

# None of Us Are Free But Some of Us Are Brave

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this thesis is, through elite interviews and 162 survey answers from upper secondary school students, to examine the current activism strategy of Amnesty International Denmark and the gender disparity in their Youth activism, in order to propose initiatives for them to include in their strategies in order for them to motivate and mobilise more boys to engage in Amnesty Youth. The theories of gender and identity, and activism, empowerment, and motivation has been chosen and combined, to provide a framework for our analysis. The analysis is comprised of two sections; Amnesty International Denmark's Activism Structures and To Be or Not To Be an Activist. The first entails an analysis of the elite interviews, with the Activism Organiser and a former Activism Employee from Amnesty International Denmark; this provides a baseline understanding of how they develop activist and what activism structures they currently utilise. The second section, have been further divided into six categories; each of which have been generated from a thematic analysis of the interviews and the survey responses. The first category provides a baseline of the respondents. The second provides an analysis of the gender disparity in human rights activism, and the respondents' perceptions of masculinity and femininity, and how historical contexts have influenced the respondents' relationships with activism. The third category examine the respondents' knowledge of human rights. The fourth contribute an analysis of the kinds of activism the respondents know of and have participated in; as well as their reasonings; to understand what kinds of activism inspires them. The fifth category features an analysis of motivation orientations; and outline which potential motivational initiatives Amnesty International Denmark can utilise in order to engage more boys in activism. The sixth and final category features analyses of the two respondents who defined themselves as gender nonconforming, and the ones whose answers were markedly different from the rest of the respondents, in order to look for alternative potentials for change. The sections of the analysis have been drawn together into a discussion of multiple initiatives that Amnesty International Denmark could incorporate in their activism strategies in order to increase male engagement. These initiatives include tightly structured activism 'kits', incorporating ongoing reflection with their activists, better incorporation of the historical context of human rights in their social media strategy, decentralisation of activism, and an advertisement video for Amnesty Youth. Furthermore, after identifying tendencies within the Danish context, we put these into an international perspective, by comparing to the Norwegian context. We identified much correlation between their activism strategies, and the resulting activism gender disparity in

both countries. Our findings clearly demonstrate that there is indeed a gender disparity within Youth activism in Amnesty International Denmark, and that there is room for improvement in their current activism strategies; we provide suggestions for ways of doing this. From the survey, we learned that the respondents subscribe to traditional perceptions of masculinity and femininity; which in turn affects their understandings of human rights and activism. One of the other issues we identified was how these young people lacked basic general and historical knowledge of human rights. In addition, Amnesty International Denmark should decentralise their activism, in order to embrace all who have activistic ambitions. They should be deliberate in their efforts to affect the narrative of human rights, to make them more relatable, also for young men. Lastly, our findings show the overwhelming benefits of Amnesty International Denmark broadening their activism strategy to go beyond simply engaging youth, but also empowering them to critically reflect, and be forces for good in their communities.

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*“It is not a battle that the youth of the world has started but it is one that we will only win if we look to them for new and innovative ways of challenging the system”*

(Naidoo, n.d.).

Amnesty International, founded in 1961, is the world’s largest human rights organisation; a global movement with more than 7 million members. They are “campaigning for a world where human rights are enjoyed by all” (Who We Are, n.d.). Amnesty International is independent from any political ideology, economic interest or religion. The organisation started in London, and now have regional and national offices in more than 70 countries around the world - Denmark is one of them. The Danish section’s work is based on three fundamental values: human worth, justice and action (Om Amnesty, n.d.). Taking action is a big part of Amnesty International, and on the Danish website it is stated that “Activism is a part of Amnesty’s DNA (...) it is what separates us from other human rights organisations” (Aktivisme, n.d.). Amnesty International Denmark’s (henceforth Amnesty DK) activists are such an integral part of their work, as they are the ones who spread the messages about human rights, campaign for them and take action when a specific case needs it. Within Amnesty DK, there is a youth initiative called Amnesty Youth, which allows young people in upper secondary school to create activism groups, and participate in Amnesty International’s work fighting for human rights. Amnesty Youth DK has groups all around the country; where students arrange events and actions in their schools, and/or in their local communities (Amnesty Youth, n.d.).

Seeing as Amnesty International is a global movement, fighting for the human rights of all, their activists should ideally represent all the different communities. Unfortunately, that is not the case when looking at the youth groups in Denmark; within these, there are “maybe 90% girls” (appendix 3, Q4.c), a case not previously explored within academia. Therefore, the following thesis will utilise activism and empowerment theories to examine Amnesty DK’s current activism strategy. Then gender schema theory and social identity theory will be used to analyse the underlying understandings of gender, human rights and activism within upper secondary school students in Denmark, the effect of historical contexts on these understandings, as well as the gender disparity within the current human rights activism in Denmark. Lastly, motivation theory will be used to examine upper secondary school students’ current - and potential future - engagement in human rights activism. This

will be done in order to propose an answer to the question; what initiatives can Amnesty International Denmark incorporate in their activism strategies, in order to motivate more young men to get involved in Amnesty Youth?

## **Literature Review**

### **Gender Perspectives on Activism**

Within the field of gendered activism, gender differences in activist participation and the like, literature and research relevant to this study are limited. Therefore, the next section will feature a review of how social movements can be engendered, the dominance of women in animal rights activism and gender differences in forms of protest (Einwohner, Hollander & Olson, 2000, Gaarder, 2011; Dodson, 2015).

Einwohner, Hollander & Olson (2000) discusses how gender plays an intrinsic role in social movements. They organise and describe the typology of how social movements can be gendered. Firstly, they explain how the composition of a social movement can be gendered, as for example animal rights and toxic waste activist groups are primarily made up of women, and that beyond the memberships, they are still gendered in the social images that reflect gender stereotypes.

Secondly, Einwohner, Hollander & Olson describes how the goals of a movement can be gendered, by either supporting or opposing certain 'social arrangements', as for example "although the civil rights movement made the pursuit of racial equality its explicit goal, that overall goal was gendered" (Einwohner, Hollander & Olson, 2000, p. 685). Next, they argue that tactics, meaning behaviours such as marching, demonstrating, language use, slogans etc., can be gendered, as these may mirror conceptualisations of gender. Einwohner, Hollander & Olson exemplify this by stating that giving out flowers, singing and bringing children to activities can be seen as feminine, whereas wearing leather clothes and driving noisy motorbikes in order to intimidate at activities, can be seen as masculine (p. 686).

Also, the identity of a movement can be gendered, this can be observed by them claiming either collective or individual identities, for example, members of peace movements often use feminine images of women's qualities to show their stand on peace and war (p. 687). Lastly, Einwohner, Hollander & Olson explain how the attributions of a movement can be gendered, as opponents and third parties evaluate them in relation to gender (p. 688). This

can for example happen when an oppositional organisation “use cultural images of gender against social movements” (p. 688) such as jeering “Go home and do the dishes”

Gaarder’s (2011) research is about the predominance of women in animal rights activism, and how women are more likely to be animal advocates, engage in and support animal rights, and express concern about animal rights, than men (Gaarder, 2011, p. 55). Her study analyses how female animal rights activists perceive the gender difference in this field of activism.

Gaarder’s study was structured around 27 in-depth interviews with female animal rights activists and participant observation. Gaarder chose to only focus on women “to see how they make sense of the ‘gender question’ in animal activism and also to investigate women’s experience in social movements in general” (p. 61)

The participants of her study gave stories of how they perceived gender and animal rights activism. Several of the women involved made a comparison between the oppression of animals and the oppression they as women had felt throughout their lives; animal abuse and the violence they had experienced and the lack of a voice in society (p. 62-63).

Various of the women used gender socialization to explain gender participation in animal rights activism, the women using this theory as explanation, mentioned how girls and women from childhood are encouraged to be nurturing, and develop “emotional capacities” (p. 65). One participant made the connection between eating meat and masculinity; and the absence of men in this form of activism, another expressed that even though men can be emotional and compassionate, women are more likely to show it. A participant thought that even though men may be interested in the rights of animals, they will not show it publicly, because it could be seen as sensitive and hurt their identity as men (p. 65-66).

Several women also used biological explanations for the gender difference in animal rights activism participation. Gaarder found two themes within this discussion, firstly the idea that presence of testosterone in men had an influence, and secondly the so-called nurturing instincts of women (p. 66).

Dodson’s (2015) study revolves around gendered activism, with specific focus on gender differences in protest participation using quantitative data from seven capitalist democracies (Australia, Canada, Finland, Japan, Norway, Sweden, and the United States). For clarification, Dodson initiates the study by discussing the various forms of protests, and divides them into two categories: confrontational protests, which are more disruptive and include demonstrations, strikes and sit-ins; and non-confrontational protests which include petitions, lawsuits and boycotts (Dodson, 2015, p. 378-379).



Dodson's findings show that men and women experience protests differently. In five of the seven countries examined, women are more likely to participate only in non-confrontational activities compared to men, and conversely, men are more likely to only participate in confrontational activities (p. 384). Thus, Dodson argues that women in general are more drawn by non-confrontational protesting, and men by confrontational protesting (p. 384).

Dodson posits that the gender ideology of a country is reflected in the "gendered patterns of protest participation" (p. 385), and his study shows that when it comes to tactical experience, in more traditional environments, women strive for non-confrontational activities. However, in more egalitarian communities, the difference is not significant (p. 386). In the case of confrontational protesting, his examination shows that even though participation is low for both genders, the difference is even lower in egalitarian environments. Dodson concludes his findings, by mentioning that it is said that "traditional gender attitudes undermine women's tactical variety" (p. 386) and that his findings support this argument.

### **Youth Civic Engagement and Activism**

In the field of youth engagement and youth activism, a wide range of literature and research can be found. The majority appear to revolve around urban activism in America and youth of colour activism (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Ginwright, 2007). However, for the purposes of this study, a more general, global, or European approach was preferred, though literature is scarcer in these fields. The themes for this review are youth civic engagement, youth activism as a tool for development, and how globalisation has influenced youth activism (Youniss et al, 2002 Kirshner, 2007; Koffel, 2003)

Youniss et al.'s (2002) article revolves around youth civic engagement in which they argue that when it comes to youth civic engagement across nations, there is a "mixed picture" (Youniss et al., 2002, p. 126) in the sense that when it comes to interest and engagement in formal politics they detect a form of apathy, whereas they argue that adolescents are more interested and engaged in social movements (p. 126-127). They base their study on discussions about youth being the future, by social scientists after the Cold War.

Youniss et al. move on to discuss how adolescents develop what they call 'civic competence', and argue that the primary socialisation comes from family, secondary educational institutions and tertiary engagement in politics and social movements (p. 129-133). They also argue that the content and issues that interests young people change over time. Issues that spike interest and engagement in the twenty-first century are those of

migration; the role of the media; and school to work linkages (p. 133-139). Youniss et al. believe that for civic education to be more effective, adolescents must be able to take part in their communities' "ongoing political processes" (p. 140).

Ben Kirshner's (2007) text builds on research on youth activism and how this is a place for learning, he aims to explore the qualities of activism being a learning environment for young people. Kirshner argues that teenagers hold this contradictory status in which teenagers move toward more social responsibility, and that adolescence is a time in which their concern for meaning and idealism is intense, and a time in which they "engage in complex moral reasoning" (Kirshner, 2007, p. 367). Contrarily, in some places we see that the teenagers lack opportunities to include themselves in political decision making. Kirshner then states that youth activism is a response to this contradictory status of adolescents, because "even though they cannot vote or hold formal seats when it comes to decision making, they can contribute to social action campaigns that give voice to their hopes and concerns" (p. 368).

According to Kirshner, youth activism groups can be a part of community-based organisations, after school activities, or even school clubs, as is the instance with Amnesty Youth Denmark. The aim of such groups is to influence public policy, often with a focus on social justice. Kirshner argues that they are an example of "a critical form of civic engagement in which youth are encouraged to question the status quo" (p. 368).

Kirshner goes on to discuss how youth activism is primarily about collectivism and collaboration, and how participating in youth groups teaches adolescents to work effectively with others which leads to "collective efficiency" (p. 369). Looking through the lens of cognitive science, youth activism groups "are distributed among participants and tools", which enables them to accomplish more than they would individually (p. 369). Kirshner claims that collaborative activities stimulate adolescents' 'maturing psychological functions' and that social action campaigns can help them develop more strategic thinking and socio-political awareness (p. 370).

Furthermore, Kirshner touches upon youth activism and the development of identity, by firstly stating that participating in youth activism groups, adolescents can construct identities as 'powerful civic actors' (p. 371). When teenagers are exposed to activities and experiences that carry political viewpoints, they can further develop their civic identity and can see themselves as active in society (p. 371). Kirshner draws upon Hamilton and Flanagan (2007) when he says that group activism projects and activities are significant for identity building, as it empowers young people (p. 372).

Koffel's (2003) article discusses how globalisation has affected activism, and states that activists "have learned to use the tools and processes of globalisation to push for social change" (p. 117). She argues that there are many reasons why globalisation has pushed young people to engage in activism, these include human rights abuses, environmental degradation and more (Koffel, 2003, 117). Globalisation has aided to extended awareness of these issues for young people, among other social groups.

Koffel argues that the 'intersection' between youth activism and the human rights of globalisation creates the opportunity for young people to create grassroots movements and democratic efforts which could help "ensure basic rights of every person in the world" (p. 118). Globalisation has created a space for adolescents and young people to be more active politically, not just nationally; but also globally (p. 118).

Koffel posits the positive effect of globalisation, such as easier access to information, better monitoring of human rights abuses; the International Criminal Court (ICC), and more, but also the negative effects such as raised tension between international economic law and international human rights; more established gaps between the rich and the poor and much more (p. 119-120). Because of the effects of globalisation, activism has changed a lot over the last few decades, one of these changes being the increased communication on the internet between activists, across borders.

Koffel ends her article by saying that even though young people are becoming more sophisticated in their 'global lobbying', which must continue, globalisation also politically marginalise them, which make them feel detached from political processes, more so than previous generations. Therefore, Koffel suggests and recommends that that young people should be able to participate in decision-making on all levels (Koffel, 2003, p. 124).

### **Engaging Boys and Men in Social Change**

In the field of mobilization and engagement of boys and men for activism and social change, several scholars were found, however, the vast majority of articles revolves around how to engage men in combating gender-based violence. Although the general theme in the field is narrow in accordance to this study, the texts highlighted themes used in this study, such as why it is important to engage adolescent boys (Kato-Wallace et al., 2016) and specific strategies to engage men (Kato-Wallace et al., 2016; Müller & Shahrokh, 2016; Carlson et. al, 2015)

Kato-Wallace et al. (2016) focus on how it is important to engage men and boys in the support for equality, and how there are many reasons for this, one being how it "positively

impacts the lives of men and boys themselves” (Kato-Wallace et al., 2016, p. 12). Another reason is that adolescence is a “period of opportunity” (p. 14).

The article identifies two approaches to engage adolescent boys and young men, the first is addressing the essentiality of male engagement in gender equality. Because the current norms of what it is to be a man, can cause harm to women, and power and privilege can result in gender based violence (Kato-Wallace et al., 2016, p. 14). The second approach is addressing the needs and vulnerabilities of adolescent boys, and how this should get greater attention internationally. Kato-Wallace et al. states that even though norms and ideas about masculinity vary from country to country, and community to community, it is seen that many young boys grow up with “rigid definitions of emotions repressing, violent, misogynistic, and heteronormative manhood” (p. 15), thus, it can be said that gender inequality also has consequences for boys and young men (p.15).

As mentioned above, Kato-Wallace et al. identifies adolescence as a “period of opportunity”, and they add to this by stating that it is important that we change the “adult-centric perspective” on adolescence. This perspective highlights adolescents as being in crisis and being problematic, and this view has to be changed, so adolescence is viewed as a period in which teenagers form their ideas, opinions and beliefs (Kato-Wallace, 2016, p. 18).

Müller and Shahrokh (2016) text is about the research programme they have developed, it addresses the role of men in collective action for sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Firstly, it is important to recognise the nature of violence, and the structural and institutional factors. According to Müller and Shahrokh, some of the causes include: gender inequality, increasing economic inequality, patriarchal power and privilege, and much more. They also state that SGBV is “driven by an interplay between personal, situational and wider social, political and economic issues” (Müller & Shahrokh, 2016, p. 1-2). Thus, by examining both contemporary and historical contexts, it is possible to “find pathways for social change” (p. 2).

Aside from urging contextualisation of the causes and thereby find pathways to social change, Müller and Shahrokh also proposes several ways of engaging men. Firstly, they propose that it is key to understand the expectations of men from the beginning, so that their motivation is understood (p. 2). Furthermore, while men’s incentive to join groups that fight gender inequality are diverse, it is often seen that peer support has played a role (p. 2), as “these groups build an identity and the purpose of the group evolves, these men are further supported in their action” (p. 2).

As Müller and Shahrokh also mentions in the beginning of their study context is key; “understanding context is integral to sustainable and transformative change as it shapes the process of collective action” (p. 2). In order to understand and analyse contexts, there is a need for connection between “men’s personal process of change [and] grass-root mobilisation with men” (p. 2). The process of achieving this include consciousness raising, meaning reflection on harmful expressions of power; walking the talk, which means shifting behaviours; public collaboration, which includes “community mobilisation and solidarity expressed publicly” (p. 2); and advocacy for system change, achieved by “demanding political accountability and effective laws” (p. 2).

Other strategies, according to Müller and Shahrokh, to engage, motivate and mobilise is drawing on relationships; “providing safe spaces [...] maintain trust, motivation and support” (p. 3). Furthermore, using existing structures as examples for how relationships and engagement, can be an effective way of convincing individuals to work towards specific goals (p. 3). Müller and Shahrokh, ends by saying that implementing these strategies and new projects takes time (p. 3).

Carlson et al.’s (2015) study consists of analyses of 29 interviews with representatives from organisations in Africa, Asia, Europe, Oceania, and North and South America, in which they examine and describe different strategies of engaging men and boys in violence prevention around the globe.

Carlson et al. identified four themes when examining different strategies of initial engagement within the organisations of the study; accessible entry points, intentional invitation, enlist ambassadors, and concrete opportunities (Carlson et al., 2015, p. 1413).

‘Accessible entry points’ describes how organisations wanted to connect with disinterested men and boys. The interviewees of the study describe two ways of finding places in which they could find this target audience; locating locations or communicational ways to connect with them and conversation starters with topics that are associated with the group (p. 1414). ‘Intentional invitation’ means inviting men and boys to participate in activities sponsored by the organisation. The people inviting the men to these activities, according to the interviewees, were often community members. ‘Enlisting ambassadors’ is described as reaching men and boys through “peer educators or community representatives in their own communities and social networks” (p. 1414). Carlson et al. state that the reason for using this approach is to enforce credibility and for the men and boys to see the ambassadors as role models, as this could result in engagement. Moreover, this approach “was considered advantageous because direct contact with the organization itself could be viewed as suspect

and even threatening to local power structures” (p. 1415). ‘Creating concrete opportunities’ involve developing “actionable opportunities” for men to join discussions and events about the issues in question. For some of the organisations of their study, these opportunities were available regularly, such as weekly forums, support groups, and campaigns (p. 1415).

Carlson et al. also examined strategies of sustaining men’s and boys’ engagement and identified several principles the organisations made use of. Of these, Carlson et al. describe four subthemes; rooted in the community, beyond workshops, hopefulness about men, and relationships and power (p. 1416). ‘Rooted in the community’ was described as using community-based initiatives to create “society-wide social change by encouraging individual men or by mobilizing communities of men to become active” (p. 1416). ‘Hopeful about men and boys’ is related to how the organisation’s staff behaves, and how their attitudes and behaviour “must be authentically grounded in the overall principle of being hopeful about men and boys” (p. 1417). ‘Beyond workshops’ deals with how if there is to be a change within social norms, the work of the organisation has to “take place on multiple levels of intervention” (p. 1418), meaning more than educational workshops. Within ‘relationships and power’ the interviewees mention how their organisations stay away from accusatory language about male issues, when working with men and boys. To encompass this strategy, the organisations converse with men about relationships and power.

Carlson et al. end by stating that although the organisations of the study were diverse in regions, however, it was to be noted that the interviewees answers and strategies were relevant in their local context and culture. However, it is not to say that these strategies cannot be adopted by other organisations of other regions.

## **Methodology**

### **Choice of Topic**

The inspiration for this thesis originated from our experiences at Amnesty International Denmark, where we both did our 9th semester internships at the activism, and education and empowerment departments, respectively. During our internships we facilitated several workshops and worked with youth activists, where we saw tendencies of teenage girls being more interested in Amnesty’s work and activism, thus, we thought it interesting to delve deeper into the gender disparity in Amnesty International Denmark’s youth activism. We wanted to explore the reasons for this gender disparity, as well as research different

methods for engaging and mobilising young men in human rights activism, in order to propose strategies for Amnesty International to utilise in their youth activism.

### **Epistemological and Ontological Considerations**

We initially considered a purely qualitative approach to our study. However, during the preliminary stages of our research, we came to realise that in order to be as comprehensive as possible in our inquiry into the motivations for getting involved in human rights activism, we needed to include quantitative data in the form of a survey, to obtain a broader knowledge base. Thus, this study utilises a mixed method approach in which the priority decision - meaning which method is the primary data-gathering tool - is 'equal weight' since the qualitative and quantitative data-gathering share equal weight (Bryman, 2016, p. 638). Furthermore, the sequence decision; which method precedes which, in this study is 'concurrent' (QUAN + QUAL), meaning that "the quantitative and qualitative data was collected more or less concurrently" (p. 638). The method design in this study is identified as the 'convergent parallel design', which "entails the simultaneous collection of quantitative and qualitative data which typically have equal priority" (p. 638). Using mixed methods allowed us to concoct a more comprehensive study of our topic, given that limiting ourselves to either quantitative or qualitative methods, would have prevented us from allowing the Amnesty DK Activism Organiser to read the questions of the questionnaire before it went live, which gave cause for revision. Our mixed methods stance is also evident during the analysis in which both the quantitative survey answers, and the qualitative elite interview answers were analysed together, and used to corroborate and substantiate each other. The precise nature and extent of the data set will be explained in detail below.

In this study, the iterative approach was utilised, in order for us to add theory or data at any time during the process if needed (Bryman, 2016, p. 23). This approach allowed flexibility and meant that we could let ourselves be inspired by our findings, and explore strands as they emerged. It allowed the inclusion of Deci and Ryan, and Pless et. al. after conducting a thematic analysis on the survey responses, and discovering that we needed a theoretical framework to explore the respondents' motivations for participating (or not) in activism. Furthermore, it provided a good perspective in the process of outlining the different steps Amnesty DK can take in order to include more boys in their Youth activism. It also allowed us to do a second interview with the Activism Organiser after the inclusion of motivation theory, in order to discover whether this perspective is one that Amnesty DK has worked with in this context before.

Regarding the epistemology of this study, we chose to take the interpretivist stance as we share the opinion that “social reality has a meaning for human beings and therefore human action is meaningful” (Bryman, 2016, p. 27) and it is the “job of the social scientist to gain access to people’s ‘common-sense thinking’ and hence to interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view” (p. 27).

Our ontological stance is constructionist seen as “instead of seeing culture as an external reality that acts on and constraints people, it can be taken to be an emergent reality in a continuous state of construction and reconstruction” (Bryman, 2016, p. 30). This stance also proposes that masculinity and femininity, both relevant to this study, can be seen as social constructs and therefore not distinct entities (p. 30).

### **Considerations for the Literature Review**

The literature review provides the reader with an overview and situates the research on the academic spectrum among the existing literature. According to Lamont (2016) “the literature review provides a conceptual framework that will allow your reader to understand the research choices you have made” (Lamont, 2016, p. 68).

Originally we searched for relevant literature on the topic we wanted to do our thesis on, namely the gender disparity in youth doing human rights activism. Our search was unsuccessful, so as far as we know, no literature on this topic exist yet, neither in a Danish context or an international one. We did, however, identify literature that fit within the intended themes of this thesis; gender perspectives on activism, youth activism and engagement, and engaging boys and men in social change. These three categories greatly encompass the soul of the study we wanted to conduct, we therefore sourced literature on these three topics.

### **Justification for Theories**

We chose to include a section in which we outline the definitions of ‘empowerment’, ‘activism’ and ‘gender nonconforming’, that we will be leaning on in our thesis, because all three of these are elusive concepts, that not everyone will have a sufficient understanding of.

