

V.4. BORNHOLM IN DENMARK: Turning sustainable development into attractive business

By *Ágúst Bogason*

Introduction

Why are some municipalities better than others at deploying their resources, attracting people and creating jobs? This was the key question studied in this analysis of the attractiveness of 14 rural municipalities in the Nordic Region.

The 14 areas selected are all defined as attractive in the sense that their populations and the number of people in work have increased in recent years. The nature of the boost to employment in some sectors has been identified by means of shift-share analyses to determine how much of the change is attributable to specifically local factors.

Interviews then probed key stakeholders about motivation, working conditions, job creation and living conditions. These interviews were with public sector representatives (e.g. mayors and heads of planning and development), business representatives and entrepreneurs, high school students and people from the education sector, as well as families. Combined with analyses of other data and information, the interviews helped us to understand why some places do better than others.

Bornholm is a Danish island in the Baltic Sea, home to some 40,000 people. The main industrial

activities have historically been fishing, agriculture and farming and machinery industries, along with a rise in arts and crafts in recent years. Most important is tourism, which today is their largest source of income. Bornholm lies to the east of the rest of Denmark, south of Sweden, north-east of Germany and north of the western-most part of Poland. It is therefore remote and not accessible except by boat or plane, and this has clear disadvantages. However, Bornholm can also be seen as strategically and centrally located in the middle of all these much larger regions, which provides other opportunities for the island.

The largest town on Bornholm is Rønne, which serves as the administrative centre of the island. It is located in the south-west, with a population of roughly 13,000. Nexø is home to some 3,500 people, and Aakirkeby around 2,000, while settlements like Hasle, Allinge-Sandvig, Gudhjem, Svaneke, Tejn, Snogebæk and other towns have populations varying from around 700 to 1,500. Around two-thirds of Bornholm's population live in towns, while the rest is spread among the more rural areas.

Gudhjem is a small town of around 700 people on the northern coast of Bornholm. Traditionally a fishing town, it is now very popular with tourists during the summer months. Photo: Ágúst Bogason



Demographic development

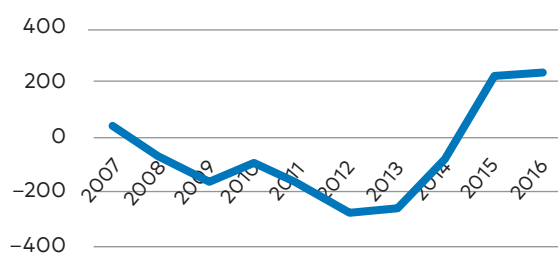
In 2007, the population was 43,040, but in September 2014 the population declined to under 40,000 for the first time in over a century. It has since stabilised around that number, and it was just under 40,000 at the beginning of 2019 (Statistics Denmark, 2019, see Figure V.4.1b).

"The possibilities for higher education are very limited here. Therefore, September is a tough month every year for our demography, since so many of our young people move away at the end of summer to start their post-high school education," explains Fredrik Romberg, director for Business Centre Bornholm, a publicly-funded service for businesses and those wishing to establish businesses. It provides guidance, offering networking options and organises events.

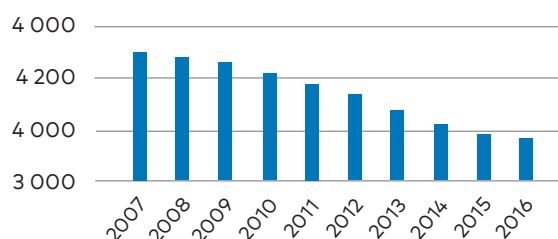
After many years in which there was a rapid decrease in population, this trend seems to have halted from around 2014, stabilising at around 40,000 (see Figure V.4.1a). While this is a positive development, the fact that the younger generations are moving away nonetheless causes Bornholm some worries, since their population is also ageing at a high rate. In 2007, 19.8% of the population was 65 or older, but that number rose to 28.5% in 2018. The proportion of younger people fell during the same period (ØIMs Kommunale Nøgletal, 2019).

"Births on Bornholm were around 600 p.a. in the mid-seventies, but that number had gone to fewer than 200 only a few years ago. We're seeing a slight increase again, which we hope will continue," says Fredrik, who is confident that things on Bornholm are turning around for the better. In 2008, there were 364 births on Bornholm, going down to as few as 221 in 2014, while they have steadily increased every year since, ending at 283 in 2018. Despite this development, population projections anticipate that the picture of a higher proportion of elderly people and fewer children will continue (Bornholms Regionskommune 2012). That would cause a further reduction in the labour force and is why the authorities on the island have made it a priority to stabilise the population and then gradually to increase it in the coming years, preferably attracting younger families to the island.

