



Cultural heritage based Cluster

on

Gotland

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1 Introduction

The aim of this pre-study is to illustrate and analyse the existence of a cultural heritage based cluster in Gotland as well as its contribution to the regional economy and society.

The point of departure of this pre-study is the historic sites of Gotland as a base for the cultural heritage based cluster. With their excellent preserved historic structure, Gotland and Visby possess comparable sites to the old cities of Dubrovnik, Croatia or Venice, Italy. Dubrovnik and Venice however are examples which have a high popularity degree all over Europe and where the cultural aspect contributes strongly to this high popularity. Also in Gotland, the history contributes to a good reputation, but the recognition is (still) limited to Northern Europe. In Venice with its traditional clusters dating back far in history like glass handcraft, the distinct heritage has a strong impact on the city and its surrounding. Although the cultural heritage based cluster in Venice is much further developed, it shows that such clusters have the potential to contribute to large extends to the region's economy and society.

Culture has become part of the global economy following similar changed pattern of production, trade and consumption like any other industry. In the light of the ongoing globalisation also cultural industries experience increasing global tendencies enabling to reach larger target groups and to achieve better economical results: products made by traditional handcrafts are exported all over the world and even small city quarters are reconstructed in another part of the world, like the Venetian Hotel, a replica of a Venice city quarter in Las Vegas. Although the construction of the Venetian Hotel in Las Vegas might be very extreme and is not really contributing to any cultural aspect, it shows the increasing interest of people in foreign cultures and history opening up new economical possibilities. Such commercialisation of culture and especially of cultural artefacts however needs to be handled with care. All over the world the number of illegal excavations increases followed by illegal trade with the found historical artefacts. With an increasing interest in foreign cultures comes along an increasing market for such illegal trade. Such tendencies might also lead to the focus on 'popular' historical periods like the medieval age, while other periods of local history are blended out due to their lack of popularity resulting in the disability to be commercialised.

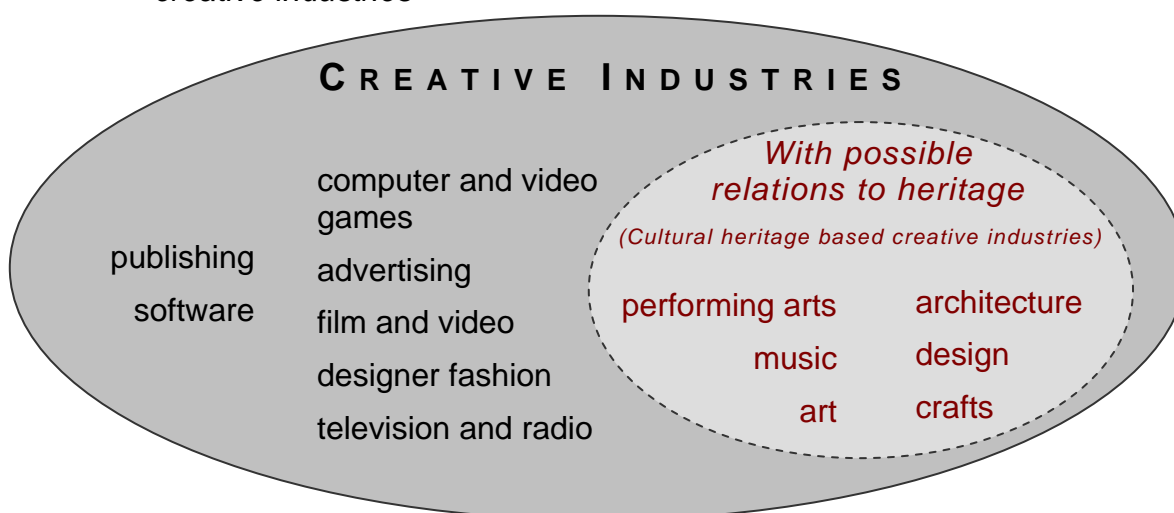
Nevertheless, over the past few years, creative and cultural elements experienced an increasing attention in the regional and national policies due to their rising economical possibilities. According to the United Nations, cultural and creative industries contribute nowadays to around 7 % of the world GDP, while the share is continuously increasing (UNESCO, 2005). Due to this rapid economic growth rates and the increasing importance of cultural aspects in contemporary society, creative and cultural clusters are in the focus of initiatives all over the world. The strong presence of the local history on Gotland and Visby, expressed in the physical structure but also anchored in the local society, suggests that the local history plays an important role for the region. Therefore, the aim of this pre-study is to illustrate and analyse the existence of a cultural heritage based cluster in Gotland as well as its contribution to the regional economy and society. Before

this can occur, a common understanding about the used term cultural heritage based cluster needs to be established.

1.1 CULTURAL HERITAGE BASED CLUSTER

Over the past few years, two terms arose in the literature containing similar aspects: The *creative industries* and the *cultural industries*. Based on a definition of the British Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *creative industries* are including 13 creative sectors: Advertising, architecture, art, publishing, film and video, music, software, computer and video games, crafts, design, designer fashion, performing arts as well as television and radio. (DCMS, 2008) This definition of the creative industries is generally acknowledged in the literature. In this pre-study the focus will clearly be on the *cultural heritage based creative industries* covering less creative sectors than in the case of the creative industries. Reasons for this selection are the aim to illustrate the value of heritage for the region and the (current) lack of a real base for speaking about the creative industries in Gotland. Most of the creative industries do not have an explicit historical dimension. Only six of the 13 creative industries are identified which can have a strong connection to the regional culture and are therefore of relevance for this pre-study: Architecture, art, music, crafts, design and performing arts. Depending on their relation, these chosen six creative industries can be both: contemporary-based or heritage-based. In the case of heritage-based, these industries are considered to be cultural heritage based creative industries as an integrated part of the creative industries.

Fig. 01: *Cultural heritage based creative industries as an integrated part of the creative industries*



Core elements of a cultural heritage based cluster are therefore historical sites and environment, handcraft as well as traditional designs, mainly less profit-driven activities, while advertising, computer games and software are rather seen as contemporary, creative activities and are therefore not included in the understanding of the cultural heritage based cluster. A cultural heritage based cluster includes hereby companies which are strongly oriented towards creative outputs and contribute to the contemporary local society through exploitation of cultural resources. Included are therefore also craftsmen which use local

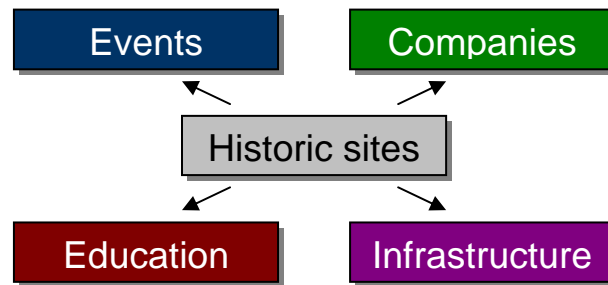
resources like lime stone for their products. Companies involved in cultural heritage based industries are distinguished from the rest through their use of *'cultural knowledge, creativity and intellectual property to produce services and products of social and cultural meaning'* (UNESCO, 2006).

1.2 GOTLAND AND ITS PREMISES FOR A CULTURAL HERITAGE BASED CLUSTER

Gotland has a rich culture of historical handcraft and sites. Due to the strict borders, which are formed by the surrounding sea, the island and its inhabitants were rather a closed community enabling to beware regional traditions and culture. Over the last decades however the connection with the Swedish mainland was improved, by several daily flights to Stockholm and other Swedish airports as well as by the daily ferries reaching several Swedish port cities. Gotland was soon discovered as a popular tourist site attracting every year around 700'000 tourists by a permanent population of total 57'000 (Gotland.info, 2007). The tourism sector is therefore one of the main sources of income, along with farming. Many of the tourists choose Gotland based on its rich culture and rough nature stressing the importance of culture for the regional economy. Gotland is currently aiming to increase its number of tourists in which connection a cultural cluster could be one of the potential motors for this goal. Culturally and historically important sites and handcrafts are essential for Gotland and its economy. Not only the tourism is strongly linked to the cultural heritage of Gotland, but also design and handcrafts. Many artists from all over Sweden and even from the world choose Gotland as their new creative environment contributing to the potential creation of a regional brand. Art products made in Gotland gain on popularity in whole Sweden and are even exported outside Scandinavia. A product made in Gotland is associated with high quality and an amazing design. By far not all of these artists have their roots in traditional handcrafts, but Gotland is also known as a place for contemporary art and culture. By combining the different cultural activities in the region under one roof, Gotland could open up new possibilities.

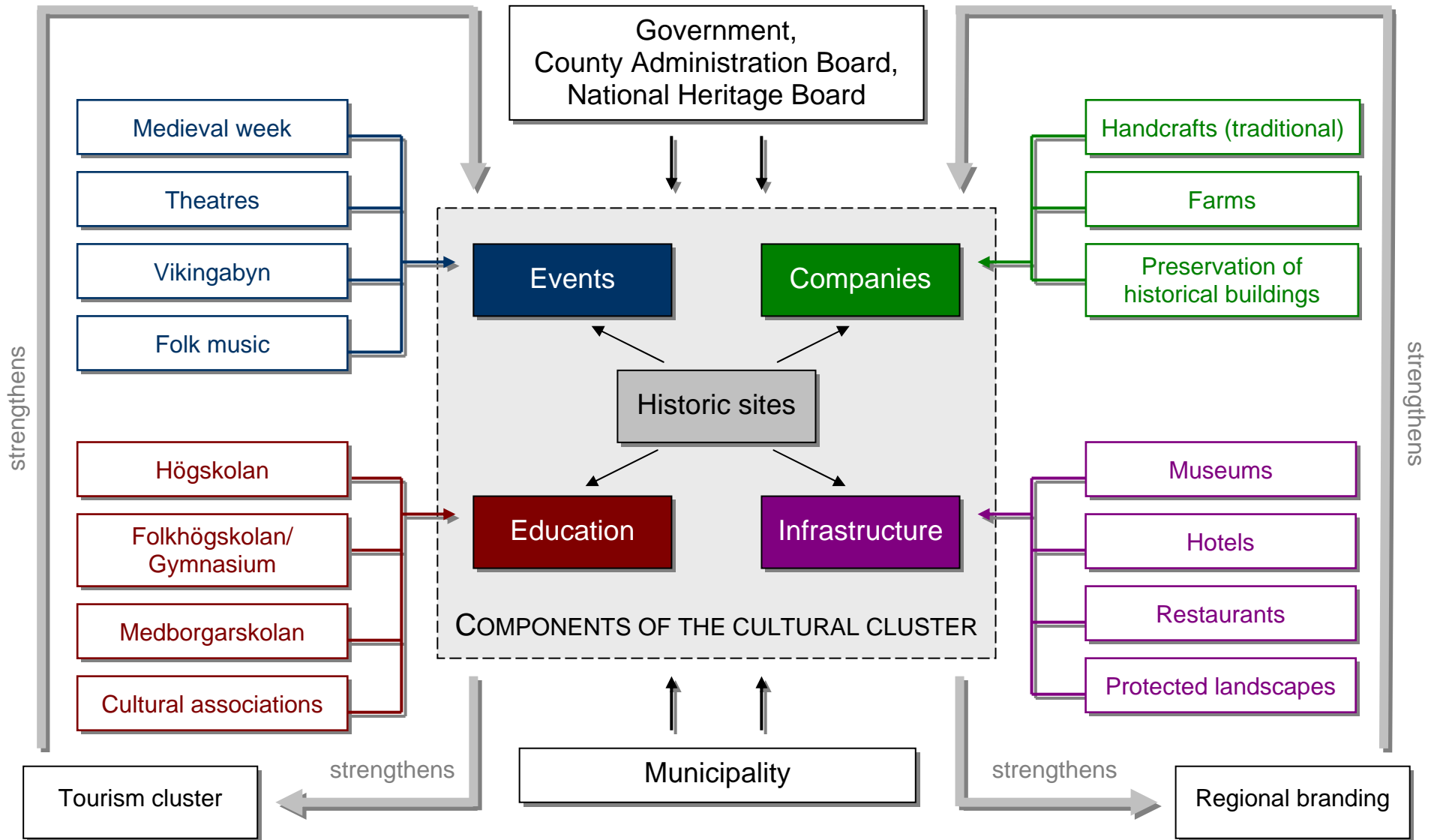
1.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY

Cultural clusters are playing a key role in strategies and programmes which aim to revitalise cities. Cultural clusters are therefore mostly seen in an urban context and are not (yet) often used in a more regional perspective outside agglomerations. Without any doubt however, heritage and cultural knowledge does contribute to a large extend to the regional economy of Gotland. This pre-study aims therefore to examine the premises of the cultural heritage based cluster on Gotland and acts on the assumption that Gotland possesses five essential components, necessary to form a cultural heritage based cluster. One part will be based on the identification, how the different components are related to each other and which actors are actively involved in the different components. Another part will include which components need to be improved in order to optimise the performance of the cultural heritage based cluster.

