

- are these possible solutions for the rural communities of Denmark?



Vi har lagen penge, vi har ikke de nødvendige dispensationer fra gældende love, og vi har ikke beboernes endelige ja, men jeg tror, vi kan tilføre demokratiet væsentligt nyt, hvis vi får lov, siger samfundsreformatorerne Poul Ejler i denne åbenhjertige samtale om visionerne og realiteterne bag den meget omtalte plan om at forvandle den jyske landsby Krejbjerg til et andelsamfund.

FOCUS: ROBERTS CASE

and the fact that the
and the fact that the

Det er ikke tilfældigt, at Bjerre har valgt Krefbjerg som udgangspunkt for sit samfundsforsøg. Befolkningen i denne del af Jylland har alle dage haft en radikal holdning

- Styreformen her som i alle andre led af andelsamfundet baseres på et tillidsmandssystem, der fungerer nedefra

der er humanistisk, lige så skarp afstand fra individuel-liberalismen med dens „alles

man også erkende, at vi
 har overanstrengt vore „for-
 tidige“ organisationsmodeller
 med den tekniske udvikling,
 om en af andelsbevægelsens
 åndelige fædre Robert Owen
 og hans spændende refleks-
 forslag.

Abstract

This report investigates the experiment of 1974- 1976 called “Krejbjergplanen”. This experiment, led by philosopher Poul Bjerre, sought to try new forms of living in, and organizing a community.

The experiment was based on his theories on society and his human-ecological value philosophy presented in his authorship.

Knowledge about his theories was found in the books he wrote and information about the project was found through his own writings, articles and interviews with his widow Tove Bjerre, and the symbol for opposition towards the experiment, former Chairman of Krejbjerg Borgerforening Ivan Andersen.

The report also seeks to compare his visions to present day actuality. The ideas of the cooperative movement 2.0 is investigated, analyzed and compared to the cooperative community of Krejbjergplanen.

The methods used to investigate these aspects were interview, literature review, document analysis and scenario building.

The report concludes, that the experiment of Krejbjerg failed, because it lacked the support from the local community, and that the cooperative movement 2.0 shares ideals with the cooperative community of Krejbjergplanen. It further concludes that the time might be right for new experiments in how people live in organized communities in Denmark.



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- Are these possible solutions for the rural communities of Denmark?

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Rasmus Koudal Frostholm

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This thesis report is written in the 4th semester of the of the Master in Geography education at Aalborg University.

The chosen theme of this master thesis is a result of a continued focus from the author on problems regarding the rural parts of Denmark. Previous reports have been on The Discourse of “Udkantsdanmark”, The Scheme of Flexible Housing and The Transition of Danish Agriculture.

The 3rd semester was spent in an internship at Faaborg-Midtfyn Municipality, as the assistant to the rural district and association culture advisor. This gave great insight in the current level of activity of the association culture in the rural areas of Denmark and the importance of it.

During this thesis Søren Kerndrup has been the designated supervisor, who definitely could have been used to a much greater extent, which would undoubtedly have resulted in a better report. This fault lies on the author.

The author would also like to thank the interviewees in this report for taking their time to share their knowledge. And a special thanks to Tove Bjerre for inviting me into her home and sharing material from her husband Poul Bjerre who is the key person of this report.



Picture taken of the author and Tove Bjerre

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1. Problem Analysis

The depopulation of the rural areas of Denmark, is a phenomenon, that have existed ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution. The migration of people from rural to urban areas have not only pushed for the rapid development of cities, but also contributed to the gradual desettlement of the rural areas. According to Dansk Statistik 52% of the workforce in Denmark in 1860 worked in agriculture. This share changed through the years due to a large number of factors to 23% in 1950, 9% in 1975 and down to 3% in 2010 (Kærgaard, 2017). One of the first main reasons for the migration from land to city was the emergence of industrialism. The need for a workforce in the cities, to fulfill the new industry jobs, attracted many people from the rural areas in their pursuit of happiness. The gradual industrialization of agriculture, and the technological and scientific advances meant, that agriculture could maintain, and increase their yield from the land with a smaller workforce. Agriculture today is many times more efficient and does so with a workforce much smaller than in 1860 (Kærgaard, 2017). The rural villages from 1860 to 1950 consisted primarily of a workforce within agriculture or businesses derived from agriculture. This leads to the definition of Denmark as a Farming Country "Landbrugsland".

The report "Dansk Landbrugs strukturudvikling siden 1950" by Henning Otto Hansen, Senior Adviser at The University of Copenhagen, investigates the development of Danish agriculture from 1950 and until the release of the report in 2016. He states, that agriculture has gone from being the primary occupation in Denmark, to just providing work for a few percentages of the Danish population. Agriculture still holds a smaller, but significant socioeconomic position in Denmark, even though it only employs a small part of the Danish population (Hansen, 2016). In the rural village, agriculture is not able to employ as many people as before, and therefore agriculture as a profession, cannot sustain a population in these villages. This might lead to some villages ceasing to exist. The reason for agriculture not being able to employ as many people as before, can be seen in the development of Danish agriculture from 1950 and forwards. Henning Otto Hansen suggest, that Technology, Scale-economy, Income and the development of Income in society, infrastructure and Agricultural Law is responsible for the development of Danish Agriculture (Hansen, 2016). Looking at production the development is a success story, seeing that the yields are bigger than ever before. This is due to the technological advances and the industrialization of Danish agriculture. Machines are able to work more efficient than people, and having a tractor and a harvester makes employing many people as farm help redundant. Specialization and scale-economy meant, that getting bigger and acquiring more land and farms, meant being able to have a better economy. Income per yield fell because of the efficiency, and this led to farms needing to get bigger in order to secure a good economy. The lower

income per yield combined with an increase in income in society in general, led many people to seek employment outside of agriculture. The agricultural laws really shaped how Danish agriculture is. A focus on environmental issues, or a focus on increase in production or limitations to production, has an effect on how Danish agriculture develops. Subsidies or lack of subsidies has the ability to determine what the specializations develop.

Denmark has a high percentage of people living in rural areas. The rural population of Denmark was 45,2% 2015. This is 7th highest in Europe, with the European average being only 27,7%. How come the Danish share of people living in rural areas are so high compared to the rest of Europe? Danish broadcast station TV2 asked scientific researcher at University of Southern Denmark, Jens Fyhn Lykke Sørensen this question. He states, that this might suggest a well-functioning association culture (Foreningsliv) in the Danish rural areas. This combined with a relatively good traffic infrastructure, and the mileage tax deduction, makes it possible to settle in a rural area and at the same time work in an urban area. Only 14% of the Danish population lives further away than 30 minutes of driving from one of the 11 biggest cities in Denmark according him (TV2, 2016).

It seems, that the migration from rural areas to urban areas are happening slower in Denmark than in most of the rest of Europe. A reason for this might be, that Denmark is a relatively small country and the distances to urban areas from the rural areas are small. It is however a development in focus, as the sustainability of the rural areas might be under pressure.

In Fig. 1 it can be seen that the development of people living in villages smaller than 1000 inhabitants in Denmark has fallen.

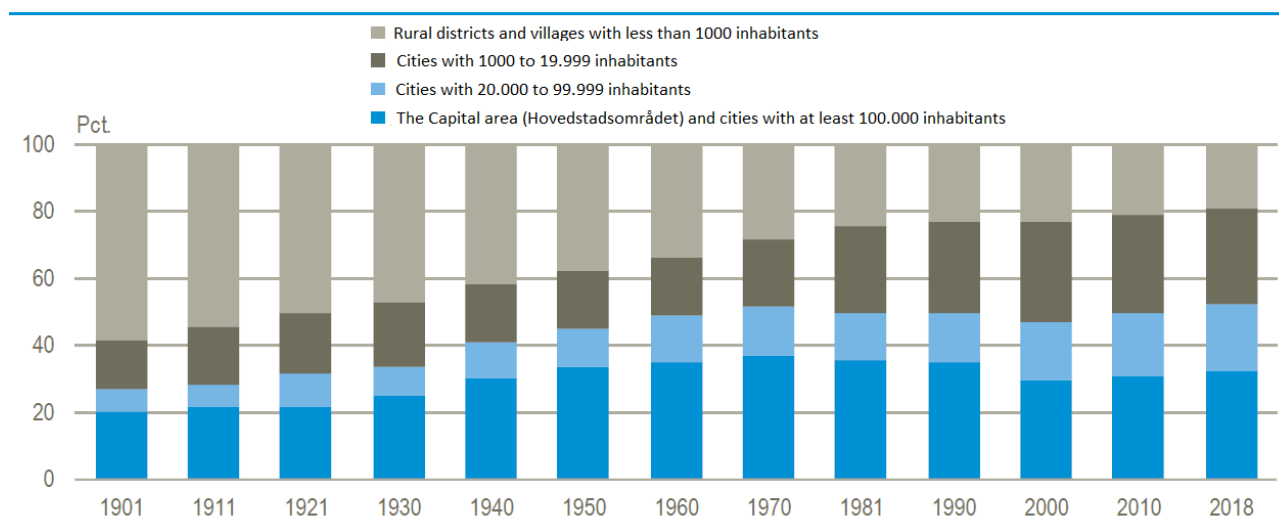


Fig. 1 - Development of the Danish population from 1901 to 2018. Edited from Danmarks Statistik (DSTAnalyse, 2018)

This development is a trend going back to 1901, where it can be seen, that just under 60% of the Danish population lived in rural districts or villages smaller than 1000 inhabitants. The trend continues through the years, and in the most recent of years 2018, the share of inhabitants living in rural districts or villages under 1000 is just below 20%.

Some confusion exists to the development of inhabitants in rural Denmark, and according to Jørgen Møller and Jan Kloster Staunstrup of Aalborg University. This confusion is because of confusion of concepts and entities.

The concepts of ruralism and urbanism can be used in the general and broad discussion of the topic of people moving from the rural areas to the urban areas. But when looking into the migration of people and the specifics of where people are moving from, and where they are moving to, specific concepts of area and units must be used (Møller and Staunstrup, 2012). Terms such as "*Randområderne, Den rådne banan, Udkantsdanmark, Vandkantsdanmark, yderdistrikter, yderkommuner, landkommuner, mellemkommuner, bykommuner...*". All of these may refer to rural areas in Denmark. In order to have a discussion about the development, and be able to know what lies behind statements, a definition of units must be made. In Fig. 1 the legend section shows four different units, with the unit concerning the lowest amount of people being the grey with rural districts and villages with less than 1000 inhabitants.

In 1950 Danmarks Statistik defined a settlement/village as a grouping of houses with at least 200 inhabitants. A rural district is by this definition areas, where there is not at least 200 inhabitants. This definition is not clear in Fig. 1, but in Figure 2, also from Danmarks Statistik, this definition is more clear, illustrated by the red line.

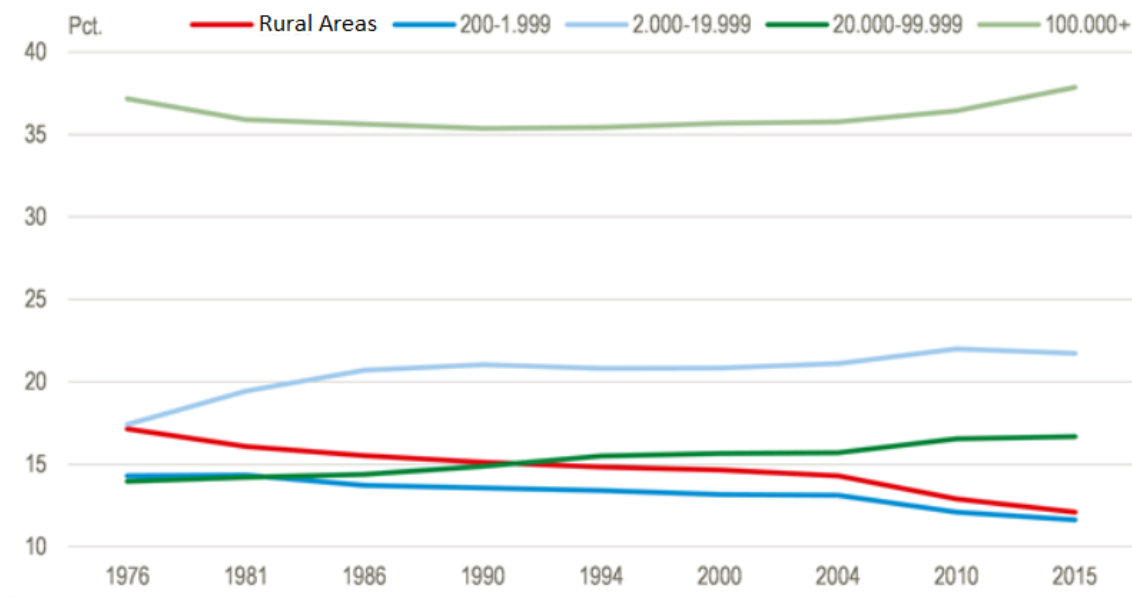


Fig. 2 - Development of the Danish population from 1976 to 2015. Edited from Danmarks Statistik (Danmarks Statistik, 2016)

The development shown in Fig. 2 shows the share of the population living in different units of measure. The populations share in the rural districts (shown as rural areas in the figure) shows a decline from around 17% in 1976, to around 12% in 2015. The villages with a number of inhabitants from 200 to 1.999 also shows a decline from around 14% in 1976, to around 12% in 2015. It is not possible to directly compare Fig. 1 and Fig. 2, but they show the same tendencies for the development of rural Denmark.

