

"Relocating"
nine families in the outskirts of Denmark

Internship conducted in
"Danmark på Vippen"



Authors of report:

Eva Mærsk – [REDACTED]
Helle Rotbøll Randløv - [REDACTED]

Supervisor:

Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen
MSc in Cultural Sociology

We hereby solemnly declare that we have personally and independently prepared this paper. All quotations in the text have been marked as such, and the paper or considerable parts of it have not previously been subject to any examination or assessment.

1	Introduction.....	2
1.1	Structure of the paper.....	3
2	The narrative approach.....	3
3	Data.....	4
4	Creation of Space	5
5	Literary Study	6
6	Analysis.....	10
6.1	Rural Locality.....	11
6.1.1	Newcomers and relocation	12
6.1.2	Characteristics of the rural.....	12
6.1.2.1	Association to the area	12
6.1.2.2	Preparation	12
6.1.3	The quality of the place.....	12
6.1.4	Summary.....	15
6.2	Representation of space	16
6.2.1	“Udkantsdanmark”	16
6.2.2	New winds are blowing	17
6.2.3	The newcomers meeting the discourse	17
6.2.4	Challenges in the structure	18
6.2.5	Summary.....	18
6.3	The everyday life of the rural.....	19
6.3.1	The motivation for the relocation.....	20
6.3.1.1	Displaced Urbanisation.....	20
6.3.2	Preparations to and experiences of the relocation.....	21
6.3.3	Network	22
6.3.4	More time	23
6.3.5	Everyday life.....	23
6.3.6	Freedom – mentally, economically and spatially.....	26
6.3.7	Experienced difference between city- and rural life	26
6.4	Summary	26
7	Conclusion.....	28
8	References	31
9	Appendix.....	32
9.1	Appendix 1: Description of project for respondents	32
9.2	Appendix 2: Interview guide	33
9.3	Appendix 3: Description of respondents	35
9.4	Appendix 4: Quotes	37
9.5	Appendix 5: Selection of informants.....	44

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an investigation of the everyday life of families with children, who have chosen to move from a big city to the outer regions of Denmark. The investigation has been made with the purpose to contribute with examples of everyday stories, which are meant to bring more nuance to the existing debate concerning living in the rural areas. The paper has been made for *Danmark på Vippen*. Besides this paper, the results of the investigation will be published on a communication blog – the link can be found here: www.danmarkpaavippen.dk/udflytterne.

We are curious on how some families have chosen to move against the tide and moved to the regions, which are normally criticised in the media, areas which are defined as unattractive and without development potential from the central themes and areas, which at times seems to have been abandoned. With this investigation, we desire to communicate some stories about lived lives in these areas. We have chosen to focus on the families with children, since they are the prime wanted newcomers in these areas. According to an investigation made by Bolius (Lemke, 2014), every fifth city-dweller wishes to live on the countryside by the year 2030. As mentioned above, the aspiration of this paper is to contribute to the existing image of the remoter parts of Denmark with stories of the everyday life. Furthermore, it might be added that the informants of this investigations have been most eager to participate, as they experience a lack of nuanced stories from the outer regions. In this paper, we aspire to answer the following four research questions:

1. What motivates families with children to move away from the city and seek the outer regions?
2. Does the relocation live up to the families' hopes and dreams?
3. Is there a difference in how the families network dependent on whether the parents are moving back to childhood areas (these will be referred to as 'back-comers') or are newcomers?
4. Is the relocation an expression of counter-urbanisation?

To solve these questions, we have conducted qualitative interviews, field observations and photographing with and of nine families with children, who have moved to Frederikshavn, Ranum, Bredal, Lomborg, Bækmarksbro, Ringkøbing, Kringlum, Ærøskøbing and Nykøbing Falster (see map, page 11). The families have relocated from Odense, Aalborg, Aarhus, København og Berlin.



1.1 STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

In this paper the method of the investigation will be described initially, followed by how the collection of data has transpired. After this the chosen theory is introduced and the literary study for the investigation. The theory structures the analysis in a trisection, where the collected data initially is analysed from a triple perspective. Hereafter, the results of the analysis are summarised, where the three perspectives combined provides an answer for the investigation's research questions and thus postulates an understanding of the relocated families' everyday life.

In the following section the methodical considerations of the investigation will be examined along with a presentation of the informants of the investigation and the collected data.

2 THE NARRATIVE APPROACH

For this paper, we have chosen to work with the methodical approach, which investigates the stories that are produced and reproduced between humans. The method is called the narrative method.

According to the narrative method, human and group identity and community is constructed through continuous narratives, which are constantly actualised, negotiated, interpreted and put in connection to each other. Where the individual narrative is used to remember, recall and engage,

the group narrative is often used to make allegiance and mobilisation (Kohler Riesmann, 2008: 9). One of the strengths of the narrative approach is how the method often can help identify leaping point or areas to further investigation. Furthermore, the method focuses on the individual's experience of reality. Since this investigation primarily deals with interviews (question guide can be seen in appendix 2) as method and secondarily with field observations, the narrative method is our primary method. Like visual analysis and usage of photography, narrative analysis is an interpreting approach, and we engage in both interviews and photography, where the objects are chosen by the informants and the interviewer.

Within social sciences, there is a preceding tradition to study the practices of everyday life in an attempt to understand and interpret the motivations and actions found among the individuals of a society. This happens by searching for a sort of logic in these practices and try to describe the complexity, which can motivate these actions. Every single individual ends up with their own 'bricolage' of actions, interpretations and tactics according to their everyday life (De Certeau, 1984). This bricolage is, in this investigation, being used both theoretical and concretely. The photographs are being used to make a complex understanding of the physical localities and furthermore, they are used to make a closer understanding of the surveyed area, as they provide a sort of backdrop to the analysis.

In extension to the choice of method, this paper additionally makes use of visual and narrative analysis through a triangulation in the form of respectively photography, interviews and field observations. The photographs hold a duplex function in the field work and the paper. Primarily, they are used to make a closer understanding of the spacious area, which is the point of interest in this investigation – which would be the psychical localities and the everyday life, which will be discussed further later in this paper. This way, a broader overview of the area is created. Secondarily, the photographs are used to make a communication report concerning the everyday life for the relocated families to the outer regions of Denmark.

3 DATA

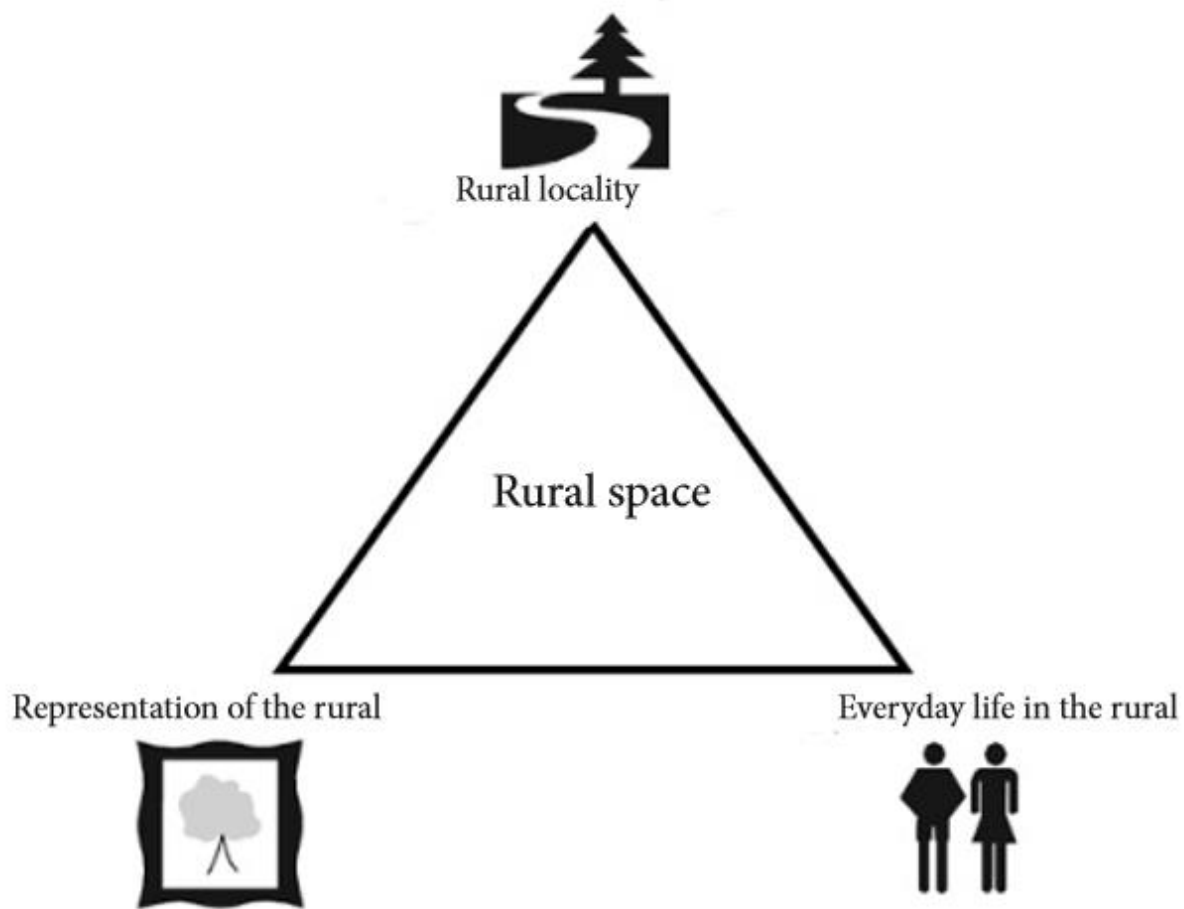
Field notes, sounds files (and transcription of these) has been kept and analysed in Nvivo. The transcriptions have following been coded after the theory about the trialectic model. The codes are mirrored in the diversion in our analysis section. In the following section, the applied theory will be presented and operationalised in accordance to the purpose of the investigations. The section furthermore holds a literary study, where other publications on the area of the investigation are put into perspective along this investigation.



4 CREATION OF SPACE

Theoretically we have chosen to primarily use the trialectic model (Model 1) developed by Henri Lefebvre, but re-used to a more rural friendly context by Halfacree (2006). This model originates from Lefebvre's theory concerning 'The Production of Space' where Lefebvre explains why it is important to include space in the sociological analysis, since space/landscape/place is not just a neutral area, but is a vital part in understanding the socially lived life, and by examining how space is created, a possibility of understanding how this is included in the political agenda arises (Lefebvre, 1991).

Lefebvre describes how space is both concrete and abstract and he explains how this production of space transpires on several levels. Lefebvre, inspired by Marx and Hegel, believes that this production, or creation of space, is comparable with any other merchandise or product created in a capitalistic context. Space is produced and reproduced, space is colonized and commoditised, space is created and wrecked, space is used and misused. To Lefebvre, the abstract space is at once homogenous and fragmented, at the idea with creating this trialectic model is to show the multifaceted character of the space. Lefebvre develops this model as an approach to understand and analyse how this production takes place (Halfacree, 2006).