Fig. 02: Core components of the cultural heritage based cluster

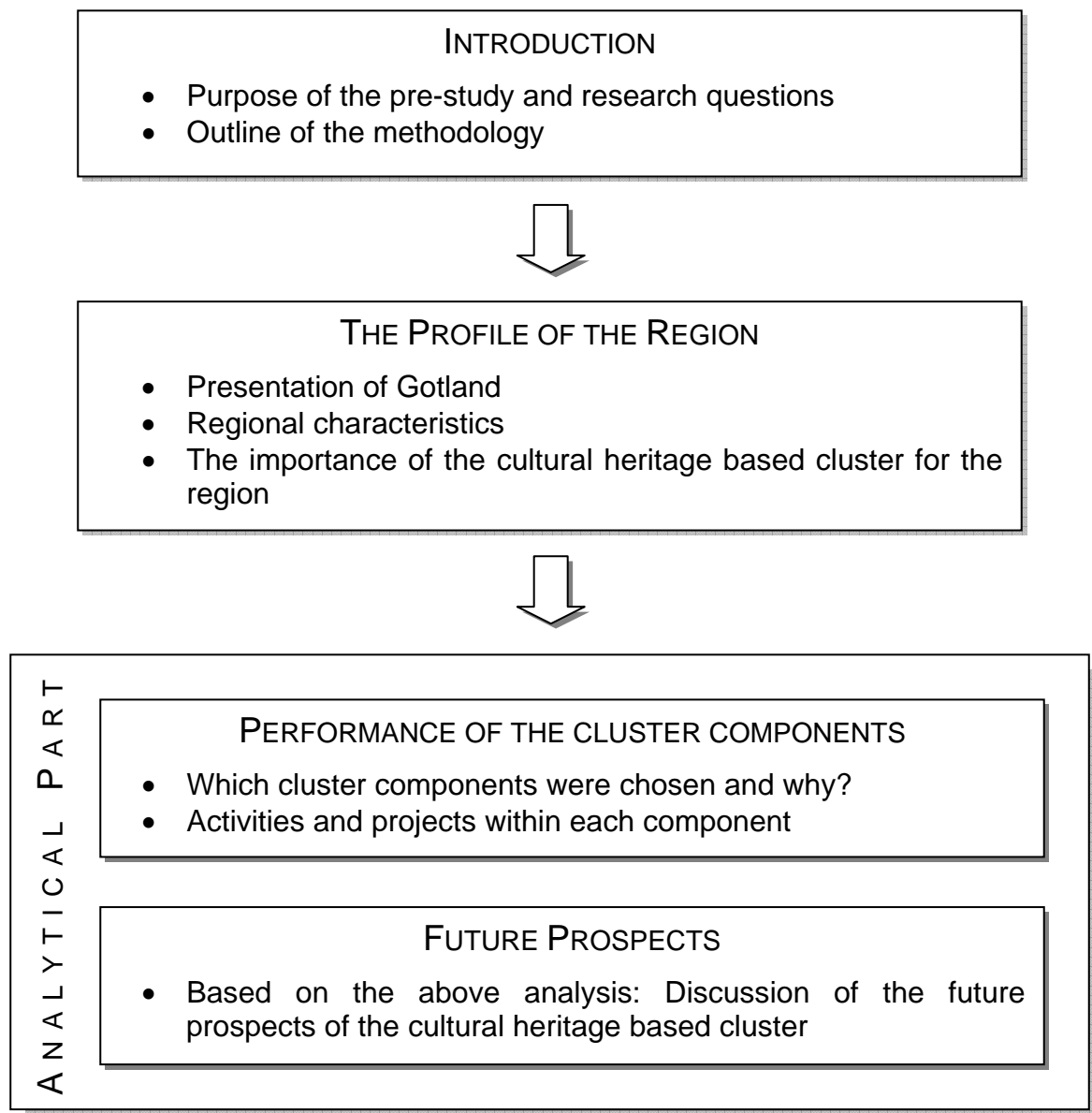
Of these five components, one can only be influenced in a limited way. Historic sites can only be maintained and restored, but not rebuilt newly from scratch, since the age of a building assigns, if it is a historical site or not. The other four components can be influenced less restricted in one way or another by policies, programmes or other activities and possess therefore more options to improve the performance of the cluster.

Fig. 03: Scheme of the cultural heritage based cluster in Gotland



The scheme above provides a first sign how the structure of the cultural heritage based cluster on Gotland can look like and how the regional economy can profit from such a cluster. A cultural cluster may have a positive effect on the regional tourism sector and also on the regional branding, which again will strengthen the cultural heritage based cluster in Gotland. As an important tourism site, the rich cultural history and landscape attracts most of the tourists, while an increasing number of tourists will lead again to a better income of the artists and companies. Traditional handcraft and design which can be merchandised under one common regional branding umbrella will contribute to an increasing popularity of Gotland leading to a larger market for regional products. As it can be seen, only activities and companies with a close connection to the regional history are included in the scheme. Although Gotland also has a rich contemporary culture with contemporary artists such as musicians and painters as well as increasing activities within movie productions and computer game development, the focus within the cultural heritage based cluster will lie on historical significant buildings and traditions and less on contemporary culture.

The next course of action is shown in the flow-diagram below.



2 PROFILE OF THE REGION

Gotland is the largest island of Sweden situated in the middle of the Baltic Sea. 90 km away from the Swedish mainland and 130 km away from the Baltic States, Gotland has always been a centre for trade. Due its unique position, Gotland and its population could beware its traditions and culture contributing nowadays to large extends to the regional economy. Visby, the regional capital of Gotland, is the only completely intact hanseatic wall city and is listed by UNESCO as a world heritage landmark.

The roots of the cultural heritage

The roots of the nowadays defined local cultural heritage of Gotland are anchored in two eras: The era of the Vikings and the medieval time. Although Gotland and Visby have a wider history than that, the cultural heritage is nowadays clearly focused on these two eras. Reasons for this might be that during these periods Gotland and Visby had an economically dominating position in the Baltic Sea region and artefacts as well as the physical structure are still reminders of these times. Another reason might also be that especially these two ages are currently in the focus of the interest of society. The label 'Viking' or 'Medieval' on a product is a perfect guarantee for market success.

As a perfect example for the medieval label as market success, the Danish Læsø can be presented. The Danish island Læsø is situated on the east coast of Denmark and is currently reviving an old tradition from the medieval age which developed into such a success story that it is seen as a motor of the regional economy. The idea is simple: Læsø was in the medieval age well-known for its salt production. The local ground water can reach 15 percent of salt concentration, which was concentrated in salt meadows during the hot summers. Salt extraction was banned from the island, but in the 80s the medieval techniques in salt extraction were revived due to an archaeological experiment and for tourist attraction. Nowadays one kilo of salt is sold for 155 DKK, because it is not only the salt which is sold, but also the story behind. (sydesalt.dk/)

Taking such popular tendencies into consideration, it seems logical that the centre of attention of the cultural heritage lies on the two eras Viking and medieval. Therefore a short description about the historic development of Gotland and especially Visby will be focused on the periods which are of special importance for the currently defined cultural heritage of Gotland.

Due to its excellent geographical position, Gotland has had in the past a strong position in trade for many centuries. Gotland was not only involved in the Baltic trade, but coins and other artefacts, which were discovered through excavations, indicate that there was also an active trade with the Arabian world. The findings suggest that especially during the Viking age an active trade with the Arabian countries occurred, while in the medieval age the focus of trade was clearly on the Baltic trade including Russia. Gotland was the place in which the largest Viking hoard of silver was ever found: 67 kilos heavy and consisted of around 14'000 coins and 500 silver arm rings, mainly of Arabic origin. Later on, during the medieval age, Gotland was mainly used as a transfer centre, from which the goods were further transported from Russia to Western Europe and England.

Already during the age of the Vikings, Gotland was a trading place and the numerous settlements along the coast-line entered into engagements in order to protect each other. In the mid of the 11th century, the Hanseatic League extended their dominion into the Baltic and Visby became the most dominating Swedish trade city in the League. *'By the 12th century, Visby had come to dominate the trade: all the commercial routes of the Baltic were channelled through the town [of Visby]'* (UNESCO, Advisory Body Evaluation, 1995). In the light of the increasing wealth of Visby, the formerly wooden buildings were replaced by the stone houses and in the 13th century the stone wall was erected around the town mainly in order to offer protection but led also to a separation between Visby and its hinterland. Visby remained a flourishing trade centre until the 14th century, but was facing numerous misfortunes eventually resulting in a strongly declining economy: Black Death, Danish army as well as piracy had a negative impact on the trade activities. After several centuries in an existence on the economic sideline, Visby experienced a revival of trade and industry in the 18th century. (UNESCO, Advisory Body Evaluation, 1995) This long period of stagnation is the base for the excellent preservation of the historic sites.

Current regional developments

Gotland is an island of contrasts: The constant reminding of the past is present everywhere, while Gotland tries to find its way in the modern society and economy. Due to its peripheral location as an island, ancient remains survived centuries until now, but this peripheral location has of course also an impact on the regional economy.

The island's economy has for a long time been dominated by farming, tourism, military and public services, while the manufacturing industry was traditionally very small. Ericsson opened 1961 a factory in Visby and had at the peak 1'400 employees. In 1999, Flextronics took over the old location after Ericsson left the island leaving 950 employees unemployed. Just four years later, Flextronics also decided to shut down its business in Visby, the largest private company at that time. With the end of the 90s, Gotland suffered immense from relocation processes leading to an increased unemployment on the island. *'In such a short time period of just a few years, Gotland lost over 2000 jobs, which corresponds to around 40'000 jobs in the Stockholm region.'* (Swedish Parliament, 2004) With the decision of Flextronics of closing down, the island lost at once 1200 jobs. And there is no tendency that this development can be turned: Nimbus, the boat builder, and Nordkalk, manufacturer of limestone-based products, are more or less the only larger manufacturing companies on the island which are expected to go well in the next years, while large parts of the manufacturing industry left the island: The sugar plant 'Roma Sockerbruk' was shut down in 1998 and also Flextronics as well as Ericsson closed their offices in Gotland; it is furthermore expected that Cementa and Arla are seriously reducing their number of employees due to relocation processes and cost saving aspects. It is expected that Cementa will reduce its number of employees for compensating an increase of expenses for electricity and freight, while Arla will probably reduce its production line solely to the production of milk powder. (Gotlandska.se, 2004)

Comparing the structure of Gotland's economy with the average Swedish economy structure differences can be seen: the public sector, agriculture and tourism take an important place in the regional labour market. The public sector for example employs

around 43% of the regional employees, which is eight percent higher than the Swedish average. In return, the two sectors of business service and manufacturing are quite weak in comparison with the Swedish average. *'The Gotlandic economy is dominated by the public sector and small-scale enterprises within traditional industries like agriculture and forestry, but also by commerce and services linked to the tourism sector.'* (EuroFutures, 2001). CSN, the University, the National Heritage Board as well as the Försäkringskassan are just a few public organisations which were moved to Gotland offering new jobs, while the manufacturing industry left the island.