Is it bad that this development is happening? Well that might be a political question, and the Danish government in 2010 issued a plan of intent in a report called “Danmark I Balance I En global Verden”, regarding this subject. This report focusses on the differentiated development of Denmark. While much of Denmark is experiencing growth and prosperity, some areas, primarily rural areas, are not. Job creation, the distance to public services and access to education, is the main challenges that the report seeks to have an answer to (Regeringen, 2010). If having a low share of the population living in rural areas is a problem, then the problem is much bigger in most of the rest of Europe. As of 2015 45,2% of the Danish population lived in rural areas, and as seen in both Fig. 1 and Fig 2, there is a trend of this share becoming smaller. The main problem may not be how many are living in the rural areas, but rather on what terms are they living there. With the merging of the municipalities in 2007

and the centralization policies by more than one government, many citizens in rural Denmark are experiencing poorer terms of welfare, than citizens living in urban areas (Allentoft, 2018).

The most typical migrater from the rural areas to the urban areas is young people seeking education. The availability of higher education is limited in the rural areas, and after finishing gymnasium in Denmark, many young people migrate to one of the bigger education cities. This is a problem for the rural areas, as many of these young people don't return after finishing their education. Due to how the economy in the public sector is put together, the municipalities are dependent on income tax for the municipal economy. With young people reaching the working age leaving, the municipalities will be left with fewer people in the working age to pay for a relatively larger share of people outside the working age. This can be seen in Fig. 3 where the columns represent the different units of inhabitant sizes, and it is clear, that in the areas with fewer inhabitants, the share of people in the age of 20 to 29 is lower, than in the areas with more people. 20% of the inhabitants in the capital and the biggest cities are between 20 to 29 years old. The opposite is also clear, when looking at the share of people over the age of 60. Here the share is greater in the areas with fewer people, and lower in the areas with more people. In the rural areas between 26% to 30% of the population is older than 60 years old, and in the capital and the cities with more than 100.000 inhabitants, this share is only around 19%.

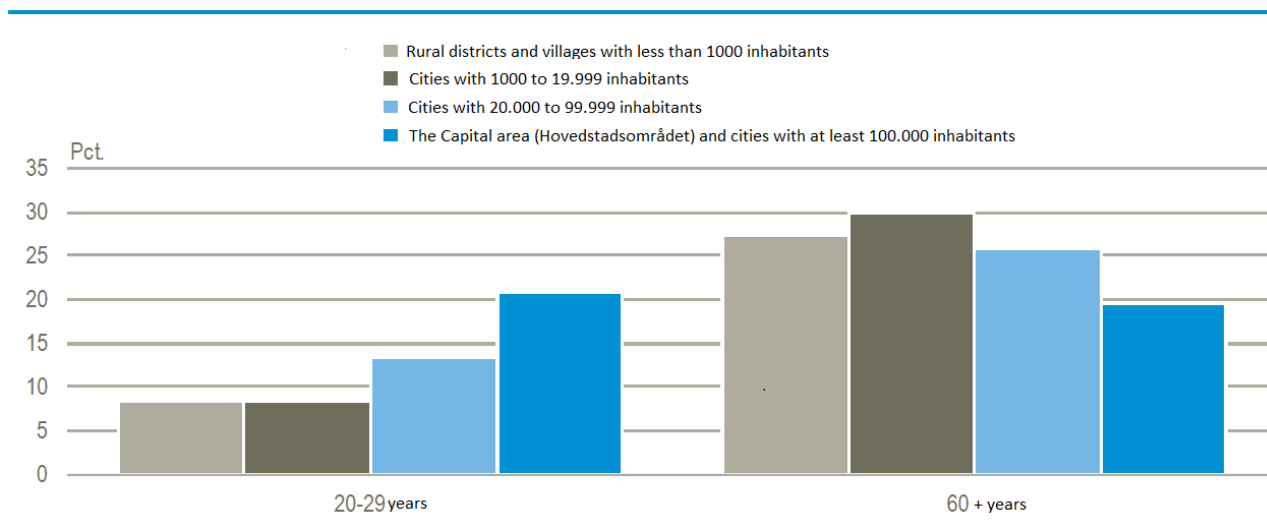


Fig. 3 - Distribution in the population of 20 - 29 year olds and 60+ year olds in Denmark. Edited From Danmarks Statistik (DSTAnalyse 2018)

The lower share of people in the working age is a problem for the rural areas. The municipal economy will be challenged, but also the dynamic of the village societies will be hit, if there is no new influx of young people joining. This could have a negative effect on the association culture of a community.

In 2010 researcher Jørgen Møller from Aalborg University postulated, that it would be better if we demolished the struggling villages. The struggling villages would inevitably die, and resources would be put to better use in villages with a better chance of thriving. He believed that a strategic closing of the smallest villages, and village communities joining in clusters, would be the smartest move for strategic development.

"Det vil blive en smukkere død – og i sidste ende til en fordel for alle parter – hvis man giver aktiv dødshjælp til de svageste landsbyer."

Jørgen Møller (Rothenborg, 2012)

The head of "Visionsgruppe for Landdistrikter" Søren Hermansen agrees with this and adds, that the expenses for elderly care, bus, and other services are high when only addressed to a few people. It would be better to financially support them to move to the bigger village maybe a few kilometers away (Rothenborg, 2012).

The specialization of villages and the idea of village clusters is something that might be a tool to preserve the village communities. Researcher at Aalborg University Lea Holst Laursen states, that the thesis behind the village clusters is a need for a single collective effort, which can adapt, to preserve and develop the experienced everyday life in the villages. The villages' challenges are difficult to overcome by the one village, but by cooperating and building a critical mass of activities and association work, they are in a stronger position. Being together as a bigger entity is also a better position to be in towards communication with the municipality or other agencies (Laursen, 2017).

New ways of developing the villages, like in the organization of village clusters might be necessary, as doing "as usual" might not create any development at all. The villages and rural districts have experienced worse conditions for growth from the government agencies during the last two decades. Hanne Tanvig, researcher at the University of Copenhagen refers to the term of "Udkantsdanmark" as a power concept connected to the growth ideology, where concentrating resources centrally and in bigger units is the most effective. An example of this is the structure reform of 2007, where many inhabitants in rural areas experienced services moving further away (Tanvig, 2017).

This might sound utopian, but Hanne Tanvig also states, that development is possible in "Udkantsdanmark", if it is the inhabitants themselves, that takes the initiative (Berlingske, 2013). These initiatives could come in the way of organizing themselves in clusters and sharing their

resources, but there are also other ways, that the inhabitants of rural Denmark could come together, to work for developing the village communities. If they choose to spend their resources on the association culture of the community, this might be an asset for the development of the community. Jørgen Møller states that a well-functioning association culture is able to save the smaller communities, and by that prevent people from moving away and the death of a village (Jyllandsposten, 2016).

He continues to say, that a well-driven association, with lots of opportunities for activities, driven by active enthusiasts, has a positive influence on the number of people moving into the community. Especially families with children find communities with a strong association culture attractive. The link between, if a village does well, and if it has a good association culture, can be derived from his following statement.

"Et godt foreningsliv og en god landsby hænger sammen... Om byen klarer sig godt, afhænger af de mennesker, der bor i landsbyerne. Det er, hvad de gør den til, der tæller. Ressourcestærke mennesker, der formår at skabe aktivitet, fællesskab og fælles identitet kan virkelig gøre en forskel,"

Jørgen Møller (Jyllandsposten, 2016).

This statement is supported by Helle Glyø, who is an independent association consultant working with DGI (Danske Gymnastik- og Idrætsforeninger). She has experienced how an active association culture can prevent the decline of a village. She points out the example of Harken, a small village outside of Hjørring, where the school has closed, and the convenience store is also gone. This community has not experienced a decline in the population due to an active sport- and civic association that creates cohesion and activity for the inhabitants (Godtberg, 2016).

There seems to be something to be done, from the level of the inhabitants, to turn the development of the rural areas towards a more positive one. And it might also have to be done at this level. Hanne Tanvig says that there is a blind spot in who should create and secure the development of rural Denmark. Even though the government in 2010 (and again in 2018) talked about initiatives to an even development of Denmark, "Danmark I balance", the fate of the villages apparently still seems subjugated to voluntariness and a small budget project philosophy (Tanvig, 2017).

The development of rural Denmark cannot rely on economic capital from the government or the municipality. At least not entirely. In the village of Jerlev near Vejle the local convenience store was closing. This could have a negative effect on the local community and the inhabitants of Jerlev got together to save the local convenience store by creating a LLC - Limited Liability Company (Anpartsselskab), that sold shares in the convenience store. This was a success, as 210 of the 250

households in the area bought one or more shares, to keep the convenience store going. From 2008 to 2014 the number of stores in Denmark decreased by 2616 stores, which is a decrease of 5,3%. Every third postal code area in Denmark no longer has a convenience store, and areas losing their convenience store experience a decrease in the house value of at least 10% (Laursen, 2014). The initiative to use their own economic capital to secure the development of their village, can prove to be a financially good one, if it means that their housing values don't decrease, and they keep activity in their community. Jørgen Møller sees this development of inhabitants using their own money to develop the communities as a positive one. He says:

"De har fundet ud af, at de selv er nødt til at gøre noget for at ændre udviklingen, og har erkendt at der ikke er andre, der gør noget for dem."

Jørgen Møller (Laursen, 2014)

This translates to; the inhabitants have come to the realization, that they themselves have to do something to change the development, as nobody else will.

This will to pull forward together, is reminding of initiatives in the past. Danish-Canadian economist and philanthropist Ross Jackson wrote in 2016, that the 20th of December 2016 could turn out to be a historic day, as it was the day that "Udkantsdanmark" became "Forkantsdanmark". The difference in those two terms is, in the first the rural areas could be seen as behind in the development, to the second were the same area could be seen as ahead in the development. He claims, that the reason for this change is, that this day marked the beginning of the reestablishment of the Danish cooperative movement, which was put to rest in the 1950's when big business and the debt-based growth took over the political agenda. He says, that the cooperative movement was a resistant concept, that survived two world wars and the depression of the 1930's, and that it is exactly what we need in the coming turbulent times with disruption and dissolution of old centralized structures (Jackson, 2016).

These statements are quite bold, and it is debatable how accurate they are, but they are a proof that something is happening. Hanne Tanvig also talks about how more villages with an active association culture has tried new forms of organization, in order to be heard and secure the development of their areas. Among these, many communities have, by their own means, continued schools, nursing homes, convenience stores or other services that would otherwise have been lost. These substitutes for otherwise lost functions are creating new locally based businesses, and because they are run by the inhabitants of the village, they secure the basic living conditions for the village for many years forward. This new trend, is in several places being called the cooperative movement 2.0 "Andelsbevægelsen 2.0" (Tanvig, 2017).

It is not the first time the cooperative movement has been suggested as a possible solution to the decreasing population in the rural areas of Denmark. Back in 1974, a philosopher named Poul Bjerre published a book called “Landsbypolitik – Samfundspolitik”, where he philosophized over how to create the good life in a village. His work didn’t stop with only publishing his thoughts, he was also interested in creating an experiment, where an entire village would convert into a cooperative community or “Andelssamfund” as he called it. The same year he began his big project with the village Krejbjerg where he lived. The project would see all the farmland being owned by the cooperative community and then leased back to the farmers and by doing this, insure the community against the rising price of farmland. The project would also see the community endeavor in cooperative businesses and a school. The project continued for two years before it ended without the village being converted (Bjerre, 1974: Bjerre, 1979)

The ideas that Poul Bjerre presented with the village community coming together and taking over some of the businesses and public services, are somewhat similar of the ideas of the cooperative movement 2.0 today. It would be interesting to know why the project of the cooperative community didn’t succeed in the 1970’s and if the cooperative movement 2.0 is continuation of those ideas? Is the early success of the cooperative movement 2.0 a sign of modern times being ripe for these kinds of changes?

The cooperative movement 2.0 can be seen as a defiance action towards the idea of giving up these village communities. With 45,2% of the Danish population living in rural areas, many people could have a stake in this development. Especially the people living in what has been called the rotten banana “Den rådne banan”. Jørgen Møller talked about how it could be a good idea to demolish some villages, but at the same time he also defined what would be worth saving. The places with a high level of active association culture. This way of thinking may have led the way for the cooperative movement 2.0, but it would be worth looking into, if this idea had been introduced before in the 1970s and what could be learned from the experiences of back then, to secure the best possibilities for the movement to succeed today. These thoughts lead to the following main research question of this report. (see next chapter)

2. Problem Formulation

The problem analysis shed light on an interesting development in Denmark with both the possible depopulation of the rural areas of Denmark to a possible tool to counteract this development.