Bornholm, annual population change 2007–2016



Bornholm population 2007–2016



Figures V.4.1a and V.4.1b: The figures show that the population fell from 2008 and seems to have stabilised at around 40,000 since 2015.

Source: Nordregio's own calculations.

Labour market and employment

Until 1990, Bornholm was relatively stable economically. Traditional industries like fishing, agriculture, and some machinery industries, along with tourism, provided balance in the regional economy. But following the collapse of the Baltic sea fishery in the early 1990s that balance was interrupted, causing Bornholm to rationalise and restructure its economic activities and labour market (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2012). The region proved to be quite resilient following the fishery collapse and other industries soon absorbed the available labour force, ensuring that the island recovered quickly.

In recent years, however, after being pretty hard hit by the economic crisis in 2008, the number of jobs has followed the same trend as the demography. From 2008 jobs became fewer every year until stabilising in 2015, followed by a small increase in 2016. The total employment rate on Bornholm has decreased by more than 10% during this period, which is the among the most negative population developments of all the Danish regions (NCM, 2017).

In Figure V.4.2 the results of a shift-share analysis are shown, including the number of jobs in 2016 and the expected and real change in employment, from 2008 to 2016, within each sector. The sectors facing the greatest employment decline on Bornholm over that period were agriculture and food manufacture, construction, trade, transport, education and residential care. These same sectors are also among the largest when it comes to the share of jobs available on Bornholm. When the change in job sectors is compared to the trends of employment change in Denmark as a whole, over the same period, it can be seen that even though some sectors are in a decline, Bornholm is in fact doing better in other sectors than the national average predicts. The overall development of the job market in Denmark, however, has been that the tertiary sector and service industries have grown. Generally, this sector is more typically concentrated in cities. At the same time, the primary sectors of manufacturing industries, farming and fishery, which are usually concentrated in rural areas, have experienced a large overall decrease in Denmark (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2017). According to the sectoral and national trends, the reduction of available jobs within agriculture, food production, construction, residential care and wholesale should be even greater. The educational sector also stands out on Bornholm as being in more of a decline than the comparable national predictions would indicate. This is probably associated with the closing down of schools and kindergartens in recent years due to the falling population.

Over the same time period the municipality has done well within the sectors of machine manufacture, consultancy, public administration and human health activities. When looking at the accommodation and food sectors especially (which can be seen in direct relation to tourism) the figure shows that Bornholm is in fact performing worse than expected, when compared to the national and sectoral trends. However, taking a closer look at those numbers reveals that while the accommodation and food service sectors have been on a steady rise from 2014, the economic crisis of 2008 and 2009 caused such a significant reduction of jobs within each sector that over the entire period the numbers became pretty negative. In 2007 there were 1,209 jobs registered in the sector going down to 779 in 2008, while again rising to 873 in 2016. During this, period the overall number of jobs on Bornholm has shrunk by 10%. Today,

the accommodation and food service sectors are therefore a much larger proportion of the total job market on Bornholm, but have still not grown as fast as in Denmark as a whole over the period from 2008 to 2016.

As the population and number of jobs has decreased, many native Bornholmers have also retired. This has further reduced the total workforce. Another reason for the decrease in employment on the island is the lack of qualified labour. This has been linked both to a low educational levels and also to a lack of interaction between collaborating partners, suppliers and market. On account of this overall trend, there is a shortage of a wide range of competencies on Bornholm, and it is expected that the demand for people with specialised skills will increase even more in the coming years (CRT, 2013). For that reason, according to many of our interviewees, this is one of the areas where the municipality, along with businesses on Bornholm, has tried to establish more cooperation in order to improve the situation.

Apart from the shortage of skilled labour in certain sectors, investment in further labour market development is difficult, since it is considered riskier on Bornholm than in many other regions. This has partly to do with the tendency towards lower productivity in peripheral areas. Interviewees were all in agreement with the idea that many of the more traditional jobs in the region, for example in agriculture and fishing, would not return because the trend in those industries has been towards greater specialisation, improved efficiency through large-scale production and automation (interviews). More emphasis has therefore been put on existing industries which need labour and are already doing well, like machinery manufacturing and the tourism-related sectors. Providing established industries with an attractive environment to further expand has therefore been favoured. Other interviewees pointed out that, along with this policy expectation, it followed that related fields that support and provide services to the more established industries would also flourish more. Direct initiatives to create new, large-scale workplaces or industries have therefore been kept to a minimum. The focus has instead been on the characteristics of the island and its existing strengths: the unique natural environment, rich history and culture, renewable energy, the bio-economy and tourism.