Apart from these few larger companies and institutions, the island is dominated by small companies: Gotland is the Swedish County which has the highest share on enterprises with less than 20 employees: 98% of the companies in Gotland belongs to this group. Gotland ranks also high in terms of entrepreneurship: over 7'000 entrepreneurs are active on the island resulting in the highest number per inhabitants in Sweden. Many business owners are women, resulting in a relatively high share of female business owners. (Gotland kommun, 2008)

In the last ten years the economic structure of Gotland went through radical changes: manufacturing industries, the military as well as Swedish Customs (Tullverket) left the island, while at the same time larger investments were done by the governmental authorities like the National Heritage Board and the Swedish travelling exhibition, which are at the moment relocating offices from Stockholm to Gotland. These authorities were chosen to relocate to Gotland due to their clear link to cultural activities. The County Administration Board of Gotland pre-selected several public institutions and authorities of which they thought would contribute to the cultural environment of Gotland and forwarded the list to the Swedish Government. The suggestion was followed and the relocation is therefore a result of the County Administration Board policy priorities which were based on the special characteristics of the island. Their choice suggests therefore that there is the intention to strengthen the cultural environment on Gotland.

Fig. 04: Distribution of local population

Source: scb.se; tätorter (2005)

The only city in Gotland is Visby and has almost 23'000 inhabitants housing almost 40% of Gotland's total inhabitants. The figure to the left gives an overview over the geographical distribution of the local population. Since the figures are related to 'tätorterna' in the definition of SCB (Statistics Sweden)¹, administrative borders are not considered in the graphic. The distribution of the local population does therefore not refer to the local parishes (Socken), but rather to coherent settlements, which can occur across administrative borders. Around 60% of the local population live in 'tätorterna' and additional 10% in so-called 'småorterna'² leaving around 30% which live in settlements with less than 50 inhabitants. A complete list is attached in the appendix. Visby as the only 'city' on the island is the dominant centre for administration and economy.

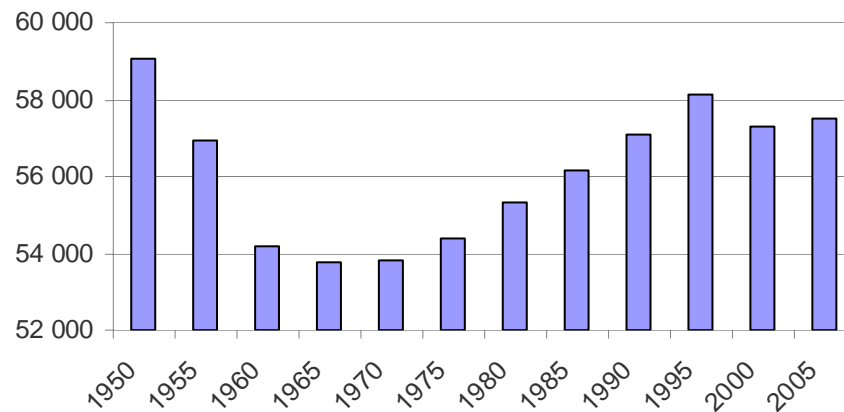
Taking the chronological development of the population number into consideration, Gotland seemed to lose its attraction as a place of living after 1950, since its population decreased rapidly. From 1970 on, the trend was changed and the population number increased until the end of the 90s. It seems that Gotland can keep its number of inhabitants now more or less stable at a level of over 57'000 (scb.se). Interesting to see is that Gotland shows in all age groups a positive netto migration except in the age group of 15 – 29 years. A just recently published population prognosis identifies Gotland furthermore as a 'new loser' in terms of population numbers meaning that Gotland is expected to lose around 5'000 inhabitants in the

¹ 'Tätort' is a statistical term defining those coherent settlements with more than 200 inhabitants where there is not more than 200 m between the houses. Municipal or county borders are not considered. A 'tätort' can therefore be across administrative borders. Due to this rather generous definition of 'Urban' settlements, the grade of urbanization is rather high in Sweden compared to other countries. (SCB.se)

² 'Småort' is a statistical term defining coherent settlements with a number of permanent inhabitants between 50 and 199. Municipal or county borders are not considered. A 'småort' can therefore be across administrative borders. (SCB.se)

next 25 years, according to this report. The objective of the municipality of Gotland to reach 65'000 inhabitants by 2010 seems to be unrealistic. (Nygren, Person 2000)

Tab. 01: Population development in Gotland, 1950-2005



Source: scb.se

In 2005, Gotland had about 750'000 tourists, which is only a third of the tourist number of Öland, the second largest island of Sweden. Öland is situated closer to the main land and is furthermore connected to it with a bridge as a permanent link. The access to Öland is therefore faster and can occur at any time, while in the case of Gotland the access is tied to flight and ship schedules. The accessibility of Gotland is however high: Even in the winter, when the tourism industry is mainly reduced to basic performance, Gotland can be reached almost every second hour by plane from Stockholm offering good access possibilities. The sea connection is limited to two departures per day over the winter adjusted to the reduced number of tourists. The vast majority of the tourists are visiting Gotland in the summer time leaving an island in the winter behind which is not (yet) perceived as a winter destination. Gotland however is currently working on changing this perception. Its overall aim is to increase the number of tourist not only in the summer, but also in the winter time.

One project to reach higher tourist numbers is the attempt of Gotland and Öland to revive a direct sea connection between the two islands. In 1987 and 1997, there was a regular ferry link between Grankullavik, Öland and Visby, Gotland, but it was stopped both times after one season due to the lack of passengers. Due to the good response in 2007, Destination Gotland decided to offer a regular ferry link between mid of June to Mid of August each year. According to the tourist information centres on both islands, the strong response is considered as a success. Öland has around 2,5 Mio. tourists, while Gotland has around 750 000. In the past years, Öland had a decline in the number of tourists, but a new travel pattern is identified enabling to increase the number again: *'Families which use their car to travel from Mälardalen to Kolmården, Astrid Lindgren, Glasriket and Öland and after that home via Gotland'*, says Per-Erling Evensen, marketing director at Destination Gotland. With the direct link, both islands hope to increase both, the number of tourists and the number of overnight stays: Öland aims to profit from a better connection to Stockholm via Gotland, while Gotland hopes to profit from the high numbers of tourists in Öland. (Svenska Dagbladet, 2007-07-18) Due to the limitation of the ferry connection on two

month in the summer, this will only strengthen the summer tourism and will have no effect on the efforts to increase the attractiveness of Gotland as a winter destination.

A just recently finished project was HES Gotland: Historieturism och evenemang i samverkan for utvecklade turism, Heritage tourism and events in cooperation for a developed tourism.³ This project is another attempt to attract more tourists to the island. In this project heritage and tourism were directly connected. The project consists of three parts: Historic Gotland, customer communication and events all year around. The two year project was carried out between January 2006 and December 2007 and had a budget of 8,5 Mio. SEK. The evaluation report of the project could not (yet) be accessed, therefore no further comments on the results can be drawn. The evaluation report should be published at any time soon.

3 THE CULTURAL HERITAGE BASED CLUSTER IN GOTLAND

The above illustration of the current regional development opens up one question: How is the cultural cluster in Gotland placed in these local circumstances and which are its main pillars?

Setting the stage

The cultural heritage based cluster concept is a first attempt to understand the relationships surrounding the cultural activities in Gotland as well as the development factors of the cluster. In 2002, Richard FLORIDA introduced new arguments which stimulated discussions based on his book 'The rise of the creative class'. Using Florida's line of argumentation, cities and countries need to attract the so-called creative class in order to remain competitive. The concept includes elements of previous theories already introduced in the beginning of the 19th century. The book however brought up a more intense discussion involving scientists, politicians and economists. Due to the popularity of the idea all across the world, the idea was applied in the case of different countries and cities. In times where the industrial based economy is replaced by the knowledge based economy, the thesis ties in with other approaches stressing the importance of knowledge and human capital. Creativity is today recognised as one of the drivers of the new economy and culture is obviously closely tied to creativity.

Creative and cultural industries are identified all over the world as a newly recognised, but fast growing sector of the economy. In Great Britain for example, the creative industries are identified to be the fastest growing sector of the British economy. However, since software development, computer games, movie production as well as music are included in the term cultural industries, it is obvious which parts are contributing to such a rapid growth. Taking numerous scientific articles into consideration⁴, it suggests that it is usually not the heritage-related activities which profit from the increasing attention of the creative and cultural industries, but rather

³ Heritage tourism is defined as travelling to experience the places, artefacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present. It includes cultural, historic and natural resources. (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2008)

⁴ For further reading: Oakley, K. (2004): *Not so cool Britannia: The Role of the Creative Industries in Economic Development*, in: International Journal of Cultural Studies, 7(1)

such creative industries which have only weak links to the place like software development, advertisement and movies. Software for example, will look the same no matter if it is developed in Stockholm or Gotland which suggests weak links to the place of origin. The understanding of culture in this pre-study is centred on the arts, architecture and design, a culture which is rooted in and shaped by the history and identity of places. In order to emphasize the differences in-between cultural and creative industries in this pre-study, there will be a distinction between traditional culture, which is strongly connected to the place and contemporary culture like software, movies and so on.

Due to their strong non-profit orientation, traditional culture is therefore often neglected in the literature and also in practice. Although included in the 'cultural industries' term, elements of the traditional arts sector are having a minor role in the policies due to the focus on economic output of the cultural industries rather than on the artistic or cultural value. *'Whereas the contemporary creative industries become celebrated in terms of economic success and national competitiveness, traditional culture were seconded to the heart of social policy initiatives as resources for helping communities to tackle social exclusion as measured by key indicators of crime, health, employment and education.'* (Jayne, 2005) Another tendency in literature and practice which seems to choose another approach different from this pre-study is therefore the strong connection of cultural clusters with the urban space. Cultural industries are often referred to as engines for urban renewal processes and are until now not studied in a more peripheral context. Due to the tight connection of (traditional) culture and urban renewal processes, some authors choose to speak rather of creative industries than of cultural industries stressing the increasing economical importance of such industries and leaving the possible role within urban regeneration processes to a large degree out of the picture. Both terms however, cultural and creative industries are used interchangeable.

This opens up the question: Why do we concentrate on cultural heritage and the regional level? Instead of trying to understand the different regional cultures and to use this as the pillars for a local cultural cluster, it currently seems that there is only one single model of creative and cultural industries existing. Even in the industrial economy, regional differences were taken into account when promoting the regional economy. Some areas had a clear focus on shipbuilding, while others were regions with coal mining. Nowadays, in the light of the globalisation, when more and more actors are demanding the preservation of a rich cultural diversity not only in Europe, such regional differences seems ironically not to be included in the creation of knowledge- and culture-based economic development strategies. Gotland however succeeded in preserving its unique cultural history and to profit from it through increasing number of tourists, which is attracted by the uniqueness of the island. Without any doubt however, heritage and cultural knowledge does contribute to a large extend to the regional economy of Gotland. The development which was going on over the past years shows that the Swedish government is willing to support the cultural profile of Gotland. With the lost of jobs especially in the manufacturing sector, the government was responsible for compensating this loss on jobs with relocating institutions into the region which are strongly connected to the traditional cultural sector. The public support for a cultural heritage based cluster on Gotland seems therefore to be present.