Source: Halfacree, 2005

The model above (Model 1) is an adaption of Lefebvre's trisectional spacial model (Lefebvre, 1991) and Halfacree's rural model (Halfacree, 2005; 52). The essential part of the model is that the three facets cannot be understood alone, but must be seen in a trisectional dialectic perspective, where one is always in relation to the other and must be understood thus (Halfacree, 2006). The model will therefore be referred to as the trialectic model in this investigation.

To broaden the theoretical fields, we have chosen to apply both Danish and international literature on the area. Following are the most important experiences from other investigations, which we believe have relevance for this investigation and which this paper will be seen in relation to.

5 LITERARY STUDY

The literary study of the paper is parted into three different areas of focus: The first part describes the Danish scientific findings behind the motivation of the relocation from the big cities. The second area focuses on three Danish publications which have been published in an attempt to challenge the

myth about 'Udkantsdanmark' and the along going discourse. The third area of focus is occupied with investigating the international scientific literature and focuses on how to diminish the distinction between rural and city to investigate the area to the full potential.

In her Ph.D.-dissertation, 'Udflytninger fra København - Børnefamiliers udflytninger og bostedsvalg i et hverdagslivsperspektiv', Louise Glerup Aner concludes that by proxy, there are to different narratives in connection the the families with children's choice about moving to the countryside or to minor towns in peripheral Denmark. The two narratives each connects to their own group of relocates, where one group sees the relocations as a 'necessary choice', often rooted in the pressure from the housing market. This group is referred to as 'red group' by Aner. The other group sees the relocation as a positive choice grounded in self-identification connected to a life outside the big city and as a financial choice, where the family no longer has to focus meticulously on their economy as before their relocation. This group is referred to a 'green group'. Another perspective, important to this paper, is pointed out by Aner: Even though both groups considers the life on the countryside to be an ideal spot for a family with children, they still possess many values and thoughts from the 'city life'. Rooted in the theories of (Aner, 2009) we will seek to discover the different reasons behind choosing to relocate from the bigger cities. Aner describes how one typology of relocates can be based on motives of the relocation and divides these into three categories:

- Ex-urbanisation –understood as a wish to create a home in another environment, but to keep occupation in the city.
- Displaced urbanisation – motivated by better options for inhabitation and work outside of the city because of lacking options in the city.
- Anti-urbanisation – motivated by a wish to live in another environment then the big city.

(Aner, 2009: 16)

Another typology that might be relevant when trying to understand the motivation behind these relocations derives in the importance of differentiating between people moving back and people moving to, since this can be important in relation to how the relocates connect to the area which they have chosen to move to (Aner, 2009: 7). A third motivational factor, which Aner derives from a Norwegian study, shows that the relocation can be influenced by a phase in life: where it in some phases of life makes perfect sense to live in the city, other makes sense to live on the countryside. City and country is thus not eachothers opposites, but complementary and can be combined strategically by the individual (Aner 2009: 18). It is important to point out that Aner's investigation primarily deals with relocation from Copenhagen, where this paper includes relocation from four of

the biggest cities in Denmark (and Berlin in Germany) to many different peripheral areas. This peripheral aspect has not been included in Aner's research and therefore we have chosen to include a broader peripheral perspective in the rural regional research literature later in this section.

Within the Danish literature we have chosen to focus on three publications, all from the year 2015. All of these have a declared purpose to nuance the image of the peripheral areas and they are all published as a reaction on the domination discourse. The books apply quantitative research and consists of debational articles, and articles from a broad group of opinionators in the form of both journalists, politicians, researchers, industrial figures and private people. The three books are as follows:

'Hvidbog – Et Danmark I balance er et rigere Danmark' published by the organisation 'Danmark på Vippen' with contributions by various Danish researchers. The book primarily consists of quantitative data which is used to enlighten the disadvantages of an urbanised Denmark. Furthermore, the book offers up cases from peripheral areas of other countries, as well as estimates which tools could be employed in order to create more balance in the demographical development in Denmark.

'Oprør fra Udkanten' is likewise a book with input from many different angles, authors, researchers and journalists. In its first part, it describes what has happened with the peripheral areas structural wise and how the urbanisational discourse has succeeded in deriving these areas. Additionally, the books provide, in its second part, examples and suggestions on how to show the peripheral areas as the land of opportunities. Here are the moving-to stories and the descriptions of initiatives made around the peripheral areas, which shows the prospects of entrepreneurship, digital workplaces, new communities and hybrid solutions to the challenges of the minor societies.

'Udkantsmyten' published by Kaare Dybvad, defies the established myth about the capitol as a strong dynamo for life and prosperity for the rest of the country. On the contrary, he documents that it is the other way around. The province is a respitorial machine for the capitol and Dybvad provides examples on how this happens through transportation areas, centralising of governmental workplaces and educations as well as export of social clients.

The rural districts are - generally speaking - occupied with different perspectives on the difference between a life on the country and a life in the city. Traditionally, these has been viewed as eachothers opposites, but the last teen years of international research points towards ignoring this differentiating in order to understand the complexity of this field of research.

The traditional view on the rural districts as stable, continuous and in opposition to change as well as something that needs to be protected (Bell & Osti, 2010) fixates a simple image of the

life in the rural municipalities, which does not match with reality. On the contrary, research shows that there is a high level of mobilisation among the people habitant of the rural districts (Marsden, 2009; Olivia, 2010), a high level of flexibility concerning job- and income opportunities as well as a great willingness to include alternative ways of business (Robertson et al., 2008). An example from a study from Northern Norway (Munkejord, 2006), helps in providing an understanding for the need of diversity, where 'the good life' is described as a combination between city and country life, the possibility to have the nature close at hand and simultaneously to be able to frequent cafés and to have shopping opportunities. The sharp diversion we find in the discourse about the life in the big city or on the countryside is important to compromise, as there are many variables in between, and since city and country is not eachothers opposite, but creates a connection in life when the qualities are combined.

In the research on the individual level it shows that in order for the single human being to feel like an integrated part of a local community, it is important with social interaction on both an individual and communal level. Likewise, the local community is strengthened when it's inhabitants cooperate about finding and solving specific locale needs and challenges (Theodori, 2004). This paper is to be seen in extension to the development in the debate about "Udkantsdanmark" made clear by the Danish publications from 2015, where thorough investigations and publications started to speak up against the existing discourse. This paper can therefore be seen as an in depth qualitative analysis of the tendencies, which are described particularly in Danish literature, but also in international.

This paper provides descriptions of the everyday life of the peripheral areas of Denmark with the purpose to nuance the debate about said areas. With this theoretical background, the following section will make in depth analysis of the collected data in order to answer the research questions of the investigation. The analysis is parted into three sections where the statements from the respondents will be analysed and reflected upon according to the theoretical perspective. Furthermore, photographs will be included to enlighten certain areas of analysis.



6 ANALYSIS

In this part of the report we will try answer the research questions using the theory from Halfacree and Lefebvre by using the trialectic model mentioned above. We analyse how the families moving from bigger cities make their everyday life work in the outskirts of Denmark. Furthermore, we answer the following questions:

1. What motivates families with children to leave the city and seek the outskirts?
2. Do these families get their visions and dreams fulfilled?
3. Does the new network depend on whether the parents are from the area or not?
4. Are their actions an expression of counter-urbanisation?

The purpose of the analysis is to clarify the trialectic interaction from the model and therefore we have divided the analysis in three parts. In the first part, we present the physical space, the local site is analysed and made concrete.

6.1 RURAL LOCALITY

Here we describe the concrete and specific physical places, the surroundings and landscapes, produced and reproduced by society (Aner 2009, Halfacree 2006). The visuals of these places are presented as photos and a map showing the sites we have visited (below).



6.1.1 Newcomers and relocation

The families involved in this project, have chosen to settle down in a place where they either are associated, have got a new job or just felt attracted to the area. They have prepared themselves by collecting knowledge about the housing market, schools and daycare facilities, corresponding to their needs. The families attempt to realise their individual dreams and they all express how the relocation has increased the quality of their family life.

6.1.2 Characteristics of the Rural

The relocation chosen are both in open rural areas, villages and towns. The families either possess or rent a house or farm, all with gardens and many located very close to the sea.

6.1.2.1 Association to the area

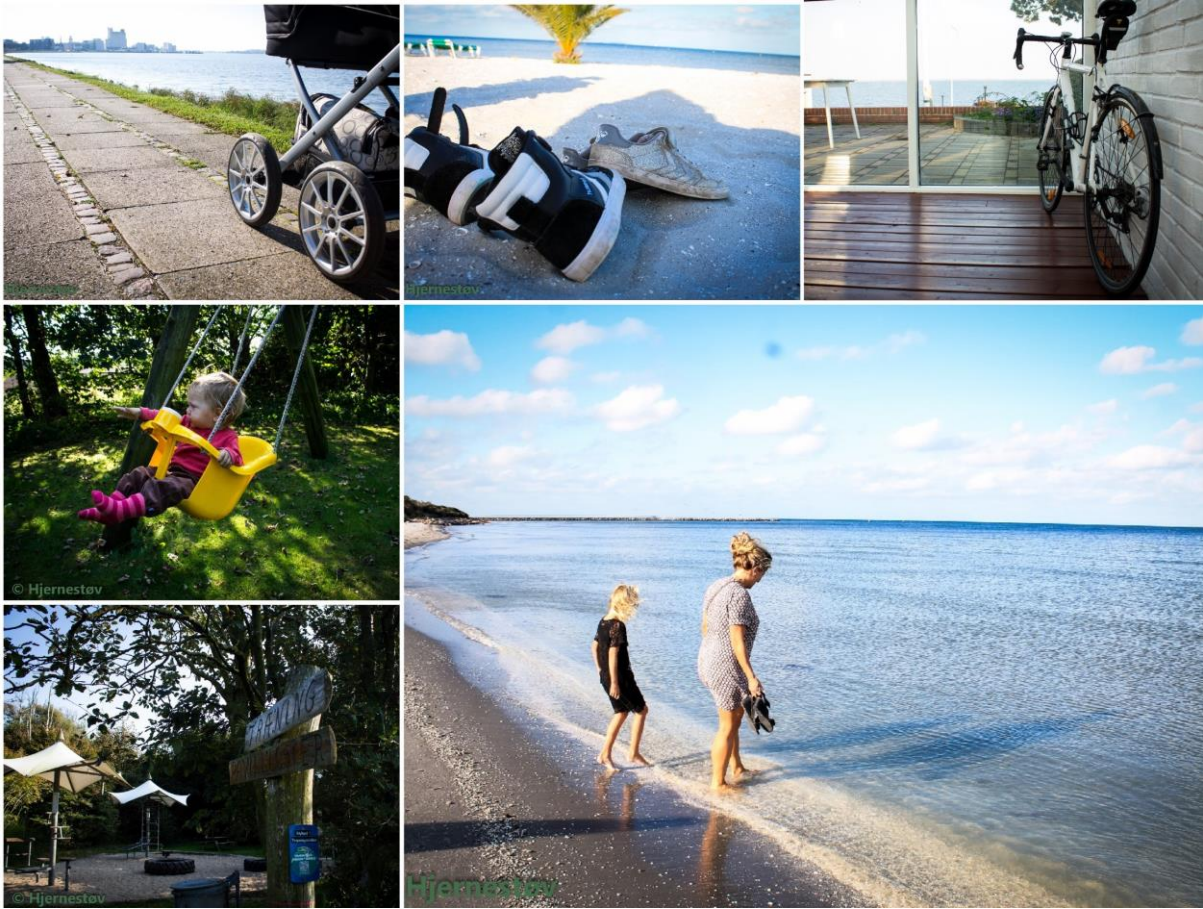
In six out of nine of the families interviewed, at least one of the parents were associated to the area chosen, giving access to grandparents and network. Three of the six families started out renting a place, to make space for the non-related parent to sense the area (quote in Appendix 6.1.2.1.A).