Along with the texts included in the literature review, part of the theoretical framework helped us generate the questions for both the elite interviews and the survey. Prior to both of these, we intended to use Social Identity Theory, Gender Schema Theory, Transformational- and Transactional Activism, and Critical Youth Empowerment.



We made use of Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory, in the analysis of both the expert interviews and the survey, because it provides a framework for understanding the ways that people navigate the social world, and the group dynamic that happens within activism groups. Their theory also provide a perspective for understanding the way that the respondents relate to human rights, and reasonings for participation in activism.

Bem's Gender Schema Theory, and the complimentary Social Learning Theory - coined by Lindsey - was used to generate questions 5, 6 and 9 in our survey (appendix 5), and in order to then analyse to what extent our respondents subscribe to this (quite dated) view of masculinity and femininity, and how this could relate to their understanding of human rights activism.

Han's theory of Transformational- and Transactional Activism was included in order to gain a more thorough understanding of Amnesty DK's activism structure and initiatives, and analyse whether these are more mobilising or organising.

Critical Youth Empowerment, coined by Jennings et al., was also used to investigate Amnesty DK's activism structure, in order to examine the ways that their initiatives affect the activists, and to what degree these structures empower the members of the youth groups.

During the processes of writing this thesis, and following the interviews with the Activism Organiser and the former Amnesty Employee, we realised that we needed a theoretical framework for analysing our respondents motivations for participating in activism. We therefore included Deci and Ryan's Self-Determination Theory, to discover whether our respondents were more motivated by inner or outer influences. Furthermore, Pless et al.'s theory of Motivation Orientations was used in order to understand what kinds of orientations our survey respondents were motivated by.

## **Data Collection**

Lamont (2015) defines field research as being "the process of primary data collection, either through accessing primary sources documents, or through interviews, participant observation, questionnaires, surveys or other methods aimed at eliciting responses from human subjects" (p. 144). We chose to do field research, since a purely theoretical discussion would not have been sufficient to understand how to best mobilise our designated target group, so therefore we chose to elicit Danish upper secondary school students' point of view, through a web survey. Furthermore, we deemed it necessary to include interviews with experts in the field.

## *Survey*

Lamont (2015) cites Balnaves and Caputi (2001) to define surveys, they are defined as such: “a method of collecting from people about who they are (education, finances, etc.), how they think (motivations, beliefs, etc.), and what they do (behaviour)” (p. 106).

Seen as our main goal is to make a proposal for how to mobilise more male upper secondary school students to join activist groups, like Amnesty Youth, to fight for human rights, we produced a web survey (appendix 5) to understand how upper secondary school students understand gender, how they relate to human rights and what would motivate them to join the movement. As Abrams, Mills and Bulger (1999) and Kreuter and Wray (2003) explain; tailored communication comes in more than one form. By gathering information about the audience of interest, you gain advantage in that you are more likely to inspire a change of behaviour and you will enhance the relevance and effect of the message itself (Abrams, Mills & Bulger, 1999, p. 300; Kreuter & Wray, 2003, p. S228).

According to Lamont (2015), when designing a survey, there are some guidelines that can be helpful to the process. Firstly, you have to ensure the consent of the respondents (p. 108); which we did by introducing the questionnaire by stating that their answers would be used in our masters thesis. Secondly, Lamont state that you have to think about what kind of questions to ask; nominal, multiple choice, scales etc., and therefore what kind of data you want to analyse (p. 108). In this study we chose to use nominal questions to determine gender, regional location and grade in school, and whether the respondents have ever taken part in activism, these questions helped us frame the basic characteristics of our respondents.

Multiple choice questions were used to determine the types of activism the respondents were familiar with, what types of campaign material and elements of a presentation they would find most inspiring, what would motivate them to become a human rights activist, as well as their basic understanding of femininity and masculinity. The words we inserted as choices for the latter question were inspired by Sandra Bem (1974) in which the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI), an inventory of gender characteristics, is featured (Bem, 1974, p. 156). The words attributed to masculinity taken from the BSRI were: strength, aggressive, independent, competitive, confident, dominant, assertive, and leaderships abilities. The words attributed to femininity were: caring, gentle, empathetic, understanding, and sensitive. We added the words: tolerant, protector, fragile, friendly, and cooperative; both in order to provide some gender neutral terms (friendly and protector), and in order to provide some balance in the masculine and feminine words; strength versus fragile,

independent versus cooperative, dominant versus tolerant. It should be noted that some of the words have been adapted in order to be more relatable for the target group of our survey. Scales were used to determine how ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ they thought caring about human rights were, as well as how important they believe human rights to be in their everyday life. We asked the questions in this way, both so that the data would be manageable, but also because we wanted to understand to what degree these two questions were related to the gender schema.

Lastly, questions which they could answer with either short or long text were used to determine age, which human rights they know of, what words they associate with human rights, why or why not they have participated in activism, what kind of activism they have participated in, and further comments. We allowed them to answer these questions with their own words, because people’s experiences of these things are too individual to be merged into prewritten categories.

Web surveys have an advantage over email surveys, because of the wider variety of appearance, such as colour, formatting, response styles, and question types (Bryman, 2016, p. 230). Therefore, we chose to utilise ‘Typeform’ as our survey platform, as it enabled us to make the survey visually pleasing and include a variety of question types and response styles, including textual answers, multiple choice and rating. Furthermore, Typeform automatically compiles the answers into a downloadable report and generates the statistics, making the data more manageable to analyse.

We decided in collaboration with our thesis supervisor, that the 162 survey answers were too extensive to include in the appendix, however the excel document is available upon request.

### *Sampling*

With the survey, we wanted to reach as many upper secondary school students as attainable, in order to gain as broad a perspective on the topic as possible. We used a kind of convenience sampling called ‘snowball sampling’ as our sampling technique. With snowball sampling “the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others” (Bryman, 2016, p. 188). We reached out to upper secondary school teachers and to the Youth group contacts in our network, and asked them to share it with their students, and in their schools. We did this because we felt that these people would be in the best position to reach the target group. Moreover, to expand further, we shared the link to the online survey on the social media

platform Facebook, and people from our network shared it from there. Since we used a convenience sampling technique “The data will not allow definitive findings to be generated, because of the problem of generalization, but they could provide a springboard for further research or allow links to be forged with existing findings in the area” (p. 187).

We are not looking to generalise from the findings of this thesis, but rather identify tendencies in our data, in order to provide substantiated suggestions for human rights organisations, like Amnesty International, to utilise in order to engage youth, and in particular young men in activism.

From the ‘population’ of 86.377 upper secondary school students in Denmark (Gymnasiale Uddannelser, n.d.), our sample size ended up being dictated by the number of respondents to the survey; which at the end of the 3 weeks the survey was live, were 162. Although Bryman state that snowball sampling is used mostly in qualitative research, “this is not to suggest that snowball sampling is entirely irrelevant to quantitative research: when the researcher needs to focus upon or to reflect relationships between people, tracing connections through snowball sampling may be a better approach than conventional probability sampling” (Bryman, 2016, p. 188). Given that activism is, in many ways, a collective activity we also wanted to explore the ways in which our respondents relate to each other within an activism context, as much as to the activism itself. Therefore, we felt that the snowball sampling technique made sense.

### *Interviews*

In International Relations research, semi-structured interviews are most common, as the topics dealt with are related to, for example, the behaviour of non-governmental and civil society organisations (Lamont, 2015, p. 84). This type of interview allows for “in-depth probing” and we as researchers avoid the pre-selection of questions and limited answers that come with structured interviews (p. 84). Thus, we deemed it appropriate and preferable to have the two interviews, with the Activism Organizer and a former Activism Employee at Amnesty International Denmark (Appendix 3 & 4) be semi-structured interviews, in order to maintain flexibility and encourage elaborate answers. Furthermore, these semi-structured interviews can also be defined as elite interviews, as the respondents either hold, or used to hold, an influential position at the organisation under scrutiny; Amnesty International Denmark (Lamont, 2015, p. 84).

The interview guides (appendix 1 and 2) were partly grounded in the literature review, as it provided the initial ideas of where to begin our study. As mentioned above, it

was not possible to find any studies focused on the gender disparity in human rights activism among young people, therefore we needed to provide this background information ourselves, in the form of the interviews with the Organiser and the former Activism Employee. In addition, the interview guides were motivated by our need to get an overview of the activism structures and initiatives of Amnesty DK.

The interview with the Activism Organizer at Amnesty International DK, Sia Seidler Berro, was conducted at the Amnesty International Denmark General Assembly on the 27th of March. Camilla asked the questions from the interview guide, while Sofie recorded the audio on her phone. We both interjected questions if something was not explained sufficiently, or if the Activism Organiser's answers inspired new directions. The interview lasted approximately 30 minutes, and the consent for the inclusion of her answers in the thesis was given orally; with the condition that she be sent the thesis after we hand it in.

The interview with the former Amnesty DK employee, Nanna Bülow Buhl, was likewise conducted at the Amnesty International Denmark General Assembly on the 27th of March. It lasted approximately 20 minutes and the consent was also given orally.

The second interview with the Activism Organiser was conducted via Skype, on the 16th of May 2019, it lasted about 15 minutes. The second interview with the Organiser was conducted, in order to collect data for the theories of motivation, added later in the process.

### *Transcription*

We used the platform oTranscribe to transcribe the semi-structured elite interviews with both the Activism Organizer and the former Activism Employee from Amnesty International DK. The interviews were conducted in Danish, not only because it is their native language, but also because it is the language in which they are used to talking about their work. We therefore believed that we would receive the most elaborate answers, as opposed to a situation in which they would be limited by their English vocabulary.

We chose to do the transcriptions in Danish (appendix 3 & 4), and then translate the parts that we have chosen to incorporate in the thesis. The sections included in the thesis will therefore vary slightly from their original statements, but we kept the translations as close to the originals as possible. If there are any doubt as to the meaning of their statements, please see the Danish transcripts in appendix 3 and 4.

## **Thematic Analysis**

“Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). However, thematic analysis is more of a method to be applied than a theory; but is rather vague seen as no one has outlined a detailed, typical guide of how to conduct this type of analysis. Although common for people theorizing about it is the focus on the flexibility and adaptability of the method (Bryman, 2016; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Bryman outlines what constitutes a theme: “a category identified by the analyst by his/her data” (p. 584) this category should relate to the focus of the paper and the research questions, it should provide the researcher with a theoretical understanding of the data that can “make a theoretical contribution to the literature relating to the research focus” (p. 584). When searching for themes within data, Bryman advises looking for: ‘repetitions’ which are topics or words that occur multiple times; ‘similarities and differences’ in terms of how the interviewees are similar or differ in their descriptions or thoughts on topics; ‘linguistic connectors’ which is the examinations of words like because, i.e. the interviewees reasonings and causal connections; ‘missing data’ which refers to reflecting on the things interviewees might have omitted in their answers; ‘theory-related material’ which refers to using concepts as the springboard for themes (p. 586).

This method for data analysis was used to organize and analyse the responses from the interviewees and the survey responses; and themes made it possible to consider their responses in relation to each other and identify currents. Some themes were identified within the elite interviews and included in the analysis of the survey responses. Just as some of the themes that we found in the survey, made us revisit the interviews and draw on points from both the Activism Organiser and the former Activism Employee, in order to substantiate and corroborate our arguments.

## **Justification for Data Analyses**

The analysis consists of two parts: an examination of Amnesty DK’s activism structures (Amnesty DK’s Activism Structures), and the exploration of gender and activism (To be or Not To Be an Activist). Amnesty DK’s Activism Structures entails the analysis of our elite interviews with the Activism Organiser, and the former Activism Employee, in relation Han’s theory Transactional- and Transformational Activism, in order to understand how they develop activists and what activism structures they currently utilise.

To Be or Not To Be an Activist, consists of several subsections, and within these there are sections based on categories drawn from the data, using thematic analysis. “Where it all Begins” provided the baseline of information about the respondents of our survey, whose answers were analysed throughout the analysis. “Let’s Talk About Gender” consists of an analysis of the gender disparity in activism participation, which included the perspective of women’s rights history. Furthermore, this section also featured an analysis of our respondents’ perception of masculinity and femininity, through Sandra Bem’s Sex-Role Inventory, and Social Learning Theory, complimented by the answers of the Activism Organiser and the former Activism Employee, to understand the underlying gender perception of upper secondary school students. Lastly, considerations on how specific topics influence upper secondary school students’ participation in human rights activism was featured.

The “Know Your Rights” section examined what our respondents knew about human rights using thematic analysis, in order to comprehend their level of knowledge of this topic.

“Get Up, Stand Up (Stand Up For Your Rights)” included an analysis of what kinds of activism the respondents in our survey knew of, and what kinds of activism they had participated in, by comparing it to the viewpoints of our literature review and other researchers who have touched upon the subject of gender differences in different types of activism. This analysis was done in order to understand what kinds of activism inspires young people today. Secondly, an analysis of why or why not the respondents had participated in activism was featured, as it gave us an understanding of their initial motivations and their current relations to activism. Lastly, an examination of the current initiatives and tactics of Amnesty Youth, based on the interviews with the Activism Organiser and the former Amnesty Employee, was analysed by using Jennings et al.’s theory of Critical Youth Empowerment. This was done in order to comprehend whether Amnesty DK’s activism strategy goes beyond simply engaging youth, but empowers them, and gives them tools to reflect on the underlying cultural, social and political currents of society.

“That’s Motivation” features an analysis of how our respondents could be potentially motivated, by looking at their answers along with the Activism Organisers’, using Pless et al.’s theory of motivation orientations, in order to examine what motivation strategies Amnesty DK could utilise in order to engage more young boys. Additionally, it also contains an analysis of how Amnesty currently motivate their Youth activists using Deci and Ryan’s Self-Determination Theory.

“Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum” provides an analysis of our gender nonconforming respondents and the tendencies we identified in their responses. This analysis was done separately as these two respondents both participate(d) in activism, and are therefore not a group which Amnesty DK need to actively target. This section also illuminates all the respondents whose answers varied greatly from the majority, in order to look for other potentials for change.

### **Limitations and Biases**

When reading our thesis a few internal factors should be considered. First of all, the use of a snowball sampling method has meant that we were somewhat limited by our network, which also resulted in a uneven representation of the regions; with more respondents to the survey being from Northern- and Central Jutland, and less from Zealand and the Capital Region. Furthermore, the data collection method likely affected the overrepresentation of women respondents of the survey as well.

Furthermore, it is of importance to note our shared stance as feminist activists, and therefore our belief in the social, political and economic equality of the genders. We have also both worked with Amnesty DK; and are still volunteering in their education and empowerment department. We are therefore both activists within Amnesty DK, and believe in activism as a positive force in the world. We do however both believe that our activistic stance have allowed us to explore the topic to an extent that would not have been possible for us, had we been more neutral towards activism. We share the ideology that, if you want to engage others, you cannot do it from an unengaged point of view.

### **Theory**

The following section is comprised of five sections, each providing its own necessary perspective to our analysis. The first consists of definitions of three concepts; empowerment, activism and gender nonconforming. Secondly, Social Identity Theory by Tajfel and Turner will be outlined. Thirdly, our gender related theories; Bem’s Gender Schema Theory and Lindsey’s Social Learning Theory. Fourthly, the activism and empowerment theories of Transactional- and Transformational Activism by Han, and Critical Youth Empowerment by Jennings et al. Lastly, motivation theories by Deci and Ryan’s Self-Determination Theory, and Pless et al.’s theory of motivation orientations.



## Definition of Concepts

### *Empowerment*

This project leans on two complementary definitions of empowerment, the first is Mechanic (1991) in Zimmerman (2000) who defines it as such: “Empowerment may be seen as a process where individuals learn to see a closer correspondence between their goals and a sense of how to achieve them, and a relationship between their efforts and life outcomes” (p. 43). The second definition is from Amnesty International Denmark (2016):

[empowerment] refers to the development that happens when individuals become capable of understanding their own role in society, and become capable of acting to gain influence over the processes and decisions, which control their lives.

Empowerment is in its essence therefore not something you can ‘give’ to a person, but something that they themselves must own (p. 6).

### *Activism*

The term ‘activism’ has not been defined as thoroughly as the aforementioned concept, however, among the definitions found, commonalities were discovered and thus our definition of the term leans on these. Activism is the action or involvement, either individual or collective, used to achieve political or social change, support or oppose an issue, and/or achieve results which are usually political or social. Actions such as these include demonstrations, protests and more (Activism: Cambridge Dictionary; Activism: Dictionary.com; Activism: Merriam-Webster; Activism: Oxford Reference). Human Rights activism then, is taking action in order to create change within human rights issues.

### *Gender nonconforming*

The website, mykidisgay.com, created to help parents understand their LGBTQ kids, lean on the following definition of gender nonconforming: “Gender nonconforming is a term that some people use to describe themselves when they do not dress, behave, or otherwise “fit in” with gender expectations” (Blevins, n.d.).

## Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory, coined by Tajfel and Turner (1979), describes how all individuals navigate the world and orient themselves in relation to each other, by defining themselves and others in terms of, what Tajfel and Turner call, social in-groups and out-groups. The in-group is conceptualised as a “collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group” (Tajfel and Turner, 1979, p. 40). The out-group is then comprised of people with whom you do not have these things in common and who are members of a different social group. However, these social categorizations do not only provide a way to systematise the social world, they also “provide a system of orientation for *self*-reference” (p. 40). The social groups provide members with a way of identifying themselves in social situations; though these identifications are relational and comparative, as they rely on drawing parallels to other people. The group that one is associated with will vary depending on the social situation, as will the degree to which one takes on the identity and characteristics of the group. An individual’s gender or sexuality can, for example, be more or less socially important, depending on the situation that they are in. Tajfel and Turner further theorise that in relevant intergroup situations, social behaviour within this belief system will see people move away from *interpersonal* relations to *intergroup* relations. Meaning that someone’s personal relationship with another person becomes secondary in situations where they belong to different social groups (p. 34).

Furthermore, Tajfel and Turner propose that an individual’s self-esteem and self-concept are linked to these social groups, and that everyone will strive to achieve and maintain a positive social identity. It is therefore pivotal that the characteristics associated with one’s social group are favourable. This kind of positive social identity is based, to a large extent, on “favorable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups: the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups” (p. 40). When this comparison does not reflect well on one’s in-group, members can choose to abandon their current social group in favour of one that is viewed more favourably, or attempt to make their existing group more positively distinct (p. 40).

The way that someone reacts to negative comparative reflections on their social group, determines how they should be placed on Tajfel and Turner’s belief-system continuum, ranging from ‘social mobility’ to ‘social change’. Individuals inclined to exchange their low-ranking social group for a higher ranking one, belong on the social

mobility end of the continuum. In contrast, people on the social change end of the spectrum, are the ones who attempt to make their existing group more positively distinct (p. 43). They can do this by using ‘social creativity’ which means, for example, making intergroup comparisons on new dimensions; in the hope of this reflecting better on their social group. They can also attempt to change the values assigned to the attributes of their group, “the classic example is ‘Black is beautiful.’ The salient dimension – skin color – remains the same, but the prevailing value system concerning it is rejected and reversed” (p. 43). Lastly, individuals on the social change end of the spectrum can strive to reframe the comparative reference by shifting the focus to a new out-group, in which a comparison will reflect more positively on their own group.

Studies carried out by Tajfel and Turner propose that even the perception of belonging to a specific social group, will lead to intergroup discrimination, favouring the in-group (p. 38).

### **Gender Schema Theory and Social Learning Theory**

Complimentary to Tajfel and Turner’s social identity theory, is Sandra Bem’s (1981) Gender Schema Theory. With this theory, she proposes that all individuals organise incoming information in schemas, which is “a cognitive structure, a network of associations that organize and guides an individual’s perception. A schema functions as an anticipatory structure ... [which] enables the individual to impose structure and meaning onto the vast array of incoming stimuli” (Bem, 1981, p. 355). Furthermore, she argues that the distinction between male and female, serves as a basic organising principle for every human culture and “there appears to be no other dichotomy in human experience with as many entities assimilated to it as the distinction between male and female” (p. 354). While all societies differ in the traits associated with men and women, every culture allocates specific roles on the basis of one’s sex and raise their children to embody the characteristics associated with these, and to conform to the gender norms of society. Bem argues that along with the assumption that they acquire sex specific skills, children are also supposed to obtain sex-specific personality traits and define themselves, and others, based on the prescribed boundaries of the gender roles of their society (p. 354). The process by which society transmutes male and female into masculine and feminine is defined as sex typing, and the implications of this process are discussed thoroughly throughout her paper.

It is important to note that she proposes a theory of process, not content. Meaning that it scarcely matters what traits a society has deemed masculine or feminine, but the

availability of the gender schema itself. Therefore, a schema is dominant when it is readily available and thus, when people are likely to process incoming information in relation to this schema. And since, at a young age, children are taught by adults to recognize and value traits that are assimilated with an individual's gender, more than traits that are not, the gender schema is maintained and reproduced across generations. Furthermore, this appreciation of gender-specific traits causes the self-concept to be assimilated into the gender schema as well, and "the child [...] learns to evaluate his or her adequacy as a person in terms of the gender schema" (p. 355). In the process of learning the content of society's gender schema, a child learns which attributes are associated with their sex, and thus with themselves. Hence, the gender schema becomes an internalised motivational factor, that urges the individual to conform their behaviour to their society's definitions of what it means to be male or female (p. 355).

In order to better understand how Bem's gender schema is formed within people, Social Learning Theory described in Lindsey (2005) is useful. Social Learning Theory is a theory of gender socialization; meaning that it focuses on how children learn gender roles through interacting with, and imitating, others. Social Learning Theory focuses on observable behaviour, and is thus interdisciplinary in that it combines psychology and sociology. Lindsey argues that this gender socialization is based on rewards and punishments; gender appropriate behaviour is rewarded, while gender inappropriate behaviour is discouraged and extinguished. She says that "gender identity is developed when children associate the label of boy or girl with the rewards that come with the appropriate behaviour and then act out gender roles according to that perception" (Lindsey, 2005, p. 55). She also argues that; "Imitation and modelling appear to be spontaneous in children, but through reinforcement, patterns of behaviour develop that eventually become habitual" (p. 55).

Considering these theories, and mainly Bem's Gender Schema Theory, in relation to the literature review; Gaarder's (2011) findings seem to support the basic idea of the gender schema, in that the participants in her study argued that women are socialized to be more nurturing, or at least to show it more, than men; and that this could help explain the lack of men in animal's rights activism. Furthermore, the participants argued that while men may care about the rights of animals, social norms and expectations to their gender, will keep them from showing it publicly.

However, both Bem and Gaarder subscribe to a more dichotomous perspective on male and female, and thus masculine and feminine, than what could be argued to be

harmonious with contemporary culture. Because of this, they somewhat disregard the complexity of gender, and the social climate embracing, to some extent anyway, people who fall between categories. Incorporating Lindsey's theory of socialisation into the thesis, balances this to a degree; in that she outlines what she calls androgyny in socialisation. In this, she even references Bem and her work on androgyny, in which Bem refer to the process of integrating traits considered to be feminine, with others considered to be masculine (Lindsey, 2005, p. 73). Lindsey adds to this by stating that "androgyny does recognize that socialization into two nonoverlapping gender roles is not a productive way of meeting the demands of a rapidly changing society. Nor do such roles offer the best options for fulfilling a person's human potential" (p. 73).

## **Activism and Empowerment Theory**

### ***Activism***

Hahrie Han's (2014) theory of Transformational- and Transactional Activism, deals with two different ways an organisation engages with activists; mobilising or organising. To introduce the theory she describes two people, David the Mobilizer, and Derek The Organizer, and how they within their organisation, the National Association of Doctors and People for the Environment, deal differently with the volunteers (Han, 2014, p. 1-2). To exemplify and elaborate on the differences, Han states: "Derek was thinking about ways to get people into relationship with each other. David, in contrast, was more focused on maximizing the number of people who took action in the short term" (p. 3). A more detailed description of the two approaches will be featured below.