The cooperative movement 2.0 is interesting in itself, but what is especially interesting about it is, that it might have been tried before. The cooperative community project led by Poul Bjerre seems to have tried to achieve what the cooperative movement 2.0 now tries to achieve, but it failed. Why did it fail? And does this mean that the cooperative movement 2.0 will also fail. This leads to a main research question asking:

How does the cooperative movement 2.0 compare to the visions of Poul Bjerre's cooperative community, and is the movement a sign of the time now being right for Poul Bjerre's visions to succeed?

In order to answer this primary research question, some helping research questions must also be answered:

What was Poul Bjerre's visions with his cooperative community project?

Why did the project not succeed?

What is the cooperative movement 2.0?

How does the cooperative movement 2.0 compare to the cooperative community?

And as a perspectivation question

Is the present time ready for the cooperative community?

The first two research questions will be answered in section 1 and the next two will be answered in section 2, the last research question will be answered using scenario building.

3. Project Design and Methodology

In this section the theory of science, methods and research design will be presented

3.1. Theory of Science

Critical Realism has been chosen as the theory of science for this report. This has been done, because this theory of science is not new to the author, but also because of the subject of the report. This theory of science allows for the research into a subject matter, that has both observable, and non-observable mechanisms influencing the result. It is also a theory of science that recognizes, that the subject matter is not a constant, and there are many sources of influence. The structures and mechanisms that influence the subject matter, is what is of interest, in order to understand the causal events.

3.1.1. Ontology

The science of the study of being, existence or the way the world is. Within critical realism “reality” is divided into three domains. This can be seen in Fig. 4. Domain of Real, Domain of Actual and Domain of Empirical.

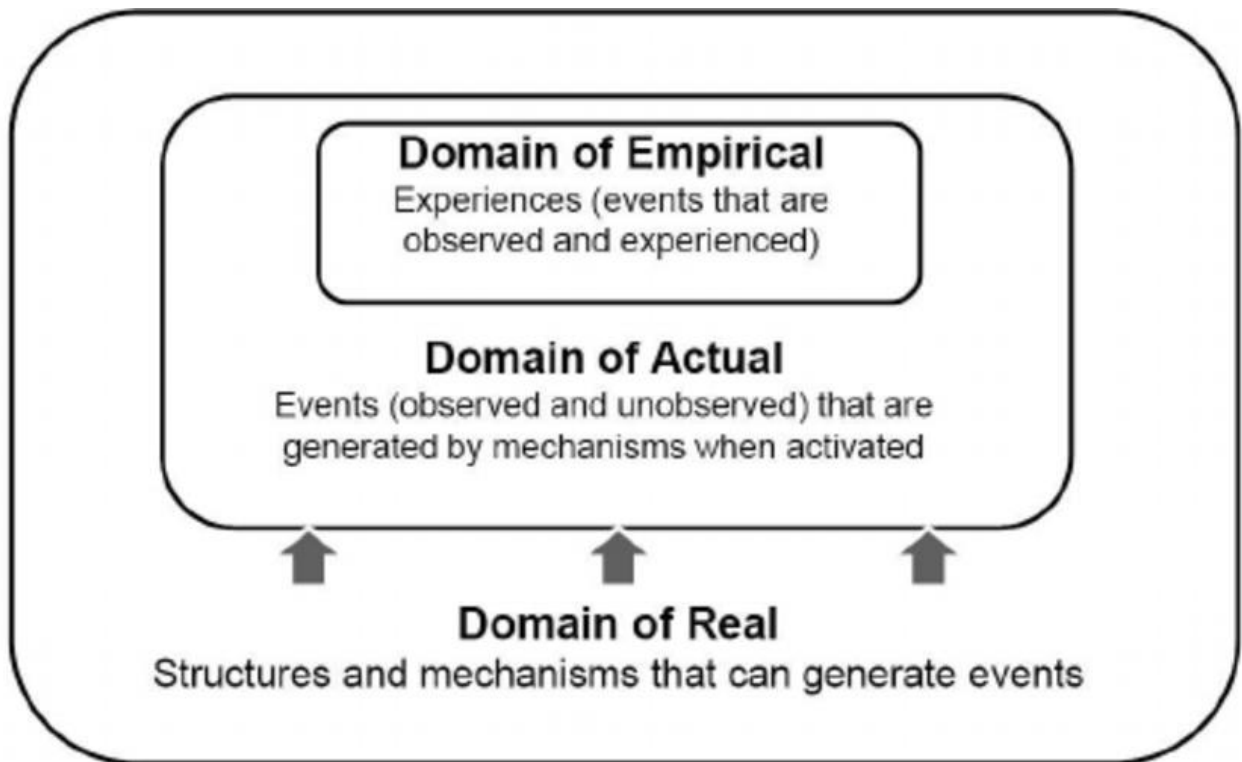


Fig. 4 - Illustration of the three domains of "reality" (Mingers, 2014).

The Domain of Empirical is as the name suggests everything that can be measured. Everything that can be empirically observed or experienced, while the Domain of Actual refers to what happens when different objects use their abilities of power, and what this will result to when they do. Some of these events and phenomenon can be observed, but the Domain of Actual also include, what cannot be observed (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2008).

The Domain of Real is what differs critical realism from other scientific theories. In this Domain, all existence is found. This is whether it is natural, or social phenomenon, or if it is an empirical object, and it is also existing independently whether we understand its existence, or even are aware of it. A reality exists even though it might be hidden from us, but it might be influencing what is observable to us. This makes every observable object to a relative entity which depends on the contextual relationship. Critical realism has the stand, that the content of the first two domains not in themselves can explain how the world is and functions. The structures and mechanisms which lay as grounds for observable events and experiences from research is what needs to be identified (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2008; Sayer, 2000; Hansen and Simonsen, 2004).

Critical realism believes, that the structures and the combination of these are the fundamental cause of the observable events, with the nature and causal potentials they have. The structures will only influence the concrete world, if a combination of structures set of mechanisms or causal forces, where the mechanisms or a combination of these set of effects (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2008).

3.1.2. Epistemology

The theory of what knowledge is, what it is about, and what we can know and how. It is the theory of what is of existence at a given time and it is essential to critical realism, as the knowledge obtained and its theories created from research may change, when additional research is made which create new knowledge and new or changed theories.

This is a result of critical realisms understanding of structures and mechanisms which lay outside of the observable domains of reality. These can only be studied indirectly at the same time as the Domain of real is a more or less open system. By open system it means, where causal occurrences can be seen as tendencies. It is by this definition not possible to predict exactly what will happen in the future, as at the same time the structures and mechanisms makes it practically impossible to determine causal mechanisms which has resulted in an event (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2008).

3.1.3. Inference modes

The inference mode is the method by which logical conclusions can be drawn. It is important to determine, as it also has an influence on how the research is being conducted.

There are three approaches to inference mode, inductive, deductive and abductive. Of the three abduction is most suitable for this report. In abduction the observed is being analyzed in order to determine what forces or mechanisms has caused the event. This is done without ending with a law or conclusion as with induction. In abduction this analysis is more of a tendency or new hypothesis which can be further examined. Ending with a tendency is mostly referred to as a theory, and in some cases can be seen as such, but critical realism differs in the way that a definite conclusion can not be drawn, as it is subject to change. Abduction continues to use this new hypothesis in other context in order to get closer to a conclusion. But as mentioned, a final conclusion can never be found with critical realism, and the conclusions drawn should be seen as a best qualified explanation.

3.2. Research design

The frame and research design for this report also bear the mark of the abductive inference mode. The report is set up with a problem analysis section that will lead to the problem formulation of the report. The first focus of this problem formulation is, to look into the project of “Krejbjergplanen”. Here it will be described what it was, and then analyzed through a discussion of why it didn’t work. The result of that discussion will be the basis for a hypothesis that will be worked with further, but before then the next focus of the report will be on the Cooperative movement, the re-emergence with the Cooperative movement 2.0 will be described ,and the purpose and success of these initiatives will be analyzed. The results of these two sections will form the basis of doing a scenario building analysis where possible scenarios of the Krejbjerg experiment in today’s society will be presented. In the discussion the results of this analysis will be discussed with the addition of the research questions. All this leads to a final conclusion of the problem formulation. This I illustrated in Fig. 5.

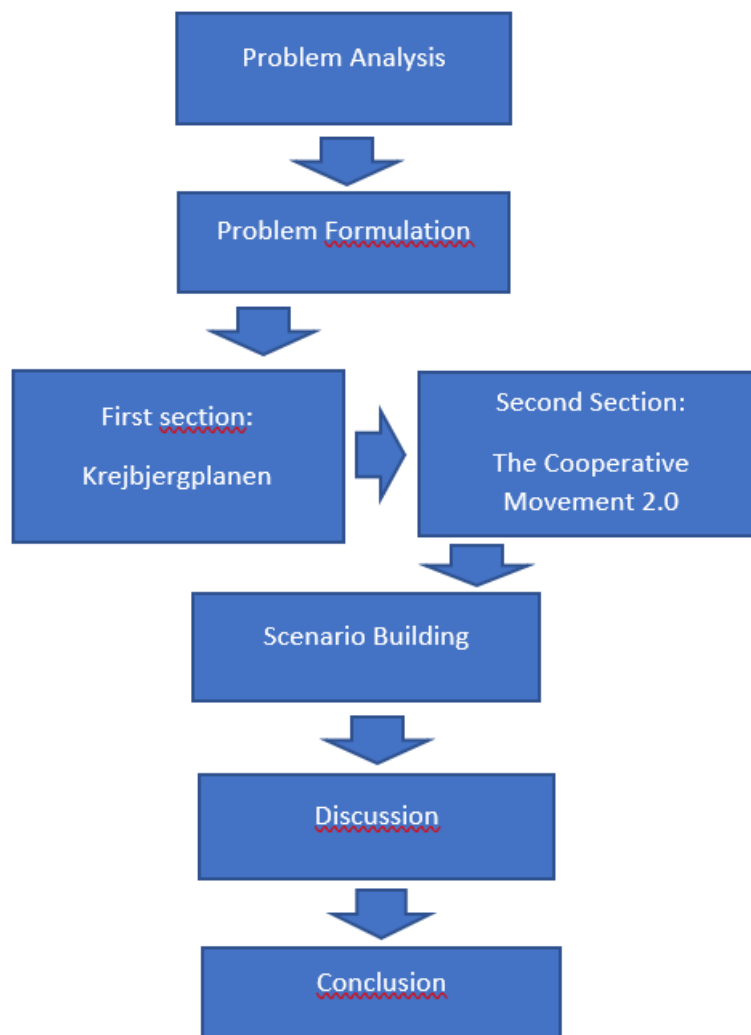


Fig. 5 - Illustration of the research design

3.3. Methods

3.3.1 Interview

Four interviews have been conducted in this report with what can be considered as key persons. The argumentation for interviewing these people comes from different reasons.

The interviews with Tove Bjerre and Ivan Andersen was done as they are considered to be key persons in the process that “Krejbjergplanen” experienced. Ivan Andersen was the first elected chairman of Krejbjerg Borgerforening, that was in opposition of the realization of “Krejbjergplanen”. The ideal person to interview as a champion for “Krejbjergplanen” would have been Poul Bjerre, but he unfortunately has been dead for quite some time. In 2014 an interview was conducted with his wife

Tove Bjerre, in order to achieve information about the project, and maybe get some inside knowledge of the process and Poul Bjerre's thoughts. This interview is not included in this report, as unfortunately Tove Bjerre, who recently also passed away (in 2018) didn't remember much from that time.

To the section about the cooperative movement two interviews were conducted, also with what could be considered key persons of interest on the field. The researcher Hanne Tanvig of the University of Copenhagen was interviewed as expert in the field of the development of rural areas in Denmark. Finn D. Andersen, the secretary of Borgerforeningen Rødding, was also interviewed as a person who is actively involved in the cooperative movement and the "saving" of a village.

The interviews with Tove Bjerre, Ivan Andersen and Finn D. Andersen was conducted as semi-structured. The interviewees knew what the topic of the interview was, and the interviewer had a list of questions that he would like to have answered. The process of the semi-structured interview is to let it flow as a conversation and by this also be open to experience the aspects of the topic that the interviewee finds interesting.

The semi-structured interview is an interview that requires the interviewer to have a certain amount of knowledge about the subject beforehand. Subjects that the interviewer wants answers to in the interview, also needs to be made and this can be done by creating an interview guide. This guide consists of questions to ask during the interview, but it is not an interview plan, as the order of questions answered in the interview is not important (Andersen, 2006).

The interview with Hanne Tanvig was different, as she were sent the questions beforehand and knew what the interviewer wanted to have answered. According to Ib Andersen (Andersen, 2006), this might have an influence on the honesty of the interview, as the answers wouldn't be the immediate thought, but might be subject to covert consideration.

3.3.2. Literature review

A literature review has been conducted in order to obtain knowledge about the main topics of this report. Especially in the problem analysis. The topic of migration and depopulation are quite common topics within the department of planning, where Geography is placed in Aalborg University. But putting it into a context of how the cooperative movement can be used as a tool to turn the development of the depopulation in Denmark is less known.

