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Island innovation: Exploring External Linkages in Gotland's Film Industry

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Course code: SGEM 08
Semester/year: Spring 2023

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Abstract

Cultural and creative industries have been prominent topics of academic and policymaking discussions over the past two decades. However, existing literature has predominantly concentrated on urban and metropolitan regions, neglecting peripheral regions. By identifying this research gap, this project aimed to contribute to our understanding of cultural and creative industries in peripheral regions, with a specific focus on the film industry.

To investigate cultural and creative industries in peripheral areas, this work employed a novel approach and engaged in a dialogue between innovation and cultural and creative industries literature. It questioned how peripheral cultural and creative industries, particularly the film industry, can foster innovation through connections with other regions using different means. The film industry is based on continuous innovation and creativity, strongly relying on accessing new knowledge and competencies in its activities. While urban centers have various sources that trigger innovation and creativity, peripheral areas with fewer endowments need to integrate with knowledge networks to access knowledge generated elsewhere. However, the integration of peripheral film industries or cultural and creative industries, in general, with these external networks, remains understudied.

To address this research gap, the study employed a case study strategy. By employing a theory-building approach (Eisenhardt, 1989) and a qualitative research design strategy, the film industry in Gotland was chosen as a case study. Document analysis and semi-structured interviews with relevant actors in the industry were conducted to address research questions. First, the regional innovation system of Gotland was examined, revealing that the film industry in Gotland benefits from a robust support structure and educational organizations. The industry consists of a diverse range of organizations focused on production, education, and film culture, respectively. Second, the study investigated the external linkages of these organizations and found that, despite its peripheral location, Gotland's film industry is well-integrated into diverse knowledge networks. Finally, the study discussed how these external linkages contribute to the development of Gotland through differentiated knowledge bases. External linkages mainly bring synthetic knowledge through film projects on the island. Symbolic knowledge, on the other hand, is accessed by industry actors through different

mechanisms, such as artist residencies, inter-organizational collaborations, and temporary cluster opportunities.

Keywords: Cultural and creative industries, differentiated knowledge bases, external linkages, film industry, Gotland, regional innovation system

Word count: 19264

Acknowledgement

I am immensely grateful to my supervisor, Markus Grillitsch, for his valuable feedback, advice, and support throughout the process. His feedback and suggestions played an important role in shaping this work. I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to all the interviewees who contributed to this thesis. Conducting research on Gotland as a master's student has been a delightful and enlightening experience. Thank you so much for sharing your time and insights.

Reflecting on my master's journey, I had a wonderful time with my classmates. I must give a special mention to Jacopo, my classmate and housemate. Thank you so much for your support, positivity, and companionship in Helsingborg during our thesis period. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to the people I met in Utrecht University's Human Geography department. I learned so much from insightful conversations with people in the department. Specifically, I want to thank my friend Charlotte for inspiring me with the idea of conducting a study on the film industry during one of our fruitful discussions.

In this thesis, there are significant contributions from many people other than myself. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my mother for her visit and continuous support during the process. I would also like to thank my father and the rest of the family for their support. It has been a challenging journey for all of us. Finally, in every aspect, I enjoyed this research. I hope that you will also find it a pleasurable reading journey.

R.C. Yamanoglu

Helsingborg, 2023

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1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Cultural and creative industries have influenced policy and academic debates over the last two decades. The immense growth of these sectors in the global economy has highlighted the role of place, as they tend to concentrate on certain geographies (Lazzeretti et al., 2008). Consequently, academics and policymakers have focused on understanding the complex interplay between these industries and local geographies by examining place-specific factors that shape and are shaped by this rapidly evolving economy. In other words, there is significant interest in exploring the place-based factors that inhibit or hinder the development of local cultural and creative industries and understanding how and why these industries emerge, expand, and interact within specific geographic locations (Comunian et al., 2010; Lee, 2014; Lee & Rodriguez-Pose, 2014; OECD, 2022).

The geographical dimension of cultural and creative industries has given rise to two contrasting research paths. The first emphasizes agglomeration economies as a source of cultural and creative industries, highlighting that creativity is deeply rooted in the components hosted, exploited, and promoted by urban economies (Camagni, 2011; Florida, 2005; Lazzeretti et al., 2008; Power, 2002). This urban-biased theorization, particularly favoring large metropolitan areas, is supported by popular concepts such as the creative city (Florida, 2005) and innovative milieux (Maillat, 1998). However, this line of thought has been criticized for omitting places outside urban regions (Harvey et al., 2012). A growing body of research argues that non-metropolitan or peripheral places can also be incubators of creativity, innovation, and differentiation, thus serving as sources of cultural and creative industries. Researchers argue that through local endowments, comparative advantages, and external linkages, cultural and creative industries in peripheral places can compete with their urban counterparts and contribute to the economic performance of their regions (Andersen, 2010; Collins & Power, 2019).

This thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of cultural and creative industries in peripheral regions, specifically focusing on the film industry, a prominent sector within cultural and creative industries. The film industry serves as a prime example of a cultural

sector that relies on creativity, innovation, and the exploitation of intellectual property for profit, while producing goods with both aesthetic and semiotic value (Lash et al., 1993). Similar to other creative sectors, the film industry is typically concentrated in large metropolitan areas due to various factors, such as easy access to labor markets, intermediaries, complementary sectors, and support from local and regional institutions. This concentration of resources and assets in urban areas leaves little room for growth in the film industry in peripheral regions. However, as discussed in the literature, there are several successful examples of film industry clusters in peripheral places (Collins & Power, 2021; Power & Hallencreutz, 2017; Sand, 2019).

Peripheral regions often face challenges in accessing resources and knowledge necessary for innovation and competitiveness in the global marketplace. One prominent strategy to overcome these challenges is to forge links with external partners that can provide access to global value chains and knowledge flows. This is particularly crucial for the film industry, which is an internationally oriented sector heavily relying on creativity and technical skills. By forging links with external partners, peripheral film industries can access specialized skills and knowledge that can help them become more competitive and integrated into global value chains. Additionally, these connections can promote economic and cultural development in peripheral regions and contribute to greater equality in the global economy. Despite the importance of external linkages, the changing nature, role, and outcomes of these connections remain understudied in the literature. Therefore, further research is necessary to understand the impact of external linkages on peripheral regions and the film industry in particular.

To explore the role and nature of external connections of the peripheral cultural and creative industries, this study will examine the strategies of film-related organizations on Gotland¹, a remote Swedish island in the Baltic Sea. The island hosts the legacy of the well-celebrated Swedish director Ingmar Bergman, which makes Gotland not only a special place in Swedish film history but also a well-known destination in the European film industry. However, Gotland's film environment is not limited to Ingmar Bergman; the island has a distinct set of film organizations, a substantial film fund for local and international productions, one large film studio, locally and internationally connected film schools, and an internationally

¹ In this study, Gotland and Fårö islands will be considered as one entity, and Gotland.

recognized film week. In other words, despite the heavy presence of Stockholm, one of the major centers of cultural and creative industries in Sweden, Scandinavia, and even Europe, Gotland, with its locally embedded organizations, has become one of the regions where the film industry has grown with a distinct path. However, similar to other peripheral areas, Gotland strongly relies on external connections and collaborations to support its current growth path and realize potential long-term goals.

1.2. Research aim and questions

This thesis aims to investigate the Gotland film industry and its external linkages, as well as the contribution of those linkages to the region's knowledge infrastructure. It is important to note that instead of providing a historical narrative, this study seeks to offer a snapshot of the industry's current state. Moreover, the thesis is structured around two primary research goals that aim to deepen our understanding of the film industry in peripheral regions and provide insights into strategies that can be employed to support its growth.

The first research aim centers on examining the nature of external linkages in peripheral regions. The literature suggests that external linkages are considered essential for peripheral places to remain competitive in the global market. While several studies have attempted to understand the nature of external linkages in cultural and creative industries (Bathelt & Gräf, 2008; Martin & Moodysson, 2011), only a few have focused specifically on peripheral regions (Fitjar & Jøsendal, 2016), where the contribution of external linkages is crucial for fostering innovation. This thesis aims to provide a detailed theoretical discussion and empirical evidence on how a peripheral region connects to the core or other regions through external linkages and integrates global knowledge flows into its local knowledge infrastructure.

The second aim is to contribute to discussions on innovation in the film industry. In the innovation studies literature, regional innovation systems and differentiated knowledge base approaches are commonly employed. However, only a few studies (Martin & Moodysson, 2013) have adapted these frameworks to the film industry. By bridging the cultural and creative industries with the innovation studies literature, this work aims to shed light on how organizations in the film industry differentiate themselves based on the knowledge they utilize and their role in regional knowledge networks. Achieving these research aims will not only advance academic theory but also provide empirical evidence to support the design of

film-based development strategies in peripheral regions. A deeper understanding of the film industry in peripheral regions can assist policymakers in identifying opportunities for crafting regional development strategies that capitalize on local film industries. Given the criticality of external networks for the film industry, an in-depth exploration of these networks can yield valuable insights for such strategies. Consequently, these research aims can serve as valuable assets in the development of policies and strategies that foster the growth and sustainability of peripheral film industries. Considering these factors, this research will contribute to the literature by addressing the following questions below:

RQ1: What are the characteristics of Gotland's regional innovation system?

RQ2: What is the nature of the external linkages in Gotland's film industry?

RQ3: How do the external linkages of Gotland's film industry contribute to its knowledge infrastructure?

1.3. Thesis outline

The remainder of this thesis will proceed as follows: The upcoming section will start with a literature review and introduce the concept of cultural and creative industries and their characteristics. Later, debates over the spatial distribution of the film industry will be explored. Subsequently, the theoretical framework of the thesis, which explores debates over regional innovation system, differentiated knowledge bases, and global flows of knowledge, will be introduced. Later, the context of the empirical study will be presented. The section following that will introduce the methodology of this study. Results will be shared and analysed in three sections following the methodology section. By considering the theoretical framework, the discussion section will critically reflect on the findings. Finally, the thesis will conclude.

2. Literature review

2.1. Cultural and creative industries

Creative, knowledge-driven, and cognitive-cultural are commonly used terms to describe sectors in the contemporary economy following post-Fordist restructuring. After deindustrialization, there has been widespread recognition of the cultural and creative

industries as new sources of potential employment opportunities in Europe (Sand, 2020, p. 110). These sectors, associated with creativity and cultural activity, have received significant academic attention, particularly after receiving official recognition and emphasis in policy debates. The term “creative industries” is widely used to describe sectors rooted in creativity and innovation due to their economic activities (Moore, 2014). Additionally, the term “cultural” has been used in conjunction with “creative” to describe specific sectors. Whether referred to as creative or cultural, or both, these sectors have become essential components of economic policy strategies and debates. This is evidenced by the recent OECD report that highlights the significant economic contribution of cultural and creative sectors to local and regional development strategies in OECD countries (2022). Throughout the remainder of this thesis, we will refer to these industries as CCIs.

There are ongoing debates regarding the definition of CCIs, with different countries and organizations adopting various definitions over the past two decades. The UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) defines CCIs in their comprehensive report as “those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill, and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 1998). Scott conceptualizes CCIs as the cultural-products industry, comprising sectors whose outputs represent “high levels of aesthetic and semiotic content in relation to their purely practical uses, i.e., where symbolic content is of more significance to the consumer than utilitarian purposes” (1999). The European Parliament focuses on the innovative potential of CCIs and emphasizes that they can create economic and social value through creativity and innovation (European Parliament, 2016). However, the latest OECD publication starts by stating, “There is no universal definition of cultural and creative sectors. Each country has its own definition and produces different types of statistics relating to cultural participation, cultural and creative employment, and other factors. Inconsistencies in definition and data collection make international comparisons of cultural and creative sectors (CCS) problematic” (2022, p. 22). There is also controversy surrounding the classification of CCIs. For example, DCMS (2016) identifies thirteen different sectors as part of the creative industries, while a narrower definition used by UNCTAD (2010) includes only four sectors: advertising, architecture, arts and crafts, and cultural heritage. However, in nearly all cases, the film industry, where the output consists of aesthetic and cultural value, is considered an important sector within CCIs.

Furthermore, the geographical distribution of CCIs has received significant academic attention. Scholars argue that although CCIs have a global reach in terms of distribution and marketing, their production, development, and certain consumption facilities are highly concentrated and limited to a few cities (Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2008; Pratt, 2012). This uneven distribution reflects a hierarchy between major metropolitan areas such as New York and London and other urban centers like Toronto or Stockholm in terms of reputation, production, and consumption of specific elements of CCIs (Rekers, 2012; Yin & Derudder, 2021). There is also a distinct power dynamic between remote and peripheral cities and larger urban areas (Collins & Cunningham, 2017). By adopting a relational geographical perspective, researchers have argued that the same place can be both a core and a periphery simultaneously, depending on the context (Dicken & Malmberg, 2001; Power & Collins, 2021, p. 1154). Similarly, while some regions may be considered cores at the national level, they may be peripheral on the international stage. In this review, we will focus on the distinction between large urban centers and peripheral areas rather than the dynamics between major metropolitan areas. Additionally, as the upcoming case study focuses on the spatiality of the film industry, the following section will primarily concentrate on discussions in the literature regarding the spatial distribution of this particular industry, rather than providing a broader discussion on the spatiality of CCIs in general.