### ***Mobilizing: Transactional Activism***

The type of relationship between the activist and the organisation, with this type of approach, is identified by Han as an 'exchange'; since it is based on the exchange of resources (Han, 2014, p. 5). According to Han,

activists provide the manpower associations need to organize advocacy events supporting their cause, they provide material resources that can support the association, and, in many cases, they provide the sheer numbers associations need to establish their power in the public eye (Han, 2014, p. 6)

Furthermore, the organisation, when utilising this strategy, also provide something in return to the activists, including opportunities to get involved; an ‘institutional home’ where they can engage in their advocacy work; material resources to help them achieve their goals; and autonomy at a local level (p. 6).

According to Han, “political activity is constantly competing with other life demands for attention” (p. 6), and therefore, people might prefer to engage in activities that do not require too much of their time and resources. Thus, with this approach, the organisation leader must create work and tasks that are tightly structured (p. 7).

One of the limitations of this approach, is that the organisation might only provide “the technical and material needs activists have” and “support is limited to the information and skills activists need to complete a given task” (p. 7).

### *Organizing: Transformational Activism*

While transactional activism focuses on “quantifiable numbers”, the transformational activism approach focuses on how collective action “changes the affects, outlooks, and other orientations of the individuals and groups” (Han, 2014, p. 7). The goal of the transformational approach is to invest in the activists’ actions, and “long-term capacity-building” (p. 8). Furthermore, by developing skills and motivating individuals, they enable “the democratic capacities of the activists” (p. 8). With this approach, the organisation develops “collective capacity”, meaning that they show how working together benefits power.

When it comes to the relationship between the organisation and its activists, according to this view, it is more than transactional, it is “the product of a set of dynamic social interaction” (p. 8). In practice, the organisation then gives the activists work that develops collective capacity, and not isolation, or individual work. According to Han, it is important that activists have the opportunity to work with others; as working with others makes activists more committed to the work (p. 8).

Another key element of the transformational approach is reflection: “to give meaning to these relationships and contextualize the work activists are doing within the community, associations help activists interpret the work they are doing through reflection” (p. 8). Reflection can be used as a tool to develop long-term motivations and capacities, alongside making the activists see how their work benefits the organisation and the bigger picture;

developing their skills; understand what they are doing well, and what they are doing poorly; coaching; identifying situations and how they potentially could have been handled differently; show the connection between the activists' actions and the results; and "tie people's work to their individual identities" (p. 9). According to Han, "providing support to the activists is not only about achieving a particular objective but also about helping the activist develop an understanding of who he or she is in the context of the work" (p. 9), which is one of the key aspects of transformational activism.

In sum, Han's view on transformational activism differs from the notion of transactional activism in its emphasis on why people participate, facilitating further activism, and creating long-term engagement, where transnational activism focus on making activism opportunities as costless for people as possible.

### ***Critical Youth Empowerment***

Jennings et al.'s (2006) theory of Critical Youth Empowerment explores the idea that, if one wants to foster a society of citizens who are able to critically reflect on their social and cultural context, and who feel competent and capable of active participation, one needs to include and empower the youth. Jennings et al. contextualize their theory by outlining how programs whose primary focus is youth engagement have historically been focused on rehabilitation or containment. This was because their primary function were risk-based prevention. From there, the focus shifted to fostering healthy youth development and capacity building through community participation. More recently, a focus on empowerment has been included, and it is within this framework that Jennings et al.'s theory of Critical Youth Engagement (CYE) lies (Jennings et al., 2006, p. 31-33).

Jennings et al. define empowerment as "individuals, families, organizations, and communities gaining control and mastery, with the social, economic, and political contexts of their lives, in order to improve equity and quality of life" (p. 40). And in this context, they state that the aim of CYE is to "support and foster youth contributions to positive community development and sociopolitical change, resulting in youth who are critical citizens, actively participating in the day-to-day building of stronger, more equitable communities" (p. 40).

They outline six key dimensions of successful youth empowerment: The first dimension is a welcoming and safe environment, in which young people will be the principal actors and have a sense of ownership, while also being challenged to push themselves outside their usual comfort zone. This environment can be anything from a more traditional educational context, to the participation in organizations; like Amnesty Youth. Within this

dimension, the youth and adults will ideally interact as co-learners, with the space to experience both success and failure. The second dimension is meaningful participation and engagement, which goes beyond simply showing up, and instead the youth will try on different roles and responsibilities. Through this engagement they will learn leadership and participatory skills, which will help them “combat rolelessness: in turn, meaningful roles can provide youth with opportunities to develop a positive self-identity, increased sense of self-worth, and enhance self-efficacy” (p. 43). The third dimension is equitable power-sharing between youth and adults, in which the role of the adult is to “create and maintain a balance of providing support without domination” (p. 45). This requires the adults to be flexible and maintain a balance of “overt support and covert control” (p. 45).

The fourth dimension is engagement in critical reflection on interpersonal and socio-political processes, where youth is encouraged to reflect on the visible and invisible structures and processes that make up society, and their own role within these. This dimension also requires the adults to consider methods that appeal to young people; photography, music and graphic art can “serve as triggers for reflection as well as a medium through which youth can express their views and messages regarding social issues” (p. 48). Building on the fourth dimension, the fifth is participation in socio-political processes in order to effect change, and involves youth not only critically understanding the underlying structures of society, but participating in transformative social action. Jennings et al. state that “from a CYE perspective, youth are not truly empowered if they do not have the capacity to address the structures, processes, social values and practices of the issues at hand” (p. 48). The sixth and final dimension is integrated individual and community-level empowerment, meaning that CYE provides opportunities for personal development and teaches how to navigate in the adult worlds; making the youth more self-efficient. Furthermore, CYE should empower the youth to be a force for positive change in their community, and thereby empowering the community as a whole.

Jennings et al. outline the benefits of fully incorporating these six dimensions into youth programs as resulting in youth with high levels of self-efficacy and self-awareness, who engage in positive social bonding and have a sense of purpose. Furthermore, youth and adults will recognize each other’s strengths and value partnerships. The community engagement leads to social integration and social networks, and enhance youth’s ability to corporate, compromise and appreciate diverse perspectives (p. 50-51).



## Motivation Theory

Deci and Ryan (2008) outline their main points of Self-Determination Theory (SDT); the original work that led to this theory dates back to the 1970's, but they underscore how it is within the last decade, that research on this theory has truly mushroomed (Deci & Ryan, 2008, p.182). They explain how other theories of motivation focuses on the amount of motivation that people have, whereas SDT differentiates between types of motivation. They outline two different types of motivation; autonomous and controlled. Autonomous motivation can be classified as intrinsic, but also comprises the extrinsic motivations that have been internalised; in which people identify with the activity's value. In contrast, controlled motivation is extrinsic; meaning that a person's behaviour is based on external contingencies of reward or punishment. Unlike both of these types of motivation is amotivation, in which behaviour is unintentional and without motivation. Of these three, autonomous motivation inspires the greatest level of long-term commitment (p. 182-183). Deci and Ryan further underline how the "basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness are supported versus thwarted affect the type and strength of motivation" (p. 182). To elaborate, the need for autonomy means the urge to have agency in your own life, competence means the search to control outcomes and experience mastery, and relatedness means the desire to be connected to others.

Complimentary to this, Pless et al. (2015) outline a model of motivation and thereby introduce the term 'motivation orientations' which they have developed. The model breaks up the broad and general term of motivation into five different motivation orientations: knowledge motivation, coping motivation, relation motivation, involvement motivation, and performance motivation (Pless et al., 2015, p. 13). We have chosen to include four of them in our analysis, because the fifth - performance motivation - deals specifically with grades and grade-giving, which is not relevant in this context.

Knowledge motivation is about curiousness; desiring knowledge, and being interested in or engaged with a subject. One of the characteristics of knowledge motivation is being taken with the outside world; reaching past one's self and having a curiosity for the world around oneself (p. 64-65). As to who are most prone to this kind of motivation, it is found that both academically adept and academically challenged youngsters talk about experiences with knowledge motivation (p. 65).

Coping motivation happens by having experiences with coping and progression; motivation in this orientation is the result of coping, rather than the precondition. Furthermore, academic interests are associated with experiences of coping; the subjects the students are good at, are often the subjects they find most interesting (p. 83). However, an experience of coping is not always enough for motivation to arise, both the academically adept- and challenged need to be challenged for them to experience progression (p. 83). Relation motivation involves relations between teachers and students, and the relation between students themselves; relations and the students' place in the school community is a catalyst for motivation in school (p. 88). Pless et al. state that one does not have authority just because they are a teacher, it is something to be earned. This type of relation between the teacher and the students creates a space in which it is easier to reinforce the students' engagement and attention (p. 88). The relation motivation is also about the students having a sense of community; since feeling like an outsider can lead to demotivation (p. 89). Involvement motivation revolves around students being a part of the learning processes (p. 89), by incorporating other, varying processes where the students, to some extent, can immerse themselves and be 'co-producers' of the academic content and learning processes (p. 92). Pless et al. describe how involvement motivation is also connected with the students developing competencies which allow them to influence their own world and the world around them

by giving them the opportunity to think and act in new and different ways, and by letting them collaborate with the other students in trying exciting experiments, this motivation orientation to a great extent, seem to take part in supporting and developing some of the competencies that are often accentuated as fundamental in relation to the future labour market, where there is a focus on innovation and development of new products (p. 92).

Pless et al.'s model shows how motivation is more than just one thing, for example, within a school setting there is often a large focus on how the students' knowledge motivation is present; how they dive into a subject driven by interest and curiosity. However, Pless et al. argue that this is a narrow understanding of motivation, which is solely, or mainly, driven by interest. Thus, it overlooks that there are more perspectives to consider, when wanting to understand youth participation or non-participation (Pless et al., 2015, p. 13). The model shows that motivation, to the same extent, can be created through coping experiences,

involvement, and relations. The orientations are not to be understood as hierarchical, where some orientations are perceived more preferable than the others. Rather, motivation is strengthened when more orientations are at play (p. 14). Motivation orientations should be seen as a palette of colours where you can mix, adjust, and vary based on what is important to the specific context, group of people, or the subject being taught (p. 14).

## **Analysis**

The following analysis will be divided into two sections; the first dealing with the elite interviews with the Activism Organizer (henceforth ‘the Organiser’) and the former activism employee (henceforth ‘the former AE’) to understand and analyse the structure of Amnesty DK’s activism strategy, and the thoughts and motivations behind this. This section will be analysed using mainly Transactional- and Transformational Activism. The second section deals with the responses to the survey for upper secondary school students. This section of analysis will be structured through Thematic Analysis, while drawing on Social Identity Theory, Gender Schema Theory and Social Learning Theory, Critical Youth Empowerment, and motivation theories.

### **Amnesty International Denmark’s Activism Structures**

“Mobilizers try to maximize participation by minimizing costs, while organizers try to cultivate activism by transforming people’s beliefs about themselves, their groups, and their work” (Han, 2014, p. 1). With this quote from Han as a point of departure, the following will be an examination of whether Amnesty DK are more mobilising (transactional) or organising (transformational) in developing their activists, or how they have mixed these categories in order to maximize their impact.

#### ***Transactional***

As stated in Han’s (2014) theory of transactional activism, the relationship between an organisation and its activists is one of exchange. Firstly, the activists provide manpower in both sheer numbers and resources, this is underlined by the Organiser since the current activism strategy of Amnesty DK is “that we can, like, widen our reach and produce more groups and do more activism” (Appendix 3, Q3). As a definition of what activism means for Amnesty International, the Danish website states that: “Activism is part of Amnesty’s DNA

(...) Activism can be anything from sending a text message, participating in a discussion about human rights on Facebook, to take part in a demonstration, or send a handwritten letter” (Aktivisme). This description of activism provides an example of some of the resources activists bring to Amnesty. The Organiser, when asked about what role activism plays for Amnesty DK, stated: “the activist are making a huge difference in spreading our message when we run a campaign, so alongside us they are frontrunners, in spreading it to the whole country” (appendix 3, Q3) and “but they are also the ones who help develop our campaign materials and the messages we want to include” (appendix 3, Q3) providing other examples of the resources the activists bring to Amnesty DK.

Secondly, Han (2014) describes what organisations provide to the activists in return, which is opportunities to get involved, an ‘institutional home’, material resources, and autonomy. The Organiser, when commenting on the lack of young men in youth activism, states that the main Amnesty campaign in her time as Organiser has been the campaign for sexual consent ‘Let’s Talk About Yes’. This campaign concentrates on justice for survivors of rape in Denmark, focused specifically on women, as they make up the majority of the victims (Amnesty International Denmark, 2019), and according to Det Kriminalpræventive Råd, 58% of rape victims are under the age of 25 (Pedersen et al., 2017, p. 7), which is also reflected in the mobilisational efforts of the Let’s Talk About Yes campaign. The Organiser states

[when we try to] engage people based on this, we talk a lot to the young girls and there are many of them who have experienced it themselves or know someone who has experienced it and, like, are really taken by this topic and who naturally want to create a better future and make a difference in relation to this topic specifically  
(Appendix 3, Q4.c)

This is a good example of how Amnesty DK can use their campaigns to provide opportunities for individuals to get involved and have a personal drive to work for the change they, Amnesty DK, wish to see in the world. Complimentary to this, the former AE states that “I would think that the motivation for the Youthers is intrinsic, and because they wished to be a part of changing something and work for a good cause” (appendix 4, Q5.a).

On the topic of young people’s motivations for joining Amnesty Youth, the former AE explained how she believed that “the motivation came from the young people themselves, and what Amnesty did well in recruiting them, was to be there personally and bring

interesting people, so that the organisation came closer to them and made it easy for them to take part in the work” (appendix 4, Q5.a). With this she emphasises the importance of creating an ‘institutional home’ in which it is easy to channel one’s inner motivations into advocacy work.

With regard to material resources, Amnesty DK’s website has a ‘question and answers’ section for youth groups, in which it states that: “we will always send you materials you can use [...] If a youth-group needs money or a guarantee against loss for a bigger activity, the groups can apply for money at the Amnesty activism fund” (Spørgsmål og svar). Amnesty DK allow their Youth groups a fair amount of autonomy, in that they “run themselves and their activities, and that there are no hard and fast rules for which activities they should be doing” (appendix 4, Q3.a). This means that Amnesty DK allocates resources which enable the Youth groups to put into practise their activist expression and achieve their goals.

Lastly, as stated by Han, people might prefer to indulge in activism if it does not require too much of their time or resources. Thus, we asked the former AE if this is being taken into consideration at the secretariat, to which she answered:

So yeah, I believe that the coordinators at the secretariat think a lot about how the activism in Youth is carried out, also in terms of how time consuming it is. But I do not think that the time-consumption aspect was the most important in the planning, compared to how important it is to create something that the activists will want to use (appendix 4, Q8).

Thus, although the Amnesty DK secretariat do take time consumption into consideration, the theory of Transactional Activism proposes that if an organization wants to maximize participation, they should structure the tasks tightly. Therefore, it could be argued that Amnesty DK should make this a bigger priority.

### ***Transformational***

Han’s concept of transformational activism; where organisations focus on collective action, is comparable to Amnesty DK’s way of structuring activism, where they establish groups of activists all around the country. As mentioned above, the goal of the transformational approach is to ‘invest’ in long-term capacity building. In relation to this, the Organiser, when asked whether Amnesty DK has strategies for securing long-term

engagement with the youth activists, stated that there are two ways of doing so, “the first is establishing university groups at the big universities. So that there is a natural transition” (appendix 3, Q5.b), to which she adds that even though they might lose some due to gap years, they still provide an opportunity for students to continue their activism after upper secondary school. The second strategy she described was how Amnesty DK has opened up Youth to include independent activists, who are not part of a specific Youth group. In addition to this, she described how Amnesty DK are currently expanding Amnesty Youth by creating a better platform in which young people will “be able to sign up as a ‘Youther’ and be registered as a Youth activist, even though you do not belong to a group” (appendix 3, Q5.b). Thus, it can be argued that Amnesty DK do focus on promoting long-term activism.

The relationship between Amnesty DK’s secretariat and the Youth activists is both formal and informal. Formal in the sense that there is a formalised structure, in which the Organiser is responsible for the strategic aspects of Youth, but who has little contact with the actual activists. The organiser stated that “in that way it is the interns who has the overall contact with all the Youthers and all the groups and know what is going on out there” (appendix 3, Q4.b). This communication was, as the former AE explained, informal in the sense that “the tone in the communication was pretty relaxed and informal, but with us, the interns, as clear authority figures in the situation” (appendix 4, Q4). Even though the interns are the ones who are responsible for the majority of the communication with the youth groups, the Organiser stated that if individuals are particularly active besides the group activities, she interacts with them regularly. On the formality of this relationship, she explained that “these are young people, and they are really funny and really sweet and... so it is quite informal. And I think that it is important for them to feel that they know me” (appendix 3, Q4.b).

Han states that to give meaning to the relationship between the organisation and the activists, the organisation must help the activists reflect on their work and identities within the organisation. To whether or not Amnesty DK utilises this strategy, the former AE commented that the interns did facilitate reflection and balanced expectations when they held start up meetings with a new youth group, so that “the activists can know what they are getting into, but also reflect on their own interests and wishes for their activism” (appendix 4, Q9). In terms of reflection later in the process, she stated that: “Yes, we did evaluate the semester in general with the activists just before we finished as interns. But I have to admit that there were not a lot of answers to our otherwise genius questionnaire” (appendix 4, Q9). The former AE goes on to say that the interns did evaluate with the activists continuously, in

their meetings with the youth groups. However, she does not go into detail of how they evaluate or help the activists reflect within the groups, something which Han proposes different beneficial ways of doing. The absence of a more in-depth explanation of the reflection strategies in the former AE's account, could be an indication of lack of one. From this, it can be argued that Amnesty DK does not employ the tool of reflection extensively enough and could benefit from expanding their use of reflection.

From this, it can be argued that Amnesty DK utilises elements from both the transactional activism approach and the transformational activism approach. From the transactional approach there is the exchange of resources with the activists and, to some extent, managing the amount of time needed for tasks; to make taking action easier for the activists. From transformational activism, Amnesty DK have different strategies to invest in long-term capacity building and relationships with the activists. Additionally, their relationship to the activists is both formal and informal where appropriate, which establishes authority, but also creates a space where the activists feel relevant and heard.

### **To Be or Not To Be an Activist**

The following section is comprised of six different main categories, with their own subcategories, generated from our theoretical framework and using thematic analysis on the survey answers and the elite interviews. Throughout this section we reference G(1-127), which refers to our female respondents and B(1-33), which refers to the male respondents. GNC(1-2) refers to the gender nonconforming respondents.

#### ***“Where it all Begins”***

There were 162 responses to the questionnaire, of which 127 were girls, 33 were boys and two were gender nonconforming. As it was a criterion to participate, all respondents are currently attending upper secondary school; 57 are currently attending 1.g, 55 are attending 2.g and 50 are attending 3.g. Their ages spanned between 14 and 34, the average being 17,7. Regionally 87 came from Northern Jutland, 38 from Central Jutland, 15 from Southern Denmark, 15 from Zealand and 7 from the Capital Region.

#### ***“Let's Talk About [Gender]”***

*“Sisters Are Doin’ It For Themselves”*

In order to gain an overview of the gender distribution in Amnesty Youth, we asked both the Organiser and the former AE to comment on this gender distribution in Amnesty DK’s Youth groups, the Organiser stated: “It is like, maybe 90% girls I think” (appendix 3, Q4.c). To the same question, the former AE answered: “Girls ... everyone was girls ... almost no boys” (appendix 4, Q6). With these comments, and the tendency visible in the literature review, we wanted to investigate whether this would also be the case with the respondents of the survey, and investigate their answers to draw out different reasonings for this tendency.

The first sign of this, was the gender disparity in the people who chose to answer the survey at all; as stated above, 127 were girls and 33 were boys. This exemplifies that even when presented with the opportunity to simply participate in a survey on human rights and activism, girls are more inclined to show interest than boys. Arguably, this could be due to a general tendency of people wanting to participate if they are motivated by existing knowledge or interest of the subject. Likewise, people could be less likely to participate if they feel indifferent or feel like they have insufficient knowledge on the subject. This is also apparent in the survey responses, as only nine out of 127 girls (G12, G18, G22, G41, G48, G50, G55, G69, G109) declared that they had none or limited knowledge of human rights, whereas ten out of 33 boys expressed the same (B7, B14, B18, B21, B24, B27, B28, B31, B32, B33). Furthermore, looking at the answers that were given, the girls generally wrote longer and more expansive answers than the boys did. These numbers indicate that the girls who responded to the survey do indeed have more knowledge about human rights than the boys, and this could be what motivated them to respond in the first place.

This gender disparity in participation is also present in the context of who has taken part in activism; 21 of the 33 boys answered yes to this question while 104 of the 127 girls did the same. Furthermore, when asked about how important human rights are in their everyday life on a scale of one to ten, the boys averaged at 6, while the girls’ average were higher, at 7,5. Both of these data points could be attributed to the fact that, historically, women have had to care about human rights, because they have had to fight for them, more so than men. In Denmark, the modern fight for women’s rights started in the 1870’s where they fought for the right to education; in 1915 it was the fight for political participation; in the 1920s, the fight for abortion rights began; in the 1960s, the fight for a place in the labor market; in the 1970s women started fighting their own battles; and the 1990s was the expansion of the fight for women’s rights into human rights; 2017 brought the Women’s



March, pussy power and #MeToo (Lerbeck, 2018). The girls who participated in this study, are in this way standing on the shoulders of the women who came before them, and are continuing the work that these women started so long ago.

It can therefore be argued that the female respondents have been socialised into understanding rights as something they need to care about and need to fight for. Many of these girls will have heard the older women in their lives talk about how, at one point, they did not possess the rights that girls today can take for granted. Boys, however, do not share this history and do therefore not, necessarily, value rights in the same way that girls do. Furthermore, there is currently a discourse in the Danish society, in which men worry that the fight for women's rights is pushing against men's rights, and as a result of this there is a rising counter-movement. This tendency is evident from the headlines of these articles: "A year with #MeToo: Has the movement become the hyper-feminists' war on all men?" (Norup, 2018); "S-Politician: "Feminism is an anti-democratic movement"" (Simonsen in Radio24Syv, 2019); "How anti-feminism is shaping world politics" (Tharoor, 2018). We would argue that these people operate on the assumption that there is a fixed amount of rights to be had, and if someone else claim 'a piece', there will be less rights left for them to enjoy.