Bornholm, 2008–2016

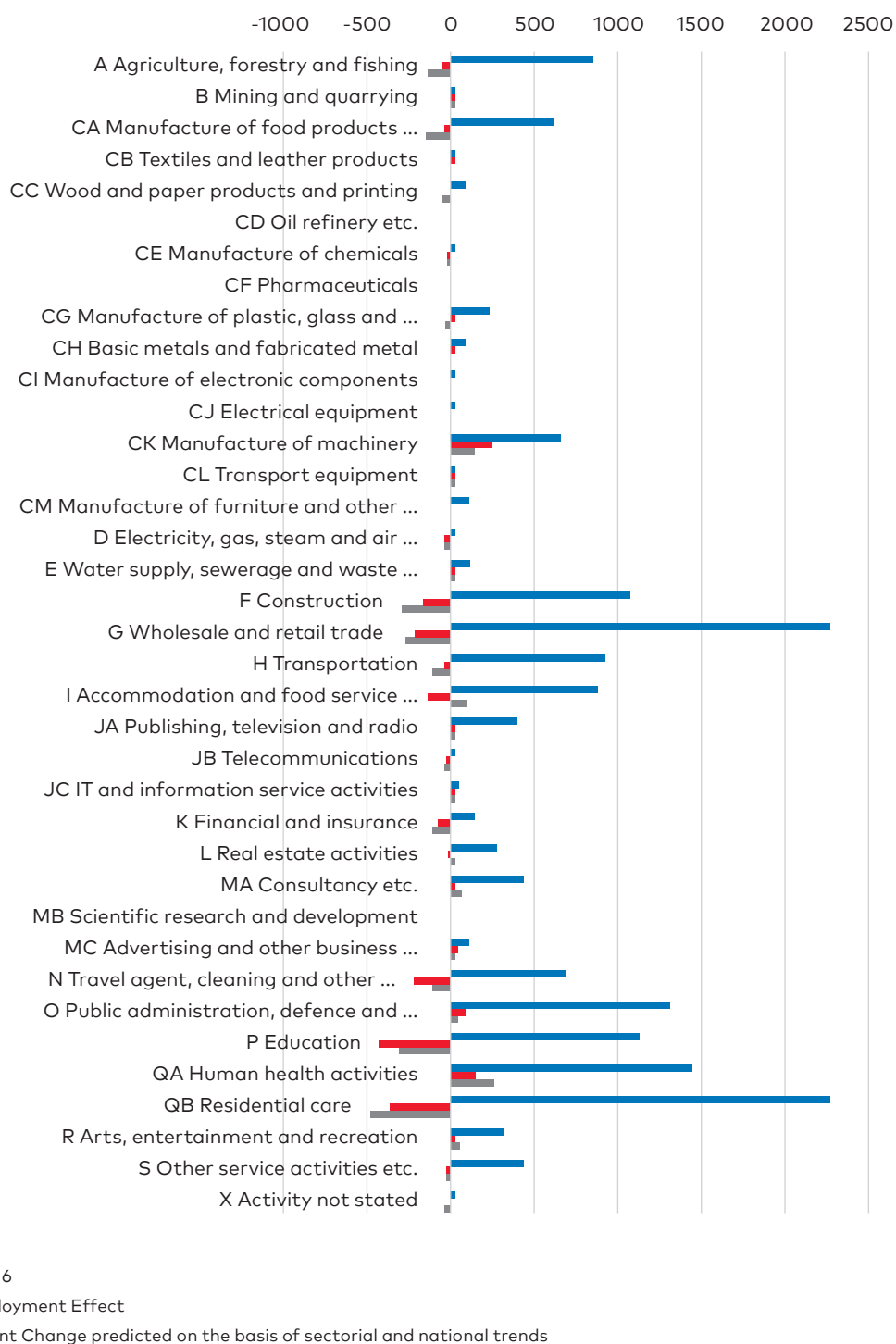


Figure V.4.2: Expected and realised change in jobs at sectoral level, 2008–2016, and the status of jobs on Bornholm 2016. Source: Own calculations at Nordregio.