It seems that there are at least two perspectives about how to look upon the cultural heritage based cluster in Gotland: On one side, there is the view from outside the region and on the other side, there is the insider perspective hold by the local population. The outsider perspective focuses strongly on the local cultural heritage where Gotland is seen as a place with a distinct history, while the insider perspective seems to have a focus on contemporary activities. While discussing with local actors the understanding of a cultural cluster in Gotland, always the contemporary culture was first in the focus. This is understandable due to the effort not to be seen as a conservative region which attempts to conserve their past at any cost but rather to form and develop than to protect. Every place has a long history, but it is the contemporary researcher who defines the heritage of a place. It is not given what can be understood as local history, but needs to be defined by someone. Heritage is not a stable entity. It develops and changes over time. These changes are no radical changes, which occur within a couple of years, but are rather of slowly nature. Due to the popularity of the medieval time and the era of the Vikings most of the regions and town focus their heritage on the medieval and Viking time. Gotland is here no exception. The time in-between is forgotten for the moment, at least in the awareness of the region, while an historian still sees also the time in-between. The important thing is that the contemporary person is defining the heritage and this definition can look different in the future. The nowadays contemporary art can be the cultural heritage in the future, but it can also be that it will be forgotten.

The structure of the cluster

In order to strengthen the local cluster, support measures should occur on at least one of the following three different levels:

- Planning and communication of cultural activities which will be most likely steered by the governmental and municipal organisations,
- the historic knowledge which is gained through research of educational institutions or museums as well as
- the actual application of historic knowledge through companies, cultural associations or artists in events.

The main idea behind these three different levels is that each actor is contributing to at least one of these levels. On the planning and communication level, the cluster will experience inputs from the public side in form of cultural programmes and/or more restrictive regulations like laws about the conservation of ancient buildings. Most likely, the public actors also take a strong role in promoting communication between different actors and components of the cultural cluster. In a mostly non-profit driven cluster, public actors are more crucial than in any other cluster initiative due to the limited financial benefits. The second level 'research' is essential for a cultural cluster due to the fact that historical procedures and artefacts need to be explored. Only in few cases, the knowledge was passed on over centuries within families. The only way to gain insight about ancient artefacts and procedures are research and archaeological excavations. This knowledge will later passed on through educational institutions or cultural associations to people which will later take use of this gained knowledge through the production of traditional products. This actual application of traditional knowledge serves as the intersection between theory and the contribution to the contemporary society. The levels are transparent which means that actors can

participate in different levels. A museum which is involved in research activities are mostly also involved in the application of knowledge through the participation on revival projects like the medieval week.

In order to understand what kind of actors could participate in the different cluster components, it is important to illustrate the local economic structure. Gotland is characterised by small and medium-sized companies. The largest employer is the municipality of Gotland with 7000 employees. Among the 100 largest private companies only one company directly linked to cultural activities is included: The theatre in Roma, Gotland employees around 20 people. The theatre is contributing to the cultural cluster with its strong historical focus due to the maintenance and use of historical sites as its stage setting. The theatre might not reduce its choice of plays to plays dealing with regional history, but it certainly includes historic sites in its everyday business. The companies involved in cultural activities are therefore rather small companies with no or few employees beside the entrepreneur. This result is not further surprising since cultural artists are seldom organised in larger economical units. Going through the list of registered craftspeople in Gotland it can be seen that most of the people work alone and few have the business running as a family enterprise.

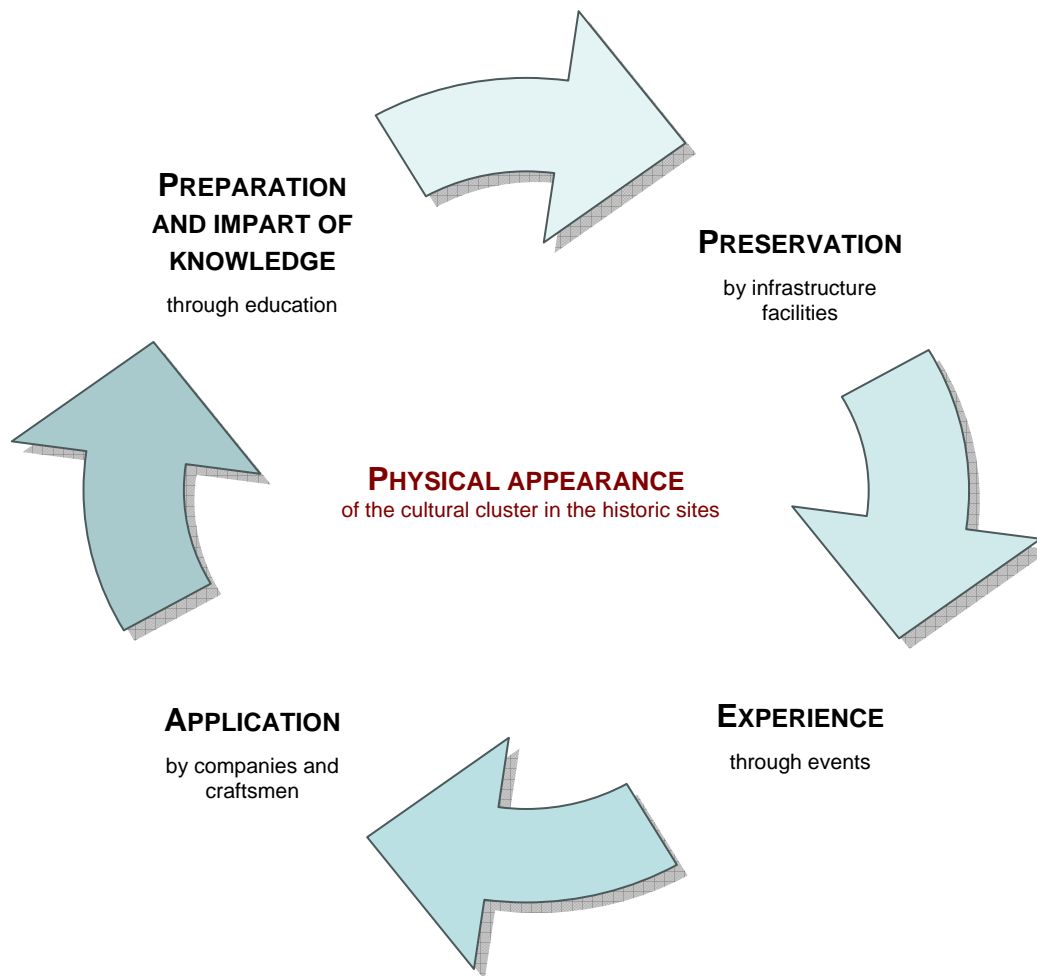
The five cluster components

In the introduction part, the five components of the cultural cluster were presented. The choice of these five components is founded on the different emphasis and contributions each of the chosen components has for the cluster.

- The **historic sites** are the core elements *visualising the existence of a cultural heritage based cluster*. The physical structure shapes the environment in which the cultural cluster can be active. For example, many historical yards are used by local artists and handcrafts as their studios and homes serving two purposes: to preserve the historical sites and to provide a suitable environment for their creative work. Over one thousand farms, which are dating back to the Viking and medieval periods, are still inhabited to this day, not only by artists.
- The history of Gotland can be *experienced* through the numerous **events** taking place all over the island. Mostly the historic sites are used here as the stage on which the events taking place. This gives more authenticity to the events.
- **Education** institutions and other associations play an important role not only in *discovering new knowledge about traditional processes and way of living as well as to impart such knowledge*. Findings gained from excavation all over Gotland, often executed by the local university, deliver important insight about the life of the Vikings. But also artists need to be educated and taught. The University of Gotland has a clear emphasis on disciplines which are part of the creative industries.
- The local **companies** and artists are actually making *use of the gained knowledge*. Traditional methods and procedures within handcraft and textile processing, but also traditional patterns are used either alone or in combination with new methods to create new art or a new product which can be purchased.

- The last component of the cultural cluster is the **infrastructure facilities**. These facilities play an important role in *preserving the gained knowledge and artefacts*. Museums and archives are here the most essential elements. Due to the categorisation as infrastructure facilities also hotels and restaurants are included although their contribution to a preserving the heritage is rather indirect. Mostly found in historic sites like the medieval hotel, which is located in an authentic 14th century house, such facilities preserve the physical appearance due to their maintenance.

Each of the five components of the cultural cluster has a main task, which the component fulfils. This categorisation however is just a guideline and overlapping occurs. Museums which are clearly infrastructure facilities have the main task to preserve the cultural heritage, but are also involved in lectures trying to pass on knowledge. The category depends on how one looks upon it. The ideal model below illustrates the cumulative relations between the different components, if each component performs ideal. The physical structure is here the basic requirement in order to get the process started and to keep it going. A strong interest in for example medieval events increases the interest in medieval-based products or techniques leading eventually to an increased application through companies and craftsmen seeing increasing market opportunities. One needs however to be aware that this model is ideal. The reality usually looks much more complex where for example a too strong focus on the medieval age can repress other activities which do not fit in the overall category medieval age. The purpose of the below showed ideal model is to illustrate the potential of a well-functioning cultural cluster and to simplify the cumulative relations for a better understanding.

Fig. 05: Theoretical model - Cumulative relations within the cluster

In the following each of the five components of the cultural cluster will be analysed and illustrated more detailed. Mainly, the key elements and actors will be the focus having a high attractiveness for others.

3.1 PHYSICAL APPEARANCE IN HISTORIC SITES

Beside the city core in Visby, Gotland houses many historic sites: 92 medieval churches, partly ruins and over one thousand farms, which are dating back to the Viking and medieval periods, are still inhabited to this day as well as many other historic sites. The Visby cathedral is the attraction which has the highest number of visitors each year, followed by the historical museum of Gotland (läns museet) with the Fornsalen (Gotlands kommun, 2007).

The County Administration Board of Gotland developed an internet page which aims to present all the cultural sites of Gotland⁵. Currently 176 cultural sites are listed with a short description about the story behind the place. Visby has 200 buildings, which are dating back to the medieval period, 13 church ruins, a cathedral and two monasteries surrounded by a wall, one of the best preserved city wall in Europe. Due to the excellent preservation of the historic city core embedded by the stone wall, the

⁵ Besöksplatser på Gotland: <http://www.segotland.se/>

medieval city of Visby is listed in the UNESCO world heritage list. Another physical characteristic of Gotland is the decentralised spread of farms dating back to the Viking and medieval period.

During the interviews the question was raised if Visby and Gotland feel threatened by the various emerging medieval weeks and medieval markets all over Sweden and even Scandinavia. The just recently released movie about the Swedish crusader named Arn Magnusson 'Arn - the tempelriddaren' raised an interest for Västra Götaland, where most of the story is located. None of the interview partners however see a threat but rather a good marketing for Gotland itself. Through the movie and the other emerging events the interest for the medieval time is increasing and Gotland is one of the places which obviously profits from such an interest. Visby has an authentic, preserved medieval environment, while Västra Götaland first needs to build up such a structure which will be rather a reconstruction than an authentic environment. All the interview partners agreed on that Visby has a physical structure which is unique in Sweden and the rest of the world providing an authentic stage for medieval events. It was also stressed to make more use out of the 12 church ruins located in Visby and to integrate them in cultural activities. At the moment, these artefacts are not used, but have the potential to contribute with authenticity to cultural events.