6.1.2.2 Preparation

The families are motivated by different needs and drives, and have had careful consideration about the kind of life they wanted to live.

6.1.3 The quality of the place

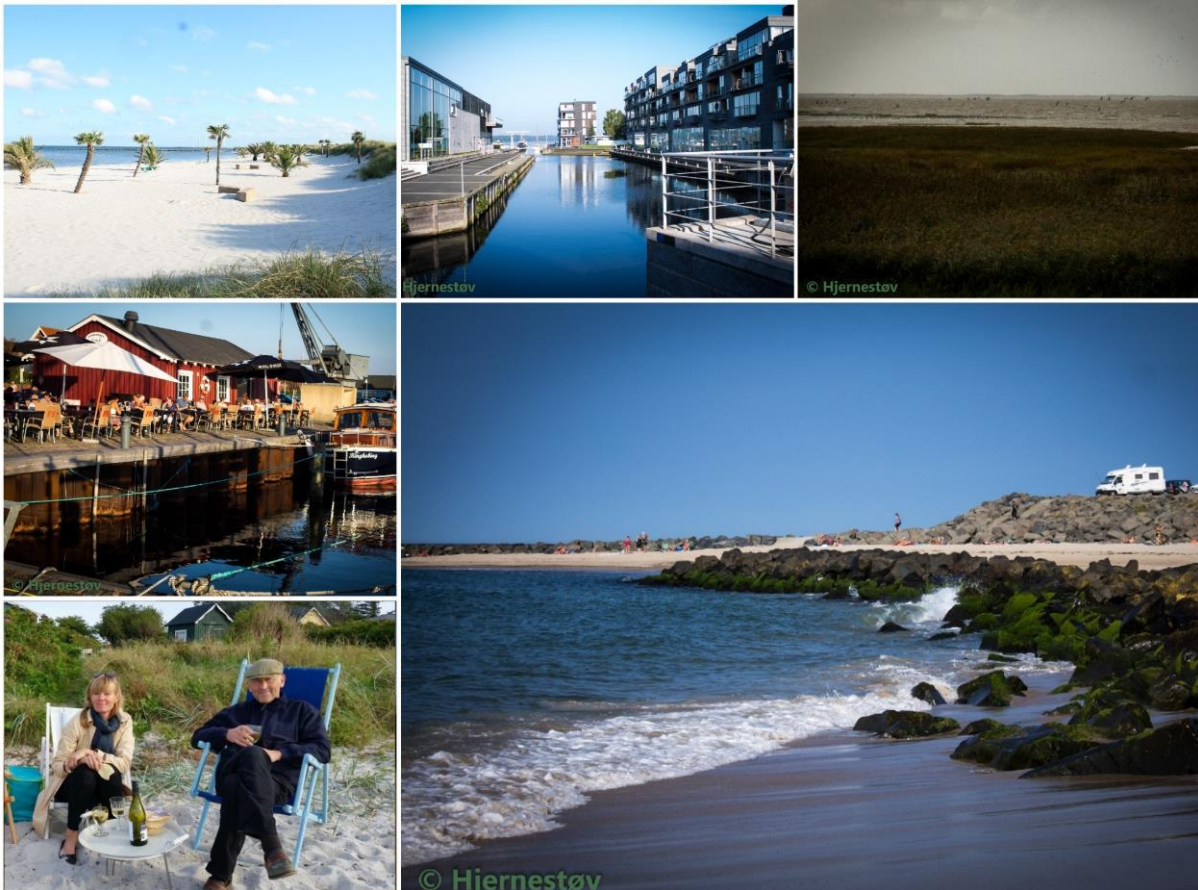
We have chosen to look for families in the different outskirts areas of Denmark. All the interviewed parents had prioritised to use the nature they moved to, for sports, leisure and daily activities like walking and biking.



All the families have gained more space in their new settlements, and thereby chosen to upscale pets and domestic animals. We met cats, dogs, ducks, hen, geese, rabbits, pigs and a single cow. For some of the families settling down in farmhouses the ability to become selfsufficient were a strong motivating factor and some reacted on childhood memories (quote in Appendix 6.1.3 A).



To gain access to the sea was a huge priority to the interviewed families. Those who live nearby the sea had a lot of activity related to it, and those living inside the country, talks about their favorite beaches and harbours, and how they made trips to these facilities. Access to the sea were the motivating factor for leaving the bigger cities (quote in Appendix 6.1.3.B and 6.1.3.C)



The quality of the places, whether it was a farmhouse or a house in a small city depended on the family wishes and needs. All the interviewed parents were happy about the life they have created for themselves in the new areas (quote in Appendix 6.1.3.D)

6.1.4 Summary

We asked the families to point out the places they were fond of. The above collage shows the result. The families enjoy having easy access to nature. The physical space is produced and reproduced both by the locals and the settlers. The families interviewed brings us a subjective picture of the physical place, as e.g. their garden, the local forest/beach/bay/view/city and the relevant local institutions. The qualities of the rural locality change in the light of a change in the phase of life the parents in these families have been through.

The quality of the place is defined by how it suits the newcomers values and needs. This investigation tells us that the outskirts matches this needs and values for the families interviewed. Needs for being close to nature, gain more space, animals etc.

The next part of this analysis is the second of the three perspectives - the representation of space, which among others include the narratives of a specific space. From this point of view, we include the general media image with a short presentation of the discourse of the outskirts and the interactions working alongside this discourse. Together they show the outskirts representation.



6.2 REPRESENTATION OF SPACE

Space is conceptualized according to Halfacree by media, scientist, experts et cetera. The representation of space is hereby constructed by both historical, political and social discourses (Aner 2009, Halfacree 2006). In this analysis, we have chosen to analyse the general discourse of the representation of space in the general media discourse as a representation of the outskirts, and hereby not the specific nine localities we have visited.

6.2.1 “Udkantsdanmark”

In this report we relate to the unified space discursively constructed as “Udkantsdanmark”. After “Strukturreformen” in 2007 Denmark became more centralised with the bigger institutions gathered around Copenhagen and hereby strengthen the urbanisation tendency. Urbanisation is like a TINA factor - “There is no alternative” and this phenomenon has a global

tendency, which seems hard to argue. The concept of “Udkantsdanmark” occur around 2010 inside the debate about centralisation of the new super-hospitals and lack of job possibilities in the exterior areas. The tendency of urbanisation and centralisation go together and creates a discourse inside Denmark where the country is divided in an A- and a B team. In an article in *Weekendavisen* in 2007 the discourse is incited when the outskirts were mentioned as “The rotten banana” (Slumstrup & Mortensen, 2015).

6.2.2 New winds are blowing

In 2010 new actors inside a more organised structure capture the debate. In 2014 *Danske Andelskassers Bank* and *Jøp, Ove & Myrthu Vest* initiate “Danmark på Vippen”. On the 27th of September the same year there is a conference in *Ærø* called “Oprør fra Udkanten – Mulighedernes land 2.0” initiated by Finn Slumstrup og Viggo Mortensen. These two projects release books in 2015 alongside another book called “Udkantsmyten” by Kåre Dybvad, all mentioned in the literature study, challenging the powerful discourse of urbanism. These three books challenge the dominating TINA-factor. Basing on thorough analysis in statistical science they all demonstrate how this urbanisation is a result of a hegemonic discourse and the politics operated. The books reveals the myths being a result of the hegemonic discourse and the chosen political solutions and hereby speaks up against the myth being covered in media.

The term “Udkantsdanmark” is a part of public talk challenge by new terms like “Guldkantsdanmark” or “Vandkantsdanmark” concurrently with “Udkantsdanmark” being challenged by scientist and opinion formers. This new narrative can be seen as a kind of counter-urbanisation, also followed by a new growing tendency towards co-living initiatives in rural areas like “land.skab”. According to Eco-village community(LØS) there are 26 new eco-villages on the rise. Some outskirts areas are experiencing increasing newcomers, innovation and rethinking of local possibilities and branding. One example is Klitmøller, but also initiatives in Western Sealand like “Markværket” and “Farendløse Mosteri” contribute to rethinking the abandoned and severely criticised areas. We hereby sense both in the media in general and from the informants a challenge to the hegemonic discourse (quote in Appendix 6.2.2.A). The response is characterised by coming from local and private initiatives in form of passionate individuals, innovation and new communities, whom in spite of the dynamics of centralisation are succeeding creating a new narrative about life in rural areas (quote in Appendix 6.2.2.B).

6.2.3 The newcomers meeting the discourse

In general the families involved in this study have had to relate to the hegemonic discourse about the areas chosen. Common for them is the fact that they were willing to move against the masses,

move against the discourse and the urbanisation tendency. Especially their families and friends have had reactions to their choices (quote in Appendix 6.2.3.A). An important result of this study shows that the informants find it important that you gain knowledge about the area chosen to be able to confront the negative discourse you meet (quote in Appendix 6.2.3.B).

In most of the families involved at least one of the parents have a thorough knowledge about the area, have family and friends and network there, and hereby another access to information about the area than the one coming from the media. Knowing the area and its uniqueness motivates (quote in Appendix 6.2.3.C). Reverse the newcomers can be met by stereotyped interpretations from the local community, who might think they are like “Bonderøven” or “Familien fra Fyn” (quote in Appendix 6.2.3.D). In general, the families have of experience of having to break through the scepticism regarding the outskirts, expressed by both the local community and their family and friends. The families involved have been able to explain their drives in both the urban and the rural context, since they have had confidence to their project (quote in Appendix 6.2.3.E).

6.2.4 Challenges in the structure

The hegemonic discourse have had consequences for the practical and structural conditions in “Udkantsdanmark”. Stagnation in the housing market, which e.g. makes it difficult for young families to get access to bank loans for buying a house. Some of the families involved had a hard time to get a loan (quote in Appendix 6.2.4.A). The accessibility is far more complicated than in the urban areas (quote in Appendix 6.2.4.B). This stagnancy of the housing market alongside the general prejudice about life in the outskirts has caused the informants worries and doubts (quote in Appendix 6.2.4.C).