The knowledge of how the cooperative movement functioned especially in the 1970's and today, and how this has changed, is also central to obtain knowledge about. This was also done to make sure, that

the focus of this report is somewhat unique, and not a duplication of works already available. Central in literature review is also assessing the credibility of the literature and this has also been done in this report. Much of the literature and secondary data comes from either the Danish state or companies supported by the Danish state.

The main resources for literature have been the works of the person somewhat in focus, Poul Bjerre, and reports from VIVE – Det Nationale Forsknings- og Analysecenter for Velfærd, and RealDania, who has published a multitude of reports about the state of the rural areas of Denmark. Google Scholar, as well as Aalborg University's library have been used as search engines looking for literature with the primary keywords being the cooperative movement, association culture, village death and the Danish translations of these.

3.3.3 Scenario building

Scenario building can be used as a tool when the researchers want to make predictions about what might happen in the future. The result of scenario building will be different scenarios of a possible outcomes for the future, based on different driving forces towards the future.

Scenario building was developed in America after the end of the second world war. The new era of the cold war made it more difficult to plan for the future, and a new way of strategic planning was needed. Herman Kahn is considered to be the first to actively use scenario building. as he used it to look into alternatives to surrender or annihilation, during the nuclear bomb buildup of the cold war (Bradfield et al., 2005). The first uses of scenario building were in the creation of war games that would make America aware of different outcomes to plan for. Scenario building was later adapted to be used as a tool in both social and public policy making, and was successfully used by Royal Dutch Shell as a tool for business strategy.

In the beginning of the 1970's scenario building, as a strategic tool, had a breakthrough, as it became more widely used after the first oil crisis, that made many companies aware of the benefits of being able to predict future vulnerabilities (Bradfield et al., 2005).

There are many types of scenarios to create through scenario building see Fig 6. In this report scenarios of the normative scenario building type called preserving will be used. The normative scenarios are categorized by being used when there is a certain future that is desired. The purpose of the scenario building is looking into that future and how it will be possible to achieve this outcome. The preserving scenario has its focus on how the desired future could be reached with adjustments to what is the reality at the present time. Using scenario building this way the tool can be used to find

what the desirable future might be and aware of possible unforeseen outcomes of an action (Börjeson et al., 2006).

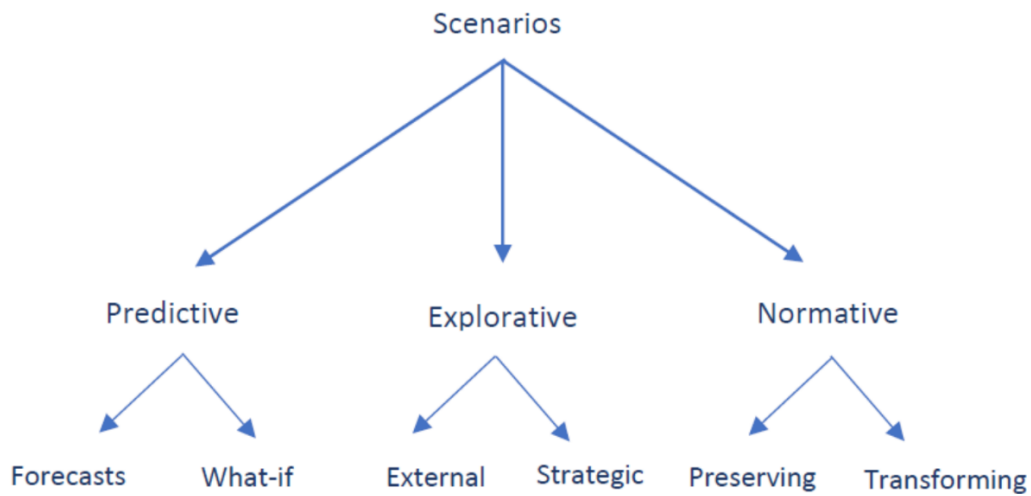


Fig. 6 - Scenario typology with three categories and six types. Edited from Börjeson et al., 2006)

Scenario building as a tool is not in conflict with the theory of science in this report. Within critical realism it is impossible to accurately predict the future and using a tool to do so might then seem impossible. Scenario building can still be used, as it is not accurate futures that are the result of the tool, in actuality four different outcomes will emerge and this report will only focus on the desirability of these futures, and not use it, as a way to make plans to reach them.

In order to be able to make scenarios within scenario building, the critical uncertainties must be found. This can be done by evaluating all driving forces for the subject. In this report one critical uncertainty will be found in the first section of the report and the second critical uncertainty will be found in the second section of the report. The critical uncertainties will be put into a matrix such as Fig. 7 and in each of the four squares a scenario will be created. These scenarios are often given quirky names that somehow signifies the nature of the scenario. These four possible scenarios will then be analyzed in order to determine which is the most desirable.

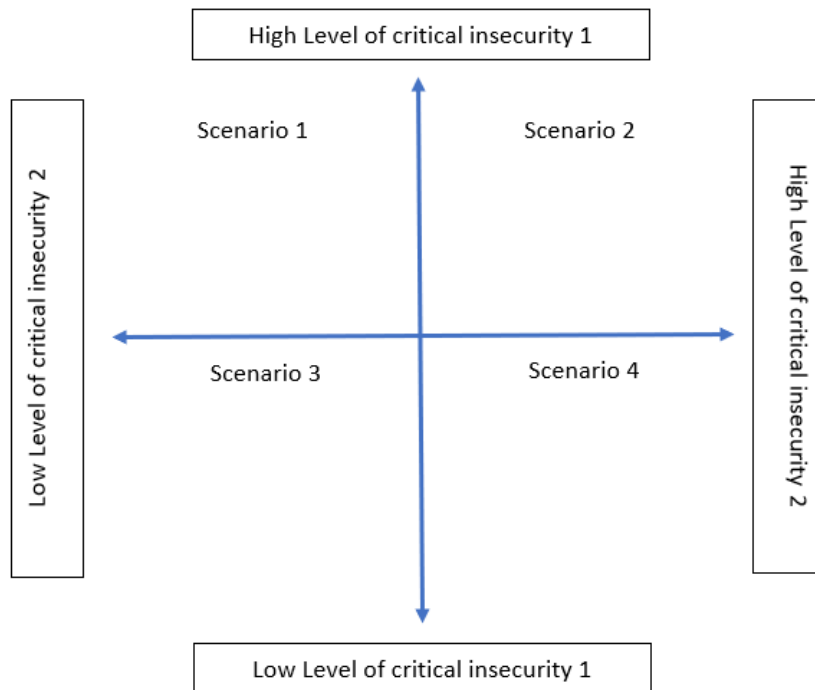


Fig. 7 - Matrix of critical uncertainties

3.3.4 Document analysis

The tool has been used primarily in the section about “Krejbjergplanen”, as the ideal analysis would be to take statements from an interview with Poul Bjerre, and put them together with statements from the interview with Ivan Andersen, and let the analysis of that explain why the “Krejbjergplanen” did not end up working. Poul Bjerre has in his authorship with the books “Andelssamfundet” and “Ud af industrikulturen” as well as in articles, himself discussed this subject, and these thoughts will be the basis for the analysis as to why “Krejbjergplanen” did not work.

Using document analysis in combination with interview data is to combine both primary and secondary data in the analysis. The primary data is from the interview where the secondary data is from the books of Poul Bjerre. This combination of data is the best available data for this analysis.

3.4 Limitations and Delimitations

In the making of a research paper, it is important to be aware of what it can, and what it cannot. There are limits to what you might be able to conclude from a certain material. This is the basis of creating the research design and choosing the research methods, that allows for the researcher to end up with a valid conclusion (PHDStudent, 2018). Limitations and delimitations are restrictions on the researcher and acknowledging these restrictions makes it possible for the researcher to work within them. The difference between limitations and delimitations can be difficult to explain but limitations are things outside of the researchers control whereas delimitations are restrictions within the researcher's control. Sometimes it can be hard to differentiate between what is a limitation and what is a delimitation, for example the researchers choice of method is a delimitation, as it is something that the researchers has chosen, but at the same time, the method itself is a limitation with its abilities. Through the report there is an awareness on limitations and delimitations, and these can be seen here below:

Limitations

- It is difficult to generalize from qualitative data
- The subjectivity of the researcher
- The knowledge of the key interview persons
- Research time, this should not only be seen as the limited project period, but also as the time in history where this research is conducted, where many of the key stakeholders in "Krejbjergplanen" are no longer alive.

Delimitations

- The research question limits the field of research
- The key stakeholders were chosen by the researcher
- The language used in the interviews were different from the language used in this report
- The decision what methods to use
- How data is displayed in this report

4. Krejbjergplanen

4.1 The philosopher and inspirator Poul Bjerre

Poul Bjerre 1924 – 1997

Poul Bjerre was described as a “One of a kind” in the Danish debate about society. His love-philosophy and Utopian Humanism still provokes today, and his efforts in striving for the good life and the good society left a mark in how “bofællesskaber” house sharing and eco-societies evolved (Ravn, 1998)



Fig. 8 - picture from Skive Folkeblad of Poul Bjerre in front of his house

Poul Bjerre was born the 5th of June 1924 and spent his childhood years in Nibe, where his home was a social rallying point for the intellectuals of the county, as his father, who was a teacher, was very vocal in the local debate. He has himself stated that he didn't perceive himself to have had a happy childhood. He speculates, that this might have formed his philosophical being and his work as an adult. In his book “Ud af Industrikulturen” of 1994 he explains this in the following quote:

"For mig var barndommen ikke nogen rar periode. Menneskers socialitet grundlægges i barndommen, og den fik jeg beskadiget ret meget. Jeg havde en umulig længsel efter det gode fællesskab, som jeg aldrig selv ville kunne indgå fuldt og helt i, men som jeg gerne ville medvirke til, at andre kunne nå i stigende grad."

Poul Bjerre (Bjerre, 1994; page 64)

From this quote, a purpose in life could be suggested at the end. Wanting to create a society where people, to a larger extent, experience community and the good life.

During the second world war Poul was active in the Danish resistance, in a group led by his father. During the last months of the war, he had to go underground and stay hidden in fear of being captured by the German occupational force. After the war he became trained bricklayer, and in 1948 he married Tove Nielsen, who he stayed together with until his death. In 1948 he also passed the “Bygmester” exam and could now work as an architect. As an architect he drew many family homes and also did some larger projects, like the 30 townhouses “Malerhaven” in Aalborg and because of an architectural successful addition to Skive Handelsskole in 1971, he was chosen to draw up the buildings for

Holstebro Handelsskole, the later new Skive Handelsskole, Struer Handelsskole and Nyborg-Kerteminde Handelsskole (Jørgensen and Christensen, 2000).

His work as an architect gave him a focus on the needs of people, and how that was different from the wants of people. This gave him philosophical difficulties, an example of this was a family explaining how they wanted their new smart house drawn. He regarded their wishes as foolish, as it would result in a not child friendly "Pralehus". The aesthetics and architectural fashions of the time didn't support the inhabitants in having what he thought to be the good life. Another architect of the time, Poul Henningsen, also voiced these concerns, but Poul Bjerre didn't regard his writings on the subject to give a theoretical coherent answer (Ravn, 1998).

The search for an answer led Poul Bjerre to not only see, that it was not just houses, but also cities and society that needed to be organized, to nurture the needs of people. Needs for a good life in a good society.

In 1955 Poul Bjerre fell ill with Basedow's Disease, a serious life-threatening autoimmune disease affecting the thyroid. He survived, but the disease weakened him so he couldn't continue as an architect full time. He now had more time to focus on philosophy, and during the 1960's and 1970's he found likeminded philosophers in Bjørn Poulsen, Villy Sørensen, Ulrich Horst Petersen and Knud Sørensen. They also shared his interest in focusing on human values (Ravn, 1998).

In 1968 he debuted with his first book "Menneskets Natur. Erkendelsespsykologi". The most notable contribution in his book was his suggestion of behavioral psychology which stated, that all efforts within science, politics and society should seek to satisfy the human needs. The good life in the good society is what allows the nature of the human being to unfold, and which meets its natural needs. This can be seen in the following quote from his last book:

"Alle mennesker er født til at ønske et godt liv i et godt samfund, og det yderste grænsetilfælde er bedst mulige samfund. Jo mere vi kan nærme os det des bedre. Det er en grundlæggende antagelse om mennesket, hvis man antager, at et sådant enhedsmål er teoretisk muligt. Alternativt kan man antage, at mennesker er født til at have mange og principielt uforenelige højeste mål. Så er der lige så mange slags teleologisk filosofi, som der er højeste mål at relatere dem til, og et sådant menneskesyn er industrikulturen opbygget over."

Poul Bjerre (Bjerre, 1994; page 2)

The human needs are central in his philosophy, he continued to state, that needs cannot be determined positivistic, so it is not possible to unambiguously determine how a need should be satisfied. We have a need for healthy food, but there are a thousand ways this need could be met satisfactorily. What we need to do is eliminate the least satisfactorily means of nutrition first, and by this negative approach we can get closer to what is good nutrition (Ravn, 1998).