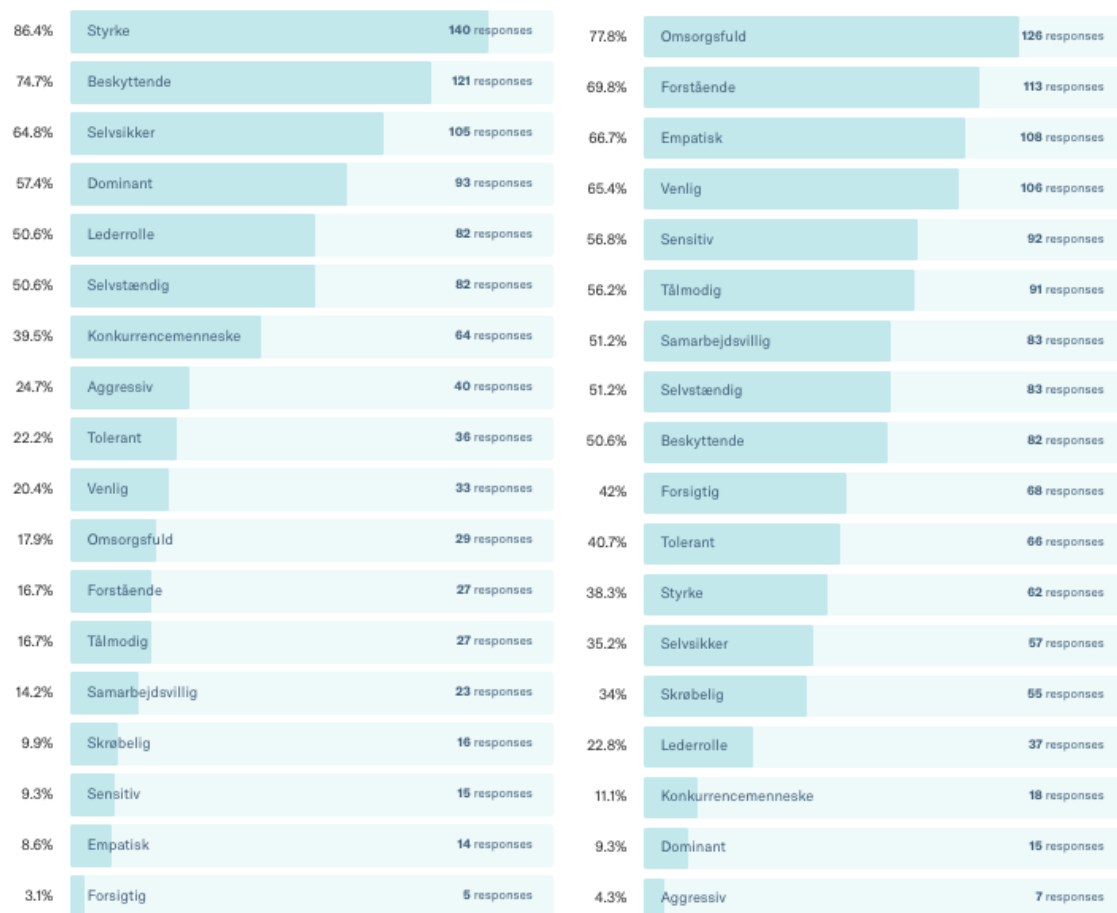
In sharp contrast to this, are dominating voices in the current feminist discussion in Denmark, who believe that women's rights are human rights, and all worth fighting for. The frontwoman of the Danish political party, the Red-Green Alliance, states that "In the Red-Green Alliance we are feminists, because we want to build a society based on strong communities, equality, solidarity and sustainability" (Enhedslisten, n.d.). One of the largest music festival in Denmark 'Roskilde Festival' 2019 headliners, the Afro-American musician Janelle Monáe, states that "Women's rights are human rights [...] So as human beings let's never forget that none of us are free until all of us are free" (Monáe in Blay, 2017). Furthermore, Roskilde Festival has in itself taken a stance on equality by having almost as many women as men headline this year, 2019 (Line-Up, 2019). Lastly, Emma Holten, the Danish human rights activist, states that "it is a big misunderstanding that feminism is about women against men. It is about feminists against sexists and about equal opportunity for all" (Holten in Burcharth, 2017). These quotes show how there are strong voices in the Danish discourse, advocating that fighting *for* women's rights, is not a fight *against* men's rights, and that while fighting for the rights of women, it is more than possible to fight for human rights in general.

This is not to say that men have to identify with or care about feminism in order to fight for human rights, but rather a contextualisation of how women are more used to

participating in activism, given the historical circumstances. Which means that there is already an in-group of activists who identify with this struggle, and who have created a social category based on it, in which they support each other and say #MeToo. With this in mind, the following will be an examination of the respondents' understandings of human rights and perceptions of gender.

### *“Who’s Afraid of Gender”*

In order to understand the perception of masculinity and femininity in upper secondary school students, we included questions of which words the respondents would attribute to masculinity and femininity. As stated in the methodology, the words were inspired by Sandra Bem's Sex-Role Inventory.



**Picture 1:** Masculinity

**Picture 2:** Femininity

First will be an exploration of the collective data from all the respondents. The characteristic that most of the respondents agreed upon, is that masculinity equals ‘strength’ (140 of 162). In contrast to this, the top attribute for femininity was ‘caring’ (126 of 162).

Both of these words are taken from the BSRI; however, in the BSRI the word ‘compassionate’ is featured as a feminine trait, but as the questionnaire was made, we decided that the Danish ‘omsorgsfuld’ or ‘caring’ in English, would be more understandable and relatable for the students. Strength and caring are traditionally associated with masculinity and femininity respectively, as evident by the fact that the BSRI was introduced in 1974. Furthermore, ‘assertive’ (105), ‘dominant’ (93) and ‘leadership abilities’ (82) which are all in the masculine top five, are all found on the BSRI as masculine traits as well, leading to the assumption that the perception of masculinity still relies on traditional ideas. The same is true of the perception of femininity, where three out of five; ‘understanding’ (113), ‘empathetic’ (108) and the aforementioned ‘caring’ are found on the BSRI as feminine traits. ‘Friendly’ (106), which our respondents ranked 4th for femininity, is also found on the BSRI, although under gender neutral traits.

Looking at the data, it is also interesting to note how two of the top five traits for both masculinity and femininity, are found in the others’ bottom five. This is true of ‘dominant’ at 93 and ‘leadership ability’ at 82 responses for masculinity, but only 15 and 37 responses for femininity. In contrast, ‘empathetic’ scored 106 and ‘sensitive’ scored 92 with femininity, but only 14 and 15 with masculinity. This is consistent with Bem’s claim that the gender schema dichotomizes masculinity and femininity, and when looking at the data in general, there is a tendency that if a trait scores high with masculinity, it scores low with femininity, and the other way around.

In order to understand how to motivate boys specifically, we wanted to examine the perception of masculinity, therefore we split the responses into genders, and looked at which traits the boys and girls attribute to masculinity. Doing this, it became apparent that the boys ascribe the traditionally feminine (drawn from the BSRI) attributes to themselves, more often than the girls ascribe it to them; true of ‘patient’, ‘understanding’, ‘empathetic’ and ‘caring’, as seen in the table below.

**Table 1:** Number of respondents to Q5 and Q6 in the survey (appendix 5). M equals masculinity and F equals femininity.

	Boys		Girls	
	M	F	M	F
<i>Strength</i>	27	3	112	58
<i>Tolerant</i>	10	11	25	54

<i>Aggressive</i>	3	3	36	3
<i>Patient</i>	9	13	17	77
<i>Caring</i>	9	28	18	96
<i>Independent</i>	15	10	66	72
<i>Gentle</i>	0	17	4	50
<i>Protector</i>	23	18	97	63
<i>Empathetic</i>	7	23	6	84
<i>Fragile</i>	1	17	14	37
<i>Competitive</i>	12	5	51	12
<i>Understanding</i>	9	18	17	94
<i>Assertive</i>	22	5	82	51
<i>Sensitive</i>	4	21	10	70
<i>Dominant</i>	12	2	80	12
<i>Friendly</i>	8	18	23	86
<i>Leadership abilities</i>	16	4	65	32
<i>Cooperative</i>	3	12	19	70

It is important to note that being a man does not equal being masculine, and that this thesis does not propose that men are only masculine, or that women are only feminine, but that all genders can possess traits from both categories.

Even though the BSRI is quite dated, it is evident in the data that the respondents still subscribe to these same ideas of masculinity and femininity. One could think that modern times would mean more fluid perceptions of gender, and while that may be true to some extent, the data from the survey of this thesis shows how this is definitely not the case. These old-fashioned ideas of masculinity could arguably affect men's ideas of themselves as human rights activists.

In keeping with this idea, the Organiser states that:

But I can see it from the outside, ehm... so it may seem like, I don't know, feminine values, to fight for others and want to make a difference, or like, want to help others, and the whole thing about solidarity and such things. Ehm, are traditionally associated with women and having a caring-gene and shit (appendix 3, Q4.d)

Looking at the data, it is also evident that when asked what would motivate them to be activists, 19 of the 33 boys stated that they would be motivated by making a difference, while 118 of the 127 girls stated the same. This emphasises and substantiates the Organiser's points that there is a narrative of women being caring and wanting to make a difference for others. This is in line with the fact that one of the top five attributes for femininity is 'empathetic' with 108 votes. The same attribute is, however, in the bottom five for masculinity, with only 14 respondents. From this it could be argued that because 'caring' is not a valued trait associated with masculinity, men are less likely to identify themselves as such. Therefore, since fighting for human rights is associated with having a 'caring-gene', men are less likely to do so because, as Bem states "the gender schema becomes an internalised motivational factor that promotes the individual to regulate his or her behavior so that it conforms to the culture's definitions of maleness and femaleness" (Bem, 1981, p. 355).

This is the foundation for understanding the respondents' social narrative surrounding masculinity, which is necessary in order to affect the discourse and change the human rights activism narrative to include men. If one is to follow the *modus ponens* type of logical argument, the Organiser puts forth an assertion, supported by the data of the survey, that you are feminine if you care for others, fighting for human rights is caring for others, ergo it is feminine to fight for human rights. Therefore, if one wanted to create a discourse of fighting for human rights for men, it could be beneficial to build on the *modus ponens* that; to be strong (the word topping the list of masculine traits) is to be masculine, you are strong when you fight for human rights, ergo fighting for human rights is masculine. Furthering this process, one could include characteristics like confidence and protecting others into the narrative; as in, you are confident enough to protect others by fighting for their human rights. Doing so would allow boys to hold on to their current understanding of masculinity, and thereby part of their self-concept, but still learn to see themselves as activists. Changing the narrative to include more masculine characteristics would not alienate the girls, in the same way as the current feminine connotations of activism are alienating the boys. Because, as Lindsey states "for socialization overall, girls have the advantage in gender flexibility, but boys have the advantage of a higher prestige gender role" (Lindsey, 2005, p. 56). Meaning that, it is easier for girls to take on masculine values, than for boys to take on feminine ones. This is also apparent in the survey data, as the boys score high on a few characteristics, but after the top seven, the bottom 11 all have 40 or less respondents attributing these traits to masculinity. In contrast, it is only the bottom four traits that score 40 or less with femininity (see picture 1 and 2 above).

We chose to inquire whether the respondents believed caring about human rights to be masculine or feminine (appendix 5, Q9), because we had a hypothesis that upper secondary school students would believe caring about human rights to be feminine. And while this have been confirmed by other data points in our analysis, when asked directly the average was 5,1; meaning that they believe it to be equally masculine and feminine. And there are only small differences when looking at the gender separated answers; where one in two boys gave an answer that was either higher or lower than five, therefore placing it closer to the more masculine or feminine end of the scale. Whereas it was one in three of the girls who did the same.

In order to better understand the different aspects that can influence boys' desire to participate in human rights activism, we believe it essential to examine the way that the specific topic of a campaign can either inspire or potentially alienate them.

*“Let’s Talk About [Yes]”*

One of the major campaigns by Amnesty DK in the past year has been the Let’s Talk About Yes campaign. As stated previously, this campaign focuses on justice for survivors of rape in Denmark and is a fight for the inclusion of consent in the Danish legislation on rape. The topic of the campaign has meant that when Amnesty DK attempts to mobilise people in relation to this campaign, it has been easier to reach girls and young women, because

many of them have been subject to it themselves or know someone who has been subject to it and are like really inspired by this topic and of course want to contribute to a better future and make a difference in relation to this topic. So I think that this have not exactly made it easier. In relation to motivating young men (appendix 3, Q4.d)

We asked the Organiser what considerations Amnesty DK make when planning their campaigns and the campaign materials, to which she stated that they come up with initial ideas, which they then test with different audiences in order to understand what works best. In relation to the Let’s Talk About Yes campaign, their initial thoughts were sensitivity to the challenge of not phrasing the problematic in a way that pins the boys and girls against each other. Instead they put a lot of work into interviewing both young boys and young girls, in order to adjust the initiatives so that they were as gender inclusive as possible, “plus, this

campaign is as much about the young men, ehm, and make them part of the conversation and make them see that this is really relevant for them. And not just make them appear to be the problem” (appendix 3, Q6).

From the Organisers statements it is clear that Amnesty DK is aware of the importance of not criminalising an entire group, but instead address “the structural problems and not the problems between individuals. Because a lot of the things that are happening, or all the things that are happening, is because of cultural and structural norms and stereotypes” (appendix 3, Q6). Although, seen as it is mostly girls that have been mobilised based on this campaign, an argument can be made that there is still more work to be done in the way that Amnesty DK include boys in the process of developing materials, and the narrative surrounding the specific campaigns.

### ***“Know Your Rights”***

In order to better comprehend our respondents’ grasps of human rights, we asked them what human rights they know of (appendix 5, Q7), and what words they associate with them (appendix 5, Q8). First, we scoured their answers to see how many showed a basic understanding of the history of human rights, evident by those who mentioned either the United Nations (UN) or the European Union (EU). Of the 162 respondents, 26 mentioned UN or EU specifically, or used terms like ‘international collaboration’. This means that of the 143 respondents who expressed knowledge of human rights (we subtracted the 19 individuals who specifically stated to have no knowledge on the subject), about one in five connect human rights with their historical origin. However, it also means that four in five either do not have this general knowledge or have simply not mentioned it explicitly. Either way, it seems that most of our respondents would benefit from background knowledge, which Amnesty should consider when creating materials for campaigns, since they cannot assume that this is common knowledge.

One of the most discussed human rights in Denmark, is freedom of speech; from the satirical Mohammed drawings in 2005 being discussed around the world, to the aspiring politician Rasmus Paludan invoking this right to justify him burning the Quran in public. Therefore, we wanted to investigate how many of the respondents mentioned freedom of speech when asked what human rights they know - and of the 162 respondents, 52 did so. Among the human rights that were named, this was the most common answer. The responses could be taken to portray how the fact that freedom of speech takes up a lot of the discussion of rights in Danish media, seeps into the discourse among our respondents.

When looking over the responses to these questions, it was noticeable how many of the respondents mentioned the word ‘all’ or ‘everyone’, indicating that they have the basic understanding that human rights are universal and do not come with conditions. The overall count for this was 45, however, of these only 7 were boys; ergo one in five of the boys, while 38 were girls; one in three. This disparity between the genders indicates that the girls have a better grasp of the universality of human rights. This leads back to our previous argument that girls are socialised into identifying with the struggle for human rights, whereas the boys are not so inclined.

Expanding this argument, we looked at how many of the respondents associated human rights with women’s rights. Here the gender disparity was even more apparent; six of the 33 boys explicitly mentioned women’s rights, whereas 47 of the 127 girls did the same (Q7 and Q8). It is not surprising to us that the girls associated human rights with women’s rights more so than any other rights, since it relates specifically to them; they can identify directly with the importance of these human rights.

To put this into perspective, not one single respondent mentions men’s rights, which means that they are so profoundly taken for granted that we do not even have to talk about them; they are never questioned. Therefore, when Amnesty DK attempts to motivate women into fighting for human rights, because they can identify with the lack of women’s rights, Amnesty DK are essentially asking them to fight for themselves. When attempting to draw boys into the fight for human rights, seeing as they do not believe their rights to be in jeopardy, Amnesty DK are essentially asking them to be altruistic and fight for other people’s rights.

### ***“Get Up, Stand Up (Stand Up For Your Rights)”***

#### *“Participation Illumination”*

Initially we had a hypothesis that one of the reasons that some young people do not participate in activism, is due to a lack of knowledge of the different ways in which one can be an activist. However, looking at the response data from the question “what types of activism do you know of?” (appendix 5, Q11), it is evident that most of our respondents know all of the kinds of activism that we listed as options, exist. Only sit-ins had significantly less people stating knowledge of it than the rest of the options; with only 44 respondents, whereas the other options all had more than 120. Consequently, it is not possible to make the argument that their lack of engagement is due to a lack of knowledge of the types of activism



themselves; therefore, we will need to look elsewhere for answers as to why some chose not to participate.

We found it interesting to examine whether our respondents have ever participated in the types of activism that they know of, or if they simply know of their existence. Of the 33 boys who responded, 21 answered having participated in some kind of activism, where 104 girls out of 127 have done the same. From this, we can see that of the respondents in the survey, more girls than boys have participated in activism, which is a fact we have previously pointed to. In the text we have included in the literature review, Dodson argue that men tend to participate in confrontational activism, whereas girls tend to lean toward non-confrontational activism, and we decided to explore whether this statement would be harmonious with our respondents. When looking at the types of activism that our respondents have taken part in, we subtracted the 12 boys and 23 girls who stated that they had not participated in activism at all. We found that almost half of the boys (ten out of 21) expressed having participated in confrontational activism such as demonstrations, sit-ins, and strikes. Interestingly, around half of the girls answered the same. Looking at the ones mentioning non-confrontational activism, such as petitions and boycotts, nine of 21 of the boys mentioned this being activism that they have taken part in, while 70 of the 104 girls answered the same. From this it can be argued that, while both the girls and boys participating in this study, to the same degree, participate in confrontational activism, girls are more prone to non-confrontational activism than boys are. Furthermore, it is also interesting investigating the words that both genders use to describe their activistic activities. When boys describe what kind of activism they have participated in, they mention (in brief) the more traditional forms of activism like demonstrations, sit-ins, petitions, and strikes, whereas the girls' palette of activism is much more varied and includes activism through art, movies, theatre, veganism, zero-waste, second-hand clothing, and online activism - as well as the more traditional kinds. So, while it seems like, from our data, that boys and girls participate equally in confrontational activism. Boys are more prone to this kind, while girls are more prone to non-confrontational; which is in line with Dodson's argument.

Furthermore, when exploring what types of activism the respondents had participated in, we deemed it interesting to also look at what causes they had previously, or are currently fighting for, seen as we have identified a gender disparity in different types of activism. While not all who responded to the question of what kind of activism they had participated in, mentioned the cause, from those who did, we found some similarities. Firstly, we wanted to examine how many of our respondents who had participated in activism of some kind

(125), had actually explicitly mentioned human rights activism. We found that 33 mentioned human rights, two of whom were boys, and 31 were girls. Some of the reasoning for this may be due to the fact that, when sharing the link to our survey, the title of it was 'Human Rights Activism', which could have prompted people who feel like they have knowledge on the topic and something to contribute, to click the link and answer the survey.

Furthermore, we found that several respondents had mentioned activism that was related to politics, overall there were 14 respondents who mentioned this; five of whom were boys and nine were girls. While this number may not seem like a lot, we found it interesting that statistically speaking, more boys than girls mention political activism, as this is a tendency other researchers have explored. Norris, Lovenduski, and Campbell (2004) found that

women are significantly less likely than men to participate in campaign-orientated activities, such as contacting a politician and donating money to, working for, or being a member of, a political party. Women are also less likely than men to join voluntary organisations (Norris, Lovenduski & Campbell, 2004, p. 7).

Furthermore, Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) in their study of the gender gap in political participation, with data from 18 countries (Austria, Flanders, France, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Great Britain, Ireland, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA), found that, indeed, more men than women participate in political activism (Coffé & Bolzendahl, 2010, p. 324). Prior to examining the survey data, we became aware of this tendency and therefore decided to ask the Organiser whether she had any comments on this, in regard to Amnesty Youth, to which she answered:

But it is actually funny, because I think, like, I see human rights and Amnesty as partly political, so it surprises me because I know about what you are saying and stuff, and I think that with Amnesty I expected there to be more guys (...) Because I actually see it as quite political (appendix 3, Q4.d)

It could be argued that she has this conviction because she is already a part of the organisation, and therefore have a more well-rounded understanding of the work Amnesty DK does; therefore, also all the political aspects of the activism. However, seen as Amnesty International is the largest human rights movement in the world and independent from any

political party, it may not be immediately evident for upper secondary school students how Amnesty DK's work is also interrelated with changing policies and affecting politics.

Another perspective to examine is the surge of climate activism around the globe and Greta Thunberg sparking the rising voices of youth, a trend that has also reached Denmark, evident by this headline from a Danish Public Service news media: "Danish youth put everything in the climate: - Greta Thunberg is awesome" (Christensen, 2019). We wanted to examine whether this trend could be seen with our respondents as well and found that 19 out of the 125 respondents who had participated in activism, mentioned 'climate'. This tendency was also identified by the Organiser who said: "as it is developing right now, in relation to activism in general, and in relation to youth around the world. There is a big focus on the many young people who are rising up and putting their foot down, especially in relation to climate activism" (appendix 3, Q7). This rise of climate activism has also reached Amnesty International with its recently appointed General Secretary Kumi Naidoo, who was previously General Secretary at Greenpeace. Therefore, Amnesty DK, and especially their Youth department, has also launched initiatives to include the fight for climate change in their activism, by clearly explaining how closely climate change is related to human rights, and encouraging everyone to join the regular Greta Thunberg initiative #FridaysforFuture and the Climate March that took place all over Denmark 25th of May 2019 with them (Atlas Iversen, 2019). Interestingly, there is not as big a gender disparity within climate activism as within human rights activism, which the Organiser touches upon as well, stating "and I think that, of course there is lots of potential for [engaging more men], since when you look at the climate activists there are as many young men as young women" (appendix 3, Q7). She elaborates, and strengthens the argument, by stating that when hosting a workshop with some of the Youthers, many stated that they chose Amnesty specifically because it allowed them to fight more than one injustice at the time - they could fight for women's rights, while also being as engaged in the fight for freedom of speech in Turkey. This recent focus on the overlap between climate activism and human rights demonstrate Amnesty DK's deliberate effort to use the momentum that climate activism is currently generating, to draw people into human rights activism as well.

### *"Participation Prerequisite"*

Next, we wanted to explore the reasonings behind our participant's choice to engage in activism. Therefore, it proved pivotal to look into the social aspects of activism. For this,

we made use of Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory. First of all, it became apparent from the data that some of our respondents participated solely because they are part of a social in-group in which someone else have declared that being an activist is something that they should take part in. One of the girls stated that "[I participated] mainly because my friends did it too" (G44) and another stated that they were "forced" (G67) into participating. Another stated that it was "part of a school activity" (G82) to participate in activism. And others stated how they participated "because my mother asked me to come along, so that there would be more people there" (G99) and "[I come from a] very activist family" (B22). These answers indicate that there are both girls and boys who would, maybe, not be inclined to participate in activism. However, because they are part of a social group in which this is expected, they chose to be active, in order to be a valued member of their social group. Furthermore, the mentioned activist in-group was, for some of our participants, family members, which provides an even stronger incentive to engage, as the family can be argued to be one's most treasured reference groups.

Other of our respondents explicitly mentioned the social group aspect of activism. As G93 stated: "I wanted to contribute to giving the group a stronger voice", and thereby stating that the activism she was a part of, was a singular entity, whose voice grew stronger by her participation. B10 expressed how he engaged in activism because he wanted to "be a part of a community, where we can solve problems together", thus expressing how one's in-group can encompass all people who fight the same battles as you. This is a perspective worth examining further, seen as social groups can then cross-national boundaries.

B9 states that:

The cases I engaged in activism for, all had in common that they were related to my upper secondary school [...], so therefore it was quite easy participating in these things, and they did not require a lot of courage. It is probably a weak reason, but in my upper secondary school there were a lot of students who were keen activists, so that just made it easier for the rest of us to engage in activism - even though you are maybe not a dedicated activist-type

With this, he really gets to the core of two of the social aspect of activism. When people in a social in-group are engaging in activism, it can inspire others to be as well; which can set activist waves in motion. But as B9 also touches upon, being the first in your social group and starting these waves takes courage. Because you risk the rest of your social group not

sharing these activist aspirations and deciding that you are attempting to go too far out the circle of the social consensus of the group.

From the B9 quote, it would seem that people who are activists, are viewed in a specific way by people who are not necessarily part of this group. As evident from the way B9 expresses the existence of a “dedicated activist-type”. We could make assumptions of how this in-group is viewed and what connotations it carries with it to be a part of it; it would, however, be more beneficial to explore this direction in a different study. For now, it is simply interesting to understand that there are people who view activists as a ‘type’ and therefore define them as a group; it therefore makes it possible to orient themselves as either part of this group or not.

### *“Non-Participation”*

We also wanted to explore why some of the respondents had not participated in activism, and if the reasons differed between the genders. Of the respondents, 12 boys and 23 girls stated that they had not participated in any kind of activism. When examining the answers, we identified some common reasons for not having participated; some stated that they simply did not know why they had not participated (13), and some didn’t have any interest in activism (7). We identified two other commonalities which we found noteworthy, as these reasons were not necessarily things that our respondents could personally do anything about. Instead they are things that Amnesty DK could consider, when planning their strategy for recruiting new activists.

Firstly, some respondents mentioned the issue of not feeling like they have the time to participate in activism: “I haven’t pulled myself together, and then I forget it with everything else you have to do in your everyday life” (G108) and “[I] don’t have time” (B28; G61; G66). As mentioned in the first section of the analysis, while Amnesty DK do take into consideration that activism can be time-consuming, it did not seem to be as much of a priority for them, as creating materials that the dedicated activists can and will want to use. Thus, we argue that to attract more young people to participate in activism, Amnesty DK could prioritise creating cost-less, both in terms of time and resources, activism within Amnesty Youth. This point will be elaborated further in one of the following sections, in which we suggest what initiatives Amnesty DK could adopt in order to increase activist participation.