Employed (end November) by region, industry (DB07) and time

| SIC Industry name | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | Jobs in 2016 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------------|
| A Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 1025 | 999 | 951 | 916 | 902 | 916 | 919 | 906 | 902 | 854 |
| B Mining and quarrying | 31 | 18 | 19 | 21 | 38 | 33 | 26 | 26 | 22 | 22 |
| CA Manufacture of food products, beverages and tobacco | 873 | 774 | 765 | 668 | 640 | 608 | 594 | 602 | 584 | 617 |
| CB Textiles and leather products | 19 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 17 | 19 | 16 | 18 | 16 | 14 |
| CC Wood and paper products and printing | 93 | 125 | 103 | 84 | 86 | 67 | 73 | 71 | 70 | 73 |
| CD Oil refinery etc. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CE Manufacture of chemicals | 1 | 33 | 30 | 29 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| CF Pharmaceuticals | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CG Manufacture of plastic, glass and concrete | 372 | 273 | 196 | 213 | 188 | 175 | 159 | 174 | 211 | 231 |
| CH Basic metals and fabricated metal products | 75 | 84 | 76 | 78 | 76 | 73 | 71 | 72 | 72 | 75 |
| CI Manufacture of electronic components | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| CJ Electrical equipment | 7 | 10 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 7 |
| CK Manufacture of machinery | 534 | 518 | 395 | 414 | 479 | 511 | 494 | 515 | 559 | 652 |
| CL Transport equipment | 22 | 18 | 16 | 21 | 16 | 16 | 24 | 34 | 30 | 23 |
| CM Manufacture of furniture and other manufacturing | 102 | 120 | 113 | 104 | 106 | 109 | 95 | 96 | 99 | 105 |
| D Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply | 121 | 65 | 72 | 113 | 116 | 122 | 123 | 112 | 109 | 19 |
| E Water supply, sewerage and waste management | 219 | 99 | 105 | 99 | 101 | 103 | 102 | 110 | 116 | 115 |
| F Construction | 1466 | 1354 | 1272 | 1169 | 1226 | 1085 | 1041 | 1033 | 1041 | 1071 |
| G Wholesale and retail trade | 2517 | 2538 | 2356 | 2318 | 2314 | 2265 | 2177 | 2201 | 2266 | 2270 |
| H Transportation | 1163 | 1046 | 972 | 1052 | 1030 | 908 | 878 | 938 | 842 | 927 |
| I Accommodation and food service activities | 1209 | 779 | 640 | 684 | 681 | 682 | 663 | 753 | 788 | 873 |
| JA Publishing, television and radio broadcasting | 386 | 367 | 398 | 401 | 391 | 417 | 425 | 416 | 410 | 392 |
| JB Telecommunications | 63 | 66 | 58 | 53 | 46 | 41 | 33 | 19 | 20 | 23 |
| JC IT and information service activities | 39 | 32 | 36 | 36 | 30 | 24 | 38 | 32 | 32 | 47 |
| K Financial and insurance | 273 | 255 | 234 | 223 | 205 | 180 | 170 | 172 | 152 | 144 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| L Real estate activities | 248 | 255 | 234 | 263 | 269 | 262 | 259 | 253 | 256 | 269 |
| MA Consultancy etc. | 285 | 361 | 352 | 336 | 328 | 333 | 359 | 364 | 350 | 432 |
| MB Scientific research and development | 22 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| MC Advertising and other business services | 95 | 99 | 95 | 99 | 95 | 97 | 99 | 101 | 103 | 108 |
| N Travel agent, cleaning, and other operational services | 540 | 803 | 827 | 802 | 819 | 894 | 895 | 755 | 670 | 691 |
| O Public administration, defence and compulsory social security | 1300 | 1271 | 1130 | 1297 | 1324 | 1227 | 1300 | 1334 | 1296 | 1312 |
| P Education | 1524 | 1444 | 1421 | 1399 | 1316 | 1235 | 1177 | 1160 | 1138 | 1132 |
| QA Human health activities | 1125 | 1182 | 1253 | 1242 | 1268 | 1277 | 1201 | 1557 | 1592 | 1438 |
| QB Residential care | 2754 | 2755 | 2692 | 2550 | 2691 | 2542 | 2578 | 2136 | 2091 | 2269 |
| R Arts, entertainment and recreation activities | 319 | 271 | 296 | 281 | 321 | 282 | 285 | 304 | 275 | 317 |
| S Other service activities etc. | 479 | 452 | 438 | 432 | 421 | 433 | 416 | 437 | 450 | 432 |
| X Activity not stated | 93 | 54 | 50 | 33 | 22 | 27 | 27 | 23 | 28 | 20 |
| SUM | 19397 | 18543 | 17624 | 17460 | 17577 | 16973 | 16726 | 16735 | 16601 | 16979 |

Municipal and public policy supporting attractiveness

"We were dangerously close to becoming so small that all sorts of public services were simply becoming too expensive for each individual, and we need to overcome those barriers. The older we get the more the costs for the municipality rise, so it is important to attract younger people back," says Allan Westh, administrator at Bornholm's Centre for Jobs, Education and Recruitment. In order to counter rapid demographic decline and create a collective vision for the future of the island, Bornholm sought the advice of its inhabitants. After a series of town meetings, the main outcome was the will to become more sustainable. This was then developed into a policy, or rather a vision, that has from 2008 has been known as 'The Bright Green Island'.