In 1995, Visby has been put on the UNESCO world heritage list due to the excellent preservation of the medieval city wall as well as the city core itself. Especially two institutions were the thriving power behind this effort: County Heritage Board as well as the municipality. Four main objectives for preserving the world heritage site exist: Preservation of the city wall, the church ruins, the stone houses from the medieval time as well as the pattern of the cityscape. These four objectives were chosen since they reflect the history as a trade city in these physical structures. The city was listed on the basis of the UNESCO criteria (iv) and (v), which means that Visby is '*an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history*' as well as '*an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change*' (UNESCO, Selection criteria).

This acceptance in the world heritage list comes along with several conditions, if the status should be maintained. The UNESCO has a clear process defined monitoring the state of conservation of World heritage properties in order to maintain outstanding universal value. A potential field of conflict in this connection could be to align the demands of a contemporary standard of living with the conditions of conservation expressed by the UNESCO. Especially since large areas of Visby should be conserved – the whole old city core – such potential problems could emerge more easily than if single buildings or city quarters should be conserved. The interviews with the local actors on Gotland however showed that such a potential problem area do not (yet) emerge. Buildings, which are several centuries old, are according to the interviews among the most wanted and very seldom has the house owner refused to undertake conservation actions. Looking through the local real estate market, houses from the 17th century and older have the highest prices although the buildings are small and the floor plans show old-fashion zoning.

Additional to this, the houses are under the protection of the law with clear restrictions about what material can be used in case of a restoration and which changes are allowed. Such restrictions do not limit the sphere of potential buyers, but rather the opposite is the case: Old buildings, also such which are included in the UNESCO World Heritage list are the most attractive buildings on the market. It seems that the owners are proud of owning such an old building since they own a piece of the local heritage. Usually, there are no problems occurring in the sense of neglect the actual condition of the building. In most cases, restoration occurs on the own initiative of the owners and only sometimes there is a stimulation from the public site. This does not only apply to Visby, but also to the numerous farms originating from the Viking or medieval age which are spread all over Gotland.

One reason for such a broad preservation of numerous houses, around 200 medieval stone houses are preserved, is based on the economic stagnation of the island between the 14th and 18th century, the town did not undergo any alterations. The bad financial situation made it difficult to build new buildings and the town was not interesting enough to be conquered by a hostile power leading eventually to the destruction of the physical structure. In the 18th century, when the economy of Gotland started to grow again, a Swedish law introduced the possibilities of tax reduction if stone houses were built or reused in order to conserve timber. As a result the stone houses of the medieval time, many were ruins due to a lack of maintenance, were reused and restored.

3.2 EXPERIENCE OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE THROUGH EVENTS

Events are valuable instruments of communication for the cluster: with events, the cultural heritage can be communicated and merchandised. Events have the possibilities to let the people actively participate in the past. Such an experience is not limited to the volunteers and artists, but includes also the tourist which simply visits such an event.

The medieval week in Gotland is certainly one of the most popular events on the island. Just recently a new company was established aiming to organise the medieval week and also to make the gained knowledge available for similar events in whole Scandinavia. Jakriborg, Skåne, was housing last year for the first time the Jakriborg knight tournament and used the experience of the Medeltidsveckan AB by consulting them during the event development. In opposite to Gotland's tournament and medieval week, this knight tournament can however not be tied to the history of the place: Jakriborg is a totally new built city quarter, which simply uses elements from old medieval cities.

A recent discussion on Gotland rose around organisational issues of the medieval week. The medieval week is in the need for more funding due to expected increased expenses this year like for example higher rents. The Medeltidsveckan AB has an annual turnover of about 4 Million SEK whereof 3 Million are self-financed. The rest of the finances are covered through donations from sponsors and municipality support. For the coming years however these finance possibilities are not (yet) secured endangering the whole financing of the medieval week. According to Rolf K. Nilsson, the chairman of the Medeltidsveckan AB, the medieval week is in serious danger: *'Without further financial support there will be no medieval week in 2009.'*

There will maybe be some medieval activities, but there won't be a medieval week as we know it.' (Helagotland.se, 2008) Medeltidsveckan AB appeals therefore to the local economy to support the event. In January 2008, 40 representatives from public authorities, local entrepreneurs, tourist associations and the Medeltidsveckan AB met for an open discussion aiming to find a solution to the problematic situation.

The local economy is however divided into two parties. The majority seems rather to discuss another topic, which is since several years in an ongoing debate: The local economy suggests moving the execution of the medieval week to a later time trying to shift the event from the tourist high season to the off-season. The reason for this is that the event could extend the attractiveness of Gotland for another week further. The event has currently a fixed date: in week 32 Visby turns back the time for about 700 years. Many local entrepreneurs suggest a fixed date from 07th -14th August which however would collapse with the end of the summer holidays and consequently with the beginning of the school days. The medieval week however can only be realised with the help and commitment of numerous volunteers. It might be doubtful if as many volunteers as necessary would be activated for an event taking place after the summer holidays.

Especially the restaurants and different service facilities see the possibility in attracting more customers by moving the event to another week. They argue that in week 32 there are still many visitors on Gotland, therefore the medieval week should be moved to a time where the number of tourists is any way low. The event would attract therefore more people in the off-season, a time where the service sector in Gotland is facing normally a low number of tourists. Instead of offering such a big and popular event during the high season, when anyway so many tourists are on Gotland, the event should rather be used as an attraction point during the off-season. The majority of the local service facilities are therefore not willing to support the medieval week, if the date is not going to be changed. Especially the owner of the restaurant 'Mix Ranch' expresses sharp words stating that during the medieval week in the high season the turnover of his restaurant decreases by 70% forcing the owner to shut down the facility for the whole week this year. He of course seems not to be willing to finance an event which forces him out of business for a whole week during high season. The organisers of the event however seem to want to hold on to week 32 saying that this week is the anchor and can not easily be moved, also because of the beginning of the school term and the associations of people with the week since 25 years. During the medieval week there is obviously a concentration on Visby having a negative effect on service facilities further away from Visby.

During this meeting, Medeltidsveckan AB called the local economy's attention to an emerging competition: 'Country of Arn'⁶ in the region of Västra Götaland. According to Rolf K Nilsson, the chairman of Medeltidsveckan AB, the municipalities in Västra Götaland invested almost 20 Mio. Swedish kroner last year, while on Gotland only a small fraction of 500'000 kroner was spent. With the movie blockbuster Arn, which was shown in the cinemas around Christmas last year, it is expected that more

⁶ This term is related to the just recent published movie 'Arn – the tempelriddaren' based on the story of a Swedish crusader named Arn Magnusson. The base for the two-piece movie was the books by Jan Guillons. Arn broke all box-office records and is considered to be one of the most successful Swedish movies so far.

tourists will come to Västra Götaland discovering the region of Arn. Nilsson stressed therefore the need for more investments in order to stay competitive.

The importance of the medieval week for the local history was part of a recent analysis: On behalf of the Gotlands Turistförening, the Swedish Tourist Analyse Institute (Turismens Utredningsinstitut) was carrying out analysis of three different major events on Gotland: Medieval week, Almedalsveckan as well as Gotland Grand National – GGN. The report concludes that the medieval week generates a general turnover of 184 Mio. kroner. General turnover means that it is the total consumption of all visitors, while the specific turnover is the consumption of people which are mainly on Gotland because of the medieval week. After all, around 70% of the visitors stated that the medieval week is their main reason to visit Gotland. The medieval week is therefore clearly an event which contributes to a remarkable extent to the regional economy, but the organisers have little benefit out of it. How can an event which brings in around 124 Million SEK each year be in the need of more financial support? The reason can be found in the mostly free of charge activities. Only some few activities like the knight tournament and theatre charge fees and then mostly, according to statements, at cost prices. The entrance fee per person is only 28 kroner, which flow to the organisers. It is therefore the regional economy which profits from the week rather than the organisers.

In order to understand the economical importance of the medieval week for the region, a comparison with the other two main events on Gotland will be helpful. The Almedalsveckan, in which representatives of the main political parties are discussing political issues and even organise seminars, only bring 23 Mio. to the region, while the motorbike event Gotland Grand National only generates 15 Mio. in turnover. The economic importance of the medieval week is therefore unchallenged and the actual discussion which includes a possible threat to the arrangement of the event would have serious consequences for the region. Knight tournaments and medieval markets are arranged nowadays all over Sweden and the competition is increasing. The medieval week AB is actively involved in offering their knowledge in organising such an event to other regions all over Scandinavia trying to start similar events. Without the medieval week in Gotland, the island would loose a top event with an incredible force of attraction.

Another event on Gotland which experienced an increased attention is the 'Öppna Ateljéer'. This year, 114 local artists open up their studios to interested people allowing them to look over the artists' shoulders. This event however does not have the same strong connection to the local history like the medieval week. Since Gotland not only has artists which create their art based on the local history, but rather houses a large number of contemporary-oriented artists the event includes artists with various interests, may it be contemporary or not. Due to the long tradition in ceramic and pottery, such artists are considered to be part of the heritage based cluster, while painters are contemporary artists. Due to the relatively high numbers of contemporary artists, the vast majority is contemporary-oriented leaving the event only a low contribution for a heritage-based cluster, since this pre-study focuses on the potentials which are linked to the local heritage and tradition. The event has however for Gotland in total a very high value due to the presentation of the creative environment for contemporary art. The concentration of contemporary artists on Gotland is without any doubt an important possibility for Gotland which should be

supported and developed further. The event takes place from the 9th to the 11th of May and occurs therefore during the off-season. In earlier years the event took place during the high-season, but the organisers had the feeling that the event is lost among so many other events. After a study, it was suggested to organise the event earlier in order to face less competing events. Although not so many tourists can be found on the island during that time, it is anyway the time when the Summer-Gotlander⁷ arrive in order to start up their summer houses. Last year, each of the 96 participating workshop had an average number of visitors of 240.

In the course of the development of a business development programme (NUP) for Gotland in 2003, it was suggested that a new company should be founded with the main purpose to stimulate new events: Evenemang AB Gotland. The idea behind is that three new annual events should be initiated as well as one additional one-time event per year. It should be privately financed as a venture capital company and only such events should be supported which have a clear potential of being a financial success and being financially self-supporting after a reasonable time. The trigger for the discussion about the establishment of such a company was the intention of the Gotland municipality to attract more tourists. *'Although Gotland has a strong position as a tourist destination, there are only a few large events, which are able to attract visitors to Gotland'* (Municipality of Gotland, 2003). The Business Development Programme (NUP) suggests therefore the initiation of numerous larger events. As possible starting points are mentioned the following combinations: Tourism and interactive media, economy and sports as well as environment and culture. This should be reached through the creation of a company which is clearly geared to the management and initiation of new events. NUP stresses the potential of an increased the winter tourism.

3.3 APPLICATION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE BY COMPANIES AND CRAFTSMEN

Throughout the literature, it is stressed out that innovation and entrepreneurship are essential requirements for a healthy dynamic of the cluster. Cultural and creative industries are said to be a special part of the economy, where managers and hierarchic organisations are despised and where work happens spontaneously. At the same time these artists are forced to be part of the market mechanisms through selling their products.