Poul Bjerre found inspiration for his philosophy in medical science. Doctors were unable to define health positivistic, but as an ideal, it is possible to approach it negatively by eliminating what isn't healthy for example disease. Each disease is defined as not healthy, and each disease eliminated is one step closer to being healthy. Complete healthiness cannot be achieved, it is considered utopian, but with eliminating all disease complete healthiness is possible in theory, but not in practice. He defined this "Utopian Humanism" of medical science, as the modern world's greatest scientific success. He acknowledged that humans have a need for health and that purpose of medical science was to satisfy this need best possible (Jørgensen and Christensen, 2000). This take on medical science might be seen in the perspective of him surviving a life-threatening disease and his lack of knowledge about capitalist medical companies that are known today.

As he developed his take on philosophy, his interest in philosophy of needs also grew. He considered the social needs of people to have great importance, but also considered society not suited to meet these needs. In the following quote he criticizes how society is constructed:

"Det moderne massesamfund har imidlertid smadret smågrupperne og modarbejder systematisk tætte, nære relationer. Landsbyerne affolkes, familien er blevet en kernefamilie og er blevet tømt for indhold, i storbyerne råder ligegyldighed og hærværk. Industri-kulturen er i høj grad et fjendesamfund, hvis bærende værdier - penge og magt - får os til at behandle vores medborgere som var de kæltringer"

Poul Bjerre (Bjerre, 1974)

This statement emphasizes, that he believes that the close social relations are imperative for a village community to thrive. He believed that society had fallen to what was wrong with capitalism and the judicial system where every purchase or sale is depended on laws, that assumes that people given the opportunity would cheat each other. This system of thinking and laws would incite a behavior where everything not legally forbidden would be morally ok. This is the system that creates, as he calls it, "selskabstømninger og gårdslagtninger". Those two terms don't have English equivalents, but it is basically people who buys businesses to shut them down and sell what is left for a profit. This might give them a financial benefit, but the community will suffer. He described the society as a hostile society (fjendesamfund) and saw the equality ideal as a tool to govern this society. A strict equality

ideal does not work in a friendship based society (vennesamfund), as the strict demand for equality can ruin friendships. In a friendship based society there is an acceptance that resources should be distributed on the basis of concrete assessments. Here you contribute according to ability and this secures the weakest will be able to have the good life. The strongest will also be able to have the good life. Even though the contribute more they will also get more back in terms of reputation, influence and love.

The experiment called "Krejbjergplanen" would be an attempt to realize his philosophies about the perfect community. He believed that communal rule in a community of a couple of hundred people could create his friendship based society. His ideas also extended to solve the problems facing Danish agriculture at the time, with communal ownership of land, buildings, and to some degree, trades.

In 1974 he began the project that would be an attempt to create a completely new way of living and governing resources. It would be a cooperative community with the Danish name "Andelslandsbyen". The work with this project carried on for two years before it was abandoned in Krejbjerg in 1976.

In 1977 Poul Bjerre received "Det Danske Akademis Pris for Videnskabernes Forfremmelse" which was a great honor to his work with philosophy, but also his work with new social living forms and community organization. Poul Bjerre continued to work with his philosophy and was also the inspirator for several other social living form experiments before his death in 1998. He is said to be the inspiration for the first eco-village communities in Denmark. Through his authorship Poul Bjerre released the following books:

Menneskets natur, erkendelsespsykologi (1968)

Videnskabens natur (1972)

Landsbypolitik – Samfundspolitik (1974)

Andelssamfundet (1979)

Opbrud. Utopisk Humanisme (1988)

Ud af industrikulturen (1994)

4.2 The experiment Krejbjergplanen

The experiment with the name of Krejbjergplanen was a project to turn the village community of Krejbjerg into a cooperative community. The experiment started with the philosophies about society from architect and philosopher Poul Bjerre, who also lived in the village community. He had written a book called “Landsbypolitik – Samfundspolitik”, where he had philosophized about how society was functioning and how this was not ideal to achieve the good life as he called it. He believed in his theories and would like to see how they would work in the real world. In 1974 he introduced the idea to the village of Krejbjerg, where also lived.

Krejbjerg is a small village located in Salling, in the Northwestern part of Jylland close to the Limfjord. The community of Krejbjerg consisted at the time of approximately 200 families which amounted to around 500 people. The vast majority of these families were farmers as the 58% of the inhabitants worked with agriculture. 13% worked within production businesses and 11% as tradesmen or in construction. The last 18% can be seen as involuntary unemployment, or voluntary unemployment “hjemmegående” (Godsbøl, 1974). The village community of Krejbjerg was what could be defined as an agricultural community.



Fig. 9 - Skive Folkeblad article about the experiment

The idea of converting the community of Krejbjerg had a focus on solving some of the problems, that Danish agriculture experienced during this time. One of the main problems that the farmers faced was, that the price of the agricultural land was “sky rocketing”. Isolated this would sound like a good development, but it meant, that new farmers had to become very indebted when they would buy a farm, and the oil crisis of 1973 also left the existing farmers more vulnerable.

The plan presented by Poul Bjerre would see, that within a number of years, a local cooperative would become the owner of all the homes and farms in the community, and with this ownership of these, be able to clear all interest and repayment to priority loans. The money to realize this was approximately 8 to 10 million Danish kroner. He was hoping to be granted the money from the state, region and municipality in order to support this experiment. He considered it, as in the public interest to experiment with community organization and if the experiment proved to be working, other measures

of finance could be found, in order to spread the new way of having a community (Garde, 1974: Christensen, 2007). The community would achieve economic freedom by being financially self-financed and with the cooperative owning the houses and farms, the inhabitants could disregard fluctuations in land and housing prices. The village community of Krejbjerg would earn money by selling the products from their agriculture and from a cooperative factory. This would secure the community its financial independence. Another central aspect of the experiment was also to create and develop a new form of school for the children, where an institutional feeling would be discarded and an integration of teaching, working and playing would be performed. Poul Bjerre regarded this experiment as a complete community experiment, and it involved many facets. He also stated, that creating this experiment as a pilot project would mean, that a failure would not be the big catastrophe, but in opposite, in the event of a success, the national and international society could benefit greatly from it (Møller, 1975: Christensen, 2007).

In October 1974 the first civic meeting about the experiment was held. The inhabitants of Krejbjerg was presented with a loosely formed idea of converting the village community into a cooperative community, where it would be the community that would own the land and the buildings in the cooperative. At the end of the meeting 63% voted for the proposal of creating this experiment. 25% voted neither for or against and 12% voted against the experiment (Bjerre, 1975).

The experiment now had the support of the local inhabitants, and a more thorough plan with the involvement of the inhabitants could be made. Different committees were established. There was a financial committee, a committee on how a new school should function, a committee on how the political- and decision-making structure of the cooperative community should be, and a committee on a production company, and a miscellaneous committee for forthcoming ideas. The last committee would see themselves involved in ideas of creating a radio station. Poul Bjerre also advocated, that this experiment should also have a scientific committee of researchers following the progress of the project and documenting it, in order to be able to use the experiment for improving community organizations (Møller, 1975).

The news about the experiment quickly spread, and the press, both national and international, interviewed Poul Bjerre and classified the experiment as the first cooperative village in Europe. Looking historically at cooperative communities not many examples of using this label exists. In 1825 Abram Combe attempted to create a cooperative community in the city of Orbiston, outside of Glasgow in Scotland but failed. In 1831 he had more success with the project of cooperative communities as the city of Ralahine functioned as a cooperative community for three-and-a-half years, until the community was lost in a game of cards (Claeys, 1993). Poul Bjerre himself regarded the experiment

more comparable to the small Chinese village communities, the Israeli kibbutz, the small African villages and the Greenlandic hunters' societies. He does so on the basis, that these communities were organized towards what he called friendship based societies (Møller, 1975).

The idea of the cooperative movement and what it might be able to do made more established organizations rethink the potentials of the cooperative movement. Brugsen who today go by the name of Coop, established their own committee by the name of "discovering the new potentials of the cooperative movement", and did so with a direct reference to the experiment in Krejbjerg (Poulsen, 1975).

There were continuously meetings in the committees about the visions for the experiment, but as Poul Bjerre said, the experiment will first be a reality when we have the financing. In an interview he stated that it would be wonderful, if as much money was put into developing new society models, as what put into developing new car models. In February of 1975 the village of Krejbjerg was visited by Greenlandic researcher and professor at Harvard University, Bent Jensen. While he was there, he gave a slideshow lecture about the living conditions on Greenland, but also enlightened the attendees about the direct democracy in the hunter-based societies on Greenland. The political committee had already, with the help of known politicians outside of the community, reached a conclusion that for the experiment in Krejbjerg to come through, a special set of rules/laws applying to the project, a Lex Krejbjerg, had to come through the Danish parliament. A set of rules that would allow for the experiment to be exempt from national- and planning law in areas needed to see the experiment through (Møller, 1975; Hansen, 1975).

Many of the ideas were airy in the beginning of 1975, but the committee about the production and factory in Krejbjerg had locked themselves on an idea, that they pursued. From the introduction of the idea of the experiment, there was to be a production factory created in the community. This factory would be owned by the cooperative and what it would produce should be decided by the inhabitants of Krejbjerg. The idea that came through was a windmill factory. A design for the Krejbjerg windmill and the plan to erect a test windmill had already been put forward in 1975. A sketch of the windmill can be seen in Fig. 10. The windmill would be 20 meters high and span 17 meters. It was calculated, that the windmill would produce the same energy as 15.000 liters of oil and could be manufactured with a retail sale price of 50.000 Danish Kroner, including an accumulator to save the energy from

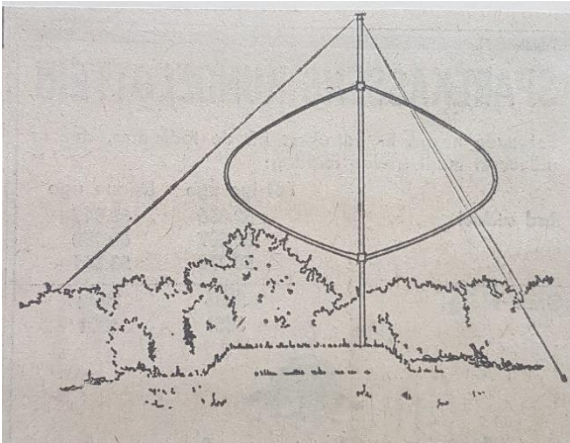


Fig. 10 - Sketch of The Krejbjerg Windmill

windy days. This would make the windmill profitable for an investment to be put up on farms (Møller, 1975).

In the spring of 1975, the experiment found a partner in Landboorganisationen, the farming organisation, who also were very interested in how such an experiment would turn out. They cooperated in making a competition among the members of Landboorganisationen to send in suggestions, on how cooperative farming could be realized. The ideas of Krejbjerg Lex, a special set of laws that exempts

Krejbjerg from laws that might hinder the experiment was also underway. The idea had been presented for the political parties in the Danish parliament and positive statements had, most notably, been given by the former minister of culture Kristen Helveg Petersen and former foreign minister Knud Børge Andersen. Knud Børge Andersen was the constituted prime minister of Denmark in 1972, when Jens Otto Krag abdicated and before Anker Jørgensen was chosen by Socialdemokratiet. This indicated, that there was a political support for the experiment to be created (Horn, 1975).

The village community of Krejbjerg might have been chosen for the experiment for the sole reason of it being where Poul Bjerre lived, but there might exist an underlying Krejbjerg-idealism, that makes the village suitable for an experiment of this type. In 1848 the Krejbjerg farmer Bertel Nørgård was elected to "Den Grundlovsgivende Rigsforsamling" beating a headmaster and a regional leader. The next year he was also elected to the first ever parliament of Denmark. His main issues were liberty, and democracy in the center. In 1951 he himself created, what could be considered an experiment, one of the first "højskoler", folk high schools, in Denmark with N.F.S. Grundtvig as the founder of the very first in 1844. The folk high school was located in Krejbjerg, an even though it didn't exist anymore in 1974, the ideas of a society of liberty and democracy at its center might still be embedded in the citizens of Krejbjerg (Laursen, 1974)

In 1976 the term for the experiment changed from "andelslandsby" to "Folkekommune" in the press, which in English would mean a change of terms from cooperative village to a people's municipality. This change of was only in the press, and did not change the work of the different committees. On the political front the experiment found more support, as the Danish political party Radikale Venstre pushed for a law that would allow societal organization experiments in Denmark with direct reference to Krejbjergplanen, Christiania and the Tvind school.

On the 7th of November 1976 the idea of creating the experiment of Krejbjergplanen was cast aside. A new association had been created in Krejbjerg called Krejbjerg Borgerforening and one of their opinions was against the experiment. Because of this, Poul Bjerre publicly discarded Krejbjergplanen, but also continued by saying Krejbjergplanen might be dropped, but the idea has not been dropped (Laursen, 1976). The reasons why the Krejbjergplanen was dropped will be analyzed in chapter 4.5.