Secondly, several respondents mentioned how they do not know where to participate in activism, or that it does not happen in their area: “[I] don’t know (...) where to go to

participate in the different activisms” (B30); “I live in the middle of nowhere and there aren’t really anyone taking initiatives for making such demonstrations in small towns - it wouldn’t matter much ... the “important” people are in Copenhagen anyways” (G33); “It has always been in Copenhagen, I am not in Copenhagen that often” (B5); and “I do not feel informed enough about where and when activism happen” (G66). Both of these points are worth including in any strategy for further recruitment of activists. First is how Copenhagen is perceived as the ‘only’ place where activism takes place, and matters. While it may not be Amnesty DK’s activism events specifically they are referring to, it still shows how they perceive all (including Amnesty DK) activism to take place and only be relevant in Copenhagen. In our interview with the Organiser, in relation to the events the secretariat host for their activists, she stated that

It was just so obvious that it was really important that we also came to Aarhus and hosted something locally. Because a lot of groups turned up. It has actually been a long time since we hosted an event where so many groups were represented, instead there were individual youth activists present (appendix 3, Q5.b).

The Organiser’s statement shows how even the dedicated Youth activists can feel far removed from the secretariat, since they do not participate in the events in Copenhagen to the same degree as they did the one in Jutland (Aarhus). But seen as they are young people in upper secondary school, they may not have the resources, or the autonomy, to travel far to be a part of activism. Therefore, one could hope that the statement from the Organiser means that decentralising the activism is something that Amnesty DK is aware of the importance of, and that it will be a bigger priority for Amnesty DK in the future. Since people who live far away from Copenhagen, at least based on our data, seem to have activist aspirations, they should have the possibility to channel it into action.

Aside from these seemingly logistical reasonings, other respondents expressed more deliberate reasons for not participating in activism, an example of this is seen when one of the male respondents stated: “it is not relevant for me, I am doing fine” (B3), which ties in with one of our previous argument, that fewer men participate in human rights activism than girls, because their rights are not necessarily the ones in jeopardy. Furthermore, when looking at the answers he gave to the questions about words associated with masculinity and femininity, it is interesting to note how he connected them with only the words that we took directly from the masculine and feminine columns of the BSRI, meaning that the gender schema is readily

available and therefore dominant to him. Another way of interpreting his argument, is that he does not believe the fight for human rights to be relevant in Denmark. There are many more thoughts on this perspective, which will be further elaborated in the “Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum” section.

### *“Roots Before Branches”*

We wanted to utilize Jennings et al.’s Critical Youth Empowerment theory to examine the current initiatives and tactics relating to Amnesty Youth DK, based on our interviews with the Organiser and the former AE. The analysis will be structured using the six dimensions of the theory.

The first dimension is creating a welcoming and safe environment; with youth as the principal actors, in which youth and adults are co-learners. It seems like Amnesty DK is aware of the importance of this, and attempt to incorporate it in their recruitment process. In relation to the workshops carried out at upper secondary schools during the past nine months, the former AE stated that “We told the students, what the purpose of the workshops were, and that they were no wrong questions or comments, we were there to listen and debate with them” (appendix 4, Q5). With these comments, the facilitators underlined that no one would be judged for their opinions, and how the learning process was meant to go both ways. Amnesty DK also incorporate this dimension with their existing Youth groups, the Organiser stated how “we had some ‘rounds’ with the Youthers, where we talked about consent. Where they had the opportunity to provide inputs to what would be cool for them and how they would like to use it at their schools” (appendix 3, Q6.b). This underlines the inclusion of the Youth groups, not only in the activism, but also in the planning of initiatives.

The second dimension is meaningful participation and engagement. This is the dimension in which the focus goes beyond simply showing up, but people being assigned different roles and responsibilities, which can help combat rolelessness. This builds neatly on the first dimension, but to elaborate the inclusion of the Youth groups influence, the Organiser stated “so they help decide what kind of material is going out and how we approach a campaign. And the messages and activities we do, so we can make more sure that they, like, find the activism motivating” (appendix 3, Q5.b). Taking steps to make the activists in the Youth groups feel involved, can help them build a positive self-identity and self-efficacy, in which they feel capable and like their input makes a difference.

The third dimension is equitable power-sharing between youth and adults, in which

the adults will attempt to display overt support, while maintaining covert control. When asked how the Youth groups function, the former AE commented that “the groups are voluntary groups, who run themselves and their activities, and there are no hard and fast rules as such, for which activities they are supposed to do” (appendix 4, Q3.a). This statement underlines how much autonomy the groups are allowed; while still take direction from the campaigns dictated by the secretariat. But the young activists are also essential to the organisation, in that without them, the reach of the organisation would be markedly reduced, an argument also touched on by the Organiser: “The activists are making a huge difference in spreading the messages when we run a campaign. Then they are, like, the frontrunners with us [at the secretariat], in getting the message out to the entire country” (appendix 3, Q3). This means that the Youth groups do indeed contribute something that the organisation would be weaker without.

The fourth dimension is critical reflection; of visible and invisible structures and processes that make up society, and their own role within these. This is one of the dimensions that multiple departments within Amnesty DK engage with. The organiser talks about the purposeful overlap that happens between the activism, and education and empowerment departments within Amnesty DK, and how the latter is the one who provides young people with knowledge about human rights and how, facilitated well, this can help

getting them engaged in reflecting on their own role in this, and ehm, what they can do, well not just in relation to what activism they can do, but understanding bigger connections/contexts, you can do that better when you are older and you are, when you have had more social science education, and all these things, and have gained more perspective (appendix 3, Qb)

Within this dimension, Lindsey also explain the necessity of adults using methods that appeal to young people. In relation to this, and the continuing inclusion of the perspectives of the Youth groups, the Organiser stated that

The concrete ideas concerning campaign materials and actions and such things, but also the overall communicative frame, meaning how we would communicate this to the young people. So they would provide inputs for this, and then we have of course incorporated it in relation to our continuing work (appendix 3, Q6.b)



The fifth dimension is participation in socio-political processes; where you go beyond understanding the underlying structures of society, in order to participate in transformative social action. This dimension is evident by the very existence of Amnesty Youth DK, in that it enables young people to use their understanding of the injustices of the world, and engage in social action to change the situation. The Organiser also touches upon this, when talking about feedback she has received from the Youthers at a workshop in which they were invited to provide opinions and perspectives on being part of a Youth group,

they feel like they have influence and they have (inaudible) then they come from Amnesty Youth, because we in Amnesty also have such a huge focus on youth, and we have a large international, like, youth community [...] so it is not just being part of Amnesty, it is also being part of Amnesty Youth. Like, it meant a lot to them that they felt like they gained influence and that it matters, with the participation in the activism (appendix 3, Qa)

The sixth and final dimension is integrated individual and community-level empowerment. This dimension provides personal development and enable the youth to navigate in the adult world. They are also encouraged to be a positive change in their communities; which will empower the community as a whole. Neither the Organiser nor the former AE touches upon this explicitly. Which could be because this is the dimension which the facilitators will have the least control over, they can only nudge in this direction, and it is up to the youth themselves to gain these competences. However, as is also stated by Kirshner, participating in group activism projects and activities, is significant for identity building. And doing this within the frame of an Amnesty Youth group, in which there are also competent adults to educate you and guide your process, the young people will be more capable of navigating the world, reflect critically on it, and help push it in a direction they believe to be positive.

From this analysis, it shows that Amnesty DK do indeed manage to incorporate many of these dimensions in their work with the Amnesty Youth DK groups. However, this does not mean that there are not ways that this can be done better or more purposefully. And while it does a lot to positively affect the young people who are already part of the Youth groups, it does not do much towards engaging new activists; and as the Organiser stated there are individuals who would like to participate in activism, but who do not necessarily want to be a part of a Youth group (appendix 3, Q5.b). Therefore, we need to explore the motivations that could be used in order to engage more young people in human rights activism.

### ***“That’s Motivation”***

#### *“Orientation Station”*

In order for us to get an understanding of what could motivate our young respondents, we included the question “What would motivate you to become a (human rights) activist?” (appendix 5, Q17) in our survey. With this question followed eight different options in the form of multiple choice, and from the choices the respondents made, we are able to create a baseline of what could potentially motivate young people; and especially boys. In order to achieve this, we looked at which motivation orientations, put forth by Pless et al., the respondents found to be potential reasons for joining activism groups.

Knowledge motivation was connected to the answer of “gaining new knowledge about human rights” (appendix 5, Q17), and as shown in Table 2 below, eight boys and 57 girls found this to be something that could prompt them to engage in human rights activism. In regard to coping motivation, we looked at how many respondents had answered “developing new competencies” and “adding to my resumé” (appendix 5, Q17); 21 boys and 60 girls expressed this to be a factor of potential engagement. Next, relation motivation was connected to “meeting new people” and “being a part of a social community” (appendix 5, Q17), to which 11 boys and 57 girls declared this to be motivating. From these numbers we see that while girls seem to be almost equally motivated by knowledge, coping and relations, boys are to a greater extent inclined to be motivated by coping and progression, meaning mastering tasks and gaining new competencies. Furthermore, as the numbers in Table 2 show girls are, to a large degree, more likely to be motivated by relations than boys, which is also mentioned by the former AE: “there isn’t this culture of participating in, like.. “sitting and talking”-groups for boys, to the same extent as with girls” (appendix 4, Q6), to which she adds that she thinks it is an unfortunate tendency, because the boys can have a lot to offer. How Amnesty DK can utilise these tendencies within motivation orientations, will be discussed in “Thinking Out Loud”.

**Table 2:** Index of how many respondents are motivated by knowledge motivation, coping motivation, and relation motivation

	Boys	Girls
<b>Knowledge Motivation</b>	8	57
<b>Coping Motivation</b>	16	43

Relation Motivation	9	42
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In relation to the last orientation, Involvement Motivation, we looked at the Organiser's answers to the following question of how to motivate the young people to be engaged all through upper secondary school, to which she answered:

A method we use to ensure them to be engaged all three years is that we have begun to involve the Youthers much more in the campaign we are doing. So they are included in the decisions of what materials go out and how we tackle a campaign. And which messages and activities we do, so we can be more sure that they, like, find the activism motivating (appendix 3, Q5.b)

This shows that Amnesty DK mobilise by making the young activists 'co-producers' of the campaigns, materials and the activities they will eventually use and take part in. As mentioned in the theory, Pless et al. state that this also gives them the opportunity to collaborate with others and develop new competencies, which ultimately will then include both relation- and coping motivation, thus confirming Pless et al. when they say that the motivation orientations are not mutually exclusive, but rather complementary to each other.

*"Turn You Inside-Out"*

After the discovery of Deci and Ryan's Self-Determination Theory (SDT), we did a second interview with the Organiser to ask her about the two different types of motivation outlined in the theory; autonomous and controlled. We explained the terms to her, and asked her how she believed them to relate to the young people in Amnesty Youth. She started by saying that she believed an initial motivation from people who wants to join in the fight for human rights along with Amnesty DK, was how they "feel that there are many problems that they want to do something about, and in Amnesty there is a general 'hat' called human rights and you can, like, there are many issues that can fit underneath it" (appendix 3, Qa). She thus makes the assumption that the initial motivation for young people is autonomous, since they are motivated by their own need for an outlet, and somewhere that will help them fight the things they believe to be unjust. The former AE also backs up this argument in her interview, stating that "I believe to a large extent that the Youthers' motivations was intrinsic, and because they wanted to be part of changing something and work for a good cause" (appendix

4, Q5.a). This was also echoed in the responses to our survey, where 137 of our 162 respondents answered that ‘making a difference’ would motivate them to become human rights activists.

The Organiser also stated that some of the Youthers could find motivation in the community: “The whole thing about finding someone you can stand shoulder to shoulder with, who has the same, like, interests” (appendix 3, Qa). This is also evident in our data, in which 11 boys and 57 girls expressed being motivated by the relations they can create within this community. This is again autonomous motivation, as the need to connect with others comes from within. There is also a controlled motivation related to this, however. As the Organiser stated, there are those who

want and need to do something, well, active and go shout, I think (laughs), and feel like you are making some sort of difference [...] and you show your fellow students [...] that this is what is going on in the world, and these are the problematic things that are happening, and this is what you can do to change it (appendix 3, Qa)

This type of motivation, while also related to autonomy, can also be understood as controlled, in that there is a current discourse in the Danish society of rewarding activism, as we have previously argued and especially in relation to climate activism. Therefore, being someone who shows others what to do and how to participate, will lead to social rewards.

The Organiser elaborated on her arguments, talking about how the motivations will change over time. She believes that the young people will start by being motivated by making a difference, but when they become part of a Youth group, they will also be motivated by the tangible ways in which they can participate, “there are many groups who are insanely good at delegating roles depending on the competences and interests you have” (appendix 3, Qa). This will provide opportunities for the activists to feel rewarded in their activistic efforts. As the Organiser states

you figure out what role you can play, and you are maybe the one who is really good at, and think that it is really fun, to coordinate things, and take on a leading role, or you think it is amazing baking cake, and you can bring a cake every time and receive an exceptional amount of praise [...] there are a lot of little things (appendix 3, Qa)

The former AE also touched upon the way that the young people in the Youth groups are

engaged by controlled motivation during her interview, when she stated that “we talked a lot about “what will I get out of it” relating to motivation of the activists, and it definitely has an effect” (appendix 4, Q5.a).

From both of the interviews, as well as from the survey answers, it seems that there is a possibility of fulfilling the basic psychological needs that Deci and Ryan outline. The first is autonomy, which the activists will have based on the way that the Youth groups function separately from the secretariat. But also in the way that they are empowered through the process of activism, to understand their own role in society and agency in their own lives. The second is competence; and based on the comments from both the Organiser and the former AE, it seems like there is ample opportunity to build and strengthen competencies inside the groups, and through the different actions. The last is relatedness, which intertwines with the social aspects of being an activist, and particularly within a Youth group.

### ***“Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum”***

#### *“Make Your Own Kind of Music”*

We chose to examine the answers of the gender nonconforming respondents in a separate section, for a multitude of reasons. First of all, there were only two respondents who identified as such; a significantly smaller group than the male and the female respondents. Secondly, seen as there are many young girls who are actively engaging in human rights activism, and there are approximately the same number of boys in Denmark in general, they should ideally be represented equally within human rights activism. However, as we have thoroughly outlined, the boys are not an active group. Based on our limited representation of the group, the gender nonconformers are both active activists, meaning that they are not a group that needs the same kind of targeted approach from Amnesty DK. Nonetheless, they are a group whose motivations are worth examining, hence this section.

When investigating how the two respondents perceived masculinity and femininity, we found that their answers vary greatly from those of our male and female respondents. One had used all 18 characteristics for both masculinity and femininity (GNC1), whereas the other had used only two, namely ‘caring’ and ‘friendly’ (GNC2). Interestingly, friendly is one of the gender neutral terms, so this could be part of the explanation as to why this was chosen. It is also fascinating to note how both of their responses are gender neutral; in that they have chosen the same characteristics for both masculinity and femininity, even if they have not chosen the same as each other.

In relation to what human rights they know of, GNC1 mentioned several human rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, gender equality, freedom of sexuality and more. GNC2 mentioned only LGBTQ+ rights, which points back to one of our previous findings, namely that people are inclined to fight for what they can relate to, and social groups which they themselves are a part of.

We also found similarities in what the two respondents answered when asked if they found caring about human rights to be more feminine (1) or masculine (10), to which they both answered 5; thereby determining it gender neutral. Furthermore, when asked how important human rights were to them in their everyday life on a scale of 1 to 10, they both answered 10. This arguably also relates to what is stated above, human rights are important to them because this is very much their fight. Because, examining the current gender debate in Denmark, it does not involve gender nonconformity, but revolves solely on women's fight for their rights, or men's displeasure with this fight. When looking for articles about gender debates in Denmark on Google, nothing about gender nonconformity comes up, except for articles about gender neutral kindergartens and gender-neutral traffic lights. Furthermore, even with the current Amnesty DK Let's Talk About Yes campaign, which focuses solely on women, individuals who are gender nonconforming might feel 'left out' of the debate. The Organiser comments on how this new campaign might exclude specific groups, she mentions how in the campaign they "talk a lot about women and how it is especially young women and girls who are subjected to these things. And we clearly feel that when we are out talking about this (...) So I think that that hasn't made [engaging others] better" (appendix 3, Q4.d).

In relation to what kind of activism they know of and whether they had participated in any, both respondents knew almost all of them, and have both participated in activism. They both expressed that they had participated in activism because it was something they found important, and GNC2 mentioned that they were passionate about caring about the issues they had participated in activism for. This correlates with how they have rated human rights in their everyday lives, and what is mentioned above about them having to fight to be a part of the gender equality debate in Denmark.

### *"Don't Forget to Remember Me"*

In this section, we would like to examine the respondents whose answers to the survey were markedly different from the rest of the responses, in one way or another.

As stated in the 'Non-Participation' section of this thesis, one of the respondents (B3)

stated that “it is not relevant for me, I am doing fine”. In the previous section we stated that, as well as analysing this from a gender perspective, we could also interpret his statement as him not believing human rights to be relevant in Denmark. This point was also touched upon, and expanded, by another of the respondents, in the section where he was asked which words he would use to describe human rights, stated “Fundamental. Irrelevant in “the new world”. Super relevant in “the old world”, the developing countries. Not enforced” (B26). These quotes epitomise how some people believe Denmark to have already saturated the national need for human rights. Some in this group will, however, recognise the need for helping other countries reach this same level of human rights. These quotes make it apparent why Amnesty DK need to be deliberate in their efforts; making it explicit how human rights are influencing all of our lives every day, no matter where in the world you live.

Seen as both of the respondents making this argument are men, it could be argued that they lack the aforementioned historical context for the relevance of human rights in Denmark, even to this day. The kinds of rights these men know about, arguably says something about the Danish discourse, and what rights they think could potentially relate to their lives. B26 listed “freedom of speech. Claim to education. Freedom of assembly”, while B3 said “freedom of speech and religious freedom”. We have previously discussed the major focus on freedom of speech in the public discourse in Denmark, and freedom of assembly is closely intertwined with this. Furthermore, the fact that B26 also focuses on claim to education is not surprising, seeing as he is currently a student himself. Religious freedom could be attributed to the fact that refugees, migrants and integration is currently also highly present in the Danish media. The rights that they explicitly mention, could be the starting point in engaging these, and other like-minded, young men in discussions concerning human rights. Amnesty DK could use this as a springboard, alongside the major focus on women’s rights (especially with the current Let’s Talk About Yes campaign), in order to make young men understand the validity of human rights in their own lives.

Another respondent whose answer differed greatly from any of the others, were B18 who stated that

Human rights are a fundamental flaw, seen as they overlook that different norms and rules apply in different countries, which their laws should reflect. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an attempt to standardise humanity and eradicate its natural diversity, since they imply that all peoples naturally want to live in a liberal democracy, just like in the West (B18)

Goodhart (2016) outline how people often question not only the universality of human rights, but also the fact that they are created in a Western cultural and philosophical context, and how this also lessens their universality. An issue with this criticism is, however, that it can end up providing support for dominating forces in a society; who are masking their abuse of power as culture. As Goodhart states “it does so by endorsing the idea that cultures are monolithic and homogenous and by undermining what is best understood as the global and inclusive nature of human rights claims” (Goodhart, 2016, p. 4-5). To give an example of this, it is not as if the West has historically embraced women’s rights; once this was a struggle against cultural and philosophical norms as well.

For Amnesty Youth to better embrace people who have this same conviction as B18, they could make a point of highlighting this inherent political nature of human rights; in which attention to context and power dynamics are essential to understanding the relevance of human rights. Because when human rights are invoked “power is being challenged, domination contested, authority questioned” (Goodhart, 2016, p. 5). Furthermore, as we have previously highlighted, there are currently more young men engaged in political activism than in human rights activism, so this incorporation could have more than one positive consequence.

## **Discussion**

This section will consist of two parts. The first will be dedicated to the initiatives that Amnesty DK can incorporate to engage more people in Youth activism; and especially initiatives directed at boys. The sections of the analysis will be drawn together, in order to produce these suggestions for advancing their work in this field. The second will be a perspectivation of our results, to look into whether the tendencies we have identified, is also present in other countries; more specifically Norway.

### **“Thinking Out Loud”**

In the analysis of Amnesty DK’s activism structures, we examined to what extend they conform with the concepts from Han’s theory of Transactional- and Transformational activism. When looking at Transactional activism within Amnesty DK, we discovered that



while they do apply most of the tools of this concept, the one aspect they did not fully utilise was making their activism more cost-less by tightly structuring tasks and actions in order to maximise participation. Therefore, we would suggest that the Youth employees prioritise time management to a higher degree, when devising and developing tasks for the young activists to do when executing their activism at their schools or in their local communities. This could include updating and improving the Youth activism ‘handbook’, which Amnesty DK give their Youth groups. In this, they could include specific sections on how to time manage; which actions will take up a lot of their of time, and which actions they can do which would not require much time at all. Furthermore, as a supplement to this handbook, a variety of general activism ‘kits’ could be developed, so that the activists have everything they need to get engaged in activistic actions, without having to invent and plan everything themselves. This would bring with it another benefit; because as the former AE stated “but there isn’t this culture of participating in, like.. “sitting and talking”-groups for boys, to the same extent as with girls” (appendix 4, Q6). Therefore, more tightly structured activism kits could allow boys a more direct way of participating, since structure would mostly eliminate the need for discussion before action.

In relation to the Transformational activism approach, as well as with Transactional, it was discovered that Amnesty DK utilise this concepts’ tools to a great extend. However, there was one area in which there was room for much improvement; namely in the reflection with the activists. Therefore, we argue that the Youth team should broaden the ways in which they evaluate, and create new ways of engaging Youth activists in reflection. This could include having regular evaluation meetings with the Youthers, in which they would be allowed to reflect on their activism, their work, and what they have learned from it. It could also create a space in which the Youth activists can raise any concerns they may have, and use the Youth team as sparring partners. As the groups are spread out all over the country, the meetings in Northern- and Central Jutland and perhaps also Southern Denmark, could be conducted over video chat, while in person with the groups in Zealand and the Capital Region. This addition to their workings with Youth would also strengthen the relationship between the groups and the secretariat.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, we argue that one of the reason why more girls than boys chose to respond to our survey, could be due to the fact that they, generally, have more knowledge about human rights than boys do. And that having knowledge about a subject could make you more inclined to participate, and fight for that cause. Therefore, for boys to engage more in human rights activism, they must be given opportunities to gain more

knowledge on the topic. In addition, we stated that boys might not value human rights to the same extent as girls, since their rights are not in jeopardy. Or alternatively, because they might not see them as necessary because they live in Denmark where, as stated previously, there is a common misconception that we have reached saturation of human rights. Thus, Amnesty DK should make a deliberate effort to spread more information about why human rights are still relevant in Denmark, as well as internationally, and maybe especially make a point of including it in both their activism and educational efforts. A way of doing this could be to do weekly “Did you know that ....?” posts on social media, both Amnesty Youth and Amnesty International Denmark, with general background knowledge about human rights and the human rights system. These posts could potentially include musicians, artists, etc., each contributing a video in which they talk about human rights themes that are relevant to them. This would make the messages come from someone that the youth are already familiar with, and potentially look up to.

In our survey we included a question of which elements to include in a presentation, if Amnesty DK was to catch their interest in human rights activism (appendix 5, Q16). The respondents had the possibility to choose as many as eight different elements. These included ‘facts’ and ‘statistics’ which both boys and girls found to be two of the most appealing of all eight. This could be due to the fact that, of all the possibilities, these are the ones that most closely relate to the traditional classroom teaching; therefore, these are known and familiar to them. Looking at the girls’ answers separately, though, the option that they found to be most engaging, was personal stories; which could be attributed to the fact that they are more motivated by relation, than the boys are.

As mentioned in the analysis, the Organiser proclaim in the interview that fighting for others, wanting to make a difference, helping others; and by extension activism, is often associated with women and having the feminine caring-gene. Thus, a way to engage more boys, would be to attempt to influence the narrative and make activism and caring about others, more masculine. This could, for example, be done through the ones who are already active, and have them engage in Tajfel and Turner’s idea of social change; namely attempting to make your existing group more positively distinct. A direct way of doing this, could be to use the knowledge that many of the respondents - and upper high school students, to the extent that our respondents can be seen as a representation of this group - subscribe to Bem’s old fashioned (based on the date her research) ideas about gender. Knowing this, Amnesty DK could attempt to change the values assigned to the attributes of their group, with statements such as ‘caring about others is strong’; and thereby playing into the fact that most

of our respondents link currently strength to masculinity; and expand that link to then include caring.