Access to school and daycare facilities and how the local infrastructure supports these are important parameters in general to families with young children, and are influencing the attractiveness of the area, whether it is in rural or village. The parents try to navigate after the best possible solutions for their kids (quote in Appendix 6.2.4 D and 6.2.4.E).

6.2.5 Summary

In this second part of the analysis we see how the discourse on outskirts areas has influenced the newcomers and their consciousness. There are many myth to conquer; one in their close relations before the relocation but also inside the new community. Knowing the area and having a network helped the families involved to integrate or the parents had prepared themselves in how to manage the discourse. The parents visited were optimistic, in strong relationships with shared values and had been focused on their drives and goals, which helped them through some of the structural

challenges, like issues on housing market and loans. Only two of the nine families expresses their action as a counter-action towards urbanisation. Therefore the general approach is not a sign of counter-urbanisation, but the families construct a social space opposite to the hegemonic discourse.



The third and last part of the analysis is based on the informants everyday life. The third perspective will be summed up with the two other perspectives to visualise a holistic understanding of the complexity inside the newcomers everyday life.

6.3 THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE RURAL

This is the third area of the triad, which along with the two other areas gives us the possibility of gaining insight into the complete picture – the collected construction of the life in the peripheral areas - through a trialectic interaction. The lived space is where the everyday life takes place: what are people doing and how do they feel about the things they do – a practical and emotional perspective. This space is imprinted with culture and cultural traditions and it is where the routines of the everyday life are made visible, but also where a counter-space to the ruling discourse can be established (Aner 2009, Halfacree 2006). We have in this paper chosen to focus on the difference in the participants' everyday life in the big city versus the everyday life in the peripheral areas, as they themselves experience it. This section will address the practical and emotional changes they

have experienced in their family life. As informants of this investigation, the families can contribute with offering an insight into how they experienced the changes of their mental and physical space in their everyday life in the relocation from big cities to peripheral areas.

The families, who have participated in this investigation, has been asked about what motives, dreams and desires they possessed before moving away from the big cities. This analysis of the lived space is thus both a comparison of the living conditions before and after the relocation, their motivations or motivating circumstances, what preparations they have put into work as well as what values have meant the most to them and the effect of these choices in their new surroundings. The investigation therefore moves between the relocates present life and their life before the relocation while simultaneously dealing with the thoughts connected to the two different phases.

6.3.1 The Motivation for the Relocation

Aner (2009) describes three kinds of motivational factors to get people to move away from the big cities. We have in our investigation come across two out of three of these factors: 'displaced urbanisation' – where the relocation is motivated by better options of residence and work outside the city – and 'anti-urbanisation' – where the relocation is motivated by a desire to live in an entirely different environment than the big city. The nine families, which we have interviewed, has been characterised by having their motivation stemming from either one or both of the above mentioned factors.

6.3.1.1 Displaced Urbanisation

In our investigation it is clear that the two kinds of motivational factors for relocating from the big city often overlap each other. This is evident among the interviewed families, where the primary motivation is often rooted in family expansion and the wish to find a better suited residence. Simultaneously, the wish to find a more affordable residence, which will enable a different lifestyle – a different everyday life – than the one they have lead in the big city, is substantial. Likewise, it is applicable that once the relocates have applied for jobs, have several (though not all) had their mind-set steered towards a different work environment, where less time spent at work have been a significant part of the decision making (Quote in Appendix 6.3.1.1.A). Additionally, our investigation shows a clear tendency, where a life phase changing event – often the first or second child – motivates the parents to find a bigger and less expensive residence outside the city (Quote in Appendix 6.3.1.1.B and Appendix 6.3.1.1.C).



6.3.1.2 Counter-urbanisation

A small portion of the relocates, with which we have spoken, are more so than other motivated by ideological ideas and values as well as a desire to be in an explicitly different environment and another life style than the one they experienced in the big city. This is exemplified by an example from a mother from Ærø, who describes how the life of the big city was often linked with a materialistic focus. A focus, which is not experienced to follow suit after the relocation from big city the peripheral Denmark (Quote in Appendix 6.3.1.2.A and Appendix 6.3.1.2.B). Several respondents thus voices a desire to have a different environment as well as another work life and consequently another family life.

The investigation clearly shows how the two categorical forms of motivation for relocation overlaps. Thus –work and residence are perceived as tools to create another environment than the one experienced by the families in the big cities. It is shown that the families often desire a dynamic between either less hours spent at work, inexpensive residence, less transportation time and accordingly more time to spend with the family.

6.3.2 Preparations to and experiences of the relocation

All of the families have prepared for the relocation for a substantial period of time. Several have chosen to move to the new area in a rented residence to get a feeling of the area before investing

in their own house. Other spent the time in the rented residence to find the ideal house, while others again made a premade arrangement to buy the 'right' house a year before leaving the city (Quote in Appendix 6.3.2.A and Appendix 6.3.2.B). One woman chose to move back to her childhood area to become entrepreneur within an area she thought has little future, but which turned out to be in high demand of workforce (Quote Appendix 6.3.2.C).



6.3.3 Network

People moving back to a familiar area or a newcomer to an entirely uncharted area might make a difference when it comes to establishing a network, but here it is also important to note individual character traits: whether or not one is introvert or extrovert, whether one is looking for a new social circle or retains the old, already established network. For all of the informants of the investigation, the children have been an important angle of entry into local networks, but also specific interests, like self-sufficient, sport or other spare time activities, can create new connections and relations.

A female respondent had the idea to be a housewife, but discovered the quality of social relations through her work as valuable (Quote in Appendix 6.3.3.A). Generally speaking, the families have settled in well and they have narrated how unproblematic the process has been. They experience a difference in the behavioural patterns in the cities and the peripheral areas – you get close with people in another way than what they are used to (Quote in Appendix 6.3.3.B and Appendix

6.3.3.C). Moving to a smaller community also offers the opportunity to meet people one would not normally meet through work, network or friends. Neighbours and new spare time activities can be a new path, two of the male respondents warmly narrated, underlining how the relocation had led to unexpected friendships (Quote in Appendix 6.3.3.D).

6.3.4 More time

Generally, the informants have experienced to gain 'more time' in their everyday life by moving away from the big cities. When the long time of commute, caused by heavy traffic in and around the big cities, are replaced with a few minutes to work the families experience it giving away room for other activities – to do things together, or individually, which was not possible in a busy everyday schedule in the big city. For some of the parents it has highly raised their quality of life that they have time to exercise everyday. For others, it has been the possibility of becoming a steady part of the children's life, either as 'bringer' or 'collector' to schools or other day care institutions. One participant experiences a new joy of returning home, which was not present in the everyday life in the big city, while yet another respondent has found the time and inner peace to relax completely. Generally, the families experience themselves as more collected – more 'together' – in their new environment and they all express contentment with their current, newly created family life. It should be noted that two of the families has not changed their work life. Both parents in both of the families have continued their full time work after the relocation, but they experience the shortened time of commute as a positive side effect, which has provided more time to the family and spare time activities (Quotes in Appendix 6.3.4.A, Appendix 6.3.4.B and Appendix 6.3.4.C).

6.3.5 Everyday life

In this section, we analyse the tendencies shown in relation to the changes made in the everyday life of the relocate families. The everyday life changes are often derived from the changes in the physical surroundings, which we analyse in connection to the physical locality (the first part of our trialectic model) as well as the change in prioritising time, as shown above.

Quite and peace to be together as a family is a recurrent trait for all of the respondents. The family life is highly prioritised as the adults prepare the relocation. There are individual differences in how the family life should be lived, but they share a desire to have more time and and energy for each other (Quotes in Appendix 6.3.5.A, Appendix 6.3.5.B and Appendix 6.3.5.C).



The families have all prioritised outdoor activities as a permanent part of their everyday life. They have several animals, garden and herbal gardens to take care of. Their 'outdoor life' are being planned as a part of the daily routine, which includes both parents and children as a common ground to be part of (Quote in Appendix 6.3.5.D). Several of the families furthermore describes how the make use of the present nature, which offers new possibilities in their everyday life (Quotes in Appendix 6.3.5.E and Appendix 6.3.5.F).

The parents offer some options on what has changed in the children's lives after the relocation and they reflect upon what changes they personally wanted for their children (Quotes in Appendix 6.3.5.G, Appendix 6.3.5.H and Appendix 6.3.5.J). The children themselves were asked what they liked about the place they lived and underneath are some photographs which reflects the everyday life of the children.



The fact that the families collectively experience that they have gained more time, have also given the adults more time for own activities. A dad got to live out the dream of being a firefighter in his spare time, another got the chance and time to start a Floorball club, where he is both coach and player, several have got time for individual sports- and recreational activities and other nerdier interests and an extra job as a guide for “Sort sol” tours in Wadden Seas. Several of the respondents were motivated by more peace and quietness as a reason for the relocation. A wish to get away from the pulsing and noisy life of the big city (quote in Appendix 6.3.5.I)

To get closer to some grandparents is also a desire for the families with children. Some of the newcomers have experienced that the grandparents have moved to the same place as them. For joy for both children and adults alike. To have the grandparents close by, gives the parents freedom, they can get some help in the daily life with the children, but also the opportunity for a night out occasionally. The children also have the opportunity for a closer relationship with the grandparents (quotes in Appendix 6.3.5.J and K)

6.3.6 Freedom – mentally, economically and spatially

Several of the respondents describes freedom, in connection with not being as limited by high living costs, as in the major cities. They got more room to actualise individual dreams and this is experienced as giving a mental surplus (quotes in Appendix 6.3.6.A, B and C). The freedom, that the families experience, is manifested in different parts of their lives. As the last quote exemplifies, are the changes in the physical surroundings a perspective that the families highlight as crucial. The physical surroundings give the families, some opportunities they didn't anticipate, but they gladly choose to use in different contexts.

6.3.7 Experienced difference between city- and rural life

When telling about the experience of moving to the outskirts, several families describes a change in their work life. Some describes how their experience with stress and a lot of work in the city, gave reason to change and seek out a new environment. Several describes how the daily life in a smaller community, is way more comprehensible and brings calmness (quotes in appendix 6.3.6.D and E).

The families involved experience a closer community in the outskirts than in the cities. Several families describe the experience of having to relate to the people they surround themselves with, in a very specific way. That might be neighbours or the parents to friends of their children or the people in the local sports club (quote in appendix 6.3.6.F). It seems the experienced difference for the families, between living in the big city or the rural areas, is characterized by especially two aspects. First of all, the families experience calmness in their daily life after the relocation. Secondly the families have to relate socially, towards the people they meet in their daily life, in a new way. This social behaviour is often characterized by being more personal compared to what the families experienced in the cities.