4.3. Poul Bjerre's vision

Poul Bjerre had the idea, that in 1974 society was in the transition from the industrial society towards a post-industrial human-ecological society in balance. The reinstatement of the villages, or small communities were central to this. He believed humans to be a herd-social being, because our ancient ancestors lived in small manageable herds, where everybody knew each other and helped each other. Because of this, he considers the village as the most important unit in any given society, because it is here the central social basics are built (Bjerre, 1979; Bjerre, 1994). Relations were very important to Poul Bjerre's needs- and value theory. He said:

"De personlige organisationsformer har monopol på at skabe den kærlighed, som enhver videregående samfundsofbygning skal hvile på" –

Poul Bjerre (Bjerre, 1979, page 147)

The local forms of organizing communities have a significant meaning in creating the good life for the citizens, that would satisfy their needs. The village should be reinstated in a society without the influence of the financial money- and powerutopia. Poul Bjerre found some inspiration for his visions in the utopian socialists of the 19th century and noted their mistakes in creating societies into his theory about local communities (Christensen, 2007). A central element in his vision for the local communities would be the rearranging of the agricultural structure. All land would become owned by the cooperative community. Practically this would be done by the cooperative buying the land in the village community at going rate over a period of maybe 30 – 50 years (Bjerre, 1979).

A central element in the vision for the communities was also the concept of democracy. Poul Bjerre was in support of a "Tillidsmandssystem", Stewardssystem, and have this be the ruling form in the cooperative community. This humanistic democracy is a utopia, but he believed that in smaller communities build on unity, trust and solidarity this utopian vision could be approached.

Most central parts to his local community theory are however the humanitarian optimistic ideals and that the human needs (bodily, emotionally, mentally, socially) should be met in order to have the good life. He also believed, that the local communities as a scale unit, was the most optimal in order to

achieve the human needs, as human-ecological utopia could be an alternative to the industrial society culture, characterized by the bad sides of capitalism and “fjendesamfund”

4.4. Why did Krejbjergplanen not succeed?

The plans for creating the experiment of converting the rural village community of Krejbjerg into the first cooperative community in Denmark, and maybe Europe, was officially abandoned the 17th of December 1976, approximately two years after its beginning 1974. This was done by Poul Bjerre writing an article to Skive Folkeblad explaining, that the project of creating the experiment of the cooperative village community in Krejbjerg had been abandoned, but the idea of the cooperative community had not (Laursen, 1976).

The reason for this was the creation of Krejbjerg Borgerforening the 5th of November 1976. The civic association, Krejbjerg Borgerforening, was supposed to be created as an organization merging the different associations in the community. Ivan Andersen who would become its first chairman says:

”Så var der det i Krejbjerg, at der manglede nogen til at arrangere fester, det var der ikke nogen organisation til. Det sociale liv i byen virkede ikke så godt. Der var idrætsforeningen, husmorforeningen, husmandsforeningen. Der var sådan en masse små foreninger, og de havde så samlet sig i en paraplyforening der hed samvirkende foreninger, men de var ikke særligt effektive, så jeg kan ikke huske hvem der startede det, men måske samvirkende foreninger ligger så op til at der skal oprettes en borgerforening”

Ivan Andersen (Appendix A)

He says, that Krejbjerg Borgerforening was supposed to be created in order to replace the former umbrella association called Samvirkende Foreninger, and have a focus on creating social events in Krejbjerg. The atmosphere at the establishing general meeting would however turn the civic association into something more. Ivan Andersen says:

”... jeg blev ordstyrer til det stiftende møde, og der var simpelthen så mange mennesker til det møde, og der kom frustrationerne ud. Nu var det ikke Poul Bjerre’s møde længere, nu var det et borgermøde. Og så kom der en masse frustrationer ud...”

Ivan Andersen (Appendix A)

The establishing general assembly became a forum where inhabitants unhappy, and even against the project, let out their frustrations. Discussions arose, about adding to the civic associations paragraphs, that the association was officially against the creation of the cooperative community of Krejbjerg, and would actively work against the project (Godsbøll, 1976). This resulted in loud discussions among the

participants at the meeting, were around 200 inhabitants of Krejbjerg participated in Krejbjerg Forsamlingshus. It was now obvious, that the inhabitants of Krejbjerg were very divided in opinions about the project, and this disagreement didn't seem to have come forth before.

"... hvad han ikke opfattede, synes jeg. Var, at folk var jo venlige, og de ville jo ikke genere en mand, slet ikke sådan en fin mand. Han var jo filosof, så ville man jo ikke være grov, så de stillede kun forsigtige spørgsmål, men det var tydeligt at der sad en flok meget skeptiske mennesker, men det opfattede han ikke, og så skete der det, at efter det møde kunne man læse om det i politikken."

Ivan Andersen (Appendix A)

In the quote above Ivan Andersen talks about the skepticism towards the project had been there all along. There was a quiet underlying resistance to the project, but it was a resistance that hadn't really been voiced. And the fact that the project became national news a few days after the meeting also didn't go well with many people.



Fig. 11 - article in Skive Folkeblad about the experiment

experiment and in the car ride on the way back home Hans Jørgen Kløvedal almost exploded in the car and said:

"De stemte sgu ja, Og sikken et ja. Det er jo Danmarkshistorie det her"

Hans Jørgen Kløvedal (Bjerre, 1979: page 8)

A few days later an article was published in the national newspaper Politiken, and the story of the project had been already been talked about on national radio. The still loosely sketched project was

Poul Bjerre himself also thinks back on the first meeting of the project and looking back he can see where mistakes had been made. One of the catalysts of the unwillingness towards the project was that it became national news so fast. On the evening of the first meeting Poul Bjerre had friend and journalist Hans Jørgen Kløvedal staying with him, because he was doing an interview with Poul Bjerre for the radio on other issues. When he heard about the meeting Hans Jørgen Kløvedal immediately wanted to go, and Poul Bjerre allowed him to do so, under the condition, that he didn't bring his tape recorder, as it was a meeting for the citizens of Krejbjerg. The meeting resulted in 63% voting for the

now being presented as a plan that was going to happen, even though Poul Bjerre knew that project was still in its first phases.

Scientific theorist Ib Ravn who has written about Poul Bjerre also adds, that the untimely press attention led to local disagreements in Krejbjerg (Ravn, 1998). The press wrote many articles about the Krejbjerg project from 1974 to 1976 and in many of them you were led to believe, that there was complete agreement on this project. In 1994 Poul Bjerre wrote that the plans of a cooperative were from his philosophy and research and certainly did not stem from a public demand in Krejbjerg (Bjerre, 1994). Ivan Andersen also commented on this:

"de (idéerne) strandede på at de ikke var rodfæstede ... Det var langt fra roden, Krejbjergs rod. Storbøndernes Krejbjerg, ja hele Salling og i særdeleshed nogle områder blandet andet her i Krejbjerg. Det var jo storbøndernes Krejbjerg, og ideen var ikke opstået i deres baghave, og det var så den frustration der kom frem på borgerforeningens møde"

Ivan Andersen (Appendix A)

The attention from the press became a nuisance factor for the inhabitants of Krejbjerg. The village became a favorite destination for the Sunday drive and excursions. Many of the inhabitants of Krejbjerg complained about this and said, that Poul Bjerre had turned the village into a zoo where strangers gazed at them, and asked the same stupid questions again and again. Many journalists came to Krejbjerg with an agenda. Berlingske Tidende had a headline called "Folkekommunen I Krejbjerg" and there was nobody in the village, that wanted to be associated with the Marxist peoples municipalities of the Soviet Union. The inhabitants of Krejbjerg felt trampled on (Bjerre, 1994).

There was some support in the community for the project and Ivan Andersen also remembers how people listened at the meetings:

"... man kunne jo godt se de problematikker, det var knapt så aktuelt dengang som det er nu, for der var der jo stadig brugsforening og købmand her i byen, men der et var problem med at landbrugsjorden steg ganske uhyggeligt, og det ville der jo ikke være, hvis det var andelsjord så kunne man holde prisen, så det ikke blev pumpet unaturligt op. Der var mange sunde ting i det, og det kunne folk godt se."

Ivan Andersen (Appendix A)

But many people felt alienated from the project and a project like the experiment of completely converting a village society would also demand complete support. Poul Bjerre recognized two organizational approaches to his experiment. There is the "lokalsamfundsmodel" where the existing population would take part in the experiment or the "idealistmodel" where like-minded idealists

merge to populate an organization. He continues to say that one of the lessons he learned from the Krejbjerg project was, that a cooperative community can only function well, if the members are genuinely together by common values. There is a connection between goals and values, and if the members of the organization have incompatible goals, they will also have incompatible values. This leads to disagreement and disunity in an organization (Bjerre, 1994).

Poul Bjerre says, that he cancelled the project as he became aware of the opposition against it. This opposition could split the local community, and the experiment would never succeed without the full support. In an article, the 17th of December in Skive Folkeblad with the title "Årsag til Krejbjerg-forlis" which translates to the reasons for the failure of the Krejbjerg project. Poul Bjerre presents his view on the failed project. One of the reasons of why the project didn't work was that it didn't have, or failed to provide cohesion. The focus on the project in the national newspapers meant, that a new group of people moved to Krejbjerg. A group of very active young leftists and this created a divide between natives and newcomers. The project became more and more a project of the newcomers and the conclusion is clear. If such a project is to be undertaken again, the project must from the beginning be led by the farmers together with a group of otherwise employed in unity to avoid frontlines to emerge between them. The question of organization was inseparably connected to ideology. When the ideology is different in the population the goals will also be different and people will not be pulling in the same direction. The project became too big too fast. Poul Bjerre also saw an issue with him having to act both as the theorist, and the practitioner, he then continues to claim, that he was not good enough as a practitioner. What turned out to be a serious issue in the project was the fact that Poul Bjerre could not tell how the project would turn out. Because it was not up to him, it should be decided by the inhabitants themselves. This vagueness meant, that the project seemed too airy, as Ivan Andersen puts it, and not concrete enough. This meant, that people could make bad notions about what the project might be. Poul Bjerre also says in the article, that he is still convinced, that an experiment like what was tried in Krejbjerg could succeed but it would have to be done by people with a shared ideology (Bjerre, 1976).

5. The Cooperative Movement 2.0

In recent years a new movement has emerged, as an opportunity for small communities to try and turn the negative development of their communities. This movement has been named Andelsbevægelsen 2.0 “The Cooperative Movement 2.0” and builds on the ideas of the cooperative movement that began in the 19th century.

The first cooperative in Denmark was the cooperative dairy in Hjedding in 1882. This new organizational form made it possible for the family-driven farms to create an industrial mass production of internationally competitive quality goods (Petersen, 2015).

The creation of the cooperative dairy was not as a tool to prevent migration from the community, but as a tool to secure a vertical integration of the economy of a product. The more links of the production chain you control, the more of the value increasing process you will experience, and this will result in a better economy (Hansen, 2016).

Agricultural researcher Niels Kærgaard says, the development of the cooperative movement happened very fast. From not having any cooperative dairy or cooperative slaughterhouses in 1880. There was a cooperative dairy in half of all Danish parishes in 1914 and a cooperative slaughterhouse in half of all Danish market towns (Kærgaard, 2017). This development can be seen in Table 1.

<i>Development of the cooperative movement</i>			
<i>Year</i>	<i>Cooperative Store</i>	<i>Cooperative Dairy</i>	<i>Cooperative Slaughterhouse</i>
1880	119	0	0
1890	395	679	10
1900	827	942	26
1914	1470	1168	41

Table 1 - Table showing the development of the cooperative movement. edited from Kærgaard, 2017.

The rapid development of the Danish cooperative movement was a result of low grain prices, and the adaptability of Danish agriculture. The lower grain prices resulted in a worse economy for the Danish farmers, but it also made new business ventures possible. The leading Danish economist of the period professor William Scharling spoke at the national-economic association in 1883 where he asked the question, “How long can Danmark continue to be a grain exporting country?” his conclusion to this was not for much longer (Kærgaard, 2010).

Danish agriculture was able to switch the production towards more animal products like butter, bacon, eggs and cheese. For this production the lower prices on grain was only an advantage. The ordinary English people were experiencing an economic boom due to the early industrialization of their country, and now wanted butter on their bread and bacon for breakfast. This meant, that there

was a market for Danish animal products. The preconditions for a profitable export were however for Danish agriculture to be able to adapt to a more industrial production. The cooperative movement came as a solution to this and secured big production to the export market. As seen in Table 1 the number of cooperative dairies rose from none in 1880 to 1470 in 1914. In the same way the number of cooperative slaughterhouses rose from 0 in 1880 to 41 in 1914. One of the reasons for this growth can also be contributed to the spiritual awakening in agricultural Denmark, the social capital, as it is called today that moved forward with the ideals from the folk high schools, that raised the awareness and willingness to join in cooperative ventures (Kærgaard, 2010).

The ordinary farmers were quick to join the movement, as dairies before this time were privately owned, typically by manors in the parishes, that bought the milk from the farmers and then refined it to butter and cheese for a higher profit (Hansen, 2016).

With the cooperative movement every supplier, no matter the size of the production, became a co-owner. This meant, that cottagers “husmænd” also could participate, even though they might only have a few cows. The movement made many smaller farms profitable and this meant, that the cottagers could feed their families without the need for a second income. The cooperative movement made life better for a lot of cottagers, so much so, that in the years before the first world war Husmandsbevægelsen “The Cottagers Movement” became an influential organization (Hansen, 2016).