2.2. Geographies of the film industry

The spatial distribution of the film industry has been a subject of interest in the literature due to its impact on economic development and cultural production. Similar to other creative sectors, the film industry requires access to large labor markets to quickly form teams for project-based work (Turok, 2003). According to various scholars, this need has led the film industry to favor agglomeration economies and urban areas due to the positive externalities that arise from co-location with different industries, resulting in a concentration of a broad range of skills and competencies in specific locations (Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2008; Turok, 2003). Additionally, co-location with other creative sectors enhances interactions and the exchange of ideas between firms in different sectors. These interactions, according to Berg and Hassink (2014), trigger the diffusion of knowledge and innovations that are essential for the film industry's development. Moreover, the literature highlights additional factors that attract film organizations to urban places, such as suitable infrastructure with a wide range of

cultural amenities, the cultural milieu of the place, and locally embedded dense social networks of creatives (Manning & Sydow, 2011; Scott, 2000; Turok, 2003).

Furthermore, the presence of intermediary actors, such as film schools, regional and national film institutes, and film commissions (Bathelt & Gräf, 2008; Foster et al., 2015; Öz & Özkaracalar, 2017), is also considered advantageous for location choices. For instance, Öz and Özkaracalar (2017) highlight the importance of regional institutional environments on the resilience and development of film clusters in their study of Istanbul. Foster et al. (2015) point out the role of regional resource centers in the rise of the film industry in the region they studied. Turok's (2003) study is one of the early works that emphasize the role of cities and regional institutions in the success of film clusters. The author, among other things, draws attention to transportation infrastructure, cultural amenities, and opportunities for the local milieu of cities. Meanwhile, Bathelt and Gräf's (2008) study on the film cluster in Munich underscores the importance of both internal and external mechanisms in the development of film clusters. The researchers note that while local endowments and local institutions, as well as the proximity to national media centers, supported the growth of Munich's film industry, limited and weak external linkages of industry actors hindered its potential for economic development.

The prevailing literature on the film industry emphasizes the importance of urban centers and regional factors in the development of successful film clusters. However, recent studies have shown that the film industry can also thrive in peripheral places. Power and Collins (2019; 2021) examined the emergence of a film cluster in Galway, a remote and peripheral location in Ireland, and attributed its success to a variety of factors, including the involvement of different sets of actors that emphasize the cultural roots of the place. Additionally, the authors note that the peripherality of Galway provides freedom for filmmakers to creatively experiment without dealing with sectoral pressures (2021).

In terms of peripheral film industries in Nordic countries, several studies can be found in the literature. Sand's study in Norway (2019) highlights that peripheral film clusters have a comparative advantage over their core counterparts due to their stronger social networks, local support systems, and access to natural scenery suitable for outdoor production, which is often inaccessible in core areas (2019, p. 18-20). The author also emphasizes the role of public funding in the growth of the film cluster in the region (Sand, 2019). Power and

Hallencreutz (2017) note that successful policymaking and public investment were key factors in the growth of another Nordic film cluster in Trollhättan, a once-peripheral film production site in Western Sweden. Another contribution to understanding the dynamics of Nordic peripheral film clusters, which is highly relevant to the empirical study of this thesis, is Chow and Sand's (2020) comparative study on film clusters beyond core areas, namely in Aarhus and Tromsø. By focusing on the complex interplay of regional film policy, production, and talent development in relation to regional development and innovation strategies, the authors argue that to ensure the long-term sustainability of regional film production in peripheries, it is essential to have a diversified and international outlook and to consider the changing cultural attitudes of practitioners and policymakers.

Coe's study (2000) on Vancouver's film industry can be considered one of the few studies focusing on the external linkages of peripheral film industries. The author underscores the role of external linkages in the growth of the film cluster in the region. According to the study, Hollywood producers established "runaway" film productions in Vancouver due to its scenery and cheap labor costs. This involvement of Hollywood productions in the region led Vancouver to act as an export platform by relying entirely on outsiders to organize production, financing, and distribution. Overall, while these studies have shed light on the local dynamics of peripheral film industries, the external linkages that are one of the necessities for the economic survival of peripheral organizations remain understudied. Thus, there is a need for further research to address this gap in the literature.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Regional innovation system in the film industry

Innovation is widely recognized as crucial for firms and other kinds of organizations to remain competitive in global markets. It is not a random process but closely tied to many components. Tödting and Grillitsch (2015) argue that place-specific factors play a significant role in the highly clustered distribution of innovative activity. Porter (1998), in his seminal work, also acknowledges the role of local institutions, specialized skills, and competencies in sustaining regions' competitive advantage in the global economy. Therefore, it is imperative to examine regional conditions to understand the reasons behind innovative activity (Asheim et al., 2011). To comprehend innovation, we must first consider the specific conditions of the

place where it occurs (Asheim, 2011). This holds particularly true for knowledge-intensive sectors such as the film industry, which relies on a complex network of locally embedded actors in its economic activities. Collaborations between these actors are essential for the industry's success as they help create a vibrant and thriving ecosystem that fosters creativity, innovation, and growth. This network of actors is commonly referred to as a regional innovation system.

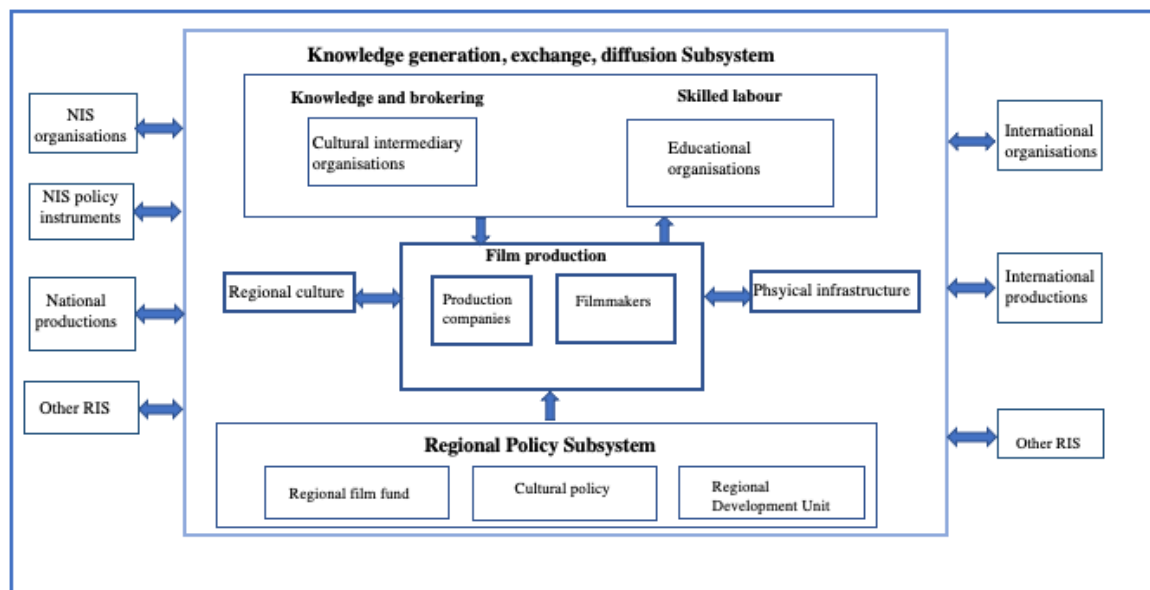
Regional innovation system (RIS) is a network of various agents operating within a specific geographic area. These locally embedded actors collaborate under organizational and institutional arrangements to create and disseminate new ideas and technologies (Doloreux & Parto, 2005; Martin et al., 2018). Typically, a RIS consists of firms, educational organizations, policymakers, policy instruments, financial organizations, regulatory authorities, and various types of intermediaries (Doloreux & Dionne, 2008, p. 261). In the film industry, we observe these actors in the form of production-related entities such as freelance filmmakers, production companies, and film crews; intermediaries such as film schools and regional resource centers; and policy actors and instruments such as regional film funds, regional development agencies, and cultural policies.

Moreover, although these actors are part of the same RIS, they belong to different subsystems within the system. According to Cooke et al. (2004), a RIS is structured upon two subsystems. The first subsystem includes companies located within the primary industrial cluster of the region, along with their associated sectors of customers and suppliers. Filmmakers, production companies, as well as their clients and other production-related actors, belong to this area. The second subsystem consists of various supporting mechanisms, including educational organizations that ensure training and sustainability of labor in the industry, intermediaries that provide knowledge to the system, and policymakers and policy instruments that shape the boundaries of economic and innovative activity within the region (Cooke, 2008). Informal institutions such as values, rules, habits, and the regulatory environment act as the “rules of the game” and shape regional innovation (Gertler, 2003; North, 1991). In the film industry, we see this network in the form of festivals, production companies, freelance filmmakers, studios, and different kinds of intermediary actors who contribute to the innovativeness of the industry at different levels. It is also beneficial to consider that regional innovation systems are not self-sustaining systems as they are

connected to other RIS and various non-local actors (Martin et al., 2018; Trippl et al., 2018). Figure 1 depicts a typical RIS in the film industry.

The efficiency of regional innovation system is essential for the film industry since it is a multifaceted and dynamic sector that consists of a wide range of interdependent economic activities. Recognizing the interconnectedness of various components within the industry, Scott (2000) describes the film industry as a "filière of interrelated economic activities" (p. 3). According to the author, bringing a film project to fruition requires the integration, management, and coordination of a wide range of technical and creative skills to achieve the desired aesthetic outcome (Scott, 2000, p. 17). This integration of creative and technical work, along with the interrelatedness of a broad range of sectors, forms the common business model of the industry (Scott, 2000).

Figure 1: RIS in the film industry



Source: The author's own illustration, inspired by Autio (1998) and Tödting & Trippl (2005)

3.2. Knowledge bases

Designing an effective RIS to support the local film industry requires a holistic approach, considering that the industry comprises interconnected yet distinct economic activities. The efficiency of any RIS heavily relies on the knowledge base of a region, which is shaped by variations in the knowledge that operates within it. To gain a deeper understanding of how a RIS is formed, it is crucial to examine the composition of knowledge in the region. Asheim

and Gertler (2005) classify knowledge bases into three categories, corresponding to varying levels of tacit and codified knowledge, as well as their degree of place specificity.

The first knowledge base is analytical, reflecting the formal knowledge used in scientific activities. The second is synthetic, which can be interpreted as knowledge used in engineering activities (Martin & Moodysson, 2011). Asheim and Gertler argue that this knowledge is used for problem-solving strategies by combining existing knowledge with novel methods (2005). The third knowledge base is symbolic. Symbolic knowledge is linked to CCIs, where products inherently carry certain symbolic and aesthetic aspects (Lash & Urry, 1994; Power, 2002). According to Davids and Frenken (2018), cultural artifacts such as films are created using symbolic knowledge to generate cultural significance. Considering the various interpretations of knowledge bases, this research project will focus on the accumulation and exchange of symbolic and synthetic knowledge since successful film projects strongly rely on the combination of creative and technical skills.

Symbolic knowledge is highly context-specific and tied to local culture. This local character of symbolic knowledge makes it challenging to transfer this knowledge to distant geographies (Martin & Moodysson, 2011). In comparison to other forms of knowledge, symbolic knowledge inherently possesses a significant tacit dimension, which adds further complexity to its transfer over long distances (Martin & Moodysson, 2011). For this reason, organizations relying on symbolic knowledge in their economic activities require geographical proximity between actors. Moreover, a RIS that draws on symbolic knowledge focuses on local interactions and the geographical proximity of actors to improve the innovative performance of the region (Asheim et al., 2016; Davids & Frenken, 2018; Martin & Moodysson, 2011).

Acquiring symbolic knowledge requires certain imaginative, creative, and interpretive skills. Previous experience in a specific sector can facilitate its acquisition (Asheim et al., 2013). However, the acquisition of symbolic knowledge does not solely depend on formal training or education. Informal face-to-face communication among professionals is vital for the exchange and accumulation of symbolic knowledge, as feedback on creative products or performances plays a significant role in its creation, accumulation, and exchange (Asheim & Hansen, 2009; Asheim et al., 2013; Storper & Venables, 2004). In this regard, face-to-face communication facilitates collective learning, especially in situations where creative

performance or ability is challenging to formally assess, and performance criteria cannot be codified and institutionalized (Storper & Venables, 2004).

Synthetic knowledge plays a pivotal role in the film industry, where the effective use of technology is indispensable throughout various stages of film production. The generation and accumulation of synthetic knowledge depend on the novel application of existing knowledge to address specific problems (Mobedi & Tanyeri, 2019). Therefore, the process of knowledge creation and dissemination is inherently tied to the specific nature of the problem being addressed. Even though synthetic knowledge is less tacit compared to symbolic knowledge, it nevertheless has a strong tacit dimension. In this regard, the geographical proximity of individuals and organizations is critical for the exchange and accumulation of knowledge, as the interpretation of related knowledge is heavily influenced by the local context (Asheim et al., 2007; Asheim & Gertler, 2005; Martin & Moodysson, 2013). Furthermore, suppliers and clients are considered significant sources of innovation in this context (Tödtling & Grillitsch, 2015). In the film industry, clients refer to the creatives involved in the production process, who imagine and demand the incorporation of specific technologies to bring storytelling elements to fruition. Considering the embeddedness of the film industry in both symbolic and synthetic knowledge, it is fair to say that innovation in the film industry is determined by the successful combination of those knowledge bases. However, both knowledge bases require certain levels of local interactions due to their tacit dimension (Asheim, 2007). Table 1 summarizes the arguments regarding symbolic and synthetic knowledge bases.