As outlined in the literature review, both Müller and Shahrokh, and Carlson et al., mention how peer support plays a role in engaging men in activism. Carlson et al., even explains how an organisation have used ambassadors in local communities, and that these add credibility and are often seen as role models. This initiative could be something Amnesty DK could make use of, in order to attract more young boys in different kinds of communities. In addition, as mentioned earlier on, we identified a common theme from both the interview with the Organiser and our respondents, revolving around how the secretariat, “the important people”, and all the activism being located in Copenhagen, which can be a problem from people living “in the middle of nowhere” (G33). Therefore, we argue that Amnesty DK could benefit from initiating a more collaborative relationship between the adult local groups and the Youth groups, in order for the latter to get support from someone with a different perspective, and potentially more experience.

Furthermore, the local groups in areas where there are Youth groups as well, could take on the role of Youth partner who could support the Youth groups in their planning and execution of activities. That way, the workload for the Youth team at the secretariat would be lessened, since they would not have to make extensive plans when doing inspiration-meetings with Youth groups across the country. It is important, however, for this initiative to not be a way to incorporate adult control over the Youth groups; the adult activism groups should simply act as potential competence-sharing partners; who are there if the Youth groups need them. And in addition, the Youth groups could share their experiences and perspectives, thereby engaging in equitable participation; strengthening both groups at once. Furthermore, the Organiser mentions that Amnesty DK are currently not present in the outskirts of Denmark, which potentially excludes people in these areas from participating in Amnesty DK’s activism. Strengthening collaborations between Youth groups and local adult groups, could be a way for the activists to feel closer to the organisation as a whole.

In relation to engaging boys with peers and role models, these could very well be the men from the adult activism groups around the country. These men will represent different communities, and thus be more familiar to the potential Youth activists. We also propose having a male facilitator for the workshops that Amnesty are doing at upper secondary schools around the country in order to attract more boys to sign up for Amnesty Youth at the

end of the workshop. We propose that if they can relate to someone doing activism, they will be more inclined to sign up themselves.

When we asked what kind of campaign material would most appeal to our respondents, to which there were eight choices, a majority of the male respondents answered “informative videos on social media platforms” and “pictures with statistics”. Furthermore, as mentioned above, ‘facts’ and ‘statistics’ would both appeal to their interest, while also showing appeal for ‘personal stories’. Girls also find informative videos, facts, statistics, and personal stories to be most appealing. We propose, that Amnesty Youth Denmark, could compose an advertisement video for Youth to the Amnesty International Denmark’s social media pages. A video which features both young men (peers) and women encouraging young people in upper secondary school to join Amnesty Youth. While the respondents were most drawn by facts and statistics, they also answered ‘humour’ and ‘seriousness’ equally, thus the video should carry both instead of focusing on one, in order to maintain the interest of the young viewers. Because our respondents, and especially young men are motivated by coping, the video should somehow feature facts of how you can develop competencies by being in a Youth group, but also put weight on the great relationships one can build, as this is also a motivating factor within our respondents.

### **“Oslo Knows” - International Perspective**

Once we had the first few sections of the thesis, we began discussing whether these tendencies that began forming, was only present in the Danish context, or whether they would be similar in other countries. We therefore contacted the Organiser, who agreed to reach out to her network of Amnesty Youth coordinators in other countries and ask them to answer a few questions for this thesis. We received an answer from the Youth coordinator in Norway; Frank Conde Tangberg, and the following will be a discussion of his answers (appendix 7) in relation to our analysis of the Danish context.

We began by asking how many Youth groups were in his country, to which the answer was 33; a number that comprises both the youth groups and the student groups. He elaborates by stating that there are between five and 50 people in each individual group. Interestingly enough, the number of groups in Norway is around the same as the number of Youth groups in Denmark. But seeing as the number of inhabitants in the two countries are similar; 5,2 million in Norway and 5,7 million in Denmark (Fakta om Norge, 2018; Fakta om Danmark, 2018), this could be expected.

We then inquired how the gender distribution was in these groups, to understand whether or not other countries would mirror the gender disparity seen in Denmark. To this he answered that “we estimate somewhere between 80% and 90% of our youth activists are girls” (appendix 6, Q3), and goes on to say that this is an estimation though, since they have no complete registration of the gender distribution in the groups. Therefore, this number is based on the attendance at gatherings, conferences etc.

These answers so closely mirror the ones from the Danish Organiser, that this cannot simply be a coincidence. One of the reasons could potentially be found in the fact that both Denmark and Norway are Nordic countries; have similar languages and similar historical contexts; that even sometimes coincided with us being ruled by the same king. Therefore, it is not that surprising that the Danish and Norwegian cultures around activism also look similar. Another explanation could be a result of the fact that, according to the Danish Organiser, the Nordic countries’ Youth coordinators work closely together, and do a lot of competence sharing. This will evidently result in similar activism strategies; but can potentially also lead to similar pitfalls, such as the identical gender disparity.

Looking at the Norwegian website, it is evident that they too have a campaign focus on women’s rights; with their three ‘current campaigns’ being “Stopp netthets mot kvinner”, “Nei er Nei” and “Samtykkelov” (Vårt Arbeid). And, as we argued with the similar Danish focus, this may be one of the reasons that young men are not currently lining up to join in the fight; they cannot empathise with these battles, so the most they can do is sympathise.

The final question we asked the Norwegian coordinator was his thoughts on this gender distribution, to which he answered: “It is problematic from a diversity perspective and furthermore it’s a disadvantage when building a stronger movement” (appendix 7, Q4). Mirroring the answers from both the Danish Organiser and the former AE, as well as the general secretary Kumi Naidoo who states that “I want us to build a human rights movement that is more inclusive. We need to redefine what it means to be a human rights champion in 2018. An activist can come from all walks of life” (Naidoo in Amnesty International, 2018).

## Conclusion

The findings in this thesis demonstrate that there is indeed a gender disparity in the Youth activism of Amnesty International Denmark; as evident from our interviews with both the Activism Organiser and the former Activism Employee. Our findings suggest that this

disparity can be a result of the current initiatives from Amnesty International Denmark; such as their gendered campaigns like Let's Talk About Yes, which is more relatable to women; who are therefore more likely to be engaged and mobilised. Furthermore, we argue that the gender disparity can be a result of the cultural context of feminism, and thereby how women are more inclined to fight, because historically, they have had to - which men have not.

We examined Amnesty International Denmark's activism strategy, allowing us to identify processes that could be optimised in order to engage more young people, and especially boys, in Amnesty Youth. Our findings showed that, while Amnesty International Denmark conform to Han's theory of Transactional- and Transformational Activism, two aspects left room for improvement. The first is time consumption; to which we suggest that Amnesty International Denmark structure their activism, so that it is immediately evident how much time an action will consume, and prioritise creating cost-less actions, in regard to time, which one can take part in, without being a part of the planning inside the Youth groups. It should be possible to simply provide man-power; which, from our data, could motivate more boys. Secondly, Amnesty International Denmark should prioritise continuing reflection with the Youth groups. This would allow the activists to see the relevance of their work in relation to the organisation as a whole, as well as empower them to critically reflect on their agency in the world.

Our survey provided a sample of 162 upper secondary school students and their understandings of masculinity and femininity, human rights and activism. From this, we learned that they subscribe to traditional perceptions of masculinity and femininity; which in turn affected their understandings of human rights and activism.

From the respondents' answers, it became apparent that one of the issues we identified was how these young people lacked basic general and historical knowledge of human rights. As we have outlined, having knowledge of a subject can increase motivation. We therefore propose that Amnesty International Denmark optimise their social media strategy, to include general facts about human rights. And that when people gain this knowledge and understanding, they will value them more, and want to engage in the battle for them. In addition to doing this, Amnesty International Denmark should be deliberate in their efforts to change the narrative surrounding human rights and activism, to move away from its current relation to femininity - into a more broad, inclusive narrative. This could also be a way to make human rights more relatable, even to those who may not believe them to be directly relevant in their own lives.

Another issue identified by way of both our interviews with the Activism Organiser, the former Activism Employee and the responses to our survey, was how Amnesty International Denmark's activism needs to be decentralised. Currently the activism is centred around the bigger cities, thus excluding people from the outskirts of Denmark from exercising their activist ambitions. Another way to be more inclusive and inspire more boys, could be for Amnesty International Denmark to broaden the knowledge of how human rights are not separate issues; but intertwine and are intersectional; like their current initiative between human rights- and climate activism.

Also, this study has provided knowledge that, in order to motivate and mobilise boys in upper secondary school, it is essential that they experience peer support; therefore, Amnesty International Denmark could produce an advertisement video for Amnesty Youth, in which young people of all genders, showcase the benefits of being part of Amnesty Youth and makes it relatable. This could potentially recruit more boys, and as the in-group expands to include them; more will find this group attractive and will want to join.

Lastly, as one's in-group can encompass all who fight the same battle as you, Amnesty International Denmark would do well to further embrace the fact that social groups can transcend borders, and communicate to young people that they will not just be part of their own small group; but of the international waves of activism.

Our thesis opens up a much-needed spectrum of research that focuses on the inclusion of young men in human rights activism. Therefore, we propose that future research utilise our research design, but focus on broadening the sample size, the gender representation, and gain a more equal representation of the regions of the country, in order for the findings to be generalisable. Furthermore, future research could benefit from a wider international perspective, in which more countries are included in the study.

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Interview guide

Elite interview: Activism Organizer - Sia Seidler Berro

**Q1:** Hvad er dit fulde navn?

**Q2:** Hvad er din stillingsbetegnelse ved Amnesty International Danmark?

*Q2.a:* Hvad er dine primære arbejdsopgaver?

**Q3:** Hvilken rolle spiller aktivisme for Amnesty International DK?

**Q4:** Hvor mange Amnesty Youth grupper er der i Danmark?

*Q4.a:* Hvordan fordeler de sig i landet?

*Q4.b:* Hvordan er kønsfordelingen i grupperne? Både i de enkelte grupper, og generelt.

*Q4.c:* (Hvis hun siger at der er overflod af piger): Forklar om international tendens.

→ Hvorfor tror du at der er så få drenge i MR aktivisme?

*Q4.d:* Hvad tænker du om den nuværende kønsfordeling?

**Q5:** Hvordan hverver I ungdomsaktivister?

*Q5.a:* Har I forsøgt strategier der retter sig specifikt til unge drenge?

**Q6:** Når I udvikler kampagner hvilke overvejelser i forhold til målgrupper, bliver der gjort? (alder og køn).

*Q6.a:* kampagnemateriale til aktivisterne,

**Q7:** Andre kommentarer?



## **Appendix 2: Interview guide**

Elite Interview: Former Activism Employee - Nanna Bülow Buhl

**Q1:** Fulde navn?

**Q2:** Hvad var din stillingsbetegnelse ved Amnesty International Danmark?

*Q2.a.* Hvad var dine arbejdsopgaver hos Amnesty International Danmark?

**Q3:** Hvad er Amnesty Youth?

*Q3.a:* Hvordan fungerer det? (Struktur, opgaver etc.)

*Q3.b:* Hvad er gruppernes rolle i Amnestys arbejde? (Hvordan fungerer deres tilknytning til sekretariatet?; Kampagner osv)

**Q4:** Hvad var din relation til Amnesty Youth grupperne?

**Q5:** Hvordan hverver Amnesty nye ungdomsaktivister?

*Q5.a:* I din optik, hvad motiverede Youtherne til at engagere sig? (Teknikker fra Amnesty, deres egne motivationer)

*Q5.b:* Hvad tilbyder Amnesty International Danmark Youth aktivisterne? (Hvad får DE udaf det?)

**Q6:** Hvordan oplevede du kønsfordelingen i grupperne? (hvor mange – hvilken indvirkning?)

**Q7:** I din tid hos Amnesty, gjorde I så noget bestemt for at inkludere og mobilisere begge køn til at deltage i Amnesty Youth?

**Q8:** Andre kommentarer?

### **Appendix 3: Interview with Amnesty International Denmark's Activism Organizer**

#### **Q1: Hvad er dit fulde navn?**

*Sia:* Sia Siedler Berro.

#### **Q2: Hvad er din stillingsbetegnelse ved Amnesty International Danmark?**

*Sia:* Det er Activism Organizer - skal jeg fortælle hvad det indebærer?

*Camilla:* Det er det næste spørgsmål.

#### **Q2.a: Hvad er dine primære arbejdsopgaver?**

*Sia:* Fedt. Jamen øh. Jeg koordinerer aktivisme ved Amnesty, på alle fladerne i virkeligheden. Så både youth aktivisme og vores andre grupper; de lokale Amnesty grupper. Og så egentlig bare er med til at arrangere en masse events for aktivisterne. Hjælpe dem og bakke dem op omkring det de laver. så er jeg med til at udvikle vores aktivisme, fordi vi har en strategi lige nu, som har nogle mål om at vi ligesom kan komme større ud og lave flere grupper og lave mere aktivisme og gøre folk mere engagerede. Øhm, så det handler også om, ligesom at implementere dén i virkeligheden.

#### **Q3: Hvilken rolle spiller aktivisme for Amnesty International Danmark?**

*Sia:* Øhm, det spiller en rigtig stor rolle. På, ligesom, egentlig på forskellige måder. Før i tiden havde vi det sådan ret delt op i vores afdeling. I forhold til folk der laver aktivisme, folk der laver kampagne og folk der laver lobbyarbejde og fundraising og sådan nogle ting. Men nu har vi ligesom fået integreret rigtig mange af de her processer, sådan så for eksempel vores aktivisme, kampagner og policy-arbejde hænger rigtig rigtig meget sammen. Så det vil sige sådan på det niveau, øh, der gør aktivisterne en kæmpe forskel i forhold til at komme ud med vores budskaber når vi har en kampagne, så er det ligesom dem der er frontrunnere sammen med os, i forhold til at brede det ud i hele landet. Øhm, men det er også dem der er med til at udvikle vores kampagnemateriale og de budskaber vi gerne vil have med. Vi er blevet meget bedre til at inddrage aktivisterne, så det betyder rigtig meget. Vi har også mange aktivister med i forhold til vores lobby arbejde, særligt med den kampagne vi har haft med samtykke. Der har de været rigtig rigtig seje til ligesom at tage de resultater der er kommet frem i rapporten, og så ligesom brede det ud, men også ligesom lave aktivisme på det, og lave masser af demonstrationer og sådan, sprede opmærksomheden omkring det.

Og så er det jo egentlig også bare sådan vores hook til at snakke med almindelige danskere rundt omkring i hele landet. For vi sidder jo i København på sekretariatet, og har nu det outreach vi har. Øhm, men der hvor vi virkelig kan mærke at vi rør folk og vi gør en forskel og vi flytter nogle ting, det er jo også vores lokale grupper og vores youth-grupper rundt omkring i hele landet. Hvor at de ligesom har en helt anden platform end vi ville kunne have til at snakke med folk, øhm og til at sådan skabe dialog omkring det her. Og ikke nødvendigvis være ude og være, sådan, 'menneskerettigheder er det aller aller vigtigste' men i stedet for så ligesom sige 'hvad betyder det for dig' og 'hvordan kan du være med i denne her kamp eller gøre en lille forskel' og sådan nogle slags ting.

**Q4: Hvor mange Amnesty Youth grupper er der i Danmark?**

*Sia:* Lige nu er der 32, eller sådan noget tror jeg.

**Q4.a: Hvordan fordeler de sig i landet?**

*Sia:* Geografisk set er det faktisk sådan ret ligeligt fordelt. Altså der er helt klart sådan nogle sorte områder hvis man kigger på et kort, øhm, men sådan to my knowledge så er det egentlig ret godt fordelt mellem Jylland, Fyn og Sjælland. Hvor jeg tror før i tiden har der været rigtig mange grupper sådan i hovedstadsområdet, øh, og så færre på fyn og nogle af de andre øer og sådan nogle ting. Men øhm, ja jeg ved ikke rigtig hvorfor men det er ret meget spredt ud. Jeg tror sådan Vestjylland, Sønderjylland, der er vi ikke så godt covered. Men ellers så er det sådan spredt godt ud (griner)

**Q4.b: Hvordan er forholdet mellem jer i aktivisme teamet og youth aktivisterne?**

*Sia:* Altså hvad tænker du på? hvordan det er struktureret eller... relationelt?

*Camilla:* Både struktur, men også relationelt.

*Sia:* Okay. Øhm, jamen altså... I aktivisme teamet lige nu, der har vi... mig. Som er.. altså vi plejede at have en youth koordinator, øh, og det eneste den person stod for var ligesom youth aktivisterne, Så det var sådan ret enkelt. Men nu har vi struktureret det på den anden måde, sådan så at, jeg har jo en anden titel men jeg har jo et 'youth-brief' er det vi kalder det. Og som også sådan internationalt generelt i Amnesty International, ehm, at der er mange der har en anden titel men så har de ansvaret for youth kan man sige, ikke. Og det er jo så

hovedsageligt mig der står for, sådan, i forhold til, meget sådan det strategiske med youth og udviklingen af nye ting og sørge for at vi har en retning i forhold til at oprette nye grupper og den slags. Men jeg har jo så ikke så meget kontakt med youtherne, for det er jo så de to praktikanter som vi hyrer hvert semester. Ehm, men som igen også plejede at være youth-praktikanter og som vi så har lavet om til at de har et lidt bredere fokus på aktivisme og mobilisering så de kan også godt have andre opgaver. Men deres hovedopgaver er kontakten til youtherne. Så man kan sige, det er dem der ligesom særligt ved hvad der rør sig og hvem der er i hvad for nogle grupper og snakker dagligt med youtherne på messenger osv osv. Og så er der jo alligevel nogle roller jeg har, og det er jo så nok i forhold til de youthere der er særligt engagerede, fordi, man kan sige jeg står jo for at afholde youth-dag, og youth-aftener som er de her undervisningsdage og temadage som vi har for youtherne. Det er mig som skal med youtherne på Nordic Youth Conference hvor vi har 10 youthere med. Og det er også mig som har kontakten, i høj grad, til vores youth ekspertpanel. Så på den måde er det sådan at praktikanterne har det overordnede kontakt til alle youtherne og alle grupperne og ved hvad der rører sig derude. Og dem der så måske er lidt mere særligt engagerede og deltager i de andre ting end bare gruppeaktivisme, dem har jeg egentlig også ret meget at gøre med.

*Camilla:* Er det du så har at gøre med de mere engagerede, er forholdet så mere uformelt? Eller er det meget formelt, eller hvordan fungerer det?

*Sia:* Altså, på papiret er det nok på en eller anden måde ret formelt, eller sådan. Men jeg tror også bare at, sådan fungere det jo ikke. Det er unge mennesker, og de er mega sjove og mega søde og.. Så det er ret uformelt. Og jeg synes også at det er ret vigtigt at de har en følelse af at de kender mig især. Altså at dem der er lidt mere engagerede og har noget med sekretariatet at gøre de føler at vi kan snakke sammen. Jeg vil nok aldrig være den person som de vil gå til med småting, for der kender de måske praktikanterne lidt bedre. Men de skal da have tillid til at jeg er der for dem også og lytter til dem og tager deres bekymre videre til resten af sekretariatet og jeg kan støtte dem i de aktiviteter de gerne vil lave og sådan nogle ting. Så sådan, det er jo egentlig formaliseret som sådan, men det er ret uformelt. Det synes jeg også bare er vigtigt, ellers ville det være kedeligt.

#### **Q4.c: Hvordan er kønsfordelingen i grupperne? Både i de enkelte grupper, og generelt.**

*Sia:* Altså i youthgrupperne eller i alle vores...

*Camilla:* Youth.

*Sia:* Okay, nu snakker vi bare youth. Yes. Ehm, Det er jo sådan måske 90% piger tror jeg. Altså uden, sådan, jeg ved det ikke. Man kan sige, det her er jo også bare, når jeg snakker om youtherne, hvor mange vi har og hvordan de er repræsenteret så er det jo også allermest baseret ud fra, ligesom en mavefornemmelse eller erfaring, for vi har ikke pt sådan registreret ordentligt. Det skal vi inden for det her år, og vi kommer til at have noget mere sådan hvor man signer up som youther og man kan ligesom registrere sig. Så der kommer vi til at have et meget bedre overblik over hvem der faktisk er youthere. Så lige nu er det sådan mere ud fra hvem vi kan se kommer, er med i youth grupperne på facebook, er med til opstartsmøderne, hvem er med til vores aktiviteter og alle sådan nogle ting. Og jeg vil sige at et meget godt billede er måske at her for... her i februar der holdt vi to youth-aftener, en i København og en i Århus, og måske tilsammen har der været ... 50 deltagere, og som jeg husker det har der måske været 3 fyre. Så det er jo hvad. Det er jo 6% ikke. (griner) Det er jo mindre end 10. Ja, og det er jo så bare deltagere til youth-aftenerne. Men det giver et rigtig godt billede på, øh, hvad der foregår derude vil jeg sige

**Q4.d: (Hvis hun siger at der er overflod af piger): Forklar om international tendens. → Hvorfor tror du at der er så få drenge i MR aktivisme?**

*Camilla:* (inden for blødere aktivisme, fx. dyr. er der overflod af kvinder)

*Sia:* Men det er faktisk lidt sjovt, fordi jeg tror egentlig sådan. Lige med menneskerettigheder og Amnesty der ser jeg det egentlig også lidt politisk, så derfor overrasker det mig fordi at jeg kender godt til det som i snakker om og sådan noget, og jeg tror at lige med Amnesty så har jeg egentlig forventet at der ville være flere fyre, fordi at det, for mig er det ikke sådan en meget blød kamp. Et eller andet. Hvis man sådan skal stille det sort hvidt op. For jeg ser det egentlig rimelig politisk. Og ja, da jeg arbejdede nede i Telemarketing som supervisor, der var det jo sådan. Ja der var der jo næsten flere fyre ansat end piger. Og det var også dem som virkelig tog faklen og var på og sådan nogle ting. Så det er egentlig noget jeg har tænkt rigtig meget over, at jeg synes... og jeg ved ikke om jeg har et særlig godt svar, egentlig overhovedet. Øhm især også fordi at nu har jeg jo været ansat i et år i denne her stilling og det jeg har arbejdet med hele det år jeg har været ansat har været samtykke-temaet som handler om retfærdighed for voldtægts ofre i Danmark og hvor vi snakker rigtig meget om kvinder og hvordan det især er unge kvinder og piger der bliver udsat for de her ting. Og det

man jo tydeligt kan mærke er når vi er ude og tale om det, og også prøver at engagere folk på baggrund af det så taler vi jo også rigtig meget til de unge piger og der er mange af dem som har prøvet det selv eller kender nogle som har prøvet det og ligesom virkelig bliver grebet af det her emne og gerne vil være med til selvfølgelig skabe en bedre fremtid i forhold til det og gøre en forskel lige omkring det her emne. Så jeg tror lige dét har måske heller ikke gjort det bedre. I forhold til at få unge fyre ind. men altså, jeg ved jo også fra tidligere, og det har jeg også snakket med tidligere medarbejdere om, at... det er et issue der også har været der før. Og jeg... altså... jeg ved det sku ikke. Det har jo helt sikkert et eller andet med noget, altså sådan, identitet at gøre. For det er jo det som betyder meget lige i den alder især, de der 15 16 17 årige. Hvor man ligesom kommer ind på gymnasiet og man finder de der, sådan, holdepunkter for ens andet liv end bare skole, ikke? Øhm, hvor så tror jeg sådan noget med aktivisme og frivillighed er selvfølgelig domineret ret meget af det kvindelige køn. Eller det er ihvertfald dem der identificerer sig med dét. Øhm.

*Sofie:* Har du et bud på hvorfor? Nu du ikke kan sige hvorfor mænd ikke engagerer sig, har du så et bud på hvorfor kvinder gør?