6.4 SUMMARY

The participants have experienced a need for change, that was highly motivated from entering a new phase of life, when going from being young and independent to creating family and having children. Family life creates new needs, you relate to your own childhood and all this starts the dream of a life with more time, peace and fresh air and a life with less pressure on the economy. It is expensive to live in the large city, whereas on the country and in the lesser towns, you get a lot more worth for your money. This motivation for change and the choices that follows for most of the involved families, can be interpreted as anti-urbanization, where change has been made, based upon a need for another type of daily life. The involved families have been preparing themselves

thoroughly for the relocation. The choice of residence and work hours are the 'tools' to make the change needed. Through the relocation, the families collectively experience that they have gained more time with each other, more time for outdoor activities and more time for individual recreational activities. It has been easy for them to build network through the children and through recreational activities and interests, they experience uncomplicated time together without calendar management and new friendships across generations.

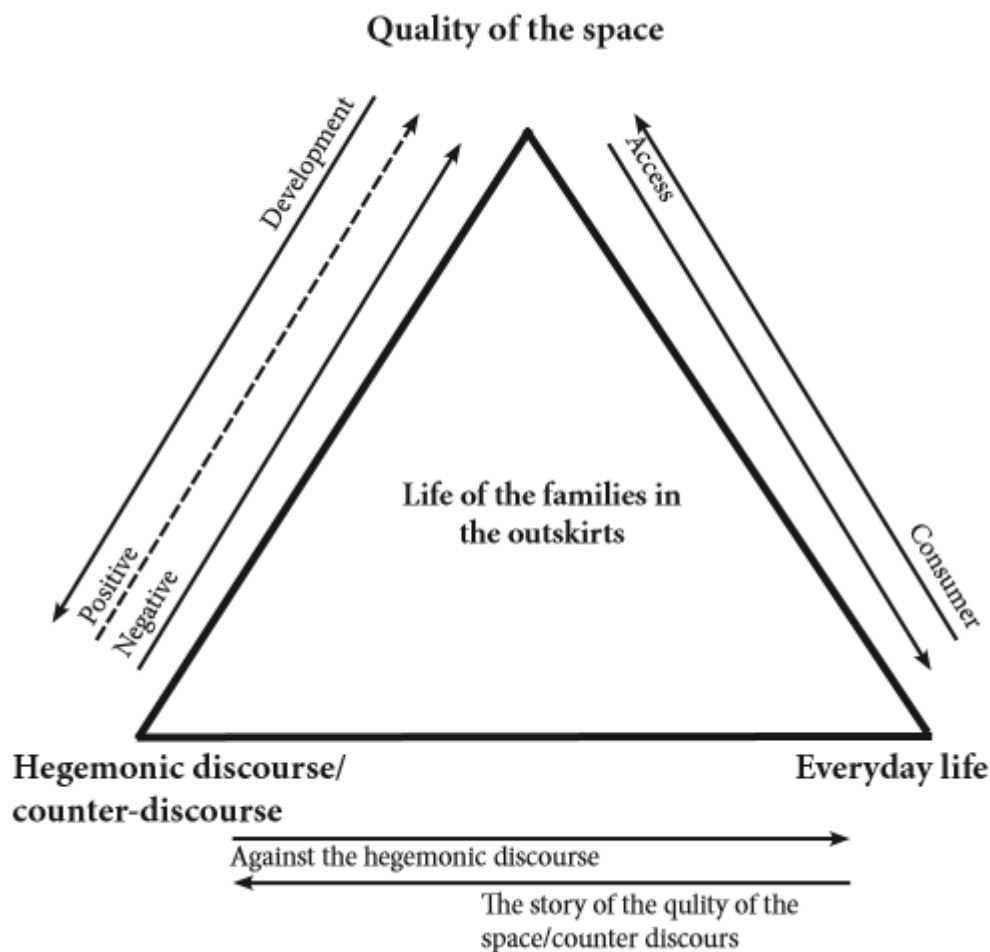
In the following conclusion, the trialetical agenda will be summed into a holistic view, where we will try to understand the life being lived in the outskirts, as it is experienced by the involved families.



7 CONCLUSION

To understand the complex field of the relocated life in “Udkantsdanmark” we have in this report, chosen to investigate the field through Lefebvre's trialetical model, with the intention to understand, how the narrative of these places are being constructed by several factors. The three perspectives influence each other reciprocally, by which the places are being created in an interaction between a dominating discourse and an anti-discourse, the quality of the places and the daily life of the relocated families

Figure 2: The Relocated Families Life in the Outer Areas



The figure has been made, by the writers of this report.

The figure shows, how the three areas interact with each other mutually and how the relocated families' lives can be interpreted in this theoretical frame. The locality of the places, gives the families access to nature and the families uses this nature, that contributes with life quality in their

daily life. The dominating discourse describes the quality of the places negatively, the anti-discourse upgrades the quality of the places. Locality is also being qualified through the life-phase changes of the relocated families, which creates a need for more space, ease, nature etc. The everyday narrative of the relocated families' daily life, is not influenced by the dominating discourse, but is on the contrary a counterproof towards it.

By investigating the nine narratives from families with children living in "Udkantsdanmark" we can hereby answer the research questions, as formulated in the report:

1) What motivates families with children to move away from the city and seek the outer regions?

The motives are defined by phases of life, in which the arrival of children in the families creates a need for more space and time to unfold themselves. The awareness of, that you get more space and nature for your money in the outer areas, is a factor that motivates. For two out nine families, it has been a new career opportunity, that was the paramount motivational factor.

2) Does the relocation live up to the families' hopes and dreams?

The relocation has for the nine families, given them more than they had imagined. They have been given more time to be together, more time for own interests, more outdoor activities and new, and for some, surprising friendships.

3) Is there a difference in how the families network dependent on whether the parents are moving back to childhood areas or are new-comers?

The nine families that participated in this survey, have all succeeded in establishing a network, which have been their wish. Internally in the families, there is a difference in the need for network in the area. All nine sets of parents, both backcomers and newcomers, have described how the children are the access point to networking in the area, through the school,

4) Is the relocation an expression of counter-urbanisation?

The nine families have all chosen their relocation despite the dominating discourse, either because they knew that the dominating discourse was wrong, when judging the areas, or because they generally haven't been attracted to the big city life. Also, the relocation of the families can be seen as an example of the interrelation between town and country, instead of a separation, where the families can get the best of both worlds. Thus, we can make a collective conclusion for this report.

First part of the analysis are based on the physical locality, where the questioned parents generally are motivated by a basic life phase changes. Many of the informants find that the fact of having children motivates the demands for change, and for others new career opportunities was

the motivation. The precise location in the outer areas, matches this wish for change and becomes a part of the narrative of the life phase change.

Second part represents a discourse of “Udkantsdanmark” which for a long period of time being inside a centralisation- and urbanisation-discourse, has been described negatively, as non-essential areas in the development of Denmark. The last two-three years, there has been an anti-dynamic, working against the dominating discourse, through information about and from the outer areas. The families that have moved out, have defied the dominating discourse and can hereby be seen as part of the counter-urbanisation tendency and contributes towards this picture. Third part reflects that the relocated families experience gaining more time for family life and for individual interests. They succeeded in creating a good work-life balance and they are generally satisfied with the life, they live in “Udkantsdanmark”.

8 REFERENCES

- Aner, L. G. (2009). Udflytninger fra København - Børnefamiliers udflytninger og bostedsvalg i et hverdagslivsperspektiv. Københavns Universitet.
- Bell, M. M., & Osti, G. (2010). Mobilities and Ruralities: An Introduction. *Sociologia Ruralis* Vol 50, num. 3, s. 199-204.
- Danmark på Vippen. (2015). Hvidbog - Et Danmark i balance er et rigere Danmark. Danmark på Vippen.
- De Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press
- Dybvad, K. (2015). *Udkantsmyten*. People's press.
- Halfacree, K. (2006). Rural Space: Constructing a three-fold Architecture. I P. e. Cloke, *The Handbook of Rural Studies* (s. 44-61). Sage Publications.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). Plan of the present work. I H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (s. 1-67). Blackwell Publishing.
- Lemke, T. (26. aug. 2014) Hver femte bybo vil bo på landet. Hentet fra bolius.dk <https://www.bolius.dk/hver-femte-bybo-vil-bo-paa-landet-23199/>
- Marsden, T. (2009). Mobilities, Vulnerabilities and Sustainabilities: Exploring Pathways from Denial to Sustainable Rural Development. *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol 49, num. 2, s. 113-131.
- Munkejord, M. C. (2006). Challenging Discourses on Rurality: Women and Men In-migrants' Constructions of the Good Life in a Rural Town in Northern Norway. *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol 46, num. 3, s. 241-257.
- Olivia, J. (2010). Rural Melting-pots, Mobilities and Fragilities: Reflections on the Spanish Case. *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol 50, num. 3, s. 277-295.
- Riessmann, C. K. (2008). Kapitel 1 og 2. I C. K. Riessmann, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences* (s. 1-52). Sage Publication.
- Robertson, N. e. (2008). Multiple Job Holding: Interpreting Economic, Labour Market and Social Change in Rural Communities. *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol 48, num. 4, s. 331-349.
- Slumstrup, F. & Mortensen, V. (2015) *Oprør fra Udkanten - Mulighedernes Land 2.0*. Hovedland
- Theodori, G. L. (2004). Community Attachment, Satisfaction and Action. *Journal of the Community Development Society* Vol. 35, Num. 2, s. 73-86.
- Yderkommuner. (15. August 2016). Hentet fra livogland.dk: <https://www.livogland.dk/vidensbase/kommuner/yderkommuner>

9 APPENDIX

9.1 APPENDIX 1: DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT FOR RESPONDENTS

Projektbeskrivelse:

”Hverdagsliv i det lokale Danmark”

Projektet er opstået i et samarbejde mellem Danmark på Vippen og to kandidatstuderende på SDU Esbjerg der sammen ønsker at formidle konkrete historier fra den virkelighed der findes langt væk fra det pulserende storbyliv.

Projektet vil bestå af interviews og observationer – herunder billeder som beskriver hverdagen hos 10 børnefamilier der har valgt at bosætte sig i de områder af Danmark som går under den forkætrede betegnelse ”Udkantsdanmark”

Intentionen med projektet er at formidle nogle af de mange variationer af hverdagsliv der leves af børnefamilier i det lokale Danmark og projektet ønsker at bidrage med et nuanceret modspil til de historier, der møder os i den danske presse, som ofte er fortolket gennem en storby-forståelse, og som vi har svært ved at genkende.

Som deltager i projektet vil du få besøg af Helle og Eva, der begge læser kulturel sociologi. Vi vil være sammen med jer i nogle timer en almindelig hverdag, på et tidspunkt af dagen hvor det giver mening, enten efter arbejde med indkøb, madlavning, aftenprocedure m.m., eller fra morgenstunden hvis nogen er hjemme om dagen, vil vi gerne følge hvordan dagen forløber. Vi vil bruge fotos aktivt i besøget og anmode om jeres mening om hvilke rammer der særligt kendetegner jeres liv, hverdag, aktiviteter, fællesskab osv.

Danmark på Vippen har copyright på det endelige produkt og vil gøre brug heraf i forbindelse med det arbejde de laver for at skabe fokus på og udvikling i hele Danmark.