Table 1: Characteristics of symbolic and synthetic knowledge

Symbolic Knowledge	Synthetic Knowledge
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Innovation by recombination of existing knowledge in new ways • Importance of re-using or challenging existing conventions • Learning through interaction in the professional community, learning from youth/street culture or “fine” culture and interaction with “border” professional communities • Reliance on tacit knowledge, craft and practical skills and search skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Innovation by application or novel combination of existing knowledge • Importance of applied, problem-related knowledge (engineering), often through inductive processes • Interactive learning with clients and suppliers • Dominance of tacit knowledge due to more concrete know-how, craft and practical skill

Source: Asheim, 2007

3.3. External linkages

3.3.1. Global knowledge flows

As discussed in the previous section, geographical proximity and local interactions are significant factors for knowledge creation and dissemination (Bathelt & Turi, 2011, p. 520). However, due to globalization and advancements in communication technologies, it has become important and common to access knowledge across long distances (Bathelt & Turi, 2011, p. 520). It is widely acknowledged that economic growth and competitiveness in the global knowledge economy depend on successful integration into both local and external knowledge networks (Bathelt et al., 2004; Bathelt & Henn, 2014, p. 1403; Broekel & Mueller, 2018). To further elaborate, while local interactions play a significant role in innovation, regional and organizational innovation is closely linked to the integration of diverse knowledge networks. This integration enables organizations to access knowledge and expertise that may be limited or unavailable within their local context (Bunnell & Coe, 2001; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2004). To conceptualize the trend of accessing knowledge beyond regional boundaries, Bathelt et al. (2004) propose the concept of global pipelines. According to Maskell et al. (2006) and Owen-Smith and Powell (2004), these pipelines or external linkages provide access to unfamiliar bodies of knowledge and technology. Such access to new forms of knowledge can stimulate novel ideas, foster discontinuous innovation, and ultimately enhance the innovative capabilities of organizations and regions.

While accessing non-local knowledge through external linkages provides certain benefits, finding a suitable external partner is a costly and resource-intensive process, particularly for businesses and organizations operating with limited local endowments (Bathelt et al., 2004; Fitjar & Rodriguez-Pose, 2011). In light of this, it is important to optimize the use of available resources while reducing the risks stemming from uncertainty in finding suitable partners. To ensure successful partnerships, shared characteristics and various dimensions of proximity between organizations are essential.

According to Boschma (2005), geographical proximity is important but not the whole story when it comes to effective knowledge transfer and interactive learning between organizations. For example, cognitive proximity refers to the degree to which partners have similar knowledge bases and operate in similar or complementary fields (Boschma, 2005).

Having an appropriate level of cognitive distance allows partners to accurately understand each other's needs, capabilities, and goals. This shared understanding promotes knowledge transfer and effective collaboration. Cognitive distance between external partners is also necessary for absorbing and processing new knowledge (Boschma, 2005, p. 64). In the context of RIS, the absorption capacity of RIS determines its ability to access, comprehend, and utilize non-local knowledge. RIS that successfully absorbs non-local knowledge can significantly contribute to its economic and innovative performance (Giuliani, 2005).

In addition, organizational proximity is the extent to which partners' relationships are realized through organizational arrangements, such as formal partnerships. This dimension of proximity plays an important role in successful partnerships, particularly when engaging in complex projects that require close coordination and integration of different aspects (Boschma, 2005). Organizational proximity helps establish clear roles, responsibilities, and communication channels, thereby enhancing partnership effectiveness. Social proximity is another dimension of proximity that involves trust and mutual understanding between partners (Boschma, 2005). Frequent communication, mutual respect, and shared experiences enhance the development of social proximity, which facilitates smooth communication between partners. Finally, institutional proximity refers to whether partners share similar norms, values, and rules (Boschma, 2005). It is particularly important in partnerships that involve legal or regulatory issues, as partners with different institutional backgrounds may face challenges in aligning their practices and complying with rules and regulations.

3.3.2. External linkages in CCIs

In CCIs, the value of accessing diverse knowledge networks cannot be underestimated. Since products of CCIs possess both utilitarian and symbolic value, the demand for novelty and attractiveness of the product is intense (Dewett & Williams, 2007). Especially taking into account the constant fluctuation in popular consumer tastes, businesses in CCIs must continuously search for new knowledge and ideas to survive in rapidly evolving market conditions. Thus, there is a strong need for CCIs to access external knowledge through knowledge pipelines (Fitjar & Jøsendal, 2016).

CCIs access external knowledge through diverse forms. One of these forms is labor mobility, which refers to the movement of talented personnel across organizations (Saxenian, 2006;

Trippel, 2013). Labor mobility can provide new competencies to both firms and regions (Saxenian, 2006), as a significant form of knowledge is often tacit and embodied in individuals (Gertler, 2003). Firms can naturally acquire new competencies by hiring skilled labor. Additionally, external knowledge can be accessed remotely through the use of online platforms as well. Virtual communication tools enable organizations to generate and exchange new knowledge without the need for physical proximity (Grabher & Ibert, 2014). Alongside organizational interactions, online communities such as social networking sites or shared interest platforms facilitate virtual interactions for knowledge accumulation (Grabher & Ibert, 2014; Miller et al., 2009).

Moreover, inter-organizational collaborations are highly effective strategies for facilitating knowledge generation and exchange. Collaborative relationships between actors enhance the exchange of knowledge (Herstad et al., 2014). Collaborative networks can be organized in both formal and informal settings, including formal strategic alliances or joint ventures between organizations (Balland et al., 2013; Jakobsen & Lorentzen, 2015), as well as informal social interactions within professional communities (Lorentzen & Mudambi, 2013). The interpersonal and informal dimensions of collaboration should not be underestimated, as personally embedded networks are critical for accessing non-local knowledge bases. Employees can interact and exchange ideas across organizational boundaries or consult former colleagues with experience to access necessary non-local knowledge (Martin & Rypestøl, 2018). It is also emphasized that important forms of knowledge exchange occur not only through formal collaborations but also through personal networks between skilled individuals (Herstad et al., 2014). In CCIs, knowledge exchanges occur through formal project-based collaborations (Coe, 2000), informal social networking (Garmann Johnsen, 2011), and collaborations between organizations with non-commercial purposes (Prince et al., 2021).

In addition to those networks, the formation of temporary clusters between organizations and individuals with changing expertise is commonly observed. These clusters serve to strengthen existing connections and establish new ones with external partners (Maskell et al., 2006). Henn and Bathelt (2015) describe temporary clusters as mechanisms for generating linkages across different geographical settings, providing opportunities for knowledge exchange between companies and individuals with evolving expertise. Torre (2008) emphasizes the significance of temporary clusters in promoting knowledge transfer among individuals by

creating temporary geographical proximity. Temporary clusters offer a means for individuals and organizations to monitor their competitors and stay updated on the latest trends in their sector. This monitoring of innovation activities by other organizations enables firms to source new knowledge and stay informed about the latest technological developments (Malmberg & Maskell, 2002; Martin & Moodysson, 2013). Within the context of CCIs, temporary clusters can be conceptualized as festivals that host diverse forms of interactions in a close setting (Comunian, 2017). These interactions involve a wide range of actors, including audiences, artists, festival funders, directors, and other intermediaries. Apart from festivals, temporary external networks can also be formed through activities such as artist residencies, exhibitions, workshops, and lectures. These initiatives enable actors within CCIs to share knowledge and invest in their innovative capacities (Prince et al., 2021). Such activities provide opportunities for creative individuals and organizations located in different geographical settings to interact and exchange knowledge, often requiring face-to-face contact (Gertler, 2003; Storper & Venables, 2004).

Furthermore, not all organizations within RIS successfully establish external linkages due to the requirement of specific organizational capabilities, absorption capacity, and routines that are difficult to replicate (Kauffeld-Monz & Fritsch, 2013; Morrison, 2008). Simultaneous embeddedness in both local and external knowledge sources presents a challenging task with associated costs. However, those organizations that manage to establish external connections serve as intermediaries between regional and external innovation networks, contributing to knowledge diversification within their respective regions (Françoso & Vonortas, 2022, p. 5). These gatekeeper organizations wield influence within their local networks, mediating knowledge flows from different knowledge bases and facilitating diffusion within their regions (Broekel & Mueller, 2018). In other words, individuals or organizations that act as gatekeepers forge connections with innovative actors from different regions, facilitating the transfer of knowledge (Breschi & Lenzi, 2015). Gatekeepers in RIS play a crucial role in reducing the costs and uncertainties associated with external linkages, enabling other actors to access unfamiliar knowledge and supporting their innovative capabilities (Crespo & Vicente, 2016). However, it is worth noting that knowledge gatekeepers may not always be willing to disseminate extra-regional knowledge to other organizations in the region, choosing instead to keep such knowledge for their exclusive use (Morrison, 2008).

3.3.3. External linkages and peripheral regions

External linkages are fundamental for peripheral regions that lack a wide range of sources. Taking into consideration that local buzz is associated with core areas, peripheral areas could integrate into global knowledge sources through collaborative partnerships, linkages, and other forms of external connections as compensatory or substitutive measures to offset the absence of "buzz" (Bathelt et al., 2004). As knowledge sourcing is increasingly becoming a global phenomenon, establishing ties with suitable partners could enable peripheral businesses to gain access to diverse knowledge bases (Bathelt et al., 2004). Similarly, Eder (2019) posits that even peripheral regions with limited local endowments have the potential for innovation if connected to global knowledge pipelines. By employing the proximity framework, the author suggests (2019) that peripheral regions can establish connections with core areas through organizational, cognitive, and technological proximity. By leveraging global networks, such regions could tap into new ideas that could spur innovative activities and promote economic growth. Therefore, the lack of sources and geographical proximity is not a burden for innovation. In parallel with this, the authors (Martin et al., 2018) emphasize that improving the competencies of local actors and facilitating their access to global knowledge sources can enhance the innovation-based competitive advantages of peripheral regions.

Moreover, while we acknowledge the importance of external linkages for peripheral regions, it is also critical to consider the deficits of such areas when it comes to forging those linkages. Peripheral areas often possess what is referred to as an organizationally thin RIS (Trippel et al., 2018). Given their limited local knowledge endowments, low levels of international contacts and external linkages, and a lack of local skills, peripheral regions with an organizationally thin RIS structure often have limited capacity to attract external knowledge networks. This limitation primarily stems from their constrained local knowledge infrastructure and inadequate support infrastructures that could bolster the local knowledge base (Trippel et al., 2018). Consequently, these regions do not present promising opportunities for external partners. Furthermore, foreign investments and interactions with external partners typically rely on local natural resources and labor rather than the local knowledge base. As a result, foreign partners do not tend to invest in local knowledge sources or exchange knowledge with local actors (Dunning & Lundan, 2010; Trippel et al., 2018), which, to some extent, limits the absorption capacity of peripheral actors. Additionally, due to the

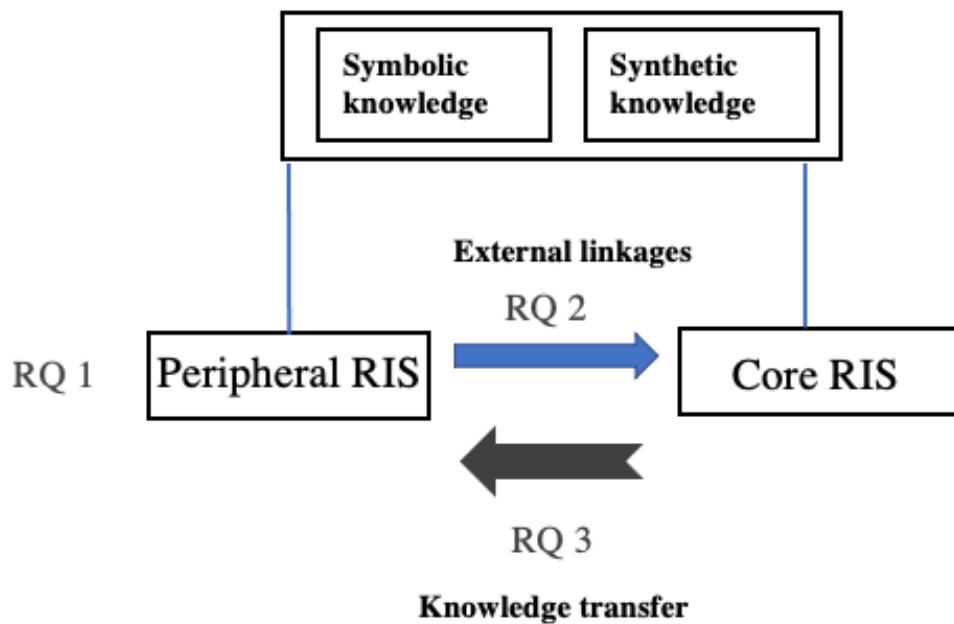
homogeneous composition of local actors in terms of shared experiences and values, it is possible to argue that this lack of diversity hinders their inclination to establish external connections. However, the presence of gatekeepers in peripheral RIS, such as public organizations embedded in national networks, universities, and large-sized firms, can play a crucial role in attracting external knowledge to these regions and promoting its assimilation among other actors in the RIS (Morrison, 2019).