"We have this feeling and longing to be capable of sustainability, meaning that we can take care of ourselves. Whether it is electricity and warm water production, food production, transport or the creation of jobs – these things must be put in order. We feel we have to be able to take care of such things ourselves," says Louise Lyng Boiesen, a leader of

the Centre for Nature, Environment and Leisure at Bornholm municipality. From this and other interviews it may be gathered that Bornholm's sense of 'sustainability' has much to do with independence. The Bright Green Island concept has, for the past ten years, been the island's main vision for a more sustainable society. which from its inception has been an overarching vision which guides all policies and actions within the municipality. By putting sustainability in the forefront of everything the municipality does, Bornholm rebranded itself, while simultaneously trying to become more attractive for visitors and businesses.

The bright green island and other public development policies

Bright Green Island is the vision of a 100% sustainable and CO2-free society by 2025. It aims for a society that creates sustainable and environmentally friendly local solutions for both residents and guests while being able to generate growth and attract new businesses. It is an ambitious goal to develop a society this way, and to show the outside world how it is possible for a small island to make

an informed attack on pressing global challenges such as resource scarcity and climate change. But Bornholm aims to do this in a durable way that embraces sustainability while considering the needs of Bornholmers, businesses, infrastructure and also visitors – hopefully turning some of them into permanent residents. Four main topics are particularly addressed in the Bright Green Island vision, all interconnected. They are sustainable business, the good life, green technology and Bornholm as a natural destination. The aim is to embrace every sector in the economy and society to create a new identity for the island.

The Bright Green Island concept and the general concentration on sustainability are visible in many places on Bornholm. By focusing on being a sustainable community Bornholm has managed to gain much attention from the outside, attracting more visitors and even some permanent new residents.

The Bright Green Island vision therefore effects all other policy on Bornholm and its goals manifest themselves in all areas of decision-making. That means the business development strategy, which is drawn up every four years by Bornholm's Growth Forum, as well as Bornholm's development plan, regional development plan, municipal strategy, and the Local Agenda 21 strategy. All these plans are regularly reviewed, while annual plans contain descriptions of the concrete tasks and initiatives that need to be put into action in

order to meet the municipal wishes and goals for development. All of them are related to the Bright Green Island vision and the policies are intended to complement each other. This means that businesses, educational institutions, social partners and the local council are meant to work together to determine objectives and priorities for development (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2009, and interviews).

As it has turned out, Bornholm's policies are now very much in line with those emphasised by the national government that came into power in August 2019. The new government, led by the Social Democrats, has put much weight on green business development, claiming that a green transition is not a burden on businesses but a gift to them. These new national policies contain many similarities to the development plans for Bornholm, which should provide the island with opportunities to disseminate their experiences and gain national support for their strategies.

Focusing on attractiveness

A long-term goal for Bornholm municipality has been to increase attractiveness, understood in a broad sense. Attractiveness has been viewed as a key factor to gaining visitors, and one which goes hand-in-hand with attracting new residents, jobs and businesses. As Louise Lyng Bojesen, who works at the Department for Nature, Environment



The Bright Green Island concept and the general concentration on sustainability are visible in many places on Bornholm. By focusing on being a sustainable community Bornholm has managed to gain much attention from the outside, attracting more visitors and even some permanent new residents. Photo: Ágúst Bogason



Preserving the old town's image in the settlements on Bornholm is considered important by the municipal authorities, and it contributes to its visual attractiveness, along with the traditional and iconic round churches. Photo: Ágúst Bogason

and Leisure at Bornholm, describes it: *"Attractiveness has a lot to do with the physical environment. Bornholm has clear strengths, not least its natural environment."* In a Danish context it is unique and geographically diverse: cliffs, sand, beaches, forest. This distinctiveness is Bornholm's strength and has been utilised as such for some time.

"Our cultural history is also valuable. Many archaeological finds have been made here, dating back to the iron and bronze ages. This, along with geography and nature, makes Bornholm special. We also have many well-preserved towns dating back many decades. We have been actively preserving these, and we have policy plans which are based on preservation of the old town designs. When you go around Bornholm you can clearly see that it is well preserved and that it has an identity. We have actively been preserving and keeping this image for a long time, for the sake of the attractiveness of the location. People want to live in a place where things happen, and things look good, where people can meet and make things happen."