The new movement, the cooperative movement 2.0 is not a collected movement, but more a trend of cooperative projects happening in the country. Because of this, there are different explanations to what the cooperative movement 2.0 is. The trend might simply be called the cooperative movement 2.0, because it is projects within the cooperate movement ideology and it is happening 150 years after the beginning of the cooperative movement. The retail chain called Coop launched a campaign called the cooperative movement 2.0. in this campaign Coop claimed, that Coop Crowdfunding was the cooperative movement 2.0. The idea of the members of Coop being able to crowdfund some projects and help these projects to succeed. The reward for this investment would be either new products or an interest on the investment. This take on the cooperative movement 2.0 could be seen as a continuation of the first movement, as there would be a more vertical integrated economical presence for the member of Coop, in the financial doing of the project (Coop, 2006).

This take on the movement doesn’t seem to be locally rooted and even though there might be other incitements than economic, like environmental or the need for a special product, the investment is not towards the local community or necessarily towards helping a local community.

The term, the cooperative movement 2.0 is however also mentioned in other projects. These are projects focused towards helping the local community. In many rural areas the cooperative movement 2.0 has become a buzzword, and to them, this term means locals investing their own money locally in projects that helps the local community. The purpose of a cooperative is now no longer solely economic. Hanne Tanvig describes the cooperative movement 2.0, as a movement to secure the basic living conditions for the people in the local community. The movement is a result of the municipality slacking on the development of the local communities and the communities reaching an acceptance of this and coming to the agreement, that if something is to happen, then they must make it happen themselves (Vestergaard, 2016).

The potentials of the cooperative movement 2.0 to help turn the development of struggling communities are being discussed internally by the political parties Alternativet and Radikale Venstre, as they have both mentioned the cooperative movement 2.0, as something that should also receive governmental financial support.

Hanne Tanvig however does not see the financial support from a government to these projects as the most important. The government can support these projects in another way. She explains:

"jeg ved ikke om det handler om penge, det gør det nok også, men et handler mere om spredning af viden om potentialet, italesætte potentialet og styrke potentialet, det kan så også være økonomisk, men det at sige at det er der ... jeg arbejder i øvrigt selv med i regi af noget vi kalder frilandsbyordningen for netop at få demonstreret hvad det her (andelsbevægelsen 2.0) kunne udvikle sig til."

Hanne Tanvig (Appendix C)

In this quote she talks about the importance of making it known that the local communities can do something themselves to turn a development. There is money among the citizens in rural Denmark, and there is also a willingness to invest something to help the struggling local communities, but many places lack the organization to realize components into a functioning project (Vestergaard, 2016).

Hanne Tanvig talks about the ability for the rural communities to enhance their development as very good these years, due to the 4th industrial revolution and because of the counter urbanization tendency that she sees.

"Vi kan i øjeblikket registrere en tendens til modurbanisering og hvor stort et gennemslag den måtte få det er der jo mange gode eller ikke gode eksempler på, og vi kan jo ikke vide det, men lige i øjeblikket er der altså en ide hos rigtig mange også storbyboere til at skifte deres tilværelse ud, og det er der så forskellige årsager til, noget af det er push faktor og noget af det er pull faktorer... jeg tror det er noget som er et kæmpe potentiale i virkeligheden, og det skal jo selvfølgelig sammenholdes med at historien om

den her 4. industrielle revolution, digitaliseringen foran os, som jo giver nogle muligheder som vi aldrig har set før for at skabe økonomi og sikre økonomi og aktivitet, hvor det måske aldrig nogensinde ville være sket, altså totalt digitaliserede services.”

Hanne Tanvig (Appendix C)

The counter urbanization that she talks about here would mean an influx of resourceful people moving to the rural areas. These are the people that might be active in the association culture of a community, and it is people like these that matters. Jørgen Møller also talks about the importance of these resourceful people.

”Nogle landsbyer har ildsjælene og folk med de kompetencer, som der skal til, og de kan lykkes. Andre har ikke, og så sker der ikke noget”

Jørgen Møller (Vestergaard, 2016)

Examples of the cooperative movement include citizens investing money together in order to help the community. One of the places where this has happened, is in the city of Rødding. The city had 1.480 inhabitants living there in 2015 and is a neighboring city to Krejbjerg, where the failed cooperative village experiment happened in the 1970's. In 2004 the associations of Rødding joined and created a new umbrella organization called Rødding 2020. The idea of creating this new association was to have one single place to go to, in order to realize projects supporting the development of Rødding. Finn Andersen, secretary of Rødding 202 explains how the project started:

”Ja, det startede jo allerede i 2004. Der var jo en masse foreninger i Rødding, og det er der sådan set stadigt og alle ville jo gerne gøre noget for udviklingen af Rødding by, ja, det var jo også mange af de samme mennesker der sad i de foreninger og kunne se at 10.000 kr i den her kasse og 10.000 kr i den her kasse og det kunne jo kun blive til små tiltag hvis man ikke gik sammen. Og det gjorde foreningerne, ja faktisk alle foreningerne her i Rødding i 2004, og her lagde de så en vision for Rødding imod 2020.”

Finn Andersen (Appendix B)

The realization, that without combining the finances already being used, no bigger changes could be made. Not only did making the new association secure a merging of the capital, but it also secured the associations working towards common goals. The association and project of Rødding 2020 is mentioned, as one of five good examples, in the report “Organisering af lokalsamfunds udviklingsarbejde” by Hanne Tanvig, Ivan Normann Andersen and Uffe Bech, all researchers from the University of Copenhagen. The five examples of projects developing the local community using local

investment could all be considered part of the cooperative movement 2.0. Finn Andersen also explains how Rødding 2020 is financed.

"Rødding 2020 blev jo også dannet for at have en samlet enhed til at søge fondsmidler, men i første omgang var det rent borgerbetalt. De forskellige foreninger der var med i Rødding 2020 spyttede penge i, og så lod vi så om sige hatten gå rundt, og her gav virksomheder og private så meget så vi sammen med foreningernes penge havde næsten en million at starte på."

Finn Andersen (Appendix B)

The city of Rødding is being developed using the citizens own money. In the interview with Hanne Tanvig she also talks about Skovsgård Hotel, near Brovst in Northern Jutland, as a good example of the cooperate movement 2.0. This example might even have been a little ahead of its time. Because as they write, the project with Skovsgård hotel, as a cooperate business, began already in 1992, where it became owned by the citizens of Skovsgård as a cooperate. The project is described as a social-economic business, and the concept of the business is also to secure, that there continues to be a hotel in Skovsgård, and the Hotel should provide work for those finding themselves outside the labor market. The hotel should also continue to be the center of cultural- and civic events in Skovsgård (Skovsgård Hotel, 2019).

Buying buildings in in the local community is something that the inhabitants can do, to invest in making the community better. There are two different reasons for purchase of property. The example with Skovsgård Hotel of the inhabitants investing in keeping the business going as a cooperative, is something that happens other places as well. In Gjerrild on Djursland the local convenience store was saved by becoming a cooperate business, owned by the local community (Thorndal, 2013). Other examples include the nursing home in Stauning, western part of Jylland, it was closed by the municipality, but the local community raised funds to open it again as a "Fripnejehjem". In Kettinge on Lolland the local nursery was closed due to the discovery of mold, and it was not planned to open again. The inhabitants of Kettinge then rented a new building and created their own new private nursery. In 2010 Jejsing school near Tønder was supposed to close, but the locals created their own new school in the buildings when the municipality school closed. In Jungshoved in Vordingborg Municipality, the citizens were tired of the bad public transport, so they created their own flexible-bus scheme. Something that people is also trying to be realized in Gjøl in Aalborg Municipality (Grønborg, 2019).

The development of a community doesn't have to be about creating, it can also be about destroying. The inhabitants could invest money in buying bad houses, that might look shameful for the village.

Removing ugly or neglected house could have a positive effect on how the city is perceived and this might attract new inhabitants. Finn Andersen says, that Rødding 2020 also have done this.

"Ja, jeg tror vi har revet 4 huse ned i byen som ikke gjorde nogen nogen tjenester. Tilbage i 2004 var vi jo meget bange for, at Låsby Svendsen kom ind og opkøbte de faldefærdige huse."

Finn Andersen (Appendix B)

The character called Låsby Svendsen, that Finn Andersen refers to in the quote, was a person buying derelict and almost uninhabitable houses and renting them out to troubled families, that lacked resources. The development that Låsby Svendsen could bring to a village was one, that many communities would like to avoid.

An alternative to this understanding of the cooperative movement 2.0 comes from AndelsTanken. This organisation is a network where the sole purpose is to inspire local communities to adapt a new form of cooperative movement. AndelsTanken does not refer to their projects as the cooperate movement 2.0, but just as a new cooperate movement. The transition to sustainability should be a shared project in the community, and the focus on ecology and sustainability are very central in their philosophy (AndelsTanken, 2019).

These societies focused on sustainability and ecology could be what can "save" the rural villages. Jørgen Møller says:

"Øko-landsbyer er det bedste middel mod landsbydød vi har... For det virker med det samme, hvis man får et tilskud af sådanne ivrige mennesker. Det vil være voldsomt inspirerende for dem, der bor der i forvejen,"

Jørgen Møller (Lønsmann and Nørgaard, 2014).

Sustainability and ecology might be some ways for a community to invest in the development. If it is part of the cooperative movement 2.0 depends on how it is organized.

The overall definition of the cooperate movement 2.0, if ignoring the projects of Coop is, local inhabitants investing their own resources in projects aimed for a better development of the community.

5.1. How does the cooperative movement 2.0 compare to the cooperative community?

The main difference between the cooperative movement 2.0 and the cooperative community is the scale of involvement required. With the cooperative movement 2.0, it is individual how much money or resource to give to the project, where the cooperative community would require homes and to some extent businesses to be owned by the community.

A cooperative movement 2.0 project is relatively easy to organize, if there is support from the community. Poul Bjerre also says that it would be easy to create a cooperate factory, also in Krejbjerg, if it was the single focus. People with a shared goal and shared ideals can always succeed with their endeavors. The more widespread a project is, the more likely it is to create conflict (Bjerre, 1976).

When asked about the cooperate movement 2.0, Finn Andersen answers with saying, that it was not a label they used when the project began in 2004, but he had heard their project mentioned in that context. He also says, that they work with a vision, but really get there one little project at the time (Appendix B). This seems to be in line with what Poul Bjerre said in 1976. If the projects are concrete and the inhabitants are motivated, then projects are manageable, even in struggling communities. This also confirms what Jørgen Møller said, when he claimed, that in some villages where they have enthusiastic competent people, they will succeed in their projects. And in the villages without, nothing will happen (Vestergaard, 2016).

The cooperative community and the cooperative movement 2.0 are quite different. The cooperative movement 2.0 is focused on single projects, where the cooperate community focuses on a complete conversion.

The eco-villages are being mentioned at the same time as the cooperative movement 2.0 is being discussed. Experiments with eco-villages doesn't really fit with the definition of the cooperative movement 2.0, but the definition of the movement is very vague, and the ideals of the cooperative movement definitely exists in these eco-villages.

In previous chapter Jørgen Møller also proclaimed the usefulness of these eco-villages, as he proclaimed it as the best tool to prevent village death. Kaj Hansen, involved with the creation of the eco-village of Hjortshøj near Århus, where the community calls themselves a cooperative community. He says that:

"I vores lange forberedende periode har vi løbende brugt Poul Bjerres ideer om lokalsamfund: At man må finde en passende størrelse for et velfungerende lokalsamfund, hvor der er overskuelighed, sammenhæng og et dynamisk potentiale... Vi har ligeledes brugt hans erfaringer med hensyn til organisationsformer,

der skal forsøge at sikre den tættest mulige kontakt til og indflydelse på beslutningsprocesserne i lokalsamfundet.”

Kaj Hansen (Christensen, 2000: page 166)

It seems that Poul Bjerre's vision about how to organize a local community lives on in the eco-village movement. Poul also address this himself when he recognizes, that the new local community experiments would come from the sub-culture called eco-societies. He also predicted them to have a better chance to succeed, as these projects would be started on the basis on all the inhabitants sharing the same set of values, and moving towards the same goal, it was what he had defined as the idealist-model (Bjerre, 1994).

When asked about the potentials of Poul Bjerre's visions in today's society and if complete conversion of a village community to a corporate community could work Hanne Tanvig answered:

“Ja, men alt efter hvad det der ”helt” er, for jeg tror ikke at, man kan indkapsle et lokal samfund, så der må være nogle lette muligheder for at kunne interagere med det omkringliggende samfund, ellers så tror jeg ikke på det faktisk, men til spørgsmålet om ejendomsret og muligheder for at gøre det som fællesskabet synes er det rigtige, det tror jeg faktisk på.”

Hanne Tanvig (Appendix C).

Hanne has some hesitation to say, that his visions could work today when it comes to trying to isolate the community from the rest of society, but on the questions about ownership of land and properties she believes this could be applied today.

6. Scenario Building

The tool of scenario building, will in this report be used to suggest four possible outcomes of creating the experiment of Krejbjergplanen again today. It will not be simulated as it happened in 1976, where it failed, but it will be simulated according to the visions of the experiment and the outcomes would be what could happen, if the experiment was allowed to run its course. As a time perspective Poul Bjerre himself has mentioned 30 years.