Det vil sige at I ved deltagelse siger ja til at vi må skildre jeres hverdagsliv i ord og billeder, og dette materiale vil blive brugt fremadrettet af Danmark på Vippen og eventuelt i Helle og Evas forskning.



Danmark på Vippen

Degnemosen 1

8740 Brædstrup

www.danmarkpaavippen.dk

Helle Rotbøll Randløv

Stud. Cand.cult.soc.

glasengle@gmail.com

Eva Mærsk

Stud. Cand.cult.soc.

eva_maersk@live.dk

9.2 APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Spørgeguide:

Kategorier:

- Baggrundsinformation
- Baggrund for beslutning om at flytte på landet/forestillinger/ønsker
- Baggrund for beslutning om at flytte netop hertil (hvad var det der trak?)
- Hverdagsliv, fællesskaber og fremtidsdrømme
- Billeder (1)

Baggrundsinformation:

Familiesammensætning (navne, alder, dagligdagsbeskæftigelse)

Uddannelse (forældre):

Hvor boede I før?

Længde for ophold i området:

Baggrund for beslutningen om at flytte på landet/ud af byen?

Hvad lå til grund for beslutningen om at flytte ud af byen?

Har I boet udenfor byen før?

Har der været nogle udfordringer? (eller reaktioner fra omgangskreds/familie)

Hvad er en god bolig for jer?

Hvad var det I søgte i en bolig som ikke blev opfyldt i byen?

Hvilke ønsker havde I i forhold til at flytte på landet?

Bliver det opfyldt her?

Hvordan forholder I jer til mediedækningen af Udkantsdanmark? Havde den indflydelse i forhold til jeres flyttevalg?

Baggrund for beslutning om at flytte netop hertil (hvad var det der trak?)

Kan I fortælle, hvordan I fandt frem til denne bolig?

Hvad var det ved netop dette lokalområde som I lagde vægt på?

Hvad overbeviste jer om at det skulle være netop dette hus/område?

Hvilke elementer lagde I vægt på? (billeder)

Relationer i området?

Job?

Regner I med at blive boende?

Er der noget som I har taget med fra byen? Hverdagsrutiner?

Er der noget fra bylivet som I specifikt har lagt bag jer?

Hverdagsliv, fællesskaber og fremtidsdrømme

Hvordan ser en helt almindelig hverdag ud i jeres familie?

Hvilke værdier og elementer prioriterer I højest i jeres hverdag?

Familie? Job? Motion? Sociale fællesskaber? Naturen?

Var ideen om en ny hverdag en del af jeres valg om at flytte ud på landet?

Hvordan så denne forestilling i så fald ud? Er den blevet opfyldt?

En typisk uge for jer? (Hvornår står I op? Tager på arbejde? Hvordan transporterer I jer? Aktiviteter i løbet af ugen? Foreningsliv? Madklubber?)

Har I skabt netværk/relationer i området?

Hvordan er dette/disse opstået?

Har I selv skulle opsøge netværk eller er der blevet åbnet døre for jer?

Hvem er der skabt relationer til?

Har I nogen drømme som I gerne vil have realiseret gennem jeres flytning til landet?
Hvordan ser jeres fremtid ud?

Billeder:

Det sted som gjorde at I valgte dette hus/sted?

Hvor er jeres yndlingssted?

Hvor samles familien?

Hvor samles I når I har gæster?

Hvor leger børnene inde/ude?

Hvad ville børnenes yndlingssted være? (evt. også bed børnene om at udpege)

9.3 APPENDIX 3: RESPONDENTS

Familien i Kringlum

Rie (38 år) er uddannet agronom fra landbohøjskolen, hun er miljømedarbejder i Tønder kommune. Frands (37 år) er murer og selvstændig med speciale i at bygge masseovne. Familien er flyttet fra København til Kringlum i Sønderjylland i 2008. De har sønnerne Asbjørn på 10, Bjarke på 7 og Toke på 3 år. Rie er født og opvokset i København. Frands kommer fra Ballum i Sønderjylland og er uddannet her. Familien har hunden Tjalfe, katten Benni og herudover høns, ænder og får.

Familien i Ranum

Søren (38 år) arbejder på et socialpsykiatrisk bosted i Aalestrup. Mia (32 år) arbejder som produktionsmedarbejder på Salling Plast som ligger tæt på parrets hus hvor de bor til leje. Parret er flyttet fra Aalborg og de har sammen Asbjørn på 8 år og Rana på 1,5 år. På gården bor ligeledes en masse kaniner som familien passer og spiser, samt en kat. På sigt ønsker de at bruge deres store landområde omkring gården til at bygge et voliere til en rovfugl.

Familien i Ærø

Louise (46 år) er iværksætter og grundlægger af bryllupsbureauet "Danish Island weddings". John (60 år) er tidligere Royal Airforce pilot, nu medarbejder i Louises firma, og medejer af "Den Gamle Købmandsgård". Max på 13 år og Charlie på 12 år går i henholdsvis 7. og 6. klasse på Ærø Friskole. Familien har også katten Omo. Familien flyttede til Ærø i 2007 efter at have boet i Berlin i 4 år. Her var John ansat som attache på den britiske ambassade.

Louises forældre har rødder på Ærø, men de har boet i udlandet siden Louise var 3 år. Hun har kommet på Ærø hver sommer hele sit liv. Louise og John ejer et sommerhus ved Voderup Klit og et byhus i Ærøskøbing. Louises søster Yuki er også flyttet til øen og er medarbejder i bryllupsbureauet, og en tredje søster hjælper til fra hendes adresse i Chicago. Louises mor bor i huset ved siden af familien og driver vandrehjemmet i Ærøskøbing.

Familien i Lomborg

Mie (31 år) er fra den lille by Simmelkær udenfor Herning og flyttede i 2007 til Aarhus for at læse musikvidenskab og samfundsfag. Hun arbejder nu på Musikskolen i Lemvig. Ruben (27 år) er fra Aarhus og er uddannet fysioterapeut. Han arbejder for Handikap og Psykiatri i Lemvig. De to mødte hinanden i Aarhus hvor de fik Julius, men de valgte i januar 2015 at flytte til Lomborg efter næsten et års boligsøgning. Julius er 3,5 år og går i børnehaven og Mynte på 1 år går i dagpleje mindre end en halv kilometer fra familiens hjem.

Familien i Nykøbing Falster (anonyme)

Mor (25 år) og er uddannet tegnsprogstolk, hun arbejder som freelance tegnsprogstolk ca. 20 timer om ugen. Hun er født og opvokset på Lolland. Far (34 år) og uddannet indenfor handel, arbejder som souschef for et stort dansk engros firma i Nykøbing Falster. Han er født og opvokset på Bornholm. Parret har en søn som er født i januar 2016. Familien er flyttet til Nykøbing Falster i januar 2016 fra København, de har valgt at bo til leje i en lejlighed i byen. Udgangspunktet var at manden lige skulle have en chance for at finde ud af om han kan falde til i de nye omgivelser, det er han positiv på og de har besluttet at blive boende og familien er begyndt at lede efter det hus der skal skabe rammen om deres fremtid.

Familien i Ringkøbing

Pia (41 år) er bankuddannet og arbejder nu i Vestjysk Bank i Ringkøbing. Kim (40 år) er købstadschef for Ringkøbing Handelsforening og har fået mulighed for også at være brandmand i det lokale brandmandskorps. Katrine er 5 år og går i børnehaven. Familien har en hund der hedder Asti. Pia kommer fra Nørrebro, hun er født på Sydsjælland. Kim er født og opvokset i Aalborg, men

har også boet 10 år i Norge. Familien flyttede fra Aalborg til Ringkøbing i 2014 fordi Kim fik job som sportschef for Ringkøbing Håndbold. Efter at have boet i forskellige lejemaal valgte familien at købe et hus i Ringkøbing for ca. et år siden.

Familien i Brendal (anonyme)

Mor (43 år) og uddannet pædagog, har valgt at læse til sygeplejerske i Holstebro, efter hun har ledt forgæves efter det rigtige job som pædagog i området. Far (39 år) er speciallæge med egen praksis i Holstebro, han er opvokset i Hundested og uddannet i Odense. Familien har to børn, datter på 13 år der går i 7. klasse på en international linje og en søn på 8 år der går i 1. klasse, samt en hund og to heste. Familien er flyttet fra Odense til Brendal ved Struer i 2015, først i lejet hus, og senere er de flyttet i eget hus i februar 2016.

Familien i Bækmarksbro

David (32 år) og Maria Louisa (35 år) bor i Bækmarksbro hvor de sammen har købt en gammel gård. Maria er uddannet markedsføringsøkonom i Århus og David er uddannet lærer. Før hun gik på barsel var Maria LAG-koordinator i Herning Kommune, men er nu ledig og leder efter et deltidsjob. David går hjemme på barsel, men er samtidig i gang med at iværksætte et nyt firma, der kombinerer snedkerfaget med en mentorfunktion.

Parret har fire børn; Alma på 7 år, Asger på 5 år, Ellen på 2 (men snart 3) år og Esther på 1 år. Asger går i 0. kl. og Alma i 1. kl. i Bækmarksbro. De to mindste er hjemme. Parret købte gården Sønder Grønkær i 2012. Den ene længe er nu lejet ud til en anden børnefamilie, som er med til at passe køkkenhaven og dyrene. På gården har parret ligeledes startet en gårdbutik, med grønsager fra deres egne marker. Udover parret og deres fire børn bor der en ko og en kalv, tre grise, en masse høns, syv moskusænder og to katte på gården. David kommer fra Nees i Vestjylland. Maria kommer fra Ry i Østjylland. De har boet i Aarhus i 7 år.

Familie Frederikshavn

Rikke (42 år) er uddannet akademiøkonom med speciale i spansk og engelsk samt økonomi og marketing, som hun har læst i Frederikshavn. Hun har nu sit eget firma Jysk Kontorkoncept. Kasper (38 år) er frederikshavner med stort F og uddannet på HH. Han arbejder med dokumenthåndtering hos HJ Kontorcenter. Begge er født og opvokset i Frederikshavn. Sophie er 9 år og går i 3 klasse, og Mathilde er 7 år og går i 1. klasse. Familien er flyttet tilbage til Frederikshavn i august 2011 efter at have boet ca. 8 år i København.

9.4 APPENDIX 4: QUOTES

All quotes are in Danish. The number corresponds to the section in the report where we have referred to the quote.

Appendix "6.1.2.1.A"

"Vi vidste at vi ville væk fra byen, eller i hvert fald udenfor byen, og jeg kunne godt have boet på Sjælland på landet, men vi tænkte også at det var ret smart at det var tæt på nogle bedsteforældre og Frands ville meget gerne tilbage til det her område, han er meget stærkt tilknyttet vadehavet, så derfor flytter vi hened" - udflytter fra København

"Altså vores fremtid er her, det har vi besluttet, vi havde aftalt at når der var gået et halvt år så ville vi lige tage den op og så snakke om hvordan ser fremtiden så ud, også med henblik på at vi gerne vil have et hus ... så det er planen, nu er det bare med at finde det rigtige sted og lige nu sparer vi op til udbetalingen, så skulle det nok kunne lade sig gøre" - udflytter fra København

Appendix "6.1.3.A"

"De vidste jo godt at vi ville flytte væk igen, og de vidste godt at jeg ikke havde behov for at bo i København, at jeg gerne ville ud og have noget luft ... jeg har altid villet være landmand, da jeg var barn også ..." mor, Kringlum.