4. Analytical Framework

The primary objective of this section is to examine how concepts within a theoretical framework interact to address research questions. The research questions will be addressed in three steps. First, as discussed in *Knowledge Bases* section, the film industry relies on certain kinds of knowledge in its operations. However, this knowledge is not distributed evenly across different locales and heavily relies on place-specific components in regions, as noted in the section *Regional innovation system in the film industry*. This uneven distribution makes some RIS core and others peripheral. The first research question will delve deeply into the characteristics of one peripheral RIS by considering Gotland's film industry.

Second, the section *External linkages* informs us about the availability of accessing non-local knowledge through various channels. RIS are not self-dependent networks and interact with various kinds of actors to attract and absorb knowledge generated in other locales as well (Trippel et al., 2018). Considering that not all RIS exhibit the same characteristics and certain kinds of specialization areas, RIS tend to forge connections with other knowledge networks. Considering the section *External linkages and peripheral regions*, the second research question will be dedicated to understanding the channels through which Gotland's RIS accesses non-local knowledge. Finally, the third research question will focus on the specific contribution of those networks to Gotland's RIS. As knowledge networks are shaped by the knowledge base they specialize in, the absence of different knowledge bases may require the region to diversify its networks. Thus, this research question will examine the specific contribution of each external linkage. Figure 2 shows the analytical framework and the flow of this research.

Figure 2: Analytical framework



Source: The author's own illustration

5. Contextualization

5.1. Brief history of the Swedish film industry

Sweden has a well-established and globally integrated film industry with celebrated personalities such as Ingmar Bergman, Greta Garbo, Ingrid Bergman, and contemporary directors like Ruben Östlund (Power & Gustafsson, 2005, as cited in Berg, 2016). However, the spatial concentration of the film industry in Sweden has undergone significant changes over time. During the early 1990s, Stockholm served as the primary hub of film production (Dahlström & Hermelin, 2007). After Sweden's entry into the EU and the availability of EU funds for regional development, the Västra Götaland region's Trollhättan and Norrbotten County's Luleå received funding from the EU's Regional Development Fund to revitalize regional film production in their respective regions (Hedling, 2016, p. 70). Subsequently, both film production centers were sponsored by regional councils, enabling their growth even after the EU funding ended (Hedling, 2016, p. 70). Meanwhile, Ystad in Southern Sweden created its own fund to support film production in the region without the assistance of the EU fund (Hedling, 2016, p. 69). As a result, policy initiatives promoting regionalization and

regional development have led to the rise of film production centers in various regions, primarily in Ystad, Luleå, and Trollhättan. Furthermore, these places were designated as regional film production centers, allowing them to receive additional funding (Dahlström & Hermelin, 2007). Moreover, in 1997, regional film resource centers were introduced as a national policy aimed at supporting film-related activities and promoting film as a medium for education and creativity in Sweden (Dahlström & Hermelin, 2007). These centers are crucial for fostering and promoting regional film production, especially in peripheral areas with limited resources. Among other things, regional resource centers improve the quality of regional film production and support the development of local filmmakers' talent (Chow & Sand, 2020). Additionally, they serve as intermediaries for the business sector (Foster et al., 2015) and facilitate film production in the region.

Swedish film productions have a wide range of funding options, including international, national, and regional sources (Berg, 2016). Sweden is a member of transnational Nordic Film networks, as well as the Nordisk Film & TV Fond, both of which aim to foster the film industry in the Nordic region through cooperation among Nordic countries (Hedling, 2016, p. 69; Nordiskfilmogtvfond, n.d.). Additionally, regional funds play a pivotal role in supporting film production in Sweden. However, despite the availability of these funding sources, prior to 2022, the Swedish film industry faced a comparative disadvantage compared to its Nordic counterparts and many European countries in attracting film productions. This was due to the fact that, while Iceland, Norway, and Finland all provided a 25% rebate for production costs, as did many other European countries, Sweden did not offer this incentive. However, in August 2022, Riksdagen introduced a production rebate that covers 25% of production expenses. This development has brought the Swedish film industry on par with its Nordic neighbors, thus improving its competitiveness (Pham, 2022).

5.2. Gotland film industry

Gotland is one of the regions hosting a regional film center and a substantial regional film fund. It is the largest island in the Baltic Sea, situated approximately 60 miles off the southern mainland coast of Sweden. According to the Swedish National Statistics Office, nearly 61,000 people reside on the island throughout the year (Statistics Sweden, 2022). Gotland has a significant tourism industry that plays a vital role in local economic development. With well-developed accommodation infrastructure, unique limestone formations, sandy beaches,

and a welcoming climate, the island attracts a high volume of local and international tourists, especially during the summer. Currently, the island can only be accessed by a limited number of ferry services. Although there is an airport in the region, it does not have a significant number of year-round flights. Figure 3 depicts the geographical position of Gotland in the Baltic Sea.

Alongside the tourism industry, the island has a long history of film production. While pre-production and post-production activities are also present on the island, Gotland's film industry relies on both local and international film production. Gotland serves as a favorable region for outdoor productions, particularly for companies based in metropolitan areas. The island gained international attention with the presence of renowned Swedish film director and screenwriter Ingmar Bergman. In 1960, Bergman first visited Fårö to shoot his film titled "Through a Glass Darkly." Five years later, he decided to move to Fårö permanently. Although his official move to Fårö took place in 1995, the director spent a significant amount of time on the island during his creative journey. Many of his notable movies, including "Persona," "Scenes from a Marriage," and "Shame," were filmed on Fårö. This cinematic journey and his overall legacy in filmmaking greatly contributed to the fame of Fårö and Gotland (Film Gotland, n.d.a; The Bergman Estate on Fårö, n.d.).

Figure 3: Map of Gotland



Source: The author's own illustration

However, while the contribution of Ingmar Bergman to the film landscape of Gotland, particularly Fårö, is undeniable, it is important to note that the region has also hosted numerous local and international film productions before, during, and after Bergman's time. For instance, the renowned Russian director Andrei Tarkovsky filmed "Sacrifice" on the island, while the globally acclaimed Pippi Långstrump series and Hayao Miyazaki's animated film "Kiki's Delivery Service" were also produced in Gotland. More recently, paying homage to the legacy of Ingmar Bergman, Mia Hansen Løve's "Bergman Island" was filmed in various locations on Fårö (Film Gotland, n.d.a). Moreover, Gotland hosts 30 companies linked to the film industry, and approximately 70 film workers live and work on the island. Several filmmakers also reside on the island during the summer (Region Gotland, 2018b). Every year, around 30 national and international production companies choose Gotland as a filming location (Region Gotland, 2018b). However, these numbers fluctuate yearly based on internal and external circumstances. Transportation issues are one of these circumstances challenging incoming film productions. As Gotland is an island, it can only be accessed by a limited number of ferry services. Due to the sharply increased gas prices since the end of 2021, the main ferry company, Destination Gotland, raised ferry ticket prices by 30% as of the beginning of January 2023 (Shippax, 2022).

6. Methodology

6.1. Methodological Strategy

The methodological strategy employed in this study was carefully designed to align with the theoretical framework and research questions (Mason, 2002). As previously noted, external linkages of CCIs, especially in the film industry, are a little-explored area in the literature. To address this gap, a theory-building approach (Eisenhardt, 1989) was adopted. This approach suggests developing existing theoretical constructs by employing a case study strategy (Eisenhardt, 1989). According to Yin (2009), case studies can consist of an embedded design and various levels of analysis within a single study. To develop theory with empirical evidence, this study considered Gotland's film industry a suitable option.

According to Eisenhardt (1989), case selection is a significant dimension of theory building from cases. As this research is interested in CCIs in peripheral regions, the author employed

theoretical sampling (Eisenhardt, 2021) to choose the case. According to Eisenhardt (1989), the main aim of theoretical sampling is to "choose cases which are likely to replicate or extend the emergent theory" (p. 537) or "improve theory building" (Eisenhardt, 2021, p. 149). Accordingly, the selection of Gotland's film industry aligns with the main motivation of this research, which is to contribute to the literature on CCI and innovation studies. The important questions here are "Why the film industry?" and "Why Gotland?" The film industry was chosen because, compared to other CCIs, it is unique or one of the few industries that heavily rely on not only symbolic knowledge but also synthetic knowledge. By considering this characteristic of the film industry, it was thought that examining the film industry would shed light on the nature of both synthetic and symbolic knowledge-oriented networks, rather than focusing on one type of knowledge base. This also informs further research on different peripheral industries that utilize one or multiple knowledge bases.

The second question relates to the selection of Gotland. We can identify two underlying reasons for this choice. Firstly, the composition of film-related components on the island. Unlike many places with suitable scenery for outdoor productions, Gotland has an established institutional setup focusing not only on production but also on culture and education. Therefore, empirical evidence and analysis of this setup were expected to provide rich insights into the different roles of organizations in RIS and their external linkages. Secondly, Gotland's film organizations act as a cohesive unit thanks to both formal and informal efforts in the past. Gotland film organizations are aware of their local embeddedness, and this awareness is also reflected in the formal Film Strategy (Region Gotland, 2018b). Hence, the researcher considered Gotland to be a theoretically rich case for adapting the theoretical framework of RIS to this case.

Furthermore, Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) propose the idea that theory-driven research, such as this one, can employ an inductive approach to expand existing theory using qualitative data from cases. According to the authors, for theory-driven research, data collected through qualitative methodology is thought to be well-suited to offer new insights, examples, and perspectives that quantitative data may not provide (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Yin (2009) also argues for the advantage of qualitative research in capturing contextual conditions, such as social and institutional conditions, behind complex social processes. In light of this, to understand the complex and dynamic RIS of Gotland, as well as

the complex nature of external linkages, the author considered a qualitative research design to address the needs of this project.

6.2. Research method and operationalization of research

Eisenhardt (1989) points out that case studies can combine multiple methods during research. In light of this, this study employed a multifaceted approach to data collection that draws from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained through interviews, while document analysis was employed to obtain secondary data. In the upcoming section, we will delve into these processes in more detail. Furthermore, since document analysis was conducted prior to the semi-structured interviews, this sequence will also be followed to provide a better understanding of the research process.

6.2.1. Document analysis

Due to having no prior experience with the Gotland film industry, the researcher employed document analysis as the initial method to gather preliminary data relevant to this study. For this purpose, the researcher systematically reviewed and evaluated existing policy documents (Bowen, 2009, p. 28) related to Gotland's film industry (refer to Table 2 for the list of documents).

Document analysis played a critical role at various stages of the research process. Firstly, it contributed to the understanding of the structure, functioning, and active organizations in the Gotland film industry. In other words, the researcher had the opportunity to examine the industry with a broader perspective through the documents. This information not only facilitated a better understanding of the industry's context but also made it easier for the researcher to identify key organizations, which was a crucial step in planning an effective sampling strategy. Additionally, document analysis assisted in collecting primary data. The documents allowed the researcher to contextualize many references made by interviewees and cross-reference the information obtained from interviews with the data contained in the documents to triangulate the findings for validity.

Table 2: Documents used in the analysis

<i>Name</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Context</i>
The Film Strategy for Gotland 2018-2023	2018	The document describes the strategy and direction of the film industry in Gotland. The strategy serves as a tool to enhance Gotland's position as an attractive destination for film production. The strategy underlies various organizations that shape the direction of Gotland's film industry, aiming to establish it as a film hub. These actors include Film Gotland, Bergman Center, Kulturskolan, and the film education programs of Gotland Folkhögskolan.
Film Strategy Action Plan	2018	As a complementary document to the Film Strategy, the action plan outlines the roles of each organization in achieving the goals of the film strategy.
Region Gotland Culture Plan 2017- 2020.	2017	The document focuses on the cultural sectors, their characteristics, and recent developments on the island. In terms of the film industry, the document provides details on the size and role of the film industry on the island, as well as highlights recent developments. Additionally, film-related strategies and goals for the future of the industry can be found in the document.

Source: Region Gotland (2017; 2018a; 2018b)

6.2.2. Semi-structured interviews

6.2.2.1. Sampling

The author employed purposive sampling in this research, adapting the RIS framework to the film industry. Local firms, various public organizations including educational institutions, and regional development institutions were identified as relevant for this study, following the methodological choice of previous research that employed the same framework (Doloreux & Dionne, 2008). In particular, in the Swedish peripheral film industries, public actors play a crucial role in revitalizing and fostering local film industries. Therefore, to ensure the generalizability and external validity of the results, public organizations were primarily included in the sampling group. These actors included the regional resource center, culture department, regional development agency, and educational institutions. The main challenge was to find private actors. Based on insights from the interviewees, The Line, a Stockholm-based production company with a branch in Gotland, was considered an appropriate private organization to gain insights into the perspectives of private organizations in the region. However, due to limitations in private organizations, the results in terms of private interests

are not generalizable to other regions. In terms of the internal validity of the research, it is important to assert that representatives of public organizations have multiple roles that sometimes intersect with each other. In other words, even though a representative of Film Gotland was already interviewed, representatives from other organizations are occasionally affiliated with Film Gotland in different roles. Therefore, the internal validity of the research findings can be considered quite strong.

Furthermore, the regional idiosyncratic factor of Bergman's heritage was taken into account. Although this choice may affect the external validity of the study, the legacy of Bergman is one of the predominant factors that impact the reputation of Gotland's film industry and the external linkages of organizations. Including this factor in the research may also help theorize other peripheral film industries with similar legacies or cultural importance. Bergman Center, one of the organizations included in the sample, was selected as it is closely related to Gotland's RIS. Although The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation is in Gotland, it is registered in Norway and governed through Norwegian law. Despite this, it was included in the sample as it has a direct impact on Gotland's RIS. Table 3 shows the organizations interviewed and the interview format. In addition to those organizations, a representative from Uppsala University was also approached to gather information regarding the relationship between The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation and Uppsala University.