Bornholm has, in this way, and in accordance with the emphasis on a sustainable society, focused on nature, tradition and history as part of an ecological way of thinking. This has been viewed as an important part of becoming a more attractive place. In many ways, this task can be seen to have been successful. Through their own initiative, and by participating in different projects along with other municipalities (e.g. Mulighedernes Land/Land of Opportunities), the focus has been on local strengths and resources. Bornholm has therefore used a form of smart specialisation without adopting a smart specialisation tactic per se. But the strategy is similar in almost every way. So na-

ture has been made more accessible to further promote outdoor activities, for example by marking out mountain-bike trails and specifying sites for rock climbing, as well as turning harbours into year-round swimming facilities, and so on. The already well-established food industry has increasingly moved towards organic, high-quality, small-scale production, which is becoming ever more popular and makes the products more valuable. That this is a successful strategy seems confirmed by growth in jobs in sectors like food manufacturing, in accommodation and food services and in the arts and entertainment over the period from 2008 to 2016.¹⁸

"In everything the municipality does we take into account how we can make things more attractive while keeping our identity and preserving what our guests come to experience. All this contributes to the attractiveness of Bornholm as a place to visit, but also as a place to live," says Louise Lyng Bojesen. All of the aforementioned factors have then been used in relation to increasing tourism and in trying to attract new inhabitants to the island. However, doing all of the above is one thing, but getting the message out more widely is something totally different. In that aspect, Bornholm has actually succeeded very well, which has made all the difference according to our interviewees.

Getting the message out there – folkemødet

Bornholm has mainly relied on 'word of mouth' when promoting the island as a tourist destination. For such a strategy to be effective the most

¹⁸ Data underpinning the shift-share job analysis, 2008-2016.

important thing is to increase the number of visitors and to make sure that those visitors return having had what they can regard as a meaningful experience. In that way a snowball effect can be created, leading to an annual increase of visitors. Bornholm took a lesson from its neighbours on the Swedish island of Gotland when looking into ways to attract more guests.

Folkemødet (People's Meeting), Denmark's Democratic Festival, much like Gotland's Almedalen Week, was introduced in 2011. It is a gathering bringing together people and politicians. Bornholm provides the venue for Danish political figures to debate key current issues. During the first year around 10,000 people participated. But now it has developed into an event which brings in over 100,000 visitors. Naturally, *Folkemødet* also attracts much media attention and all of our interviewees agreed that this has played a vital role in promoting Bornholm in a positive way to the rest of Denmark and beyond (CRT, 2017). One of our interviewees described the development in media coverage on Bornholm from negative to positive in a relative short time, as follows:

"It has changed the way Bornholm is represented in the media, turning away from negative news and towards more positive stories. It used to be all about shrinking economy and population decline. Now it's more about sustainability and innovation. Folkemødet made all the difference by attracting all those people. And by making sure they have a positive experience; they also leave with the positive story of Bornholm to spread. This makes them want to come back and also encourages others to visit."

For the past five years, business trips and inspiration visits from people who especially want to hear about green energy, regional development, the People's Meeting and Bornholm's food production has increased significantly (CRT, 2017). All of this adds to the story of Bornholm that can be told at new places. By communicating in this way, the island has been able to introduce itself to new groups of people. The goal was to make people outside of the Island aware of its uniqueness and show that something progressive, new, innovative and exciting was happening here. The hope, however, is not only to promote Bornholm as an attractive place to visit, but also to live and work. This is confirmed through the number of jobs on the

island, something that was showing an increase again from 2015, after several years of decline.¹⁹

An attractive place for business development

Most of our interviewees expressed realistic optimism about the prospects of attracting new business to Bornholm. As described earlier, the focus has been more on existing businesses and the sectors that have done well in the past. Bornholm's business development strategy focuses on four strategic business areas. That is, developing Bornholm as a commercial island, an educational island, as a green test-island and as an experimental island. Developing synergies between these topics has been used as a way to boost the local economy by aiming to increase value and create more jobs. A significant part of this strategy has involved cooperation between different actors. Already closer links and more cooperative relationships have been made between local businesses and vocational schools on the island. It is also on the municipal council's agenda in the coming years to establish cooperation with universities, focusing more on the R&D environment (interviews and Bornholms Vækstforum/Growth Forum, 2014).