Two different types of business can be identified in the cultural cluster: First, the companies which are contributing indirectly to the cultural cluster like building companies which preserve historic sites and restaurants which base their concept on historic food and interior. These types of companies need to face similar circumstances like any other company in their sector. On the other side, there are the regional artists actually producing new products based on the regional history. One of the key actors in a cultural cluster is certainly the Gotlandic Art Handicraft and Design Cooperative (GKF, Gotländska Konsthantverkare och Formgivares Förening). This association is quite young, but already represents 19 artists. The cooperative is

⁷ Summer-Gotlanders is translated from the Swedish term 'sommar-gotlänningar' which refers to people living during the summer time on Gotland, but moving back to their origin place during the winter time.

supported by the Swedish Cultural Department and Gotlandic local government, but experienced over the past years financial support also by the Structural Fond of the European Union. The actors hope that the whole process will lead to the establishment of a Design Centre in Gotland (Formcenter Gotland).

Gotland was always well known for its handcraft in pottery and wool. The ram belongs to Gotland since many, many centuries, thus, a 'silver ram with golden horns' is pictured on the flag of Gotland. The project called FormGotland, which was started 1995, aimed to add another dimension to pottery and wool: to increase the awareness level of regional products made of the distinguished regional resources such as stone, wood and concrete. Gotland is well-known for its lime stones, but mostly in connection with the industrial construction and not so much for interior and garden design. Gotland has also a strong tradition in using heartwood and this knowledge should be brought up again into the economical exploitation, such as the development of new products made out of heartwood. Beside these two dimensions, there is the effort to add another dimension: the design and production of furniture. There is in particular one company which can be identified as the thriving forces behind: G.A.D. is very successful in selling their furniture in Sweden and exporting even to the US and the UK. G.A.D. tries to preserve its local roots through the use of exclusively local lime stone, concrete and fleece produced on the island, while the wood however needs to be for obvious reasons purchased from whole Scandinavia. The FormGotland project was initiated 1995 and aimed to bring small, traditional handcraft companies together with industrial designers. While the handcraft companies were local one, most of the industrial designers came from outside the region. The selection was based on two main criteria: craft skills as well as the strong position of local resources in the product production. These are resources which were available in relatively large amounts and for which Gotland was known for. The focus was therefore lying on stone, wood and concrete. The project was a success, but with the increase of the business activities the need for such a co-operation disappeared. If a new need will occur later on, such co-operation will be relived again.

Companies on Gotland are mostly locally oriented: most of the towns still have their local craftsmen like the local plumber and carpenter keeping the strong tradition in handcraft alive. Such businesses are seldom larger than a one-man enterprise. Most of these handcraft enterprises especially the carpenters are more or less regularly involved in restoration projects due to the large numbers of old buildings across Gotland. These companies keep the physical appearance of the heritage in shape.

The more artistic oriented companies however are the ones which actively make use of the cultural heritage by using traditional methods and local resources. There are two main groups to separate: pottery and fur. From the 17th century on, more and more ceramics was imported to Gotland, thus the governor decided that Gotland needs its own pottery workshop. In 1740, two German potters came to Visby and educated new, local potters and ceramists which eventually established their own workshops. (segotland.se 2008) From this time on Gotland was well-known for its pottery and until now most of the artists produce their own clay from local resources or buy it from a local producer like Lokatta Keramik in Barlingbo. The Gotland clay is fetched from a clay pit close to Havdhem in Southern Gotland. Around 40 pottery

workshops can be found on Gotland bawaring Gotland's strong tradition in pottery and ceramics.

The other strong handcraft group are the artists and craftsmen which are related to the wool and leather products. Gotland is strongly connected to the Gute sheep, a special kind of sheep which existed on Gotland since many centuries and is famous for its curly gleaming fur in different shades of silver grey. In the 19th century the Gute sheep was an endangered species, since a new breed was raised: the Gotland sheep. The aim was to increase the meat production and to get a curlier and softer fur. The Gute sheep was in the medieval times an important source of wool for the 'vadmal' fabric, as we know from Swedish writings in 1292. (Föreningen Gutefår 2008) The importance of the sheep for Gotland can be seen in the fact that it found its place on the Gotlandic flag. Although the original breed was more or less replaced in the 18th and 19th century by the Gotland sheep which delivers a better fur quality, the local craftsmen carry on the local traditions. Textil Gotland is a society which aims to promote the development of textile and fur. The society has over 50 members whereof the majority has a link to the gotlandic fur. (Textil Gotland 2008)

There are also several other artists and companies existing which developed a passion for more unusual traditions. Barbro Sandell for example has a passion for old Gotlandic textile patterns especially from the 17th century. She designs and develops new products based on these old patterns. Another tradition which is kept alive by not too many is the production of delicacies by a charcuterie in Sanda using old traditional recipes.

Aim of the cultural heritage based cluster should be the maintenance of these tradition-oriented companies and not only the enterprises within the two main groups: pottery and wool. Gotland has a long and strong handcraft tradition in numerous fields. Therefore also the artists and companies which are active within a less popular field like textile printing is in need of support. A concentration on mainstream handcraft like pottery and ceramic seems logical due to the financial possibilities and the strong local lobby. But such rare fields of activities like textile printing are most likely in need of an even stronger support since there are fewer enterprises which operate within the respective field eventually resulting that if one company goes out of business the tradition will no longer have a place on Gotland. Due to the small-scale of the business structure on Gotland and the strong local tradition, a rich variety of different traditional handcrafts survived. This structure should be kept alive, since this represents an important part of Gotland.

During the interviews, the importance of contemporary artists was stressed. No clear numbers exist about the origin of the artists but there is an overall agreement that the vast majority of the artists are not born in Gotland. They moved mainly to Gotland in the prospect of finding positive stimulation for their creative work. This opens up the question why Gotland is so appealing to artists? The main arguments which were cited from the interview partners was that the majority appreciate the quietness, isolation, the cultural environment with a lively history as well as the sunlight during summer and autumn. It was also pointed out that the artists need to be aware of that in the fewest cases it is possible to make a living out of the art on the island. Therefore the short geographical distance and travel time to Stockholm is a great advantage: Many artists chose Gotland to develop and create their art in the

summer, but arrange their art exhibitions rather in the winter in Stockholm or other larger cities, where a larger number of potential customers can be reached. But this however also means that such summer residents are contributing to a much smaller extend to the cultural environment in Gotland. Nonetheless, the contemporary artists are of special importance for Gotland, but just not for the cultural heritage based cluster.

3.4 PREPARATION OF THE CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE THROUGH EDUCATION AND LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETIES

The main actors within this component are the numerous local history societies spread all over Gotland as well as the Gotland University, but also the adult education centres offering courses in pottery and other activities with a link to the local heritage.

Most parishes in Gotland have their own local history society aiming to keep their special history alive and to take care of the local museums. These societies might not consist of more than sometimes eight members, but Gotland has a remarkable number of local history museums spread all over the island whereof the south has however the highest concentration. These museums are seldom larger than a couple of square meters and are to the vast majority not considered to be facilities of high attraction for tourists, but they show however that the inhabitants are interested in preserving their history. The 71 local history societies of Gotland are collected, together with other 28 institutions and guilds, under the umbrella of the local history union of Gotland. Altogether, this union has currently around 15'000 members. Compared with the total number of inhabitants this is a quite impressive number. It needs however to be considered that not all of the members are living in Gotland. Some of the members are the so-called 'Summer-Gotlanders' which usually have a strong interest in the local history and traditions. The local history societies are furthermore a network were migrants from the mainland establish their first contact with the local inhabitants. Due to the presence of a strong island mentality, the new inhabitants try to fit in the local activities signalling with their membership that Gotland is considered as a place with traditions anchored strongly in today's local society.

The local history societies are currently involved in an old ongoing discussion. During numerous excavations, historical artefacts are found quite evenly spread out on Gotland. By law, the Swedish government owns the findings of excavations automatically. This means that they fall in the jurisdiction of the National Heritage Board in Stockholm. The County museum in Visby, as a private and no public museum, needs to pay the National Heritage Board, if they would like to exhibit the findings. It was however never a problem to get the treasures to the museum on Gotland. The local history societies however raised the debate about their possibilities to exhibit the findings on the place where they were unearthed. The societies suggested to build own, little museums for each finding. Due to the quite even distribution of the excavations, there would be a network of small museums all over the island. Especially after the discovery of the largest Viking hoard of silver which was ever found, 67 kilos heavy and consisted of around 14'000 coins and 500 silver arm rings mainly of Arabic origin, the debate of a decentralised organised

exhibition emerged. The National Heritage Board however has justifiable demands on building safety like alarms and cameras before they are willing to loan the artefacts. The local history societies can not guarantee such safety measures and even if they could: between the time the alarm goes off and the police will arrive at the location too much time will be elapsed due to the peripheral and often bad accessible location of the museums. It seems therefore that this discussion can not end in favour of the local history societies.

The main purpose of the local history societies seem to be the preservation of the local history for its own sake and not to make capital. The museums are small and not able to attract tourists. Those societies do not have the needed finances to build and support larger museums as well as to merchandise them. Without this they are not able to attract tourists. Furthermore, such facilities are not fitted to a larger number of tourists. Tourists are sometimes even considered to be disturbing: climbing over fences, try to open doors which are closed, pollute the facility and the surrounding environment which is well-kept and restored by the local history societies.

Being a member of one of the local history societies signalise an interest in an active participation and can be the base for the recruitment of volunteers for further events linked to the cultural cluster. The current organisation and goals of the societies suggest that the members have no interest in financial benefit. This could be a valuable counterbalance to the companies, artists and institutions which try to gain financial benefits from the local history.

Two eras are in the focus of the cultural activities in Gotland: The medieval age and the epoch of the Vikings. The findings of these eras were among other things discovered through numerous archaeological excavations spread out all over the island suggesting that Gotland was strongly involved in trading with especially the Arabic region. In Gotland, there are (until now) almost as much Arabian coins found as in the whole Muslim world. (arkeodok.com 2008) The heritage of the Vikings epoch is mostly artefacts made of silver and gold like coins and jewellery, while many historical sites like churches and the city wall survived from the medieval times. These numerous archaeological excavations offer best opportunities for the archaeological education programme at the Gotland University to be included in the education programme. The university offers several programmes which have a clear link to the local heritage: Archaeology, Cultural and building preservation as well as History. The present history offers excellent possibilities to be integrated in the education at the university. The main focus of the university however seems to be concentrated on the creative industries, like software and game development, industrial design, media and computer communication. Nonetheless, the university is a valuable institution with numerous researchers active in excavations and other heritage-based activities. Other institutions like the folk school (Folkhögskolan) on Gotland have an even stronger profile on creative industries, while the adult education centre (medborgarskolan) offers only one heritage-oriented course: calligraphy with Margareta Hoas, known through her contribution to the movie 'Arn – tempelriddaren'.

An important contribution to the cultural cluster is the numerous voluntary services of the inhabitants enabling to carry out cultural events as well as the preservation of

infrastructure and buildings. Cultural activities are mostly non-profit orientated or linked to fund raisings in order to finance further preservation activities. This means that there is usually few funding stressing the importance of volunteers: The medieval week and the restoration of historical sites like the renovation at Bottarve, a historical estate in Gotland, would never be carried out without the help of volunteers, very often organised in the local history societies. Local history societies pass on traditional knowledge to everybody how is interested.

3.5 PRESERVATION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE BY INFRASTRUCTURE FACILITIES

Infrastructure facilities, especially museums, have the main task of preserving the cultural heritage and to display the artefacts. Artefacts, may it be books or coins, need a constant care in order to keep them from falling apart. Infrastructure facilities are therefore assigned to the main task of preservation.