Appendix "6.1.3.B"

"Der er en dejlig udsigt til Livø. Og vores bedste fiskemand." - tilflytter, Ranum

Appendix "6.1.3.C"

"Så er der en dejlig ø man kan sejle ud til - Hirsholmen - vi har en lille speedbåd, mig og Kasper vi kan godt lide at sejle derud. Vandet er krystalklart og man kan være heldig at se sæler derude"

"Der er også yoga dernede en gang om ugen hele sommeren og parkour så man flytter alt der ud om sommeren, det er de gode til. Og der er også kommet sauna og badeforhold til vinterbaderne og der er også en lystbådehavn."

Appendix "6.1.3.D"

"Når nogen snakker om sådan et parcelhuskvarter hvor børnene render rundt og leger ude på gaden og alle kender hinanden, sådan synes jeg også Ringkøbing er... jeg synes størrelsen på byen passer os rigtig godt i forhold til det vi gerne vil ... det eneste vi er kede af, det er at vi ikke flyttede hened for 10 år siden fordi vi kunne have haft det så godt her i ti år mere" - tilflytter i Ringkøbing

"Og min mor bor her ved siden af, min søster bor her, vi kan gå rundt omkring til alt, og stranden er lige her ved siden af, som jeg siger "We are living the dream" - tilflytter til Ærøskøbing.

Appendix "6.2.2.A"

"Jeg ser også at vi her på Ærø er ved at være en uddøende race, a dangerous specie, alt lukker ned omkring os, også sygehuset, "Åh, nej nu lukker de vel ikke?", så er det politistationen og alt lukker omkring en. Det her er simpelthen ikke bare for sjov, nu skal vi altså gøre et eller andet. Jeg

troede ikke jeg skulle med i den her kamp overhovedet, men jeg har nok altid været iværksætter og én der godt kunne lide at have projekter og én der godt kan lide at gøre noget og taget ansvaret på mig” - tilflytter og iværksætter på Ærø.

Appendix "6.2.2.B"

“Der er flygtninge i Lemvig, hvor vi også er frivillige, så føler man også at man kan give lidt, når man selv bliver godt modtaget. Vi vil jo også gerne hjælpe til for det er sgu fedt at bo her. Vi vil gerne være med til at bidrage, i stedet for den der “rådne banan”-historie, hvor der ikke er nogen job at få og det hele er mørkt og blæsende.” - tilflytter og iværksætter i Bækmarksbro.

Appendix "6.2.3.A"

”Helt ærligt hvad ville I lave deroppe? Mine kolleger de forbandt Frederikshavn med et sted hvor man får bank, og hvor man kører rundt på en pukmaxi med en grå mælkekasse bagpå. Det var deres billede af Frederikshavn, det har jeg bare aldrig set!” tilbageflytter, København

“Vi har egentligt hele tiden haft lidt modstand på, altså folk der ikke rigtig har troet på projektet. Når vi snakker med folk, så siger de "Nej, hvor fedt og fantastisk for jer", men når man graver i dybden med det, så bliver det der fantastisk lige erstattet af noget mistro og noget skepsis og mange andre ting. "Hvad med hvis I ikke vil bo der?", jamen vi har slet ikke tænkt tanken for det er jo det her vi gerne vil altså”. - tilflytter, Bækmarksbro

Appendix "6.2.3.B"

“Vi vidste jo godt hvor dejligt her er, men hvis nu ens mand havde været Københavner, og hans venner havde stået der, "Helt ærligt, puk-maxi og fiskekasser!?" så kunne det da nok have været svært at feje det væk, men det er nok kun sådan nogen som os der kommer hjem?” - tilbageflytter, Frederikshavn

“Ja, de fleste starter med at kommentere på at "I kan jo ikke finde arbejde derude", men der er jo masser af virksomheder her. Folk tror virkelig ikke at der sker noget. Hvis du ikke har været her, så tror du jo ikke der er noget. Min mor første gang hun var i Holstebro sagde 'Her er jo både H&M og Matas'.”

Appendix "6.2.3.C"

”Vandkantsdanmark, det er bare så smukt et ord, og som de siger man kan få champagne-villaer til rødvinpriser og natur, så det er en meget mere positiv måde at anskue det på, men måske er det også fint nok at københavnerne tror det er noget lort, så kan de bare blive derinde, det er helt fint med os”

Appendix "6.2.3.D"

“Sådan ser vi overhovedet ikke os selv, og nu fx. med avisartikler og sådan noget, så plejer jeg at sige, at 'vi er ikke Bonderøven. Det er slet ikke det koncept vi lever efter... altså slet ikke, det her er mere familien, der er i centrum.” - tilflytter, Bækmarksbro

Appendix "6.2.3.E"

“Jeg tror også på at have - og det er man nok nødt til at have når man vælger sådan noget her - en

lille optimisme. Det er man nødt til. Ellers, hvis man er skeptisk selv, så tror jeg ikke det går. Man er nødt til selv at tro på det, ellers kan det ikke lykkes.” – tilflytter til Lomborg

”Appendix 6.2.4.A”

“Ja, og man tænker “Hvad blev der af alle principperne fra Realkreditinstitutterne?”. For det var Nordea vi startede med i Aarhus, som sagde; “Det kan ikke lade sig gøre, det kommer oppe fra!”. Så kommer man herud og så kan det hele pludselig lade sig gøre i samme bank. Det er vel de samme principper.” - tilflytter, Lomborg.

“Priserne er faldet efter vi er kommet herover, især fordi det er blevet utroligt svært at låne penge til at købe noget her”

Appendix ”6.2.4.B”

“Jeg tror da at vi sammenlagt har brugt et år på at blive godkendt til et lån. Mange gange i den proces nåede man da at tænke ‘er det her det værd?’. For jeg tror da at uden at blinke så ville de have givet os to millioner til at finde noget at bo i, i Aarhus, det kunne man sagtens finde ud af. Men herude blev det et mega problem. Og jeg tænker bare at, hvis du kommer som førstegangskøber, og som ung familie, og går i din bank og får et klart ‘Nej’, uden nogen som helst mulighed for at gå et andet sted hen, så tror jeg mange tænker ‘Nå, så kan det nok ikke lade sig gøre’” tilflytter til Lomborg

Appendix ”6.2.4.C”

“Ja, men også med bolig, hvis man ikke kan få det solgt. Jeg kan huske da jeg stod her på gårdspladsen og huset var tomt og her var helt stille, så fik jeg alligevel svedperler og tænkte “Fuck, er det her virkelig det rigtige jeg har kastet min familie ud i her”, jeg kan høre min svigerfamilie og alle mulige andre der står og siger “Det går fuldstændig ud i hampen for dem”

“Måske er man også bange for at fejle jo, altså hvis det nu ikke lykkes, så er man jo bange for at de kan komme med deres “Det var jo det vi sagde, det er heller ikke til at være derude” og “I kan jo ikke finde noget arbejde” – tilflyttere til Bækmarksbro

Appendix ”6.2.4.D”

“De går i skole i Skærbæk, de hører til Bredebro, men vi valgte Skærbæk, for i Bredebro kunne de kun gå til 6. klasse og så skulle de videre til Løgumkloster og det synes vi var meget langt væk, og i Skærbæk kan de gå til 10. kl ... der er 12 km til Skærbæk ... de går på Realskolen, som er en privatskole, da de havde deres egen bus, som kører rundt i området og samler børnene op, så derfor valgt vi den.”

Appendix ”6.2.4.E”

“Og det er primært i forhold til Asbjørns skole. En af de ting, der gjorde at vi valgte netop at bo her var, at der er en skole i Ranum“

Appendix ”6.3.1.1.A”

“Det var drømmen! Jeg tænkte ‘jeg skal så meget ud og bo på landet!’ Og så fik vi Rana og så tænkte vi, at vi bor i en treværelses inde midt i Aalborg og jo jo det er fint nok så længe solen er oppe, men så snart solen går ned eller klokken bliver over otte så forsvinder børnene og så

kommer banderne. Vi har haft bandeoptøjer og fået smadret hele glasfacaden på vores vaskeri.“

Appendix "6.3.1.1.B & C"

“Men så kom nummer to og så blev det mere tydeligt, vi var virkelig trængt på pladsen, og når vi så begyndte at kigge på huspriser kunne vi jo godt se at vi kunne få kæmpe hus for det vi gav for vores lejlighed derovre” - tilbageflytter, Frederikshavn.

“Huse med udsigt over lidt vand i Holstebro koster 6-7 millioner og det er det dobbelte af hvad vi har givet her, og det havde vi slet ikke penge til... der var slet ikke noget der matchede det her” - tilflytter, Bremsdal.

Appendix "6.3.1.2.A & B"

“Det var bare et meget overfladisk liv ‘Hvad skal vi nu? Skal vi shoppe? Har du fået den seneste Gucci-bag?’. Det der materielle var så vigtigt og det var faktisk det som i længden ikke gav mening. Vi havde jo vores hus herovre, og kom her tit, det er jo ikke så langt fra Berlin, så vi kunne jo bare køre herhen, så hver gang vi kom så var det bare ‘Ej, vi vil bare blive her’... så det var sådan set at flytte fra noget der ikke var virkeligt til noget der er ægte, oplever jeg”

“Og så begyndte vi at sidde og drømme om hvad er det egentligt vi vil, og jeg havde ikke lyst til at skulle arbejde dag og nat for at vi kunne sidde i et eller andet stort”

Appendix "6.3.2.A & B"

“Så mellemstationen blev Holstebro hvor vi lejede en lejlighed, fordi vi skulle ligesom mærke det vestjyske af, Maria er jo østjyde, jeg vidste jo godt hvad jeg gik ind til, og jeg havde nogle fordomme, men de blev også lagt ned” - tilbageflytter, Bækmarksbro

“Vi købte huset i Kringlum, eller vi aftalte at vi ville købe det, et år før vi flyttede herover, fordi vi vidste at det var til salg og det passede dem fint at de fik lidt tid til at flytte ud og bygge nyt, og jeg skulle være færdig med at læse” - tilflytter, Kringlum

Appendix "6.3.2.C"

“Vi havde tænkt, at vi ikke kunne få arbejde, jeg valgte jo måske også derfor at gå selvstændig for otte år siden, sådan lidt som hvis ikke jeg gør det så kan vi aldrig komme hjem, men det viste sig, at her skriger og råber man på kvalificeret arbejdskraft” - tilbageflytter Frederikshavn

Appendix "6.3.3.A"

“Vi købte også efter at vi kunne sidde for én indtægt, så hvis jeg ville gå hjemme så kunne det lade sig gøre, og det har også været oppe at vende mange gange om jeg skulle det, men der er også noget med netværk og det sociale i det, det er nok mest det, der gør arbejdet attraktivt nu”

Appendix "6.3.3.B & C"

“I Aalborg var det som alt skulle planlægges, jeg tror ikke vi har spist en middag med venner i Aalborg, der ikke var aftalt en måned i forvejen, hvor her sker det i hvert fald en gang i måneden, at der fredag kl. 16 er nogen der spørger "Har I planer i dag?" "Skal vi tage pizza med ud til jer?" eller "Vi tænder grillen kl. 18, kommer I?" og det er bare fedt, dem er der plads til, det synes jeg har gjort meget”

"Jeg kan rigtig godt lide det der med, at man kommer hinanden ved, og at man går op i hinanden, og det... jeg ved ikke om jeg savnede det i Aarhus, jeg er i hvert fald bare blevet meget mere bevidst om at det netop fylder mere herude, at man kommer hinanden ved, man har en interesse i hvordan ens nabo har det, det synes jeg er enormt fedt. Fordi det giver en mening med at bo det sted hvor man bor, det kan jeg rigtig godt lide, at man synes man har en funktion bare i at hilse på naboen."