Not everyone is wholly positive, however. *"Although we would benefit from having more traditional industry businesses, our remoteness is impractical for reasons of logistics and transport. I'm therefore not so optimistic that much will change in that field in the coming years,"* says interviewee Erik, who moved to Bornholm with his wife and two sons a few years ago. He adds that change in this area is necessary for the survival of the island, since not everyone can be innovative, start their own company or work within the creative sectors. What Erik addresses here is something that authorities on Bornholm recognise but have not been able to react to successfully yet. It is a fundamental challenge for Bornholm to become attractive for larger companies. Since this has proved difficult, the smaller businesses on the island have worked together and been helped by the public sector. This has been viewed as a means to make the smaller companies larger and maybe even compete with similar sectors outside the municipality. Being more efficient through competing in larger markets is considered helpful in competing for more qualified employees to the local com-

19 Data underpinning the shift-share job analysis, 2008–2016.



Machinery industries are an important part of the economy on Bornholm. Jensen is a leading company in that sector. Photo: Ágúst Bogason

panies, thus attracting more skilled labour. A few sectors which have already been established and have parallel interests have therefore been targeted for further business development on Bornholm.

Agriculture and gourmet bornholm

The development of the regional food culture on Bornholm in the past few years has turned the focus to quality and cleanness, and has also turned food production into a craft as per contemporary trends. Bornholm has succeeded well in this task in a variety of ways. 'The Bornholm brand' is now mainly associated with organic food, sustainability, purity and quality. Traditionally, the island is known for pig farming and dairy products which, for a long time, have been exported to the rest of Denmark. These farms are relatively small compared to the rest of the country, which has made external influences and globalisation challenges for the farmers.

Although more traditional agriculture is still important on Bornholm, a large proportion of the sector chose to develop in a different direction to most of the mainland agricultural industry. Instead of monoculture, larger farms and mass production, which do not provide that many jobs, attention was switched to small-scale ecological food production within the gourmet area. This development has both created more jobs and generated more valuable products. In this way, Bornholm has made good use of the new trends and tendencies in the industry to develop quality products. The municipality has supported these small-scale food producers by buying their products and serving

them in their offices, schools, nursing homes, hospital, and so on.

In this way a cluster of actors involved in the food production industry has developed on Bornholm. The cluster has now become formalised, so that the different skills of the stakeholders – agriculture, the gourmet producers and the municipality – have been brought together to create further innovation, development and growth in the industry. Although there is no direct link, the food production and gourmet areas have had positive effects on tourism on Bornholm, which has been one of the most important sources of income for the island for quite some time.



Traditional agriculture still plays a vital role for the regional economy on Bornholm. At the same time, many have moved away from large-scale production, instead focusing on quality organic products that create more jobs and are more valuable on the market. Photo: Ágúst Bogason

Tourism

A similar method has been used in the tourism industry, where the focus has been put not on mass tourism but rather on sustainability through marketing unique experiences that revolve around local food, nature and outdoor activities. Bornholm, as with many other rural regions, sees tourism as a vital industry for the future. By attracting more tourists, and preferably making the season longer, the island authorities and industry stakeholders think it will generate more income and boost the whole of the regional economy. They argue that tourists can impact on and boost sectors not di-

rectly involved with tourism itself because visitors consume a wide variety of local goods and services. The overall feeling of interviewees was that the impact of this on the regional economy of the island was very positive, due to the close relationship tourism has with, for instance, food production, restaurants, museums, shops and arts and crafts. Some interviewees also point out, however, that the tourism arena is one with much more potential for the island than has been realised so far.

A further increase in tourism is seen as vital in order for the other sectors to be able to flourish more fully. Much of the effort of Bornholm has therefore been towards creating a good environment for the sectors that are already performing well, providing potential for the sectors that support and work in parallel with them. Formal tourism plans made by the municipality aim for a 10% increase in revenue from the industry in 2020, compared to 2015 (interviews and policy documents). Our interviewees were in agreement that gradually increasing visitor numbers, but also lengthening the tourism season, is vital for the future. Due to extreme seasonal differences in the industry, employment on Bornholm is at its highest during the summer. Innovative thinking and the development of activities outside tourism during the high season, including more options for outdoor sports, the arts, cultural events and other quality experiences, are therefore being targeted to attract a greater variety of visitors throughout other seasons of the year (interviews and Bornholms Vækstforum/Growth Forum, 2014). For this reason, tourism is a key component in the regional economy and one to which many expectations for the future are tied. However, due to the short season and external competition, other areas have also been targeted for the development of sustainable economic activities.