Table 3: Sample and the interview format

Organization name	Interview format
Film Gotland	In-person
Bergman Center	In-person
The Line Gotland	Online
Kulturskolan	Online
Film Crew Gotland	Online
Regional Utveckling ²	Online
Story Academy	In-person
The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation	Online
Region Gotland Culture Department	Online
Region Gotland	Online

² Regional Development Unit

6.2.2.2. *Data collection*

The author collected primary data through several stages. Specifically, two separate trips were made to Gotland, each lasting for three days in mid-March and mid-April of 2023. During these visits, the author conducted two semi-structured interviews in Gotland and was able to visit the Kustateljén studio to observe the studio environment. During the second visit, the author also attended an educational seminar organized by Film Gotland. Although attending the seminar and engaging in informal conversations with representatives from organizations provided fruitful insights for this research, the primary data used in this thesis was derived from the information gathered through recorded interviews.

Additionally, the visits to Gotland helped the researcher reflect more deeply on the geographical advantages and disadvantages of Gotland for film production. Moreover, experiencing the social and physical atmosphere of the studio, meeting people physically, as well as observing film-related activities and infrastructure, led the researcher to reflect once again on the theoretical framework of this study, as well as on personal assumptions prior to the site visit.

Before initiating the interviews, an interview guideline was developed (refer to the Appendix for the interview guide) to systematically address the research questions of the project in a coherent and comprehensive manner (Bryman, 2016, p. 473). The research participants were initially contacted via email, where they were informed of the project's research focus, the nature of the interview, and the importance of maintaining confidentiality throughout the research process. Before starting the interviews, the participants were again informed of the nature and objectives of the research project and were requested to provide their verbal consent to proceed with the interview. The interviews were conducted via Zoom and in-person. Before concluding the interview, the participants were asked if they could recommend other individuals or organizations relevant to the study to facilitate the snowball sampling technique.

The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed the researcher to probe further and clarify any inconsistencies or ambiguities that emerged during the interview process (Bryman, 2016, p. 487). Furthermore, it enabled the research participants to freely express their opinions, perspectives, and experiences in a flexible and open-ended manner (Bryman, 2016, p. 487;

Valentine, 2013, p. 110-111). Moreover, the interviews took between 30 to 55 minutes. To ensure the accuracy and validity of the research findings, the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher for analysis (Bryman, 2016, p. 479). Then, the interviews were analysed using qualitative content analysis software (NVIVO) to identify types of external linkages, nature, and connections with Gotland's knowledge infrastructure. Furthermore, Gotland is a small place with a small community. When it comes to the local film industry, it is self-evident that any information about the participants, such as their role or years of experience in their organization, could reveal their identity. To protect their anonymity, only the names of their organizations were revealed in the study with the explicit verbal consent of the participants.

6.3. Positionality

It is both interesting and essential to consider the researcher's positionality as "context is both determines and determined by the researcher's self-understanding" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 33). In this work, the author's academic and practical background in filmmaking has influenced their research interests and approach to the topic. However, it is noteworthy that the author is neither from Gotland nor Sweden, giving him an outsider perspective when it comes to the local context of Gotland. This can be considered both an advantage and a disadvantage for the project. On one hand, his outsider perspective, theory-led expectations, and understanding of the industry could provide a fresh viewpoint that potentially leads to new insights and perspectives on the dynamics of Gotland's film landscape. On the other hand, his outsider perspective, among other factors, may also limit the author's understanding of the local context and potentially lead to misinterpretations or misunderstandings. For instance, even though the interviews were conducted in English, the researcher needed to take extra care to contextualize the Swedish concepts mentioned by the interviewees.

6.4. Methodological challenges and limitations

One could argue that the biggest limitation of the research is the language used during the interviews. The researcher does not speak Swedish at a sufficient level to conduct academic research, which led him to conduct the interviews in English instead. Even though the research subjects were fluent in English, they might have experienced difficulties in translating their emotions, thoughts, and experiences into English. This could have affected

the richness of the collected data. Another limitation is that only one person was interviewed from each organization, and the researcher relied on the experience of one individual per organization. This could have resulted in limitations in capturing the breadth of the organizations' experiences.

One significant methodological challenge in this study was maintaining the confidentiality of information obtained from different interviewees. Specifically, considering the size and close-knit nature of the film industry in Gotland, it is important to note that organizational representatives within the industry naturally know each other and interact frequently. This posed a significant methodological challenge for the researcher in terms of maintaining confidentiality and avoiding inadvertent disclosure of specific information obtained during interviews or informal conversations, as there was a risk of others deducing the source of the shared information.

7. Results and Analysis

7.1. RIS of Gotland's film industry

The RIS of Gotland's film industry is based on three main areas of specialization. These areas directly influence the knowledge base of organizations, their competencies, types of external linkages, economic activities, and organizational structures. It is important to note that there is a transition between these areas. In other words, organizations may choose to engage in activities from different areas simultaneously, alongside their areas of specialization.

Gotland has a specialized organizational infrastructure and favourable physical and social conditions for film productions. In particular, the diverse landscapes ³of the island make Gotland an attractive location for film productions that seek to move beyond the studio system and focus on outdoor shooting. The diverse landscapes of the island have also led to the development of competencies and knowledge among locally embedded film organizations focusing on locations. Specifically, local actors have developed competencies in handling logistics for outdoor shooting, ensuring the sustainability of locations, and conducting location recce. We can observe a couple of local organizations specialized in these services.

³It is very interesting to note that several interviewees mentioned that productions can find different landscapes, such as those found in the South of France and South Africa, within very short distances on Gotland. One interviewee even noted that a production, which could not find a Scottish landscape in Scotland, came to Gotland to find a place like Scotland.

For instance, The Line, a production company based in Stockholm, has a branch that serves as a service-providing company for film productions that travel to Gotland to shoot various kinds of films, including feature films and TV series. The organization's main objective is to act as a facilitator and fixer for these production companies by handling all logistical aspects of the production process and providing local expertise and knowledge to ensure smooth operations. The area of specialization of this organization is handling location scouting, location recce, local casting, and logistics. These services are particularly useful for production companies that may not be familiar with the locations and the rules of shooting in Gotland.

In addition to The Line, a public organization called Film Gotland, which is one of the 19 regional resource centers nationwide, also provides services such as facilitating outdoor shootings, granting access to locations, and obtaining shooting permits. However, unlike The Line, since the organization works for the public benefit and in line with Sweden's cultural policy, it positions itself more as a facilitator for film productions on the island. In other words, Film Gotland is a public institution that addresses the challenges faced by filmmakers and provides a platform for them to develop their skills and showcase their work. The organization also enables local filmmakers to access film knowledge and connections for developing their talent. Overall, the organization structures itself as one key actor in maintaining film productions on the island.

The second area of interest is film culture, specifically the legacy of Ingmar Bergman. One of the most fascinating components of Gotland's RIS is the film culture and local organizations built upon it. This culture and its associated organizations can hardly be replicated by other RIS, which makes it a unique and advantageous component of Gotland's RIS. In other words, Bergman's legacy and the organizations built upon it represent a comparative advantage for Gotland's RIS. Two organizations shaped by this culture are Bergman Center and The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation. Bergman Center is a public organization, cultural center, and museum dedicated to the heritage of Ingmar Bergman. The organization hosts a variety of exhibitions, screenings, and workshops throughout the year. The organization's annual Bergman Week, an international festival celebrating and promoting Bergman's life and work, attracts film professionals from around the world and provides opportunities for networking. In addition, the center collaborates with other local organizations and provides a grant called "After Bergman" for young scriptwriters whose work is inspired by Ingmar

Bergman (Film Gotland, n.d.). This grant includes residency and scriptwriting coaching, which attract young filmmakers to produce their work on Gotland. The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation is another organization located on Fårö but legally based in Norway. The organization was originally established to oversee Ingmar Bergman's properties and houses on the island. However, its primary goal now, in alignment with Bergman's vision, is to create a space where filmmakers, artists, musicians, scholars, and other creative professionals can retreat and work. The organization provides residency opportunities for artists from all around the world every year.

The third and final area is education, which is shaped by public institutions. In this area, we need to emphasise two programs of Gotland Folkhögskola⁴. These programs exhibit distinct characteristics based on their fields of specialization within the film industry. The first program, Film Crew, is tailored for film students aspiring to work in technical roles and as members of film crews. The program aims to provide comprehensive training to equip students with the necessary technical skills and knowledge for a career in film production. The program is instructed in Swedish, and the student base is predominantly from Sweden. The second program is Story Academy, an internationally oriented and English-taught screenwriting program. Story Academy offers a two-year screenwriting program in Gotland and a one-year masterclass program online. The program focuses on providing students with international exposure and has a diverse range of instructors working in globally renowned film industries such as Hollywood, Australia, and England. The instructors teach various aspects of screenwriting for feature films and TV series. Overall, these programs contribute to RIS by providing the necessary skills and education to the local workforce (Cooke et al., 2004)

Although it may not directly contribute to the local workforce, Kulturskolan's⁵ film education program is also part of the education area. The program's primary objective is to promote the use of film as an effective tool for education and foster creativity among young people. The organization arranges film screenings during school time and collaborates with a network of teachers to cultivate film education on the island. We can say that this program acts as a facilitator for the involvement of individuals who are not yet part of the RIS. In

⁴ An education institution offering a wide range of courses and programs focusing on culture, art and vocational training.

⁵ A school offering art and culture-based programs to various age groups.

other words, by providing film education targeting young people, the program promotes the sector and facilitates the integration of the local workforce into the RIS. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the areas of specialization of organizations may overlap to some extent. For instance, one area of specialization for Film Gotland is talent development where the organization arranges and supports educational activities to improve the skills of local filmmakers or acts as an intermediary by connecting young filmmakers with professionals. Apart from that, Film Gotland also organizes film-related workshops and educational programs aimed at facilitating film productions on the island.

On the other hand, it should be noted that there is a challenge within the RIS regarding the transition from educational organizations to the local job market. Specifically, due to the limited job market within Gotland and the scarcity of incoming productions, the region faces difficulties in retaining talented individuals who have received their education in Gotland. It is expressed by many interviewees that since it is challenging to rely on incoming productions on the island alone for economic survival, local talents tend to leave for bigger film markets with more job opportunities. As a result, the region suffers the loss of knowledge embodied within talents (Saxenian, 2006).

Furthermore, the RIS is strongly tied to and influenced by policy actors and instruments. Gotland's film industry is both subject to and an asset for specific regional development goals and strategies. It is essential to note that the local film industry is shaped by different policies with both local and international aims. In terms of the local dimension, the policy of clustering film organizations in the northern part of the island, in Fårösund, was planned to generate new jobs and contribute to the year-round economic development of the region. In terms of the international dimension, policies shaping the film industry aim to establish Gotland as one of the most attractive film regions in the Baltic Sea. This goal intends to enhance film-related cultural and educational activities, as well as promote commercial film production on the island. To realize these goals, the main policy instrument used is the Gotland Film Fund. The fund is a subsidiary company of Region Gotland and was established with the primary objective of generating jobs in the local film industry by investing in local and international feature films and drama series. The fund is financed by taxpayers in Gotland; therefore, it is expected to serve the benefits of the Gotland region exclusively. The Gotland Film Fund invests 3 million SEK annually in different types of productions. To qualify for co-production with the Gotland Film Fund, the production must take place entirely

within Gotland (Film Stockholm, n.d.). In addition to providing financial assistance to productions, the film fund supports local filmmakers by funding training opportunities and other resources to help them advance their careers.

Local interactions among RIS components are also an important dimension within Gotland RIS. Being embedded in the same RIS, both formally and informally, film organizations frequently interact with each other. Due to their geographical proximity and involvement in various aspects of the same industry, interactions and collaborations between organizations are inevitable. For instance, many organizations carry out their educational, economic, and other types of activities at Kustateljén studio. Other organizations located on the nearby island of Fårö are in close proximity to the studio. The geographical proximity of these organizations fosters daily interactions and collaborations among them. Some of these informal interactions and collaborations occur when there is a need for personnel and technical equipment support for a specific project or event of an organization. Besides, networking events for film professionals living on the island and certain events during Bergman Week further strengthen the ties between local organizations.