The cultural heritage based cluster of a region consists of the physical characteristics of the region and its cultural heritage as well as of cultural facilities in the broadest sense, including events, exhibitions, institutions, and the infrastructure, for example theatres, museums, galleries, libraries, recreational facilities and retailers. JANSEN-VERBEKE refers to 'derived' cultural products, also called core products, and to 'additional' products, which are necessary in order to exploit the core products. The core products are usually immobile due to their specific characteristics, while the additional products can be relocated. In this pre-study the focus will clearly lie on the cultural core.

The County museum is certainly the infrastructure facility which is the strongest and largest single facility, beside the Gotland University. The County museum is eight museums in one: five facilities are located in Visby (Fornsalen, Phenomenalen, Konstmuseet, Kapitelhusgården as well as the Fängelsetornet Kajsarn), while the other three can be found in the middle and south of Gotland (Norrby's kulturreservat and museigård, Petes museigård i Hablingbo as well as the Kattlunds museigård). The museum was one of the original founders of the medieval week and although they are not as actively involved as in the beginning, due to the establishment of an own company for implementing the week, the museum is still one of the financial donators. By tradition, the museum does not have any budget for archaeologists. The National Heritage Board was employing the archaeologists before, but the museum could not take them over, since there was and still is no money over for financing them. The archaeologists have their work place in the museum complex, but they are working completely from case to case on commission basis. This special situation makes it difficult to co-operate with the university in relation to excavations.

The County museum is a successful example for the establishment of a so-called cultural flagship. The promotion of single cultural flagships should not occur on costs of the local, broader cultural environment, but should rather use it as a point of origin which was the case in Gotland. The Guggenheim museum in Bilbao on the other side, which attracted a lot media attention and is considered to be a success story, needs to be considered more critically in this connection. The art which is exhibited in the Guggenheim museum has very weak links to the Basques country and even

weaker links to the local art community. Nonetheless, this architectural flagship brought back hope to the of industrial decline suffering city region. Such exclusive flagships are however rare and it is rather the local culture which should be the base for further development. The awareness and understanding of the local culture needs to be captured and integrated in the cultural projects located in the region. In Gotland this has happened to a large extend. The medieval city core of the world heritage city Visby is relived in the medieval week and the numerous archaeological excavations reveal a rich history of the Vikings on Gotland leading to the establishment of the Viking village, which started already in 1990. Traditional handcraft is used by numerous regional artists preventing the handcraft of being forgotten.

Roma Kungsgård which calls itself a centre for handcraft and culture is another important facility for the preservation of the cultural heritage. Roma Kungsgård is included as an infrastructure facility and not as a company network due to its more comprehensive approach than Öppna Ateljéer or GFK. The shop is just one element of many in the effort to preserve, apply and experience the local history.

The figure below shows the geographical distribution of the numerous museums on Gotland. Included in the figure is a first attempt to categorise the museums into three different categories expressing the level of attraction for tourists. Labelled as a museum with a high attraction level, it implies that this facility is able to attract tourists which come just to visit this specific site. Middle attraction implies that the facility is worth a detour, if the tourist is in the surrounding area. Finally, low attraction means that the tourist possible would like to visit the facility, if he comes across it on his way to other sites. Basically all the museums established by the numerous local history societies can be found in this last category due to their limited space and small-scale exhibitions focusing on one single parish ('Socken'). The different levels of attraction could therefore be summarized in: Worth a visit (low attraction), worth a detour (middle attraction) or worth a trip (high attraction). Museums like the Fenomenalen are not included in this graphic due to their modern orientation. Fenomenalen is a science museum oriented towards technology and math offering therefore only limited connection to the cultural heritage. The museums included in the figure can therefore be related to the history of the island.

4 THE CULTURAL HERITAGE BASED CLUSTER AND ITS REGIONAL IMPACT

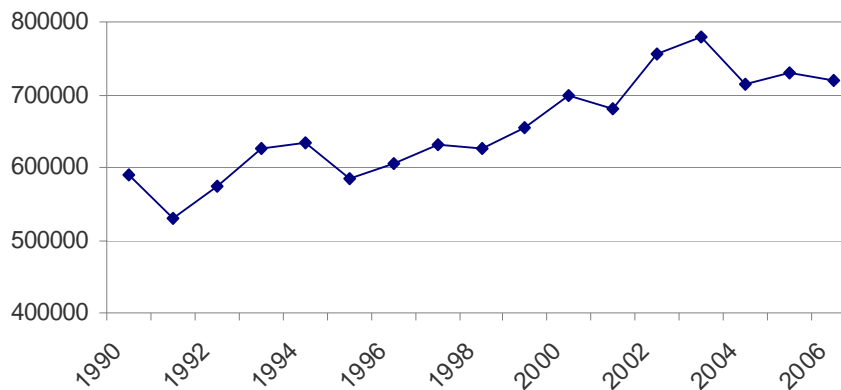
Gotland is profiting from a cultural cluster mainly in four different ways: preservation of its own history, stronger identity, tourist interest for the region and the creation of an image strongly connected with regional branding. Although it is important for the sustainable development of the cultural heritage based cluster to get financial benefits out of the local history in some way, there will also occur other regional impacts which are related to the social and cultural aspect. By nature, the cultural heritage based cluster should have a strong focus on the social and cultural impacts. In the future, one challenge of the cluster will therefore be to find a healthy balance between financial and social/cultural benefits.

Economical impacts

Economists have studied numerous industrial sectors for their special features and their impacts on national or regional economies. There is however one sector, which was not included in such activities, but is nowadays moving towards the centre of attention. Creative and cultural industries were mostly seen as uninteresting industries in connection to economic growth. Culture was associated as a field of non-profit, mainly linked to public subsidies. In Sweden, there are just very few museums which are able to cover their expenditures without public financial aid. The large financial subsidies, which are supporting the cultural activities, suggest that the public authorities are key actors in a cultural cluster. Although the creative industries are experiencing an increasing interest of private investors, the cultural sector is mainly still not included in such investment fields. Just recently this understanding changed. Cultural industries are becoming more commercial and more competitive. Therefore also the term 'cultural *industries*' evolved showing the new possibilities of culture in the economical context. The share on the global GDP of such industries is growing continuously and the growth rates are higher than the growth rate of the economy in total. It is the so-called experience industry, which are responsible for this high growth rates and are moving towards the centre of interest due to their large budgets and popularity in contemporary society. Analysis and studies about the role of creative industries for economic growth are mainly focused on the film and media industry, but also software development is a strong contributor to the increasing economic performance of the creative industries. A cultural cluster which is based on historic heritage of a region has less direct economic impacts, but rather needs to be seen as a required contribution to a prosperous tourism sector and for the establishment of a regional branding, which again will have a direct economic impact on the regional economy.

Tourist interest

Taking the special case of Gotland into consideration it can be seen that the history of Gotland attracts many tourists and artists from the rest of Sweden and even the world. Tourists like to experience the special landscape of Gotland combined with the rich cultural activities, while artists settle down for similar reasons. In the case of Gotland, there are not only activities initiated by public authorities, but also the informal organisations of the regional population are contributing to an active application of regional history. Gotland houses also a number of artists and craftsmen influenced by the history and traditions of the place creating an interesting environment for tourists.

Tab. 02: Number of visitors in Gotland, 1990 - 2006

Source: Municipality Gotland, 2007

Taking the development of the visitor numbers in Gotland into consideration, it can be seen why an increasing number of tourists is an outspoken goal. After a growth from the beginning of the 90s, stagnation occurred over the last three years. Due to the importance of

the tourism sector for the regional economy, such stagnation is of course not desirable. Several projects are on the way in order to attract more tourists. The new large hotel complex 'Tott Hotel Visby' is right now under construction aiming to attract around 20'000 new tourists mainly during the off-season (gotlandska.se, 2008-01-29). The cultural cluster can be influenced by the decreasing number of tourists leading to a decreasing number of visitors for museums and other cultural infrastructure. During the last few years numerous cultural infrastructure facilities were facing declining visitor numbers.

Nowadays, a new catchphrase is emerging: Cultural Heritage Tourism. '*Cultural resources determine tourist interest for a city [or region]*' (Russo, 2000). Also in Gotland several activities were started in that area including the 8,5 Mio. SEK HES programme⁸, which was already explained before in this paper. It is predicted that Cultural heritage tourism will also in the future produce extraordinary growth rates. The World Tourism Organisation estimates an annual growth rate of about 10 to 15% in travel motivated by culture compared to an annual growth rate of 4-5% for the tourism sector in general (WTO, 1996). The Cultural Heritage Tourism aims to preserve the unique local heritage by at the same time gain financial benefits for the region. Exactly this objective makes the concept so popular even in Gotland. The island would of course like to benefit of such high annual growth rates. Especially in the course of the cultural heritage tourism, the cultural cluster will profit from the increasing attention the tourism sector is getting. The tourism sector is identified in numerous local documents and reports as a focus area for the regional endeavour in order to stimulate economic growth. Such regional endeavours will certainly also include cultural activities due to their relevance for the tourism sector.

Regional branding

In order to reach a higher economical impact on the region, the cultural heritage based cluster needs to have a wider focus than on the tourism sector. The creation of a regional branding is another possibility which can be developed to an important pillar of the cultural cluster and the regional economy. Gotlandic artists and companies have retailers all over Sweden and become also increasing popular in the

⁸ HES Gotland – historieturism och evenemang i samverkan för utvecklad turism

rest of the Scandinavian region. Just a few month ago, a feasibility study was carried out which dealt with the creation of a 'trademark Gotland'. Graffman AB was assigned by the municipality of Gotland to carry out a study about the analysis and recommendations of a trademark 'Gotland'. This included a survey among visitors and around 60% of the questioned people agreed strongly that the island offers a unique range of cultural activities. This study concluded with recommendations about a focus on the experience industry as the future area of competence. Also the local history found its place in the suggestions, was however overshadowed by the contemporary creative industries (Graffman, 2007). A regional branding will have a stimulating effect on the cultural heritage based cluster, if it experiences similar support as the contemporary creative industries.

Increased popularity as a result of regional branding and a higher number of tourists does not always need to have only positive impacts on the region. Especially the facilities of the local history societies, which are mostly not adjusted to larger tourist visits, but rather have the objective to keep the history alive for its own sake, are suffering from tourists which wear down the place. Another side of the coin are the illegal excavations and illegal trade with the found artefacts on ebay or tradera. The local public authorities are fighting since years against such a sell-out of regional artefacts. Also during the medieval week different views are standing opposite each other: People which have a serious interest in the medieval life and others which experience the week not as something with cultural value but rather as a party place. Such different perspectives can be found in almost each cultural activity. Gotland needs to find a way of gaining financial benefits by at the same time not wearing down its history.

Social and cultural impacts

There will be two different kinds of actors in the cultural history based cluster, which are equally important. On one side the companies, organisations and artists, which make their living out of culture-oriented activities like the medieval week, handcraft and so on. Without a financial profit these actors won't be able to keep up their activities and Gotland will loose an important part, since such actors help to experience the local history, and by that, keeping it alive. On the other side there are the non-profit oriented organisations and public authorities, which are involved for the sake's of history. The numerous local history societies are one strong example for such non-profit oriented organisations. There are also the public authorities which are less depending on financial benefit than the companies. The non-profit oriented organisations and authorities are therefore the counterbalance to the profit oriented companies aiming to preserve the local history as it is and to protect it from potential negative effects.

Preservation

The local history societies are together with the public authorities like National Heritage Board, the County Administration and the municipality the key actors in preserving the local heritage for its own sake. The important role of the cultural environment for the Gotlandic tourism sector opens up possibilities for the preservation. Due to its contribution, inhabitants are interested in keeping the history alive. By nature, Gotland will be seen as a rather conservative place trying to preserve the past. This might send mixed signals especially to organisations and companies which have an orientation towards innovation. Preservation of artefacts

and history is needed, but the region needs to communicate the picture of an open place, where history and future go hand in hand.