"Nu f.eks Jagt-Åge, han er ikke ny, ham mødte jeg på det der jagtkursus, han er altså over 70, han er super fin, og rigtig, rigtig hyggelig ... han er herfra men han er bare slet ikke vestjysk synes jeg, han er vist pensioneret virksomhedsejer, ja jeg ved ikke, men jeg havde bare ikke forestillet mig at jeg ville komme til at hænge ud med en på over 70 ... det er sådan en utvungen socialitet, man kan bare læne sig tilbage og hygge, jeg slapper fuldstændig af når jeg er sammen med Åge"

Appendix "6.3.4.A, B & C"

"Her er det bare så nemt, vi kan det hele ... jeg har jo aldrig kunne nå alle de ting som jeg gør nu" - far, Frederikshavn

"Det er jo nok fornemmelsen af, at vi synes vi har fået mere af det hele, og grundessensen er tid, det er ikke fordi der bliver tilbudt mere her, men vi oplever at have tid og overskud til at benytte os af det" - far, Ringkøbing

"Jeg synes det har tømret os mere sammen, vi har længe vidst at vi skulle flytte, nu er vi her og det er her vi bliver, og det her er basen og der er masser af muligheder, og de kan gå lige til hvad de vil ... jeg synes det er dejligt at komme hjem, sådan havde jeg det ikke før, det var ikke en dårlig lejlighed vi havde, jeg havde det bare ikke sådan her ... det er bare dejligt at komme hjem" – far, Brendal

Appendix "6.3.5 A, B & C"

"Drømmen er, at have vores familie, vi er ikke rigtig karrieremennesker nogen af os, vi vil gerne have råd til at leve og så skal man jo have et arbejde, sådan er det, men primært så arbejder vi for at leve og lever ikke for at arbejde" Mor -Nykøbing Falster

"Det vigtigste er at vi kan arbejde hjemmefra, at vi har hinanden her og det er centrum for os." Far - Bækmarksbro

"Men altså alle er bare blomstret her, vi er meget mere sammen, meget mere rolige og jeg tror vi er en af de familier i byen der har bedst tid" Mor - Ringkøbing

Appendix "6.3.5.D"

"Jeg stopper [på arbejde] omkring kl. 14, for at nå at være hjemme når drengene kommer med bussen, så sidder vi her i køkkenet og får noget at spise, de er altid sultne. Så plejer vi at gå udenfor, ordne hønsene, lave noget i haven eller bare går en tur med Tjalfe, det er ikke fordi vi når så meget, men vi er bare sammen" Mor - Kringlum

Appendix "6.3.5.E & F"

"Når vi gik tur der [i Aalborg], så gik vi ligesom en tur rundt i boligområdet, når vi går en tur her, så går vi jo ud i naturen ved fjorden, for naturen ligger jo lige udenfor og hvis vi kører de tre kilometer

til hundeskoven, ja det kunne vi også have gjort i Aalborg, men det er den halve time vi er tidligere hjemme der gør det” Far - Ringkøbing

“For mig handler det om at kunne komme ud og fiske, og kunne svømme ... jeg er ved at tage jagttegn, det var igen for at komme lidt ud over rampen ... og nu er jeg klar og skal på jagt i efteråret ... og ja, jeg vil da gerne skyde et dyr, men det handler jo ligeså meget om at komme ud i naturen og være sammen med nogen andre” Far - Bremdal

Appendix ”6.3.5.G, H & J”

”Det har været godt for den ældste, i hendes skole i Odense gik man meget op i at have den sidste nye iPhone osv., det er der ikke noget af her, det kan man godt mærke på hende, før brugte hun virkelig lang tid på hvad tøj hun skulle have på og foran spejlet inden hun kunne gå i skole, her suser hun bare afsted på cyklen, det er dejligt” - Mor, Bremdal

”Det er så rart når de er ovre på den anden side af skoven, så leger de, de eksperimenterer og de ligner lort når de kommer ind, men jo mere de får lov til selv, de har mærket og følt og deres sanser har været i spil, og det er en af de værdier jeg synes det er vigtigt at få givet videre” - Far, Bækmarksbro

”Det var mig der havde svært ved at se hvordan mine børn skulle vokse op på Backersvej, hvor skulle de spille rundbold og lege ‘sparke til bøtten’ og alle de der ting jeg selv har gjort, og cykel rundt og løbe rundt selv, det var det der fik mig til at tænke, nej det er bare synd ... men jeg er opvokset her og det ville jeg godt give dem” - Mor, Frederikshavn

Appendix ”6.3.5.I”

”Jeg har bare ikke rigtigt haft brug for at skabe et kæmpe netværk herude. Også fordi det er så ensomt. Det lyder så trælst, men det er det ikke, det er ment på en god måde. At det er sådan langt ude på landet langt væk fra alting, og det er egentligt meningen, at det skal være det og være sådan.”

Appendix ”6.3.5.J & K”

”Men ja, hun har været rigtig god til at hente og bringe når vi ikke kan. Det er jo rigtig rart, vi kan se hendes hus herfra hvis man kigger ud af vinduet oppe oven på, så kan man se et lille tag og der bor svigermor. Asbjørns mormor. Og papmorfar. Det går han meget op i.” - far, Ranum

”Hun er blevet en del af vores familie, vi spiser sammen og Katrine kan lige løbe derover, når jeg bare lige hjælper hende over vejen, Katrine og mormor har altid haft et godt venskab men nu er det bare blevet lettere, og vi har også en barnepige, vi ikke skal betale” - mor, Ringkøbing

Appendix ”6.3.6.A, B & C”

”Det er lige så meget den mentale frihed. Man behøver ikke tænke på økonomi. Hvis man vil en tur til Thyborøn eller hen og besøge bedsteforældrene så gør vi det, hvis vi vil til Aarhus eller i Tivoli så gør vi det, ikke at man har insufficient funds, det fylder bare ikke så meget i bevidstheden som man synes det gjorde i Aarhus.” - far, Lomborg

”Ja, jeg kan godt lide at jeg har pladsen omkring mig, jeg har mulighederne for at nå hvad som helst. Altså Søren siger han gerne vil lave en smedje. Han har pengene til det han skal bare lige have den bygget. Vi har pladsen til det. Kaniner?! Vi har muligheden. En ged? Vi har muligheden.

To geder og en hest?! Vi har mulighederne for det.” - mor, Ranum

“Nej, overhovedet ikke, ligesom med B&B så var det en mulighed der dukkede op da vi kom herud og kunne se at der var nogle rammer vi kunne udnytte. Gårdbutikken er lidt tilfældigt, vi startede med at have en bod oppe ved vejen... Så tænkte vi at ‘vi udvider da bare, vi skal da bare have mere og vi kan da også lave en lille café’. Det har jeg altid drømt om at have, men jeg kunne ikke lige se hvordan man skulle få det til at fungere at drive en café fx inde i Holstebro.” - tilflytter, Bækmarksbro

Appendix "6.3.6.D & E"

“Det er sådan lidt mindfulness-agtigt, at være tilstede i det man gør, netop når man går tur her, i stedet for at gå med musik i ørene og så være et andet sted, så hører på fuglene og sige goddag til de mennesker, der går forbi en og sådan noget, og lige stoppe op og hilse på en hund der snuser til ens ben” - mor, Nykøbing Falster

“Jeg kan godt lide at have roen. Altså efter jeg har boet herude, flyttede jeg tilbage til Aalborg, jeg kunne godt mærke der var et eller andet der manglede. Der var lidt for mange mennesker og lidt for lidt plads.” - tilflytter, Ranum

Appendix "6.3.6.F"

“Det er bare som om, når man er i de større byer så er man bare mere sig selv end man er her, her er man mere hinanden, jeg ved da klart bedre hvem der hænger sammen med hvilke børn end jeg gjorde i børnehaven i Aalborg. Der hentede jeg bare mit eget barn, og kendte måske to navne på nogle af de andre, her ved jeg navnet på stort set alle børn og jeg ved stort set hvem deres forældre er, det giver jo noget mere fællesskabsfølelse når man kender hinanden, det søgte jeg ikke på samme måde i Aalborg” - far, Ringkøbing

9.5 APPENDIX “INFORMANTS”

The nine families of this investigations have moved from four of the biggest cities in Denmark - København, Aarhus and Odense (as well as Berlin in Germany) and to nine different localities in the country and peripheral municipalities – in this paper referred to as “Udkantsdanmark”.

The informants have been found with the help of private network, through Facebook as well as searching the local newspapers (through Informedia) and in cooperation with *Danmark på Vjppen*. The families were all sent a description of the project (see Appendix 1) before they authorised our visit. We have been in contact with 30 families, where 10 of these chose to participate (a description of the families can be seen in Appendix 3). However, one of the families chose to withdraw themselves from the project after the interview due to private circumstances. This selection method has naturally meant a certain element of bias in the types of respondents. We have largely reached the families that have felt like sharing their relocation stories, but it has turned out to be families with vastly different motivational backgrounds (Aner, 2009). Likewise, we have searched for families who have succeeded with their relocation, while we have not focused on the families who may have moved back to the bigger cities again or who might have regretted their choice of relocation somehow. In another context, it could be relevant to contact the families who have moved back to the big city again, in relation to a bigger comparative investigation.

The interviews and the field observations has been made in the time between August to October 2016. The families with children, who have participated in this investigation, have both bought and rented residences, such as country houses, houses in the village or minor towns or provincial towns. These areas have been chosen from the criterion that they had to be located in either the outer municipalities or the country municipalities. This criterion has been chosen to exemplify “Udkantsdanmark” – or ‘peripheral Denmark’. The selection of areas have been made based on Erhvervsstyrelsen’s division of municipalities (Erhvervsstyrelsen, 2016). At the collection of data from the interviews, there has been, with the exception of one case, been two interviewers present. Documentation has been made through usage of recorder, written notes and photographs.