Photo 1: Inside and outside of Kustateljén studio



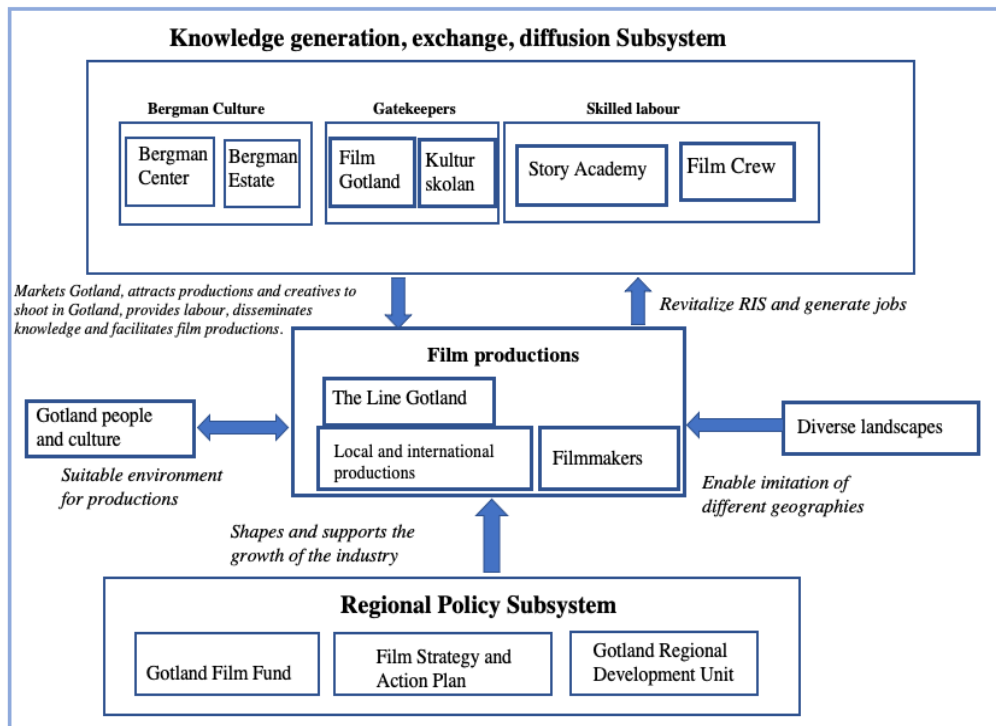
Source: The photos were taken by the author during his fieldwork in April 2023.

In terms of formal collaborations, before 2018, it was challenging to discuss collaborations based on a specific strategy even though the island's long-lasting film history. In 2018, the organizations in Gotland took a significant step towards organizing a formal strategy for the growth of the industry. The five-year Film Strategy and Action Plan is a significant attempt for organizations to define and formalize their local collaborations. The Film Strategy and

Action Plan was developed with the participation of various stakeholders and sought to provide a shared vision for the growth of the island's film industry. One of the main strengths of the Film Strategy Plan is its multi-organizational approach, in which civil society, government and film-related organizations envision working together to achieve a common goal. As a matter of fact, according to the interviewees, having a formal strategy has motivated them to unite and act as a single entity to promote Gotland in both national and international markets.

Finally, regarding the informal institutions of RIS, including values and regional culture, Gotland exhibits a welcoming social climate for film productions. Many interviewees have noted that the local people perceive films as a means to promote their place of residence in national and international arenas. They enthusiastically embrace productions and readily offer assistance to ensure smooth operations. Considering Gotland's close-knit community and the benevolence of its residents, interviewees frequently emphasized that filming on Gotland, with its mostly unoccupied locations, is significantly easier compared to larger cities such as Stockholm. Hence, “rules of the game” (North, 1991) are in favour of Gotland’s film industry. Based on the results, Figure 4 depicts the RIS of Gotland.

Figure 4: RIS of Gotland



Source: The author’s own illustration, inspired by Autio (1998) and Tödting & Trippl (2005)

7.2. External linkages

The empirical evidence obtained from interviews suggests that film organizations within the RIS of Gotland are connected to other RIS in different types and levels that allow them access to non-local knowledge. These external linkages can be classified as national and international in nature. Considering this, the results section will be divided into two parts. The first part will examine how Gotland is connected to mainland Sweden, while the second part will explore the connections between Gotland's film organizations and various international actors. Additionally, only external linkages that involve knowledge exchange between partners will be considered when presenting the results.

Before presenting the results, it is essential to discuss the motivations of local actors for forming external linkages in order to better understand the significance of connecting with entities outside the island. In terms of actors' motivations, we can identify two perspectives. First one acknowledges that the primary driver for forming external linkages is compensating peripheral disadvantages of the region. In other words, external partnerships are seen as means to enhance the economic sustainability and viability of the industry by attracting more filmmakers and film productions to come to the island. According to the second perspective, the establishment of external linkages in Gotland is driven by the availability of knowledge generated elsewhere, rather than the conditions specific to Gotland itself. The key point in this perspective is the desire to access potential knowledge that has been generated in another region and can be utilized or reproduced by industry actors through various means. In both perspectives, organizations perceive linkages as a great opportunity to introduce diverse perspectives and techniques into their economic activities. The organizations view the knowledge gained through these external linkages as essential to ensuring that the industry progresses on a solid footing.

However, we should note that the organizations face difficulties in forging external connections for several reasons. One point many interviewees expressed is that public organizations need to deal with problems such as underfunding coupled with understaffing that challenges their economic activities and limit forging connections with new partners. In other words, the lack of funds and personnel leads organizations to rely on individual efforts in their economic activities and prioritize maintaining current operations instead of dedicating efforts to new partnerships and collaborations with external organizations. However, despite these issues,

organizations on Gotland are connected to different sources of knowledge through various channels. We will explore these channels in the upcoming section.

7.2.1. National linkages

It should be noted that Gotland is not an autonomous entity in the Swedish film industry but rather a part of a wider national network. Thus, publicly funded film organizations, including those in Gotland, participate in national networks based on their area of specialization. For example, Film Gotland is a member of a network of film resource centers that facilitate the exchange of knowledge and information on the film industry among resource centers located in different parts of Sweden. This exchange of information focuses on different fields, such as talent development and the socio-economic sustainability of film production in Sweden. This network is also important for communicating the interests and concerns of regional film centers to other public and private bodies, such as the Ministry of Culture and the Swedish Film Institute. Moreover, Film Gotland is part of the national media literacy network, which focuses on improving the quality of film education. Similarly, Kulturskolan is part of a nationally oriented network that seeks to enhance the quality of film education in Swedish regions by offering opportunities for film teachers to exchange knowledge, receive training, and learn from each other.

National linkages are also evident in the realm of property rights. This is particularly relevant to the organizational activities of Bergman Center, which is closely tied to SF Studio, a leading Nordic TV and film production company that owns the intellectual property rights of Ingmar Bergman's films. As a result, Bergman Center has formed a strong partnership with SF Studios to carry out its organizational activities aimed at preserving the Bergman heritage. Furthermore, when it comes to filming in Gotland, Film Gotland and many local and international productions are tied to the mainland due to changing property ownership and binding laws. A network between the mainland and the island must be constructed to obtain shooting permits, as certain filming regulations fall under the jurisdiction of national entities, such as the Ministry of Transportation. Regarding this network, a representative from Film Gotland says:

“Some of these things I cannot solve on that regional level. I have to work nationally. For instance, shooting on film on a road is under the Ministry of Transportation, regarding the

law. It's the Ministry of Transportation and it's a national entity. So I cannot go to someone on Gotland and say we have to fix this. I have to go to the government. I have to go to the Ministry of Transportation and talk to them about how they handle making movies on roads.”

Furthermore, the interregional relationship between Gotland and Stockholm has been subject to analysis on several fronts. In the realm of public organizations, one of the most important relationships is the collaboration between Film Gotland and Film Stockholm. Firstly, Gotland's regional film fund has been connecting regions. Region Gotland outsourced the application process to the film fund and bought the services of Film Stockholm. Film Stockholm collaborates with Region Gotland to handle the application process and find suitable candidates for the film fund. Secondly, Film Gotland and Film Stockholm have established a co-production relationship, pooling their funds and resources to produce high-quality films. According to Film Gotland, this partnership is built on a collaborative approach, where both organizations work together to create successful productions. In addition, the film strategy report (2018) outlines the important role of Film Stockholm as a strategic partner of Gotland in promoting the development of the film industry in the region. Film Gotland establishes collaborative networks with Film Stockholm to facilitate the marketing of the Gotland region and provide networking opportunities for Gotland filmmakers. For instance, one important collaboration between Film Gotland and Film Stockholm focuses on talent development. These two organizations work closely together to facilitate meetings between talented filmmakers from both regions. Financed by Region Gotland, this program aims to encourage collaborations between filmmakers in Stockholm and Gotland by organizing two events: one during Bergman Week and another at the Stockholm Film Festival. During these events, the organizations bring together talents from both regions, providing a platform for them to meet and work together on project ideas, as well as pitch their projects in front of an audience. Additionally, local talents have the opportunity to interact with industry professionals during these events.

The involvement of diverse actors deepens the embeddedness of the Stockholm and Gotland regions. The Line has its headquarters in Stockholm and has established stronger connections with its customer base in the area, and most of The Line's clients shooting in Gotland are businesses and organizations based in Stockholm. Apart from that, other Stockholm-based production companies and organizations play a role in Gotland's film industry in various ways. For example, Scandinavian Content Group, a renowned production company in

Stockholm, offers opportunities for Story Academy students to engage with gatekeepers, showcase their work, and experience a professional atmosphere. Similarly, two other Stockholm-based organizations, Cinematrix (a production company), and the Swedish Film Institute (a public film organization), provide opportunities for Story Academy students to exhibit their works. These organizations serve as important bridges by connecting educational institutions to the professional industry.

Moreover, considering the importance of the film legacy of Gotland to Swedish culture, Gotland is a highly desirable destination for the film community in Stockholm. In fact, during a Stockholm film school excursion to explore the legacy of Ingmar Bergman, film schools in Gotland and Stockholm had the opportunity to interact and collaborate. This interaction resulted in a chance for Gotland film school students to work on projects based in Stockholm. In addition to this encounter, Stockholm-based filmmakers frequently participate in teaching or workshop activities on the island. However, the substantial travel times between Stockholm and Gotland make it difficult to have continuous and frequent interactions. Regarding this matter, the representative of Story Academy says:

“If I want to have a Swedish screenwriter who comes to class and maybe speaks for 2 hours, it would be easy if I would be in Stockholm. Because most of the screenwriters are based in Stockholm, most of them. Not everyone but most, and it's easier for them to take 2 hours and go to school and speak and go home but if it's in Gotland, they need to travel, it takes a whole day and so on.”

Finally, The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation hosts residency programs throughout the year. As mentioned in the literature (Prince et al., 2021), artist residency programs can be an effective way to establish external linkages. One such program is The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation, which offers temporary residency opportunities on the island of Fårö for both local and international artists. While not specifically for filmmakers, this residency program attracts many creatives and intellectuals interested in staying and, preferably, producing on Fårö. The representative of the organization expressed that most of the artists who participate in the residency program have substantial knowledge of Ingmar Bergman. Interestingly, the foundation has established a partnership with Uppsala University. As part of this collaboration, Uppsala University provides funding to the foundation, and the foundation, in return, offers residencies for academic researchers in one of its houses. Additionally, The

Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation has partnered with the Göteborg Film Festival. Through these partnerships, filmmakers who receive the Bergman Award at the festival are granted a temporary stay in one of The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation's houses.

7.2.2. *International linkages*

Similar to local networks, film-related organizations in Gotland are part of internationally oriented networks with diverse purposes. Film Gotland is a member of the Nordic Film Commissions network. This network includes film commissions from Nordic countries and aims to advocate for sustainable and film-friendly policies, as well as encourage cooperation between Nordic film commissions. In addition, networking events and discussions are organized with the aim of promoting the Nordic countries as the premier destination for film production. To note, this network is endorsed and funded by regional or national authorities. Along with Stockholm and Film i Skåne, Film Gotland represents the Swedish film industry in this network. Moreover, similar to the Nordic film commissions network, Film Gotland also participates in another international network called Northern Europe Sustainability Teamup (NEST). NEST aims to promote sustainability through the sharing and dissemination of information among countries in Northern Europe, including the Nordics, Baltics, Poland, and Northern Germany. The objective of this group is to foster a collaborative learning environment in which members can benefit from each other's experiences, perspectives and expertise to improve their sustainability strategies.

Bergman Center is affiliated with a network of internationally oriented female film workers. This network aims to promote cooperation among female film workers in the Baltic countries, with a particular emphasis on fostering member exchange and residencies in partner organizations. However, due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, the exchange activities have been temporarily halted. The pandemic has not only adversely affected Bergman Center's external partnerships but has also posed challenges to other organizations' partnerships, such as the one between Gotland Film Crew School and Whistling Woods, a film school based in Bombay. This interesting partnership involves residencies of members from both schools and mutual visits. Due to the pandemic, organizations had to suspend this collaboration. On the other hand, the Film Crew representative emphasizes that, despite the benefits of this collaboration, the cost of travel to the partner school poses a significant challenge in maintaining these interactions.

As a final note, many organizations form temporary linkages with external partners as well. For example, Bergman Center establishes temporary international linkages with various organizations to facilitate the organization of its flagship event, Bergman Week. One notable linkage is with international filmmakers who participate in the event. Alongside artists, international journalists, film intellectuals, and academics also come to Fårö to be part of Bergman Week. Apart from Bergman Center, due to the project-based nature of the industry, numerous national and international film productions come to the island and form temporary collaborations and partnerships with local organizations to manage the needs of production. We will explore their contributions to the island's knowledge infrastructure in the upcoming parts of this thesis.

7.2.3. Perceived future possibilities and suggested policies

In terms of the future of external linkages and potential partners for Gotland, organizations have varying views. Many organizations have expressed their interest in developing international linkages rather than national ones. Taking into account geographical and social proximity, several interviewees have identified organizations in the Baltic countries as potential partners for Gotland. In particular, Germany and Poland, renowned as film nations with large film markets, were highlighted as areas where external partnership efforts should be concentrated. Strengthening these connections is believed to be effective in attracting creative flow from the Baltic countries. In fact, one interviewee highlighted that Gotland has the potential to become a creative hub for the Baltic region through these connections. Furthermore, in addition to the Baltic countries, renowned film hubs like Hollywood and London are also considered potential partners for Gotland.