Awareness

The unique geographical location of Gotland contributed to the creation of an exceptional mentality of the island inhabitants. People are taking interest in their local history and immigrants understand quite fast that the only way to be accepted in the island society is to show interest in the local history. Gotland is a place where the cultural heritage is part of the everyday life resulting in the high awareness of the inhabitants about their roots. People are proud to descend from a family which lived since many generations on the island. Often, people are moving back to the island which they left decades ago or which their family left one or two generations ago. This strong identity makes it difficult for outsiders (=non-island born) to feel part of the society. This common interest called history creates bonds between people contributing to the creation of an environment people like to live in, but where outsiders can feel lost.

Taking all these different aspects into consideration, Gotland is more than the sum of its historic sites and museums: The regional history is lived. Due to the close community of Gotland, inhabitants are involved in non-profit associations working for the preservation of the regional history. Gotland needs to communicate itself as a creative environment with strong traditional roots, but which is open for the future.

5 THE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE BASED CLUSTER

Discussing the future prospects of the local cultural cluster, two different perspectives need to be included following the same structure as chapter 4: The prospects of the economical impacts on the one side and the prospects of the social and cultural impacts on the other side.

Gotland established the goal to attract more tourists during the summer, but also during the winter time. In the winter time, the number of tourists is very low and cultural activities play in relative terms a much larger role in attracting tourists than during the summer time, where sunbathing is an additional factor. In absolute numbers however, cultural activities attract only a low numbers of tourists due to the emphasis on summer tourism. In opposite to the sunbathing and bathing, culture is something which can mainly be experienced all year around and is less depending on meteorological conditions. Beside the events, which are mostly open-air events and are therefore taking place among other reasons mainly in the summer, all other four components of the cluster can be experienced at any time of the year. These are the possible starting points for a further development for winter tourism. This might not suggest that the tourism sector should be exclusively based on a cultural programme, but that cultural activities can be a strong base for a variety of tourist activities.

Direct impacts of the cultural cluster on the regional economy are generated through the artists who successfully sell their act/products. Development potentials are here the possible development of a regional brand which could lead to an increasing sales

volume. This regional branding can only be achieved through cooperation and first co-operations have already been made by the establishment of several networks representing local artists like the Gotlandic Art Handicraft and Design Cooperative in Visby⁹ and the Roma Kungsgård. Both represent numerous regional artists and run even a shop where art is sold from the respective members. It seems that the will for establishing such a trademark is existing, but it will take some time and effort to position Gotland.

EuroFutures published in 2001 a study which dealt with the identification of economical competence areas for Gotland in the future.¹⁰ The results suggest that Gotland's future competence areas have a strong link to the so-called experience industry. The University of Gotland has already a strong emphasis on education within sectors belonging to the experience industry like script writing and game development. Such tendencies need to be integrated in the discussion about the future prospects of the local cultural cluster: How does the cultural cluster fit in the intended future? The most promising connections between the cultural cluster and the future competence areas are certainly (1) the experience tourism where the medieval week, the Vikingbyn as well as Öppna Ateljéer can play an important role as well as (2) design from Gotland where the local craftsmen are in the middle of the attention combining tradition with modern design. One challenge of the cultural cluster will be to position itself in the intended regional and economical development of the island.

Another challenge for the cultural cluster is to maintain the strong social community on the island. Especially the local history societies are one base in keeping the local traditions alive: also such heritage which is not as marketable as the medieval week. Local history societies on Gotland are not interested in keeping the traditions alive in order to capitalise the local heritage but rather preserve the local heritage for its own sake.

During the interviews the suggestions came up to integrate a new perspective to the cultural cluster and its activities: the international or Baltic perspective. The current international co-operation is not regarded as sufficient, since through a closer co-operation new insights could be gained. Especially an exchange with the other Baltic cities could contribute to an exchange of knowledge and best practice or could even result in a rising number of visitors. But not only the international network is seen as insufficient, but there is also a lack of local networks noticed. Networks between companies and craftsmen are rather formed in times of economical need than as a tool to optimise the economical performance. By nature, companies seek co-operations during a time of low economic activities, while during a period of prosperity the need disappears. It might contribute positively to the economical environment, if more networks can be formed and are also considered as a valuable tool in periods of prosperity in order to prevent periods of low economical activities.

Another challenge for the cultural cluster is the development of a wider base. At the moment the number of activities is limited and mostly of small scale; the medieval

⁹ In Swedish: GKF – Gotländska Konsthantverkare och Formgivares Förening

¹⁰ EuroFutures (2001): Gotland – nuläge, omvärld och framtida profilområden; En omvärldsanalys för omställningsarbetet på Gotland; available on: http://www.gotland.se/imcms/servlet/GetDoc?meta_id=10637

week is one of the few exceptions. The project FormGotland focused on a – at that time quite – new perspective: Design combined with the use of local resources. The challenge for Gotland will be to strengthen such initiations and to stimulate the creation of more. The local heritage offers many points of origin for new initiations; it just needs people willing to try something new. The development of a wider base can also mean the commercialisation of competences which can be applied outside of the island. In the light of preservation activities or application of traditional methods and processes, competence might emerge which have potential to be exported to Stockholm or other places. At the moment it is basically the Medeltidsveckan AB and a few networks representing local artists, which sell their competences or products outside of Gotland. The intentions of Gotland need to reach further than strengthening the tourism sector and attracting more tourists. The number of tourists which can be attracted to Gotland is limited, but with the creation of new competences new economical opportunities can be exploit.

As it was experienced during the interviews, it is hard to find a clear distinction between cultural activities and cultural activities with a historic connection. Such a distinction was however needed in order to place the special distinctiveness of Gotland into the centre of attention. The characteristic of Gotland is the purpose of this report, therefore are such activities of interest which are anchored in the region. Software development, marketing as well as music will not differ based on their place of origin; the software will look the same if it is developed in Stockholm or in Gotland. The idea behind this pre-study was to illustrate and analyse the cultural activities in Gotland as well as to discuss possible ways how the elements of the cultural cluster could be developed further. With the relocation of numerous cultural organisations, Gotland is now in a good position to get valuable input for forming a strong cultural cluster which goes far beyond the implementation of single initiatives like the medieval week, but rather to embed different cultural activities into one common umbrella.

One question which will arise with the integration of cultural activities under one umbrella is the question of who will decide if an initiative fits in the cultural profile of the region. Culture is hard to define within strict borders and so is what represents the local history raising a second question: How can the local culture be defined and who has the authorization in making such a definition? Maybe such a strict and concrete frame is not necessary after all, but would rather disturb the creative environment in which new initiations can be formed. It is needed to coordinate the different cultural initiatives in order to promote them better and further. Cluster initiatives, which manage the cluster activities, are recognised as valuable tools for the promotion of a cluster. How this should look like is up to the local actors to decide.

6 CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

This concluding sector presents some important questions which were raised during the project, but could not be answered due to the limited frame for this pre-study. These questions could be the points of origin for further studies.

- *How can a balance be found between the conservation of the heritage and the need for innovation?*
Gotland is proud of its history and wants to preserve it. By nature, the island will be considered to be conservative, which might be a barrier for innovation and innovative activities. Gotland needs therefore to communicate a picture where old and new are going hand in hand.
- *What can be done in order to extend the tourist season on the island? How can the winter tourism be arranged more attractive?*
Most of the tourists are concentrated on a few summer months. Most components of the cultural heritage based cluster can however be experienced all year around. Actions need to be developed which aim to strengthen the tourist sector during the off-season.
- *How can a vital balance be found between preservation of the local heritage and financial benefits?*
Each action, each project has beside positive effects also another side of the coin. Especially in the case of culture and tradition, different views can cause differences: volunteers with no interest in financial benefits will most likely have a different view on how to preserve the local heritage than a company. It is therefore important to find a common way.
- *How can the local culture be defined and who has the authorization in making such a definition?*
During the interviews it was obvious that there is no common understanding about what a cultural heritage based cluster is. It would be helpful to establish first a common understanding in order to ensure that all actors are on the same page. But then again: Who has the authorization in making such a definition? But maybe an open process is exactly what this cluster needs. More interviews could help to shed some light on the different understandings and help to find a common understanding.
- *How can the cultural heritage based cluster economically exploit competences attained through preservation?*
Gotland should try to strengthen other, additional competences which can be applied outside of the island. Until now, such a search for other competences was rather eclipsed by the focus on tourism. The local market of Gotland is rather limited suggesting the expansion of the market. At the moment it is only the Medeltidsveckan AB and some companies which make use out of its competences outside of Gotland. Local carpenters for example might develop new, special competences in building preservation which could find a market in whole Sweden or even Scandinavia.

Appendix

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Richard Florida revived an old discussion with his book 'The flight of the creative class' introducing new arguments. At the same time creative industries moved in the centre of attention of policy makers. The approach chosen in this pre-study was therefore to illustrate and analyse the cultural heritage based cluster on Gotland. Due to the importance of the heritage, there was a focus on selected creative industries showing relations with the heritage.

As sources for information several approaches were chosen:

- *Internet:* The home pages of public authorities, associations, local history societies, companies and events were valuable, since they offered detailed information about statistics, actors, networking, competences, and many more.
- *Interviews:* Interviews with key actors were arranged in order to get more and detailed information and opinions. A list of the interview partners is attached. Not all wished interview partners however could find a time, due to the short time horizon of this pre-study.
- *Newspaper:* The focus here was on the newspapers 'Gotlands Allehanda' and 'Gotlands tidningar' which are available on helagotland.se. The newspapers turned out to be especially helpful as a source of information about current discussions on Gotland like the discussion to move the medieval week further back in time. The newspapers capture the different views and opinions on the island.
- *Visit:* The visit of Gotland was an important way to experience Visby during the off-season and to get in personal contact with potential key actors. The trip helped to establish an own picture different from what should be communicated through the commercial of Gotland. Especially the visit during off-season showed a different Gotland than most of the people know due to the strong emphasis on high season.

LIST OF CONTACT PERSONS

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MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY ON GOTLAND (SCB:s Statistic of turnover, 2003)

| Manufacturing industry | Turnover | Employees |
|------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Agriculture | 1,4 | 560 |
| Food industry | 1,3 | 770 |
| Stone industry | 1,0 | 450 |
| Others | 0,9 | 820 |
| <i>Totalt</i> | <i>4,6</i> | <i>2 600</i> |

Source: Gotland Municipality: <http://www.gotland.se/imcms/21601>

COHERENT SETTLEMENTS AND POPULATION ON GOTLAND (2005)**COUNTY GOTLAND**

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Visby | 22 236 | 38,7% |
| Hemse | 1 836 | 3,2% |
| Slite | 1 598 | 2,8% |
| Klintehamn | 1 407 | 2,4% |
| Vibble | 1 135 | 2,0% |
| Romakloster | 905 | 1,6% |
| Fårösund | 862 | 1,5% |
| Lärbro | 521 | 0,9% |
| Burgsvik | 347 | 0,6% |
| Stånga | 342 | 0,6% |
| Havdhem | 318 | 0,6% |
| Västerhejde | 302 | 0,5% |
| Tingstäde | 278 | 0,5% |
| Väskinde | 275 | 0,5% |
| Roma | 253 | 0,4% |
| När | 209 | 0,4% |
| In 'småort' | 5 149 | 9,0% |
| Outside 'tätort' and 'småort' | 19 515 | 33,8% |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>57 488</i> | <i>100,0%</i> |

Source: scb.se