobilization. The result is that the climate movement cannot lean on a one-size-fits-all, because every person will have their own personal reason to engage, and the climate movement must therefore depend on being inclusive. In this process, it is important to formulate concrete demands that can be translated to action. When actions demand the attention of the public in a clear and unambiguous way, they represent a potential for societal change.

When officials fail to handle sustainable development as a wicked problem, it represents a barrier to the climate movement, both in respect to mobilization and to impact concrete implementation. The barrier for mobilization comes from the lack of clear communication from the officials, which misleads the public. The barrier to impact comes from the contradicting interests, as officials takes the dominant position and strive to retain the current system. The climate movement does not hold the power over this tendency, but they can find potentials in communicating clear demands for a rightful handling of the issue in question.

The increasing urgency of the climate crisis results in more concrete and near consequences, which enhances the attention of the public. This is a potential for mobilization and change, because when the public understands the consequences, they also see the urgency to regulate them. The increasing urgency is not the desired development, however, it might affect the mobilization towards societal sustainable change.

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Så er det nu: gør valget grønt (SEDN):

https://valg.saaerdet.nu/om-saa-er-det-nu/?

https://valg.saaerdet.nu/saadan-goer-vi/?

Ungdom NOAH (UngN):

https://noah.dk/ungdom