*Sia:* Men altså... ikke sådan ordentligt synes jeg. Fordi jeg ser det så anderledes selv. Men jeg kan jo godt se sådan der udefra, øhm... så kan det måske virke som nogle, jeg ved det ikke, feminine værdier, at stå op for andre mennesker eller gerne ville gøre en forskel, eller ligesom ville hjælpe andre, og det her med solidaritet og alle sådan nogle ting. Øhm, bliver jo nok helt traditionelt set forbundet med kvinder og omsorgs-gen og pis og lort. (griner). Men for mig og se, jeg er startet med aktivisme også i gymnasiet, ikke lige med Amnesty men med en masse andet. Og jeg har aldrig nogensinde set det som sådan en særlig feminin ting. Også fordi alle dem jeg har været aktivister med har også været masser af unge drenge. Øhm, uanset hvad jeg har lavet, om det var Operation Dagsværk eller demo for ungeren eller, hvad fanden jeg har lavet, også bare elevråd og sådan nogle ting der har vi jo, altså, så derfor tror jeg faktisk at det rigtig er noget der er gået op for mig, hvor præget det er af unge kvinder, efter jeg er startet på Amnesty faktisk. Hvor man jo selvfølgelig også kan se det fra et andet niveau, fordi man har meget mere overblik over hvor mange der er med, og sådan noget ikke, i stedet for når man ser det ud fra ens egen lille boble. Så jeg tror måske mere jeg har været forvirret over det end jeg har været sådan 'nå ja, selvfølgelig er det sådan' Altså giver det mening?

**Q4.e: Hvad tænker du om den nuværende kønsfordeling?**

- Springer vi over fordi Sia allerede har været meget inde på det -

**Q5: Hvordan hverver I ungdoms aktivister?**

*Sia:* Vi har nogle forskellige måder at gøre det på. Øhm, altså man kan sige det kommer også an på om vi snakker til at være med i youth grupper, til at starte youth grupper, eller bare sådan i det hele taget til youth.

For hvis vi snakker sådan youth grupper, så har vi bare en side på vores hjemmeside hvor man kan gå ind og sign up til at høre mere om youth og være med til at starte en youth gruppe. Og det får vi nogle grupper på om året. Øhm, og der er det helt random hvordan de kommer derind. Jeg ved ikke engang hvordan de får forvildet sig ind på hjemmesiden, for det ligger så underligt lige nu. Men det gør de alligevel en gang imellem. Så på den måde er der ligesom nogle som selv tager teten og hvor vi slet ikke, altså, måske har vi... nogle gange hører jeg om at så kan det være at de i 9. klasse har været med til Skriv for Liv, og det er noget der har bygget sig op over længere tid og så sidder de der i gymnasiet og har hørt om youth grupper og så går de selv ind og finder det. Så er det meget proaktivt dém, ikke? Ellers så har vi været ude og holde workshops for eksempel, på gymnasiet. Hvor vi slutter af med at spørge dem om de vil være med til at starte en youth-gruppe. Og der har vi jo så stået i halvanden time, to timer, inden og fortalt enormt meget om Amnesty inden og fortalt om det emne som har været sidste år har ligesom været samtykke. Så det har været baseret på dét at vi har fået youth grupper.

*Sofie:* Hvordan har successraten været med det?

*Sia:* Vi var ude 6 gange med forrige omgang Amnesty-dag og fik 5 youth grupper. Og der var det sådan lidt, der var lidt nogle interesserede fyre, men det var helt klart stadigvæk flest piger.

Og så har vi jo også, så får vi jo også ligesom folk ind i folden som egentlig ikke er med i youth-grupper, men som... så har vi for eksempel holdt en youth-dag hvor vi har annonceret på facebook og faktisk fået ret mange deltagere. Der har det været lidt blandet om det lige var unge piger eller fyre faktisk. Øhm. Så på den måde får vi også youth aktivister ind andre veje, som bare er interesseret i vores arbejde og som bare gerne vil være med til nogle ting men måske ikke lige er interesseret i at starte en gruppe op decideret.

**Q5.a: Har I forsøgt strategier der retter sig specifikt til unge drenge?**

*Sia:* Øh, meget lidt. Vi har for eksempel. Det er noget vi tænker over ligesom at arbejde med når det lige giver mening... Men ja, et eksempel på dét er at vi holder Nordic Youth Conference, som er en ungdomskonference hvor der er deltager fra alle de nordiske lande, det holder vi i August, og der skal vi ligesom mobilisere folk til at søge. Vi har 10 pladser fra Danmark og så laver man ligesom en lille side på hjemmesiden hvor der står lidt om konferencen og sådan nogle ting. Og der blev vi enige om ligesom at skrive, sådan fordi emnet handler om samtykke i år fordi det giver mening, fordi alle de nordiske lande har arbejdet med samtykke. Og der har vi også skrevet sådan der, at voldtægt er ikke kun noget der berører kvinder, hvor vi vil opfordre unge mænd til at søge om at komme med på Nordic Youth. Så der har vi faktisk gjort det ret eksplicit. Sådan der, du er ikke ekskluderet fordi du er en ung mand. Men ellers så vil jeg faktisk sige at det er sådan noget hvor at, lige nu fordi at det handler rigtig meget om at få flere med. Sådan næsten uanset hvem.. Så har vi ligesom fokus på dét og vi har også det med at gribe de lavthængende frugter. Vi ved at det her virker for den her målgruppe. Vi skal bare have nogle flere med, vi skal have nogle flere grupper. Når vi så er nået op på vores mål og vi kan se at vi får flere youth grupper startet og vi får flere youth aktivister med, så er det sådan noget med at vores næste mål kommer til, jeg tror, uden at sige noget, for vi er ikke gået i gang med at arbejde med det endnu... Jeg tror at vores næste aktivisme strategi kommer til at handle om hvordan vi skaber mere diversitet og mere mangfoldighed og er en mere inkluderende ungdomsbevægelse end vi er nu. Og det handler jo blandt andet om at få de unge drenge med. Så der kommer vi til at lave noget helt aktivt på det, hvilket også gør at det er super nice at i skriver det her projekt nu (griner). Så der kommer vi til at lave noget helt aktivt på at finde ud af, hvad er det der er problemet og hvordan finder vi ligesom nogle løsninger på det eller ihvertfald tester nogle forskellige ting af, for at finde ud af hvordan vi kan blive mere inkluderende, lige på den gruppe.

*Camilla:* Så det er i fremtiden for Amnesty at være mere inkluderende også omkring drenge?

*Sia:* Helt sikkert. Men lige nu er det sådan lidt, ikke et luksusproblem for det er virkelig et problem, men det er mere sådan en... Nogle gange er man også bundet af at man har nogle mål. Og hvis vi skulle til at arbejde med dét nu og bruge rigtig mange ressourcer på det, så ville vi simpelthen ikke kunne nå op, tror jeg, på de youth grupper vi skal have og på de andre mål vi har. Så det er dét de lavede aktivisme strategien på for to år siden som vi kommer til at have fokus på. Og så er min plan, ihvertfald indtil videre og det er også noget



vi har drøftet lidt kort, men det er strategien fra 2020 og tre år frem kommer til at have dét her som hovedfokus. For det er sindssygt vigtigt.

**Q5.b: Har I nogle strategier for at holde fast i youtherne og sikre deres engagement 'long-term'?**

*Evt opfølgning: Motivation og/eller udvikling af ressourcer, kompetencer og færdigheder*

*Sia:* altså, tænker du på long-term altså efter gymnasiet, eller også sådan fra lad os sige at de starter i 1.g og så resten af gymnasiet?

*Camilla:* Både det, og efter gymnasiet, altså for at holde helt fast i dem?

*Sia:* Ja. Ehm, de har jo prøvet nogle forskellige ting af inden jeg blev ansat i forhold til 3g'erne for eksempel. Sådan noget med at sende en mail til alle de afgående 3g'ere og være sådan.. tillykke med huen og husk at du også kan lave aktivisme selvom du ikke er på gymnasiet mere. Problemet har været at der ikke har været så meget som, er, måske sådan der, relevant for dem at lave. Eller hvor de lige passer ind når de er færdige med gymnasiet. Fordi der er ret stort spring fra at være med i en youth gruppe og så komme med ind i en lokalgruppe i den by hvor man bor. Eller, så flytter man til København måske for at gå på universitetet og så det der egentlig kun har været indtil videre har være eventgruppen, som er en stor gruppe af virkelig garvede aktivister. Og man skal også lige være lidt modig så, og selv opsøge det. Altså sådan, for at koble sig på. Så det vi arbejder på nu er måske to ting. Det ene er at etablere universitetsgrupper, rundt omkring på de store universiteter. Sådan så der er en naturlig overgang. Selvfølgelig vil man miste nogle, og sabbatår og sådan nogle ting, men så vi allerede nu informere 3g'erne om at når de skal til at læse videre så har vi grupper de her forskellige steder, så de kan ligesom tage kontakt til dem og de kommer til at se dem, og de laver aktivisme og så videre. Så de kommer allerede til at have ligesom en viden om at det er der, og så kan den ligesom ligge og spirre lidt indtil de kommer på universitetet og de ser at det er der. Ehm. Og men det kan også være sådan en, selvom man ikke har hørt så meget om det, så er man tidligere youther og så kommer man ud på campus og så ser man lige pludselig nogle stå i en amnesty t-shirt og så vækker det nogle ting og man vil gerne engagere sig igen, ikke.

Ehm, men en anden ting vi gør og som er noget man ligesom kan, hvor jeg tænker at vi har

større chance for at holde fast i dem selvom de taget på sabbatår er at udvikle youth lidt, eller ret meget faktisk. Sådan at, indtil videre har det jo været meget begrænset med at youthere er gymnasieelever, som er i en youth gruppe og laver aktivisme på deres gymnasium. Hvor det vi har set det sidste stykke tid er at der er faktisk rigtig mange som gerne vil være med i youth og komme til arrangementerne og deltage i undervisning og lave aktivisme selv, og de måske ikke er koblet til en gruppe. De går måske ikke engang på gymnasiet. Det kan være at de er på sabbatår eller er på udveksling, det kan være alle mulige forskellige ting. Så der prøver vi ligesom at, blandt andet ved at skabe en bedre platform på hjemmesiden men også i forhold til at kunne signe up som youther og registrere sig som youth aktivist selvom man ikke er i en gruppe. Og det betyder så at man får alle mulige tilbud om forskellige arrangementer og man stadig også kan søge om at være med i Nordic Youth og man kan komme med til vores undervisningsdag og får af vide hvordan man kan lave aktivisme selv og sådan nogle ting. Og man kan sige at ved at vi har dét, så tænker jeg at vores teori er at vi kan fastholde folk bedre når de ligesom kommer væk fra institutionen. Og så kan det være at de kommer tilbage igen på en videregående uddannelse eller på universitetet eller et eller andet, ehm, men så har de ligesom stadig... der har været et eller andet holdepunkt og de høre fra os ind imellem fordi de er signet up som youthere, så de får denne her ungdoms-mail eller hvad det nu bliver. Og det tænker jeg er vigtigt, fordi det er noget vi har haft store udfordringer med selvfølgelig før i tiden, så det prøver vi at arbejde med på den måde.

*Camilla:* Du taler om at holde fast i youtherne når de går i gymnasiet, for at få dem til at blive i en youth gruppe fra 1.g-3.g, hvordan motivere i dem? Hvad bruger i af metoder for at få dem til at blive ved med det?

*Sia:* Hm, altså.. Man kan sige, der er det jo så særligt vores praktikanter der har den rolle, til at kunne klæde youth-grupperne på til at motivere deres medlemmer til at blive. Og det er rigtig vigtigt. For man kan sige at, det der er godt ved at vi har to praktikanter det er at man kan dele grupperne op geografisk, så man har et ansvar for, øh, for eksempel alle grupperne i Jylland eller alle grupperne på Sjælland. Og så har man tættere kontakt til de grupper. Men, det der er ens ansvar er jo også at kunne klæde både kontaktpersonen rigtig godt på, men også gruppen, til hvordan er det i som gruppe ligesom kan motivere jeres medlemmer til at blive og lave aktivisme og sådan nogle ting. Og der er det jo meget noget med at holde inspirationsmøder. Og både spørge dem om de har brug for noget, men også når de selv kommer og synes at de mangler et eller andet, så tilbyde dem dét at man kan komme ud

fysisk. For nogle grupper er måske også vildt langt væk fra sekretariatet og har måske ikke mulighed for at dukke op til al den undervisning vi har. Og så er det vigtigt at vi kan prioritere at komme derud hvis der er brug for det. Og så er det jo noget med nogle øvelser når man så ligesom er derude, med ligesom både kunne snakke om gruppedynamikken, for nogle gange kan det jo også være dét, men er der brug for at uddelegere opgaver, er der brug for at i fokusere på det sociale og alle mulige forskellige slags ting. Men jo særligt også i forhold til den aktivisme der nu er. Nogle gange laver vi nogle sindssygt dårlige kampagnepakker, inde fra sekretariatet som bare ikke falder i god jord hos aktivisterne. Og så er det også sindssygt svært at mobilisere dem til at lave aktivisme hvis det ikke er noget der lige sådan, passer ind i den måde de gerne vil lave aktivisme på. Eller det kan være at vi bliver forsinkede og først får sendt de der pakker på et super dårligt tidspunkt så de ikke kan nå at lave aktivisme... Så det der også er vigtigt, altså en metode vi også bruger til at sørge for at de kan være motiverede alle tre år er at vi er begyndt at inddrage youtherne meget mere i den kampagne vi laver. Så de er med til at beslutte hvad for noget materiale der skal ud og hvordan vi griber en kampagne an. Og hvad det er for nogle budskaber og aktiviteter vi laver, så vi kan være mere sikre på at de ligesom synes det er motiverende aktivisme at lave. Så det er både i forhold til vores kampagneaktiviteter, men også i forhold til gruppens dynamik tænker jeg at det er meget vigtigt at give dem noget inspiration en gang imellem og få hevet dem... Og så kan man sige at de der arrangementer vi laver i løbet af året er også virkelig med til at motivere grupperne til at holde gang i deres aktivisme. Det kunne vi ihvertfald virkelig se nu her, nu holdt vi jo både en youth aften i København, men også i Århus, i februar måned eller deromkring. Og det var bare så tydeligt at det var rigtig vigtigt at vi også kom til Århus og holdt noget lokalt dér. For der dukkede rigtig mange grupper op. Hvor det faktisk er rigtig lang tid siden at vi kunne holde nogle arrangementer hvor der var så mange grupper repræsenteret, hvor så har det været sådan enkelte youth aktivister, men der var rigtig mange grupper der kom til begge arrangementer. Og virkelig blev motiveret til at lave noget på Let's Talk about Yes kampagnen. Ehm, jeg føler lidt at jeg ramblede... fik jeg svaret på spørgsmålet?

*Camilla:* Det er så fint.

**Q6: Når I udvikler kampagner hvilke overvejelser i forhold til målgrupper, bliver der gjort? (alder og køn).**

*Sia:* Ja, nu kan man sige, nu har jeg jo kun været med til at udvikle samtykke-kampagnen. Så jeg tror egentlig reelt set at jeg kun kan udtale mig om dét, jeg føler ikke rigtigt at jeg kan repræsentere de andre. Også fordi den er blevet udviklet lidt anderledes, er min opfattelse, end tidligere. Ehm, men vi har snakket rigtig meget om det her i forbindelse med samtykke kampagnen. Af virkelig obvious reasons. Fordi vi har jo været meget obs på fra starten at det her jo virkelig er en sag som, hvis ikke man snakker om det ordentligt, og hvis ikke man tænker sig om, så sætter man pigerne op mod drengene. Så det har vi været meget obs på og vi har snakket med rigtig mange. Vi har været ude og interviewe unge drenge på gaden. Og også unge kvinder. Og ligesom hørt dem om nogle af initial thoughts and ideas og så har vi ligesom justeret dem og ændret dem, og så været ude og snakke med dem igen. Altså bare været ude og spurgt random folk, som vi ikke har nogen tilknytning til ude på strøget. Ehm... Sådan fordi at vi har været så obs på at vi ikke ville stille det, sådan, hårdt mod hårdt. og plus, denne her kampagne handler jo lige så meget om de unge mænd, ehm, og få dem til at tage en del af snakken og få dem til at se at det her er virkelig relevant for dem. Og ikke kun få dem til at fremstå som problemet. Så det har vi bare gjort os rigtig mange overvejelser omkring og virkelig prøvet at skabe et sprog hvor at det ikke bliver en løftet pegefinger overfor nogle men det bliver ligesom sådan 'hey, der er de her issues' og så tale mere om de er strukturelle problemer og ikke problemerne mellem personer. Fordi rigtig meget af det der sker, eller alt det der sker, er jo på baggrund af nogle kulturelle og strukturelle normer og stereotyper vi har. Og ikke fordi én ung mand er gået ud og besluttet sig for at nu skal han gå ud og være herre nederen. Ehm, så det er meget sådan de termer vi har prøvet at snakke ind i vil jeg sige.

**Q6.a: Kampagnemateriale til aktivisterne, tænker i også over alder og køn når i laver det?**

*Sia:* Ja, og også.. Ja, lige i forhold til dét med alder faktisk. Det gjorde vi os også. Da vi testede alt det med målgrupper i forhold til mænd og kvinder, der tænkte vi faktisk også målgrupper i forhold til alder. Fordi vi havde sådan en, vi har lidt en hypotese og nogle ideer på forhånd, hvem det er vi skal prøve at rette vores budskaber efter. Og så lavede vi 3 målgruppe tests, eller sådan, hvor vi så var ude og tale med de 3 målgrupper. Og hvor man bare sådan efter deres svar hurtigt kunne finde ud af at det skal være den unge aldersgruppe som det her skal rette sig imod. Det er dem som taler om de her ting enormt meget og det

betyder helt vildt meget i deres hverdag. Ikke dermed sagt at det her ikke er et problem der gælder for alle aldre, for det gør det virkelig meget, men når man kigger også på statistikkerne, så er det jo også altså de unge kvinder, jeg kan ikke huske aldersgruppen, jeg tror at det er 16-25, som det rammer allermest. Så det har helt klart været nogle af de ting i forhold til alder.

Så i forhold til kampagnemateriale så har det helt sikkert også været en af vores overvejelser... Vi lavede sådan nogle små... De havde et fancy navn, det kunne være fedt hvis jeg lige kunne huske det... Nå men, vi lavede sådan nogle små, ehm, miniudgaver af ideer til kampagne materialer. Så vi lavede sådan en lille guide, et eller andet, vi lavede sådan en mini video og spurgte folk 'hey, hvad synes du om denne her idé? Eller denne her flashmob ting eller denne her video hvis vi skulle lave den rigtigt'? Så det var ligesom at pitche vores kampagne ideer og ligesom høre hvad de sagde. Og der var det meget tydeligt at nogle af tingene kunne man jo bare scrappe lige med det samme. Eller sådan, fordi vi sad inde på kontoret og var sådan 'det her er bare den fedeste ting i hele verden' og så kommer vi ud og snakker med folk og så var de bare sådan 'det her forstår jeg ikke' eller 'det her er virkelig at sætte kvinderne op mod mændene' eller tale ned til folk eller et eller andet. Så vi fik ligesom scrappet de her ting mega hurtigt. Så på den måde er selve materialerne også blevet testet lidt af inden. Hvilket jo er meget fedt, egentlig.

**Q6.b: Har aktivisterne eller youth aktivisterne nogen indvirkning på måden kampagnerne bliver sammensat på?**

*Sia:* Ehm, ja. Altså det her de helt sikkert. Vi lavede jo nogle runder med youtherne. Ikke så meget med de andre aktivister faktisk, lige med denne her kampagne. Men det var også fordi at vi, efter de første tests, besluttede os for at gå efter den unge målgruppe. Og så var det ligesom også at bruge de ressourcer vi havde der hvor det gav mening. Så vi lavede nogle runder med youtherne, hvor vi ligesom snakkede samtykke. Hvor de fik mulighed for at komme med masser af inputs til hvad der ligesom ville være fedt for dem og hvordan de gerne ville bruge det på deres skoler. Både i forhold til de helt konkrete ideer med kampagnematerialer og aktioner og sådan nogle ting, men så også de overordnede kommunikative ramme, altså hvordan vi ville kommunikere det til de unge. Så kom de ligesom med inputs til det, og så har vi jo selvfølgelig taget det med videre, i forhold til vores arbejde.

**Q7: Andre kommentarer?**

*Sia:* Mere bare at, sådan som det udvikler sig lige nu, i forhold til aktivisme i det hele taget, og i forhold til ungdommen rundt omkring i hele verden. Der er et kæmpe fokus på hvor mange unge der ligesom nu rejser sig op og siger fra, især i forhold til klima aktivisme for eksempel. Ehm, og det er også meget tydeligt at mærke inde fra det internationale sekretariats side og Kumi at det er virkelig også de unge som vi skal have med i det her. De har så meget power og de skal have meget mere indflydelse. Så man kan godt mærke at der kommer til at være en større og større platform for dem at stå på. Ehm, og for at have indflydelse på både det arbejde vi laver herhjemme til Danmark men også det arbejde vi laver internationalt set og i hele taget aktivisme globalt set. Og derfor er det bare helt vildt vigtigt at vi ligesom har hele, at vi får det så bredt repræsenteret som overhovedet muligt. Sådan så vi lytter til alle perspektiver og så vi får alle de ting som ligesom er vigtige for dem, og komme på banen. For jeg er helt sikker på at de unge mænd også har sindssygt meget at byde ind med. Og de også synes at det er virkelig virkelig ærgerligt at vi lige nu nærmest kun formår at få de unge kvinder på banen. Så jeg håber virkelig at det er noget vi kan arbejde meget mere med. Og jeg tænker at selvfølgelig er der jo masser af potentiale for det, for når man kigger på klimaaktivisterne så er det lige så meget de unge mænd som de unge kvinder. Så det her med at være aktive i sig selv, altså sådan, være frivillige og bære fanen højt og komme ud og demonstrere er jo hele ungdommen vi kan ramme der. Så det bliver spændende, men det er helt klart også noget arbejde vi skal til og i gang med.

*Os:* Tusind tak for hjælpen!

**Qa: Forklar om Deci og Ryan – indre og ydre motivationer. Hvad for noget af det tror du sådan gør sig sådan gældende for Youth aktivisterne?**

*Sia:* Øhm, jamen jeg tror da at det begge dele og jeg tror også i mit tilfælde at det kan være mange forskellige ting. Øhm. Man kan sige det der er fedt ved Amnesty Youth arbejde er at det alligevel spænder så bredt som det gør, så hvis vi snakker sådan først det rent faglige for eksempel, det tror jeg at der er rigtigt mange der bliver motiveret af at de føler at der er mange problematikker de gerne vil gøre noget ved, og i Amnesty er der sådan en overordnet hat der hedder menneskerettigheder, og man kan ligesom, der er rigtig mange problematikker der kan passe under det, og der var ihvertfald, vi har lige holdt workshop med ekspertpanelet og det var der rigtig mange af dem der sagde når vi spurgte sådan, hvorfor lige amnesty? Så

var det faktisk sådan en, fordi Amnesty er det hele, og det har jeg, tidligere har jeg været sådan der, okay vi er nødt til, vi skal være så konkrete som muligt, for at de synes at det er overskueligt hvis vi snakker bare generelt menneskerettigheder da da da, og det var næsten helt det modsatte den gruppe jeg sad med sagde, de var sådan det er fordi hvis jeg gerne både vil arbejde med kvinders rettigheder og jeg gerne vil arbejde med, øhm, hvordan de behandler albinoer, øh, i mozambique, og jeg gerne vil arbejde med ytringsfrihed i tyrkiet, altså sådan der, så er det jo Amnesty. Så det var bare ret fedt at få den feedback faktisk. Men det var lidt omkring det faglige, så tror jeg at ... jeg ved ikke særlig meget med det indre, fordi jeg tror mange af de ting der alligevel tiltrækker dem ved det er, har jo rigtig meget med det ydre at gøre. Eller jeg ved ikke, altså for eksempel sådan noget med fællesskab og det der med at finde nogen man kan stå sammen med som har de samme, sådan interesser, og den samme, den der, det der lyst og behov for at gøre et eller andet, altså sådan, aktivt og gå ud og råbe, tror jeg (griner), øh, og føle at man gør en eller anden form for forskel, og ligesom, og at man også viser ens medstuderende, eller de andre elever sådan, det er det her der foregår i verden og det er de her problemer der er, og det er det her man kan gøre for at ændre det, tror jeg. Ehm, og så tror jeg at når man så kommer ind i en youth gruppe, det der ligesom kan motivere en til at blive, det tror jeg er, der tror jeg at de mere indre ting de kommer meget mere på banen, fordi, inden du kommer ind i youth gruppen kan det være ret svært at se hvad er det egentlig konkret, jeg personligt kan bidrage med, og jeg personlig får ud af det her, måske, der tænker jeg måske en anden ting, at det er meget det ydre, men, når du så er i en gruppe så, så er der jo mange grupper der sindssygt gode til at uddelegere roller alt efter hvad for nogle kompetencer og interesser man har. Så det er meget sådan der, hvis jeg synes det er mega grineren at tage billeder, eller sådan, jeg har fået det her fancy kamera i konfirmationsgave (alle griner), øh, men det er sådan det der med at kunne bruge de der kompetencer man har og det man synes er mega sjovt at lave ikke? Netop som du også siger Sofie, det der med at male bannere, eller sådan, det er sådan noget jeg ville have elsket, eller det var sådan noget jeg elskede at gøre i gymnasiet, uanset hvilken sag jeg kæmpede for, så ja lad os lave en demo så jeg kan male nogle bannere, altså (vi griner), men det er jo bare, jeg tror bare ofte det først er sådan noget der begynder at motivere en når man er i gruppen, fordi man finder ud af hvad for en plads man selv kan spille, og man måske er den der sådan er vildt god til, og synes det er rigtig sjovt, at koordinere ting, og tage sådan lidt lederskabsrolle, og man synes at det er fantastisk at bage kager, og man kan have en kage med hver gang så man får herre meget ros for at den er herre lækker, altså, det er jo mange småting, som sådan, ja, det tror jeg kommer, det spiller også lidt ind på forskellige tidspunkter vil jeg sige.