When using the Scenario building tool two critical uncertainties are needed. One critical uncertainty will be found by looking back to the original visions of Krejbjergplanen, and the second will be found by looking forward to present day, and the cooperative movement 2.0.

The first critical uncertainty should be found by looking at the philosophy and visions of Poul Bjerre in the ideal social society. Through his philosophy about how to organize the local community, his philosophy about the human needs stands strongest. The society needs to be able to fulfill the human needs, as he defines them, in order to have the good life, and this term of the good life is the assembling term of the purpose of creating the Krejbjergplan experiment. The first critical uncertainty for the scenario building tool is “The good life”.

The second critical uncertainty is found by looking towards the cooperative movement 2.0 and what the main purpose of this is. Hanne Tanvig talks about this and how it has two purposes. One purpose is on decreasing the migration away from the rural communities and combatting village death. And the other is on creating jobs and businesses and the more directly economic aspect of the cooperative movement. The two are linked, but not the same and they have an effect on each other (Appendix C). The driving force chosen as the most critical uncertainty is the prevention of emigration, as Hanne Tanvig also says, that it doesn't really matter to a community with a population critically decreasing who migrates there, whether they are strong resourceful or less resourceful. The second critical uncertainty is preventing the decrease in population, and this will be called preventing emigration in this analysis.

Critical Uncertainty 1: “The good life”

Critical Uncertainty 2: “Preventing emigration”

The critical uncertainties are chosen to be a combination of driving forces for both the visions of Poul Bjerre in his plans in the 1970's and driving forces for the cooperative movement 2.0 current in present day. This is to see what could happen, if the experiment was to be done in present day, with

both the driving forces of back in the 70's and the driving forces of the present-day rural development applicable.

When putting these two critical uncertainties into the scenario building matrix it creates four different scenarios as seen in Fig 12.

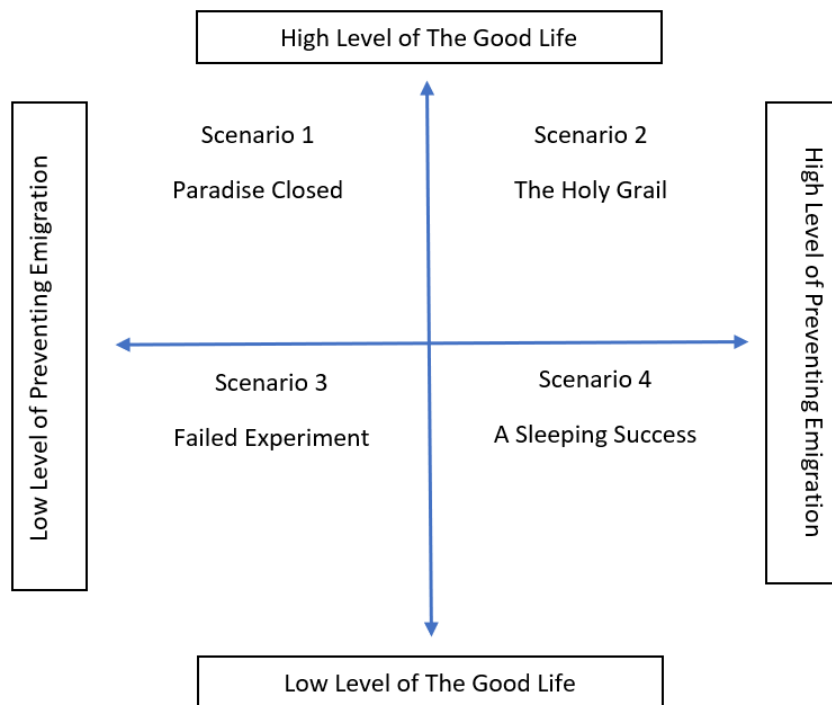


Fig. 12 - Scenario building matrix

1. Paradise Closed
2. The Holy Grail
3. Failed experiment
4. A sleeping success

The first scenario created is scenario 1 with a high level of the good life, but a low level of preventing emigration. It has been named paradise closed, because it is showing the promises of the utopian visions of Poul Bjerre's society theory. However, the number of inhabitants is decreasing. If the life in the village in this scenario is so great as the definition of the good life suggest, then it is hard to imagine people moving away from this place voluntarily. The decrease in population must then be presumed to be because of natural death. The decrease also suggests, that no new inhabitants move to

the village. This would suggest, that it has become more of a closed society of people that are unable to attract new people into their way of life, even though it might be the good life. This scenario is not sustainable in the aspect of the steady decrease in population and will eventually end up with the village disappearing, but with a high quality of life for the inhabitants this is not one of their concerns.

The second scenario created is scenario 2 with a high level of good life, and also a high level of preventing emigration. This scenario is named the holy grail because it is the utopia that Poul Bjerre and many other community developers seek. The inhabitants in the village experience the good life and they are able to keep the size of the population where it is. The prevention of migration could also suggest that the village is able to attract people to the village, which would mean an increase in the population. This might not necessarily be an entirely good thing. Poul Bjerre has talked about the village becoming too big for the village to sustain the good life, as this is depended on the close relations between people, and the population can become too big for this to happen. He talks about Israeli kibbutz's, where there is an ideal population to be able to achieve the good life, as described in his visions. He doesn't put an exact number on it, but he says that in the kibbutz's when the population comes over 1.000, elements of the good life is lost. This is reminiscing of the term to "Sejre ad helvede til" where the success of the project will also lead to the decline of the project.

The third scenario created is scenario 3 with a low level of the good life and a low level of preventing emigration. This scenario is named the failed experiment, and the reasons are quite obvious. The population of the village would have been better off if the experiment had never happened. If the experiment came to with their own financial resources, then they are really worse off. In this scenario there is a low level of the good life. This would mean, that the social relations are very bad. As seen with the first Krejbjerg experiment a divide in the population can appear when being involved in such a project. The low level of preventing emigration might be a continuation of a trend already happening, but it may also be an increase in the emigration and the population of the village would decrease. None of the hopes for the experiment has been realized, and the population must feel that they were better off not taking part in it. From a scientific standpoint there is however something of value in this scenario, especially with the scientific negative approach of Poul Bjerre, as he saw the progress of science as trying to eliminate all the bad possibilities, so it is possible to have the best possibility in the end.

The fourth scenario created is scenario 4 with low level of the good life, but a high level of preventing emigration. This scenario is named A sleeping success. It is done so, because with a low level of the good life there is also a low level of close relations in the village, but the village is not decreasing in population and the prevention of migration might mean an increase in the population. The low level of the good life suggests, that there might not be much of a social life in this city and few close relations. This is what Poul Bjerre tries to avoid with his plans. He considers this one of the structural consequences of the industrial culture and blames architects like Le Corbusier for promoting this. With only little activity happening in the village with few relations between the population, the village sounds more like a place to stay, than a place to live. This is also the marker of some commuter towns. From a national economic perspective this experiment has been a success, as it at least statistically keeps the rural community alive.

7. Discussion

The four scenarios of chapter 6 each provide exciting prospects of given the visions of the Krejbjergplan another go. Scenario 3 is arguably the worst of the scenarios. It can be seen as a worst-case scenario by the inhabitants of the community, were the experiment is happening. It is very far from the ideals of its vision, and it doesn't solve an immediate problem of depopulation. However, if the approach to the experiment is to explore and learn what happens, then an experiment can't fail. Poul Bjerre writes about this approach to science in his book of the same name "Opbrud - Utopisk Humanisme" from 1988. This utopian humanism states, that a thing cannot be defined positivistic. It has to be done with a negative approach, and the more things you are able to rule out, the closer to the utopian truth about the definition you get. Approaching the question about the best village communities or the solution to the decreasing population, the results of scenario 3 cannot be defined failure, but just a step towards the solution.

Determining if the time is right for these kinds of scientific experiments might be too big of a question to answer simply. The fact is, that experiments like eco-villages are already happening and have been for many years. This suggests, that the time is right and have been for some time. Hanne Tanvig is a researcher within the development of the rural communities, and she is involved with several projects expressing the ideals of the cooperative movement or may even be part of the trend with the cooperative movement 2.0. What Hanne Tanvig sees as an obstacle, is the fact that people are unaware of how they can develop their communities. She also has an example a project where the inhabitants have made their land and the production factories owned by the community. They might even have taken it a step further, as they call the project Broagerland 3.0 (Appendix C).

The now very recent former government also expressed a willingness to give dispensation from the Danish planning act, in their talks about "Danmark I balance", towards initiatives that would help the development of the rural areas.

The other three scenarios created in chapter 6 all contain a positive, either towards having achieved the good life, or preventing the emigration from the community. These scenarios all contain areas of success and if the experiment turned in any of those directions, more communities would take a chance and create their own experiment.

Poul Bjerre said, that experimenting with new ways of organizing society was necessary, and he was sad that the experiment of Krejbjergplanen never came to be. His thoughts about the necessity of doing something can sound like the necessity to try something new. Which is common for many of the

projects of the cooperative movement 2.0. They are new initiatives in the communities, and working towards developing these communities.

There is political support for experimenting with how communities are organized, but the willingness or enthusiasm from the inhabitants towards experimenting projects are a bit harder to see. With the idealist-model there is no doubt that willingness and enthusiasm exist, and this will lead to the success of projects according to Poul Bjerre, but in the "lokalsamfundsmodel" that he also presents, a common ideology must first be found between the inhabitants of the community. There are signs that the Danish population have become more alike when facing questions about for example climate change, but is society ready to share the same ideologies and values? In a large scale no, but luckily Poul Bjerre has emphasized, that the good life can only be found in the small communities with good relations. Many small communities in Denmark would define themselves as just that, and they are the ones that might be ready to give the Krejbjerg experiment another try.

8. Conclusion

The main research question was: How does the cooperative movement 2.0 compare to the visions of Poul Bjerre's cooperative community, and is the movement a sign of the time now being right for Poul Bjerre's visions to succeed?

Poul Bjerre's had visions about a society transitioned from the industrial society towards a post-industrial human-ecological society in balance. The reinstatement of the village, or small communities, were central to this. He believed the human to be a herd-social being, because our ancient ancestors lived in small manageable herds where everybody knew each other and helped each other. Because of this, he considers the village as the most important unit in any given society, because it is here the central social basics are build (Bjerre, 1979; Bjerre, 1994). Relations were very important to Poul Bjerre's needs- and value theory.

The local forms of organizing communities have a significant meaning in creating the good life for the citizens that would satisfy their needs. The village should be reinstated in a society without the influence of the financial money- and powerutopia. Poul Bjerre found some inspiration for his visions in the utopian socialists of the 19th century and noted their mistakes in creating societies into his theory about local communities (Christensen, 2007). A central element in his vision for the local communities would be the rearranging of the agricultural structure. All land would become owned by the cooperative community. Practically this would be done by the cooperative buying the land in the village community at going rate over a period of maybe 30 – 50 years (Bjerre, 1979).

A central element in the vision for the communities was also the concept of democracy. Poul Bjerre was in support of a "Tillidsmandssystem", Stewardsystem, and have this be the ruling form in the cooperative community. This humanistic democracy is a utopia, but he believed that in smaller communities build on unity, trust and solidarity this utopian vision could be approached.

Most central parts to his local community theory are however the humanitarian optimistic ideals and that the human needs (bodily, emotionally, mentally, socially) is met in order to have the good life. He also believed that the local communities, as a scale unit, was the most optimal in order to achieve the human needs, as the human-ecological utopia would provide an alternative to the industrial society culture characterized by the bad sides of capitalism and "fjendesamfund".

It seems that Poul Bjerre's vision about how to organize a local community lives on in the eco-village movement. Poul also address this himself when he recognizes that the new local community experiments would come from the sub-culture called eco-societies. He also predicted them to have a

better chance to succeed as these projects would be started on the basis on all the inhabitants sharing the same set of values and moving towards the same goal, it was what he had defined as the idealist-model (Bjerre, 1994).

The main difference between the cooperative movement 2.0 and Poul Bjerre's cooperative community is the scale of involvement required. With the cooperative movement 2.0, it is individual how much money or resource the citizen gives to the project, where the cooperative community would require homes, and to some extent businesses to be owned by the community.

A cooperative movement 2.0 project is relatively easy to organize, if there is support from the community. Poul Bjerre also said, that it would be easy to create a cooperate factory, also in Krejbjerg, if it was the single focus. People with a shared goal and shared ideals can always succeed with their endeavors. The more widespread a project is, the more likely it is to create conflict (Bjerre, 1976).

There is political support for experimenting with how communities are organized, but the willingness or enthusiasm from the inhabitants towards experimenting projects are a bit harder to see. With the idealist-model there is no doubt that willingness and enthusiasm exist, and this will lead to the success of projects according to Poul Bjerre, but in the "lokalsamfundsmodel" that he also presents, a common ideology must first be found between the inhabitants of the community. There are signs that the Danish population have become more alike when facing questions about for example climate change, but is society ready to share the same ideologies and values? In a large scale no, but luckily Poul Bjerre has emphasized, that the good life can only be found in the small communities with good relations. Many small communities in Denmark would define themselves as just that, and they are the ones that might be ready to give the Krejbjerg experiment another try.

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