Several policy suggestions were put forward by the representatives to support the development of external connections of organizations. One of the main suggestions is to increase monetary support for organizations to develop and strengthen their external connections. This could be used to support marketing strategies, such as those employed by the Story Academy, as well as educational activities, such as trips to other film regions by the Film Crew. Alongside monetary support, another policy suggestion is the planning of a 5-year growth plan under the guidance of an external board comprising industry professionals. The board's role would involve setting annual goals for organizations and monitoring their progress. This suggestion

is believed to be effective in enabling organizations to establish partnerships with a clear strategy and goals.

7.3. External linkages' contribution to regional knowledge infrastructure

While the previous section provided an overview of Gotland's external linkages, this section is dedicated to presenting the results and analysis of how these connections benefit the region's knowledge infrastructure. Gotland RIS effectively integrates non-local knowledge by leveraging evolving knowledge pipelines. Considering that the film industry relies on both synthetic and symbolic knowledge, the results will be presented in two sections. Typically, organizations focus on providing one specific type of knowledge based on their specialization, resources, and investments. However, there are cases where the external linkages of an organization draw upon both knowledge bases.

7.3.1. *Synthetic Knowledge*

Since film productions, whether big or small, require complex technical capabilities to achieve project goals, the continuous flow of film productions on the island contributes significantly to the region's synthetic knowledge infrastructure. Firstly, since the creation, accumulation, and exchange of synthetic knowledge are primarily applied in a context-specific manner closely linked to the unique characteristics of the addressed issue (Asheim, 2007), the arrival of local or international film productions on the island offers opportunities for local filmmakers to encounter new technical challenges throughout the production process. This necessitates the utilization of existing knowledge in innovative ways to develop novel solutions. These innovative applications enable local filmmakers to generate synthetic knowledge that can be utilized in various cases for further innovation. Thanks to a longstanding film production culture and history in Gotland, film organizations have already faced a wide range of challenges in film production. These experiences have enabled them to assimilate the necessary synthetic knowledge required to develop innovative solutions for productions. In other words, the previous experiences and current expertise of organizations have allowed them to build a solid synthetic knowledge base that can be leveraged to address future production challenges. In this regard, the representative of Film Gotland says:

“After all these years, we have good knowledge of production and how to handle the production. This is not an illiterate place in the film sense. It is film literate. Not only me but also my colleagues know production, we know how to handle and deal with production. Obviously, all productions are different but we have worked with and handled and co-produced quite a lot this stage, meaning, the surface here is quite good.”

It is important to note the distribution of synthetic knowledge among various organizations operating within the film industry. This dispersion of knowledge carries significant implications for the industry's economic viability, especially in the face of unforeseen circumstances. By having technical expertise spread across multiple entities, the industry can enhance its resilience and prevent dependence on the technical capabilities of a single organization or individual.

Furthermore, the regional film fund makes Gotland financially attractive for many productions, but there is a shortage of local workforce on the island. This shortage is concerning, especially when specialized skills are needed for complex film projects. As a matter of fact, due to requirements, productions receiving funding from the Gotland Film Fund need to recruit local labor, specifically Gotland residents. Therefore, film productions on the island provide informal training opportunities for filmmakers. In this training process, the Stockholm region comes into play as a source of technical expertise and knowledge for Gotland. Stockholm's concentration of technical expertise and specialized workforce compensates for the technical knowledge gap in Gotland's film industry. This is realized through the mentorship of experts with particular skills in Stockholm.

However, this lack of specialized skills creates a conflict between public and business interests. From a business perspective, the requirement of the fund to employ local personnel is criticized for limiting the recruitment of qualified individuals who may better match the project's needs. For instance, it is emphasized that despite productions' desire to employ people with technical expertise from outside of Gotland, the fund's requirements prevent them from doing so. On the other hand, an alternative perspective suggests that this requirement of the fund, among other benefits, contributes to the technical skill development of local residents and promotes sustainable film production in Gotland. According to this relationship, the representative of Film Gotland says:

“If the fund did not have requirements on local spending, qualifications, or local crew, it could lead to pure colonization. This means that productions from anywhere in the world would come to Gotland, take the money, produce their projects, and leave. They would essentially use the infrastructure, possibly hiring some local individuals, but it wouldn't truly benefit the island. In order to maintain Gotland as a sustainable place for production, we need to take care of it and ensure that people on the island are involved. We must make sure that the island's residents also have the opportunity to learn from these productions.”

External productions' interest in using Gotland's natural resources, specifically its scenic landscapes for outdoor productions while simultaneously choosing not to invest in the local knowledge infrastructure is a perfect illustration of common problems of RIS of peripheral regions. As previously noted, (Trippel et al., 2018) peripheral regions tend to possess limited skills and local endowments. In Gotland case, a lack of required complex skills has been a challenge for external productions. Furthermore, foreign investments or external productions in Gotland's case, tend to focus on using natural resources and do not promote knowledge exchange with local actors. This hinders the development of Gotland's RIS's absorption capacity to unfamiliar knowledge. However, the fund's requirement for the recruitment of local personnel serves as a protectionist policy that encourages non-local knowledge accumulation and investment in Gotland's RIS's absorption capacity. This policy may ultimately facilitate the development of local skills and expertise and improve the RIS's capacity to absorb external knowledge.

It is equally interesting to observe the local technical knowledge infrastructure of Gotland. While it is emphasized that Gotland possesses a strong synthetic knowledge base to handle projects requiring technical expertise, it falls short when it comes to projects requiring complex skills. Consequently, synthetic knowledge needs to be outsourced from Stockholm. This discrepancy highlights the variations in the perception of the knowledge base between public and private actors, demonstrating the relativity of this knowledge base. For instance, while Gotland's knowledge base holds a strong position compared to similar regions, it still faces the necessity of outsourcing knowledge for Stockholm-based projects. However, it is worth noting that the knowledge gap between regions can be addressed through mentorship opportunities. In this regard, the representative of Film Gotland says:

"For instance, a production is coming up now. We need to help them find a DIT (Digital Imaging Technician). We need to assist them in securing a key grip and focus puller. We have three people who are almost qualified for these roles, but we help them obtain the right qualifications through mentorship."

Moreover, the presence of film productions on the island provides different opportunities for the accumulation of synthetic knowledge as well. For instance, internship opportunities for Film Crew school students are one of them. Film productions on the island are invaluable for students to practice their technical skills, interact with film professionals, learn more skills, and gain more expertise in the industry. Mostly, students work as assistants or runners, where they have a chance to be involved in various stages of film production, learn technical skills, and absorb new knowledge. In addition, film productions also facilitate an interactive learning process where film professionals attend Film Crew classes or workshops as guest lecturers to display their crafts and technical skills and teach those skills. Due to the tacit dimension of this knowledge (Asheim, 2007), it is invaluable for students to have local interactions with professionals embodying this knowledge. Especially, taking into account the limited budget of the Film Crew program, these interactive learning opportunities are highly advantageous for students in accessing external knowledge without paying transportation or other costs.

7.3.2. *Symbolic Knowledge*

The continuous arrival of film productions in Gotland not only brings synthetic knowledge to the island but also fosters the exchange of symbolic knowledge through the creative teams involved in the production process. Both local and international talents who come to the island possess embodied tacit knowledge, and they have the opportunity to interact with local filmmakers and share their creative skills through workshops and other formal and informal gatherings. Similar to synthetic knowledge, geographical proximity (Asheim, 2007) facilitates the exchange of symbolic knowledge among local and external creatives. Therefore, having filmmakers present on the island through film productions becomes an asset for the accumulation of symbolic knowledge among local filmmakers.

At the organizational and continuous level, Film Gotland, Story Academy, Bergman Center, The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation, and Kulturskolan are five organizations that are

knowledge-intensive when it comes to symbolic knowledge. These organizations are integrated into knowledge pipelines specifically designed for the exchange of symbolic knowledge. However, despite some similarities, there are significant differences in how they are connected to symbolic knowledge flows, the knowledge they accumulate and disseminate, and the content of knowledge they work on.

Story Academy, in particular, relies on knowledge bases outside of the region for its operations. The organization focuses on knowledge related to techniques and aesthetics of storytelling through scripts, which is highly symbolic and cultural, thus possessing a strong tacit dimension (Davids & Frenken, 2018). The academy offers two programs, one conducted in person and the other remotely. Both programs attract students from different countries, creating a bridge between Gotland and various symbolic knowledge bases around the world. Students from diverse cultural backgrounds embody their own cultural norms, values, and experiences, and they reflect these aspects in their creative work (Lash & Urry, 1994) or interactions. Through those interactions and reflections, Gotland actors eventually gain access to unfamiliar bodies of knowledge. On the other hand, the organization's master class is a remote program that utilizes virtual communication tools to facilitate interactive learning activities. However, although virtual communication tools are considered advantageous for accessing new knowledge without the necessity of physical presence (Grabher & Ibert, 2014), the absence of geographical proximity in the accumulation and exchange of symbolic knowledge poses a challenge due to the high tacit dimension and the need for face-to-face communication for effective knowledge transfer (Martin & Moodysson, 2011). To address this challenge, the organization requires applicants to have prior knowledge of scriptwriting or experience in the industry. This requirement can be considered effective in compensating for the lack of geographical proximity since it ensures that candidates possess other forms of proximity (Boschma, 2005), including sufficient levels of cognitive proximity among the students. This enables them to absorb and process the new knowledge created and exchanged within a distance learning setting.

Furthermore, Story Academy boasts an instructor network comprising teachers based in Hollywood and other prominent film industries. This network brings invaluable scriptwriting knowledge as well as industrial experience from core regions of the global film industry. While some classes are conducted remotely, the physical presence of teachers on the island and their close contact with students facilitate interactive learning and the exchange of

symbolic knowledge. It is important to note that the Gotland-based teachers at Story Academy also engage with their colleagues in Hollywood and other locations, absorbing new knowledge from different sources and disseminating it to local actors in Gotland.

Additionally, these teachers actively engage with other experts who serve as guest teachers, further contributing to the integration of Gotland actors into global knowledge flows.

Notably, this network enables industry gatekeepers, including a Netflix producer, to lecture students, share insights, and disseminate industry-specific knowledge.

Informal gatherings and feedback opportunities play a crucial role in facilitating the accumulation of symbolic knowledge among students at Story Academy. As mentioned earlier, exchanging symbolic knowledge through formal means can be challenging (Storper & Venables, 2004). Therefore, feedback mechanisms are essential for interactive learning. Consequently, the collaborations between Story Academy and other organizations, which provide students with opportunities to showcase their work and receive feedback from experts, are extremely valuable for their learning processes. Moreover, in-person interactions with these experts not only enable students to benefit from their verbal feedback but also allow them to receive feedback through subtle facial expressions and other details (Storper & Venables, 2004). These non-local sources of knowledge may not be readily available within the local knowledge base on the island, helping students access external knowledge that they can then accumulate and disseminate. Similarly, the collaboration between Film Gotland and Film Stockholm serves as a means for talented filmmakers to absorb, accumulate, and exchange symbolic knowledge. The significance of this collaboration lies in the integration of Gotland's talents with the symbolic base of Stockholm. By bringing together these talents and assigning them the task of creating a joint project, this collaboration allows Gotland filmmakers to access unfamiliar bodies of knowledge in Stockholm. Through this partnership, Gotland talents have the opportunity to interact with filmmakers in Stockholm while working towards a specific goal and learn from both their peers and industry experts. Considering these factors, it can be argued that this program represents a significant investment in the development of Gotland's symbolic knowledge infrastructure.

Importantly, Film Gotland serves as a gatekeeper (Morrison, 2019) for disseminating symbolic and synthetic knowledge gained from different film industries. Along with other proximities (Boschma, 2005), the organization primarily benefits from organizational proximity to connect with organizations in the network of regional resource centers, as well

as Nordic film commissions. The organization gains access to diverse knowledge bases that it can use to foster local conditions and sustain the film industry in Gotland. These knowledge networks help Film Gotland learn from the successes and failures of other film industries in Sweden, such as those focusing on talent development practices. The organization applies and disseminates this knowledge in Gotland's film industry. In addition, by relying on social proximity with partners who prioritize sustainability in the industry, Film Gotland can also access external knowledge of different sustainability practices in the Baltic countries and share these practices with other organizations in Gotland. Like Film Gotland, Kulturskolan also acts as a gatekeeper by accessing external knowledge through its network with other public schools. This network is beneficial for Kulturskolan to learn from other regions and design strategies for effective pedagogical practices in film education.

Bergman Center plays a significant role in enriching the island's symbolic knowledge base by preserving and spreading Bergman's heritage and the locally embedded knowledge associated with it. Bergman Week attracts local and international talent in the film industry and provides a platform for local filmmakers and students to interact and exchange knowledge with external talents. From this perspective, Bergman Week can be seen as a temporary cluster for knowledge exchange and the establishment of connections with distant partners (Bathelt & Henn, 2014; Comunian, 2017). Local filmmakers and film students have the opportunity to meet industry professionals and talented individuals visiting the island during the event and form connections with them. This not only allows them to access diverse knowledge sources but also facilitates ongoing relationships beyond the festival. Thus, the festival is of great value to local filmmakers as it enables the formation of new collaborations and partnerships with international talents, creatives, and organizations, bringing unique knowledge, skills, and perspectives that are often inaccessible within the local context. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that Bergman Center plays a crucial role in the growth of the regional knowledge infrastructure by attracting local and international knowledge bases to Gotland and facilitating the formation of temporary clusters.