(Pause)

*Sia:* Må jeg lige sige noget mere?

*Os:* ja

*Sia:* Amen, det er bare fordi, nu kommer jeg, nu sidder jeg lige og tænkte på hvad de mere sagde til den der workshop, altså jeg tror også sådan at (..) de føler, og det tror jeg også har noget at gøre med den tid vi er i, i forhold til klimastrejker og de ligesom, de unge er sgu også kommet med på banen, men at de var meget sådan at de føler også at der faktisk, at deres stemme betyder noget i Amnesty, altså sådan, i forhold til at måske andre steder eller sådan politiske ungdomspartier, var der nogle der nævnte, og sådan altså det der med at de føler faktisk at de har en indflydelse og de har en (inaudible) når de sådan kommer fra Amnesty Youth fordi at vi i Amnesty også har så stor fokus på youth, og vi har så stort et internationalt, sådan, youth fællesskab, altså sådan det der med at, d det ikke bare det at være med i Amnesty, det er også det at være med i Amnesty Youth. Altså, at det betød virkelig meget at de følte at det havde en indflydelse og at det gør noget, med sådan deltagelsen i aktivismen. Og det synes jeg bare var vildt fedt at høre, fordi det er jo, man kan jo sige det er jo noget af det vi har arbejdet mere og mere på, så det er jo rigtig fedt at de kan mærke at det faktisk er nogen ting der er ved at ændre sig på en eller anden måde. Øhm, ja.

**Qb: Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at du snakkede lidt om det overlap, imellem aktivisme og menneskerettighedsundervisning, som Nanna har nævnt.**

*Sia:* om menneskerettighedsundervisning?

*Os:* ja, altså aktivisme og menneskerettighedsundervisning, og måske særligt i forhold til youth og workshops

*Sia:* Øhm, jamen jeg tror at der hvor at overlappet mellem aktivisme og menneskerettighedsundervisning faktisk er allerstørst, er egentlig altså sådan, blandt de unge jo, fordi man kan sige at det menneskerettigheds undervisningen særligt har fokus på det er at komme ud på skolerne og snakke med folkeskoleelever, og ligesom, øh, få skabt en god



dialog, men det er selvfølgelig også oplysning omkring menneskerettigheder, og få klædt børnene rigtig godt på for at få dem til at forstå deres egne rettigheder, og, øh, hvordan vi kan sammen ligesom bygge et godt samfund på respekt og kærlighed, fordi vi har menneskerettighederne med, og alle de her ting, og man kan sige jo længere at de så, øh, jo ældre de bliver jo mere de selv begynder at tage stilling til det her ting, og forstår det og sådan måske også bliver interesseret i det, jo mere, det er jo ihvertfald også meget det vi oplever der også er folkeskole elever der begynder at skrive sådan med, hvad kan vi så selv gøre, de oplever de her uretfærdigheder, det er jo ofte det der sker når man bliver ældre, man ser de her ting, og man bliver mere bevidst om hvad der sker omkring en, og det er jo rigtig meget det der sker på gymnasiet. Så det er jo der hvor at, man kan sige, at menneskerettigheds undervisningen og den, det vi har klædt dem på til, og også sådan noget som skriv for liv har vi jo kørt på rigtig rigtig mange skoler rundt omkring i landet i mange år, så vi oplever tit at vi får youth'ere ind som er sådan "første gang jeg havde noget med amnesty at gøre, det var skriv for liv, og så var jeg bare sådan, nu er jeg klar til at kæmpe". Øhm. Så der er det den der følelse af at nu kan vi også godt, nu vil vi gerne gøre noget, øhm. Det vi så er begyndt på nu, som skaber et endnu større overlap, det er at faktisk begynde at lave noget undervisning også på gymnasierne, det er jo egentlig ikke noget vi tidligere har programmer for, så vidt jeg ved, det kan altså godt være at det har før min tid, (grin), men øh, men det er jo også stadig en vildt relevant gruppe og komme ud til, øhm, især fordi at du kan sådan skabe noget meget mere inddragende undervisning, det kan man selvfølgelig også i folkeskolen, men meget sådan virkelig få dem på banen i forhold til at reflektere over hvad deres egen rolle i det er, og øh, hvad de kan gøre, jamen ikke kun i forhold til hvad de kan gøre i forhold til aktivismen, men også sådan, bare med at forstå større sammenhænge, det kan man jo bedre når man er blevet ældre og man er, når man har fået mere samfundsfagsundervisning, og alle de her ting, og fået mere perspektiv, og det kan man sige, det klær jo både, på den ene side, så kan det være at vi kan være heldige at oplyse en masse unge og skabe noget viden omkring det, øhm, bare sådan at de er opmærksomme på det og at de kender deres egne rettigheder og generelt til rettighederne, men jo også, at vi så der finder de folk som, altså, gerne vil høre mere om hvad de så kan gøre, altså, sådan hvordan de aktivt kan gå ud at handle og øh, og ligesom for et udløb for de frustrationer de måske har i forhold til den uretfærdighed de ser rundt omkring i hele verden, øhm, så det er meget sådan nogle ting. Men så har vi jo også, men det har ikke så meget med youth at gøre, det var jo det du spurgte ind til. Ja. Ja.

## **Appendix 4: Interview with the former Activism Employee**

### **Q1: Fulde navn?**

Nanna Bülow Buhl

### **Q2: Hvad var din stillingsbetegnelse ved Amnesty International Danmark?**

*Nanna:* Aktivisme-praktikant

#### **Q2.a. Hvad var dine arbejdsopgaver hos Amnesty International Danmark?**

*Nanna:* Altså jeg arbejde primært med kommunikation med de frivillige i organisationen, både sådan bredt i form af sociale medier ... men også sådan mere specifik og personlig via mail, sociale medier og telefon og helt personlig på workshopen og mobiliseringsmøder.

### **Q3: Hvad er Amnesty Youth?**

*Nanna:* Det er netværk af vores unge aktivister, som primært er gymnasieelever, men også universitetsstuderende.

#### **Q3.a: Hvordan fungerer det? (Struktur, opgaver etc.)**

*Nanna:* Mmmh, grupperne er primært struktureret omkring de gymnasier de går på, altså en gruppe per gymnasium. Men nu her er der også begyndt at komme mindre traditionelle grupper, som for eksempel tilknyttede bestemte fag på universiteter og grupper, der inkluderer flere skoler, det ser vi for eksempel på Bornholm.

(Pause)

Og opgaver, ja, altså, gruppernes primære opgave er at skabe opmærksomhed om Amnestys arbejde i deres lokalmiljø, så altså primært på skoler, men gerne videre ude i byen. Det gør de gennem forskellige aktiviteter, ofte planlagt i samarbejde med eller inspireret af sekretariatet. Men grupperne er frivillige grupper, der styrer sig selv og deres aktiviteter, og der er ikke som sådan fastlagte regler for, hvad de skal lave af aktiviteter.

#### **Q3.b: Hvad er gruppernes rolle i Amnestys arbejde? (Hvordan fungerer deres tilknytning til sekretariatet? Kampagner osv)**

*Nanna:* Altså, grupperne er tilknyttet gennem dem på sekretariatet, der arbejder med aktivismen. Det er altså primært praktikanterne. Og det er gennem praktikanterne de stiller

spørgsmål og får hjælp, hvis de har brug for noget, og det er omvendt også praktikanterne, der tager fat i dem og fortæller om nye ting.

**Q4: Hvad var din relation til Amnesty Youth grupperne?**

*Nanna:* Mmh, som praktikant havde jeg en del kontakt med dem. Og måske særligt de grupper, som vi ligesom var med til at starte op. Vores kommunikation med dem var rimeligt afslappet og uformel, men med os som praktikanterne, som de klare autoritetsfigurer. En stor del af mit arbejde var ligesom kontakt med ungdomsaktivisterne, og selv når jeg havde kontakt med voksne aktivisterne var det i høj grad per mail og telefon og ikke lige så meget personlig kontakt.

**Q5: Hvordan hverver Amnesty nye ungdomsaktivister?**

*Nanna:* Da jeg arbejdede med ungdomsaktivister, der gjorde vi det på forskellige måder. Både gennem general information på hjemmesiden, det er ligesom man den samme måde man hverver voksne aktivister, men også ved særlige events, som for eksempel Youth-dag. Og det vi sådan brugte mest var de workshops vi afholdte på gymnasier rundt omkring i landet. De handlede om Amnestys arbejde generelt og så et specifikt emne, denne her gang samtykke. Og er ligesom lavet til både at undervise om det her emne, men også at gøre de unge opmærksom på aktivisme og begejstrede for Youth.

*Sofie:* De workshops du beskriver, hvordan fungerede de?

*Nanna:* Da vi kørte workshops, var vi typisk et par praktikanter, sådan 2-4, og en enkelt ansat, enten fra menneskerettighedsundervisning eller aktivisme teamet. Men på længere sigt er det vist mening, at praktikanter og frivillige, vistnok nogle af dem der tidligere har været praktikanter, skal køre workshopsne selv.

Vi begyndte workshopsne med at introducere os selv for eleverne og hvilke roller vi havde på Amnesty, og så fortalte vi dem hvad vores formål var med at afholde workshoppen, og at de var meget velkomne til at stille spørgsmål. Og der var ikke nogen forkerte spørgsmål eller svar, vi var der for at lytte og debattere med dem.

Efter introduktion havde vi en form for opvarmningsøvelse og derefter en introduktion til Amnesty og emnet. Typisk varede begge oplæg omkring 10 minutters. Så lagde vi stille og roligt ud med nogle forskellige diskussionsøvelser og aktiviteter, der ligesom skulle få eleverne op af stolene, men samtidig føre dem ind i emnet uden at det blev for voldsomt.

Senere gik vi over i en større diskussion om selve samtykkeemnet og hvad Amnesty ønsker skal ske på området. Workshopsne afsluttede med en intro til ungdomsaktivisme i Amnesty og en aktivitet, der ligesom skulle give eleverne lyst til at blive en del af det. Når vi sluttede af var der mulighed for, at eleverne kunne skrive sig op til at være med i Amnesty Youth, hvilket jo egentligt var grunden til at vi, fra aktivisme teamet var der i første omgang.

**Q5.a: I din optik, hvad motiverede Youtherne til at engagere sig? (Teknikker fra Amnesty, deres egne motivationer)**

*Nanna:* En blanding af flere ting, vil jeg sige. Vi talte meget om ”hvad får jeg ud af det” i forbindelse med motivation af aktivister, og det har helt klart en effekt. For eksempel har aktivister den gulerod, at de kan møde andre spændende, unge mennesker og får en masse gode kompetencer, de kan skrive på deres CV. Men jeg tror også at de motivationer virker bedre for universitetsstuderende, som tænker mere på deres CV og fremtid, end de unge gør, og som muligvis også vil kunne se en større fordel i et nationalt aktivistisk netværk. Min oplevelse var i højere grad at gymnasieeleverne havde rigeligt at gøre med at netværke internt på gymnasiet.

Jeg vil i højere grad tro, at motivationen for Youtherne var intrinsisk, og fordi de ønskede at være med til at ændre noget og arbejde for en god sag. Man kan nok også hive den op på et højere plan og snakke om, at aktivisme er lidt sejt blandt unge mennesker, det som jeg ville kalde Greta Thunberg-effekten (griner), men jeg tror ikke det er den primære årsag. Jeg tror at motivationen kom fra de unge mennesker selv, og det Amnesty gjorde godt i hverve dem, var at være der personligt og med spændende mennesker, så organisationen kom tæt på dem og gjorde det nemt for dem at deltage i arbejdet.

**Q5.b: Hvad tilbyder Amnesty International Danmark Youth aktivisterne? (Hvad får DE ud af det?)**

*Nanna:* Ups, det har jeg vist sagt. Men jeg kan uddybe det lidt:

CV-pynteri – man får utroligt mange kompetencer ud af at sætte arrangementer op, også selvom det ”bare” er det, man gør. Derudover er der en del kurser og uddannelse, som aktivisterne kan deltage i. Og så er det generelt ret fedt at have noget frivilligt arbejde stående på sit CV og det kan man ikke starte for tidligt på.. efter min mening..

Netværk – udover gruppen på deres eget gymnasium har aktivisterne mulighed for at møde mange andre unge aktivister til forskellige arrangementer, som er særligt for dem. Både nationale arrangementer og internationale.

**Q6: Hvordan oplevede du kønsfordelingen i grupperne? (hvor mange – hvilken indvirkning?)**

*Nanna:* Piger. Alle var piger. Stort set ingen drenge. MEN det var ikke fordi drengene ikke var engagerede og interesserede, det så jeg også på workshopsne. De grupper, der dannede sig efter workshopsne havde også i de fleste tilfælde en dreng (hvilket ingen andre grupper havde), det er jo en kæmpe succes, synes jeg. Jeg er ikke i tvivl om, at lige så mange drenge er engagerede i de emner, som Amnesty behandler, men der er ligesom ikke en kultur for at deltage i, sådan.. ”sidde ned og snakke”-grupper for drenge, i så høj grad, som der er for piger. Hvilket er super ærgerligt, for drengene har virkeligt meget at bidrage med og skal jo selvfølgelig ikke være uden for det gode selskab, på den måde. Mit håb er, at den tidligere omtalte Thunberg-effekt vil få flere unge drenge til at synes, at det er sejt at engagere sig i aktivisme.

**Q7: I din tid hos Amnesty, gjorde I så noget bestemt for at inkludere og mobilisere begge køn til at deltage i Amnesty Youth?**

*Nanna:* Nej, det vil jeg ikke sige. Amnesty prøver jo bare generelt at have en rimeligt åben og velkommende fremtræden over for alle køn, hudfarver, seksualiteter osv., men det er ud fra hvad jeg har set ikke noget, der aktivt arbejdes for. Og så er det bare rigtigt ofte de ressourcestærke piger, som i forvejen har rigtig godt styr på det hele, der gerne vil deltage. Vi diskutererede engang i mellem ... eller også gjorde jeg bare i mit hoved... hvorvidt det, at vi afholdt workshops omkring voldtægt og samtykke ligesom ville skræmme drengene fra at deltage. Hvilket jeg ikke rigtig tror. De drenge, og egentlig også de piger, der var kritiske over for workshops ville nok alligevel ikke have deltaget i aktivismen. Omvendt ser jeg både hos gymnasieeleverne og ude i verden, blandt mine venner og hvor jeg ellers bevæger mig, at det i højere grad er blevet moderne at være en feministisk mand. Og der tror jeg, at vi ramte nogle drenge ret godt med samtykke emnet. Nogle af dem endda til at deltage i aktivisme, men også generelt bare i forhold til deres holdning til emnet og hvordan de ønsker, at samfundet skal være.

**Q8: Aktivisme skal ikke være for tidskrævende, det skal planlægges godt af koordinatorene. Bliver det gjort i Amnesty DK**

*Nanna:* Hm, det er klart, at når man har et ungdomsnetværk, hvor man skal drive den samme kampagne ud i hele landet, skal planlæggeren var sekretariatet være meget struktureret. Materialet skal være lavet sådan så alle kan læse og bruge det, men det vigtigste er i virkeligheden at aktivisterne godt kan lide det og synes at det er pisse fedt at bruge det. Og det er klart det sværeste, efter min mening.

Så ja ... jeg synes at der bliver tænkt meget over hvordan aktivisme i Youth udføres af koordinatorene på sekretariatet, også i forhold til hvor tidskrævende aktivismen er. Men jeg synes ikke, at det tidskrævende aspekt var det vigtigste af planlægningen, i forhold til hvor vigtigt det var, at skabe noget, som aktivister havde lyst til at bruge.

**Q9: Er der nogen form for evaluering og/eller refleksion med de unge aktivister omkring deres arbejde?**

*Nanna:* Ja, vi evaluerede på semesteret generelt med aktivisterne, lige før vi var færdige som praktikanter. Men der var ikke vildt mange svar på vores ellers geniale spørgeskema, må jeg indrømme. Men hvad vigtigere var, at vi løbende evaluerede med aktivisterne, når vi mødte dem personligt. Og det er betydeligt nemmere, både for dem at forklare deres holdning og os til at forstå den. Det var også noget vi gjorde, når vi afholdte opstartsmøder, hvilket jeg synes er ret vigtigt. Så aktivisterne kan vide, hvad de går ind til, men også for at de kan tænke over deres egne interesser og ønsker til deres aktivisme.

**Q10: Andre kommentarer?**

*Nanna:* Jeg håber, at mine svar passer til noget, I kan bruge

*Camilla:* Det er det helt sikkert

*Nanna:* Hov ej nej, jeg har lige en pointe mere...

Jeg har lavet en del andet frivilligt arbejde, og det er generelt gennemgående at der er markant flere piger end drenge, særligt jo yngre man er. MEN igen, det er ikke fordi drengene ikke vil være med, jeg tror bare de gerne vil have noget mere i action. I det frivillige jeg har lavet på uni er det rimeligt meget 50/50 med drenge og piger, men der er også en del status forbundet i at være med i de foreninger. Tænk, hvis det var ligeså sejt at

være med i Amnesty-gruppen som i festudvalget. Men der er på den anden side også nogle lidt ubehagelige kulturer omkring den slags, og det er slet ikke noget organisationen Amnesty i sig selv kan ændre på.

## **Appendix 5: Survey questions**

### **1: Hvor gammel er du?**

### **2: Køn?**

- Pige
- Dreng
- Gender non-conforming

### **3: Klassetrin?**

- 1.g
- 2.g
- 3.g

### **4: Hvilken region kommer du fra?**

- Nordjylland
- Midtjylland
- Syddanmark
- Sjælland
- Hovedstaden

### **5: Hvilke ord forbinder du med 'maskulinitet'?**

- Styrke
- Tolerant
- Aggressiv
- Tålmodig
- Omsorgsfuld
- Selvstændig
- Forsigtig
- Beskyttende
- Empatisk
- Skrøbelig
- Konkurrencemenneske



- Forstående
- Selvsikker
- Sensitiv
- Dominant
- Venlig
- Lederrolle
- Samarbejdsvillig

**6: Hvilke ord forbinder du med 'femininitet'?**

- Styrke
- Tolerant
- Aggressiv
- Tålmodig
- Omsorgsfuld
- Selvstændig
- Forsigtig
- Beskyttende
- Empatisk
- Skrøbelig
- Konkurrencemenneske
- Forstående
- Selvsikker
- Sensitiv
- Dominant
- Venlig
- Lederrolle
- Samarbejdsvillig

**7: Hvilke menneskerettigheder kender du til?**

**8: Hvilke ord forbinder du med menneskerettigheder (vælg op til 10)?**

**9: På en skala fra 1 til 10, hvor 1 er feminint og 10 er maskulint, hvor ville du placere at gå op i menneskerettigheder?**

**10: Hvor vigtige er menneskerettighederne i din hverdag? (Skala fra 1 - 10)**

**11: Hvilke typer aktivisme kender du til?**

- Indsamling
- Sit-in
- Demonstration
- Online aktivisme (hashtags, deling af billeder, posts mm.)
- Underskifts indsamling
- Logoer på tøj, muleposer, mm. (regnbuer for LGBTI, organisationer, politiske partier mm.)
- Strejke
- Debatter online (Facebook, Twitter, kommentarspor)
- Kreativ aktivisme (gennem litteratur, kunst, musik mm.)
- Aktivisme gennem forbrug (zero waste, tilvalg / fravalg af ting, varer etc., mm.)

**12: Har du nogensinde deltaget i aktivisme**

- Ja
- Nej

**13: Hvorfor / hvorfor ikke?**

**14: Hvis ja, hvilken slags?**

**15: Hvilken type kampagnemateriale appellerer mest til dig?**

- Tegne billeder med eksempler på uretfærdigheder (Sex [6] tips for mænd - Fatta.nu)
- Plakater med slogan, citat og mennesker (#Letstalkaboutyes - Amnesty International Danmark)
- Informerende videoer på sociale medier (Amnesty International Danmark)
- Billeder med statistikker (Australian Human Rights Commission)
- Solidaritets plakat (He For She - United Nations)
- Klistermærker
- Interaktiv materiale som f.eks. stencils
- Foldere og flyers

**16: Hvilke elementer skal der være i et oplæg omkring menneskerettigheder og aktivisme, for at fange din interesse?**

- Statistikker
- Personlige historier
- Videoer
- Humor
- Seriøsitet
- Animerede billeder / tegninger
- Fakta
- Øvelser (hvor du/I bliver indraget)

**17: Hvad ville motivere dig til at blive (menneskerettigheds-)aktivist?**

- At kunne bygge på mit CV
- Gøre en forskel
- Være en del af et socialt netværk
- Møde nye mennesker
- Udvikle nye kompetencer
- Få ny viden om menneskerettigheder
- Oplyse andre om menneskerettigheder
- Fremtidig karriere vej

**18: Har du nogle yderligere kommentarer?**

## **Appendix 6: Message for Youth Coordinators**

Dear Youth Coordinators,

We are two women in the midst of writing our master's thesis on the topic of boys in youth activism, specifically how they are critically underrepresented in Amnesty DK's Youth groups - and how we can attempt to change this tendency.

As the basis for our discussion we want to explore if this is only the case in the Danish context, or whether it is an international tendency within Amnesty, and for this we need your help!

So we would be eternally grateful if you would answer a few questions;

1. In which country are you a youth coordinator?
2. How many youth groups / activists are in your country (approximately)?
3. How many are girls, and how many are boys (approximately)?
4. What are your thoughts on this gender distribution?

We need your answers no later than Friday the 24th of May.

You can contact us at: \_\_\_\_\_

Thanks in advance,

Sincerely Camilla and Sofie :)

## **Appendix 7: Answers from Youth Coordinator in Norway**

1. In which country are you a youth coordinator?

Norway

2. How many youth groups / activists are in your country (approximately)?

We have 33 youth- and student groups. We do not have a complete overview of how many people are involved in these groups. That will vary from 5 – 50 people in each group. It varies throughout each semester as well.

3. How many are girls, and how many are boys (approximately)?

We estimate somewhere between 80% and 90% of our youth activists are girls. We don't have any complete registration of gender distribution, but this is an estimation based on attendance at gatherings, conferences, etc.

4. What are your thoughts on this gender distribution?

It is problematic from a diversity perspective and furthermore it's a disadvantage when building a stronger movement. The board currently has a project on diversity in which we will try and find out why so few boys/men are involved in Amnesty. Anne Marie Mollén (copied) has a lead on this (she is staff). Our membership is better balanced, with a distribution of 40% men and 60% women approximately. Feel free to ask Anne Marie more about the findings of the project.