Finally, we should not underestimate the contribution of The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation to the regional knowledge infrastructure through its offering of temporary residency opportunities. The organization collaborates with other organizations to attract talented filmmakers and intellectuals to come to Fårö and stay in the estate's accommodations. Through seminars, talks, workshops, and other events, artists can share

their knowledge and skills with the local community, acting as a bridge between different knowledge bases. Some artists even continue to serve as ambassadors for the island after returning to their places of residence. A recent example of this relationship is Mia Hansen-Løve, who was a temporary resident at The Bergman Estate on Fårö Foundation and came to the island to produce a film inspired by her journey there. As a final and interesting note, the organization requires artists to demonstrate specifically how their work or activities can contribute to Fårö and Gotland in general during the application process. This emphasis demonstrates that the residency offered would benefit the knowledge and culture of the local society.

8. Discussion

Our first research question focused on the RIS of Gotland. Gotland RIS is characterized by several key elements. Firstly, there are strong educational organizations capable of meeting the demand for skilled labor within the film industry. These institutions are heterogeneous, operating in both technical and creative fields of the industry. Additionally, similar to other peripheral film industries (Sand, 2019), supporting policy mechanisms and instruments facilitate the growth of the industry. There are intermediary and gatekeeper organizations promoting the film heritage of the island and attracting creatives to come to Gotland. The island's welcoming social climate, diverse landscapes, and the activities of intermediary actors make it suitable for film productions. Furthermore, these actors act as a unified body through formal arrangements.

However, when we look at RIS literature, we can note the involvement of actors beyond public institutions, such as firms (Doloreux & Dionne, 2008, p. 261). In the case of the Gotland film industry, there is significant participation and collaboration with public institutions, which drives the industry. While some external connections are established through public-private partnerships, major private firms are notably absent on the island. Essentially, firms do not play a central role in the current state of the industry. This raises the question: Why should private firms be encouraged and attracted to the island? The answer lies in the place-specific characteristics of the Gotland film industry. Unlike many peripheral film industries, Gotland offers educational opportunities that attract talented individuals from Sweden and other countries. However, limited job prospects discourage external talent and students from remaining in Gotland. Consequently, the industry continuously experiences a loss of

knowledge. Simply put, Gotland attracts talent but struggles to retain it. Inviting firms through incentives and possibly clustering projects can address this challenge, as well as diversify and expand job opportunities. Simultaneously, the arrival of private firms in Gotland can facilitate connections with different film industries and foster participation in collaborative projects. This may be an effective strategy to expand job opportunities in the region. For these reasons, inviting and including more private organizations and production companies in the Gotland RIS is one way to contribute to the development of the industry. Additionally, it is equally crucial to make efforts to strengthen ties with locally embedded private actors when planning long-term goals for the industry, while also inviting new private organizations to the industry. That being said, as we noted in the section on the *RIS of Gotland's film industry*, films are not only a means of economic growth for the local people, but they are also strongly tied to the region's culture and pride. Thus, it is equally important and necessary to consider informal institutions or social aspects of the industry. The strategy of including more private actors, then, should be socially inclusive, not leaving the entire industry to private actors and potentially realized through public-private partnerships in the first place.

Moreover, questioning the peripherality of Gotland's film industry could open up new possibilities in RIS theorization. To some extent, the Gotland film industry fits into peripheral RIS theorizations, such as the limited pool of local talent and foreign investments like The Line that rely on outdoor productions rather than developing the knowledge infrastructure of Gotland's film industry (Martin et al., 2018; Trippel et al., 2018). On the other hand, as we noted in the section on the *RIS of Gotland's film industry*, public organizations and other actors have experience in international film productions, and the region hosts significant support structures for film production and culture. The region is well-integrated with symbolic and synthetic knowledge flows and utilizes those knowledge sources in education and production facilities. Here, we can observe an interesting situation. Although Gotland hosts outdoor productions similar to many other regions, it also possesses a significant film industry infrastructure. Thus, Gotland is not just a region that stands out solely due to its landscapes. This leads to an intriguing question: What is the reason behind the development of this infrastructure in Gotland? While addressing this question suggests the need for different research methodologies, including historical analysis, we can find some clues in the informal institutions such as culture or heritage embedded in Gotland's RIS. The presence of Ingmar Bergman and his significance for Swedish cultural heritage, as well as the reputation of Gotland aside from Bergman or film, make the Gotland film industry a complex and dynamic industry that is

challenging to conceptualize and fit into peripheral typologies. In fact, the region's integration with global knowledge flows can also be attributed to factors such as its attractiveness and different idiosyncratic elements beyond the film industry. However, to systematically evaluate these assumptions and move beyond speculation, further research is needed.

To address the second research question, it is worth noting that external linkages are organized in various ways involving different actors. Public organizations such as Film Gotland and Kulturskolan have established their own nationwide networks, which allow them to exchange information with colleagues in different geographical locations. Alongside these formal networks, interorganizational collaborations are evident in the activities of Film Gotland and Story Academy. Furthermore, informal social interactions during events like Bergman Week, year-round artist residencies, and project-based collaborations also play a prominent role in the external linkages of Gotland's film industry. Regarding the geography of national linkages, Stockholm emerges as the primary region of focus. In terms of international linkages, there is no specific geography that stands out in particular, even though the Baltic countries are seen as potential partners.

Before starting this research, it was expected that a peripheral region would be connected to the core region. Accordingly, it was thought plausible that Gotland, with its film organizations, would have various interactions with Trollhättan, Luleå, and Ystad, which are Sweden's film production centers (Dahlström & Hermelin, 2007). Interestingly, none of the interviewees mentioned any partnerships or interactions with those centers, except for Film Gotland, which benefits from the national network of regional resource centers. It can be said that most of the external partnerships and interactions are established with organizations in the Stockholm region. This strong bond or embeddedness between the two regions resulted in Gotland not interacting with various national organizations elsewhere and not feeling the need to engage in partnership activities. Both historical and geographical factors should be considered when examining the relationship between Stockholm and Gotland. The geographical proximity between Gotland and Stockholm, along with Stockholm hosting many production companies, national organizations, and a significant number of creatives, undoubtedly contributed to the formation of this relationship. What is noteworthy, as pointed out by the interviewees, is that finding a new partner and engaging in collaborations outside of Gotland is a costly process. In line with Fitjar and Rodriguez-Pose's (2011) suggestion regarding the significant costs of new partnerships, considering that many Gotland organizations have limited resources, it is costly

for them to find suitable partners for collaboration. Thus, even though they acknowledge that reaching out to different organizations and exchanging ideas could contribute to their innovative activities, they primarily focus on the Stockholm region rather than other regions. Considering both institutional and geographical proximity, we may consider this decision as a strategy to minimize uncertainty and expected costs for partnerships.

Our last question focused on the contribution of external linkages to Gotland's knowledge infrastructure. To address this question, we first differentiated between different types of knowledge. Film projects on the island primarily contribute to the accumulation of synthetic knowledge among regional actors by presenting new technical challenges. In terms of symbolic knowledge, there are various contributions from external linkages. Artist residencies and temporary clustering during Bergman Week bring non-local symbolic knowledge to Gotland. These activities create opportunities for interaction among actors in close geographical proximity (Torre, 2008). Additionally, similar to Morrison's theorization of public actors in peripheral RIS (2019), public organizations in Gotland act as gatekeepers by absorbing non-local knowledge from their networks, disseminating it within the region and ensuring assimilation by other organizations in the RIS. Moreover, inter-organizational collaborations with non-local actors provide changing opportunities, including feedback from experts, which is an important asset for the accumulation of symbolic knowledge. Lastly, international teachers and students, who embody tacit knowledge (Gertler, 2003), make an important contribution to the region's knowledge base.

Another topic of debate in the film industry is the definition, structure, and examples of innovation. Synthetic and symbolic knowledge are necessary for innovation in the film industry. However, there is still uncertainty in the film industry and CCIs in general regarding the definition and examples of innovation. The Film Strategy report (Region Gotland, 2018b) and interviewees consider and conceptualize innovation in terms of expanding the scope of the film medium. Specifically, the interaction with other industries and the exploration of new areas of using the film medium are considered innovative actions. This innovation is based on both symbolic and synthetic knowledge. While this definition and application appear useful for understanding innovation in the film industry and fostering dialogue between the film industry and other sectors, it can also be limiting. The structure of this definition and application implies the necessity of communication between the film industry and other industries, suggesting that the film industry cannot be innovative on its own. Conversely, the film industry has the

potential to be innovative with all its components without relying on other industries. This is evident in both technical advancements and aesthetic values and preferences. However, measuring innovative performance in the film industry or CCIs presents more significant challenges compared to traditional industries (Castaldi, 2018, p. 608). In the film industry, and especially in the specialized area of outdoor production, we can see innovative applications based on Gotland. One prominent example is the utilization and diversification of space and its visual and semantic representation. As previously mentioned, Gotland hosts a variety of landscape formations, and this diversity allows for the imitation and recreation of different geographies on the island. This imitation requires a high level of technical skill, expertise, and cultural competency. In other words, the imitation of space relies on reimagining, reproducing, and rethinking space, which necessitates, along with technical expertise, extensive knowledge of cultural symbols, signs, and meanings associated with the space. Therefore, the creation of distinct spaces in Gotland and their use for outdoor productions represents an innovative action and an example of innovation that the film industry has achieved with its own resources.

Interestingly, this innovation provides an important opportunity for the specialization of Gotland's film industry. While non-metropolises are preferred for outdoor production, according to the literature (Sand, 2019), the contribution of this situation to the knowledge capacities and accumulations of these regions has not been explored. The presence of a diverse range of productions in Gotland could lead to specialization in a niche but relevant field of film production. Filmmakers in Gotland have already conducted experiments with the island's landscapes during outdoor film productions, but these experiments have not yet translated into formalized practices. In other words, the use of landscapes for imitations and experimental choices has been limited to localized knowledge. However, Gotland benefits from strong educational institutions that work in both symbolic and synthetic knowledge bases. These educational institutions have the potential to specialize in this innovative approach and expand its scope. Additionally, as the literature on peripheral film industries suggests (Power & Collins, 2021), peripheral places are free from the pressures of core areas and have the freedom to experiment with various artistic styles. Therefore, mobilizing RIS components to specialize in expanding the use of landscapes could be an effective place-based innovation strategy that aligns with the localized capabilities and knowledge infrastructure of Gotland. Conducting workshops and courses in formalized settings, aligned with this strategy, can further enhance collaborations between students of the Story Academy and Film Crew and filmmakers who

come to the island for residencies. Such initiatives have the potential to strengthen the film related RIS components of the island and increase its innovative capacities.

9. Concluding remarks

This thesis provides a perspective on the dynamics of non-metropolitan and peripheral film industries, the actors within the industry, and their external linkages. The researcher aims to shed light on how Gotland's film industry operates through semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The nature of external linkages is subsequently illuminated, followed by an exploration of how these connections contribute to the island's knowledge infrastructure.

This work contributes to the literature by providing empirical evidence on the local dynamics of film industries in peripheries and strategies for innovation. Additionally, empirical evidence from Gotland's film industry sheds light on the challenges of forging external linkages for CCIs in peripheries, which have been previously overlooked in the literature. However, there are opportunities to further extend the scope of this research. For example, this study focuses on the perspectives of peripheral actors and does not include the viewpoints of core actors. Furthermore, the study does not explore why core regions seek to establish connections with peripheral actors or what they gain in terms of knowledge from these connections. Considering that partnerships and collaborations are based on expectations and specific goals from both sides, further research focusing on core actors can provide new insights and contribute to the literature on innovation. Another intriguing research topic could involve comparing two peripheral film industries. By conducting two different case studies within a similar theoretical framework, a better understanding of the differences in peripherality and the varying effects of external linkages on these industries can be gained. Moreover, such research could foster a dialogue between CCIs and peripheral typologies, contributing to the literature. Overall, the literature still requires further development through various research endeavors. These efforts will not only advance our academic understanding of peripheries but also provide policymakers with a comprehensive roadmap for regional development.

10. References

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11. Appendix

11.1. Interview guideline

Interview Guideline
Section 1: Introduction
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• What is the role of your organization in Gotland's film industry?• What is your overall role in this organization?• How many years have you been working in this organization?
Section 2: Film Industry in Gotland

- How would you describe the current state of the film industry in Gotland?
- What are the specific challenges faced by your organisation due to being located in Gotland?
- What are the local advantages of Gotland for your organisation's activities?

Section 3: External Linkages

- What is the role of external collaborations of local film-related organizations in the growth of the film environment here?
- Could you tell me about your organization's experience in collaborations with organisations and individuals outside of Gotland?
- Who initiated the collaboration at the first place, how did the process take place? How and why do you choose your external partners?
- Do you think there are any challenges that arise when establishing and maintaining those connections?
- What kind of collaborations and linkages do you think are most important for fostering the film industry in Gotland?
- What would be your organisation's potential collaborations and connections? Which geographies?
- How do you think the government and other stakeholders can support and encourage the development of those connections?

Section 4: Local Sources and Assets

- How important do you think local sources and connections are for film industry-related actors in Gotland?
- What kind of local sources and assets do you think are most important for forging connections with external actors?
- How do you see your organisation's role in Gotland film strategy?

Section 5: Conclusion

- Are there any other comments or suggestions you would like to make regarding the film industry in Gotland?
- Would you recommend any other organization or individual you find important for this study?