The jobs of the future

At first glance Bornholm has a varied and diversified business profile. There is a strong public sector, with the traditional police service, schools, kindergartens, some secondary schools, vocational schools and even a limited range of higher education offered in cooperation with universities. There is also a comparatively large hospital, considering the size of the island. There are even quite a few jobs in media. The public broadcasting company, DR, supplies both regional television and radio every day. Focussing on Bornholm issues. But taking a

closer look at the job market it becomes apparent that certain sectors are trailing behind or are non-existent in the region.²⁰

"We have the same problem as many other rural regions in the EU, where we are both lacking jobs and lacking labour," says Annie Thomas, Deputy Mayor of Bornholm. She further explains: *"There are jobs that we don't have and can't offer, while at the same time we are missing people to fill in many positions where we continue to experience high demand."* Bornholm needs carpenters, electricians, nurses, teachers and engineers, and the Deputy Mayor points out these are professions that are in high demand all over Denmark, as in fact they are across most of Europe. *"However, we have to fight extra hard to fill in those positions. On account of our remote position, commuting for work is not as optimal as it is in some other rural parts of the country. The free movement of people is not as much of an asset in our case as in many others. This makes it hard to create and maintain certain job sectors on Bornholm."*

Allan Westh at the Centre for Jobs, Education and Recruitment at Bornholm municipality says that they are preparing for further automatisation of the kind that has already caused many jobs to disappear. He mentions tourism, which will still need human resources, and says that by highlighting 'the Bornholm brand' and making the island more attractive, they are trying to attract the jobs of the future.

Westh continues: *"The jobs that are important for the future are the ones that connect with the digital economy. Our role is to make Bornholm attractive for the people who do these jobs. I'm talking about jobs that build upon an idea, and where the location from which you develop that idea into a product does not matter. Jobs in the digital world can be done in Copenhagen, Hong Kong or Bornholm. That is why we want to tell a certain story about Bornholm that makes it attractive to be associated with. This is about welcoming people who want to live and work in a sustainable society. In many instances associating a product to this story can help with marketing it, since Bornholm's image is mainly connected to cleanness, quality and creativity."*

Jobs which are made possible because of the growing digital economy are therefore seen as a

²⁰ See Figure V.4.2 for the data and shift-share job analysis, 2008–2016.

valuable source for future employment on Bornholm, especially for the more highly educated – while the tourism sector also needs to grow, because it relies on both specialised and untrained labour.

Entrepreneurship and innovation

One reason for establishing and focusing on training in entrepreneurship at all levels of the education system is the belief that the Nordic countries need more entrepreneurs and innovative employees in order to create more jobs, encourage new business ventures, and enhance productivity, all of which are particularly urgent for outlying geographical regions (NCM, 2017).

Today, the Nordic countries are experiencing a variety of socio-economic challenges, and the outlying geographical areas are especially marked by problems such as the lack of educational opportunities, along with labour market limitations, depopulation and economic stagnation. Bornholm, as with many other rural areas in the Nordic countries, is facing this problem in a range of ways mentioned above. The loss and lack of highly skilled labour, whereby young people with higher career ambitions leave the area due to a job shortage in their chosen sectors. People moving to urban areas with more diverse job opportunities. These are common problems that Bornholm knows all too well.

In an effort to go on minimising the effects of these difficulties, several local initiatives have been created to support new entrepreneurs. For example, Business Centre Bornholm, in cooperation with Campus Bornholm, has provided education about entrepreneurship for students, and 588.dk is an initiative partially funded through the EU Social Fund. It offers reasonably-priced office space facilities, business guidance and networking opportunities for new entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, *Bornholms Landbrug* offers consultancy services to entrepreneurs within the food and agriculture sectors. Speaking to Sören Fimmer Jensen, project leader at 588.dk, who has helped many different entrepreneurs in development, he confirms that 'the Bornholm brand' increasingly matters when starting something new and innovative; something that is located on the island but marketed internationally. *"For many ideas, location does not matter for the product development itself. It is rather how the product is perceived and marketed. In that respect, in many ways Bornholm can be seen to enjoy an advantage."*

There have been many indicators of increased

entrepreneurship and innovation on Bornholm in recent years. This is evidenced both by the feelings of local people spoken to during the fieldwork there, and additionally by the numbers of new companies and webpages registered in the region. Many of our interviewees also revealed that although independent workers, freelancers and entrepreneurs are considered important for the future of the job market on Bornholm, there are also concerns that this does not create to many jobs other than for those who develop them. *"Quite a few people have started companies here in recent years who not focused on growing and employing many others. Often, they are quite happy working by themselves and having their own projects. They are not so keen on being responsible for a larger company. While we are glad for their presence and activity, we are also aware that not everyone can be their own employer, so to speak,"* says Fredrik Romberg at the Bornholm Business Centre.

Quality of life

Overall, the monthly income level on Bornholm is around 20% lower than the average in Denmark, and the education level is among the lowest in the country (NCM, 2017). These factors impact on the number of people attracted to live in the municipality, according to our interviewees. However, they also point out that publicly funded jobs, regular rates and charges for business are all comparable. The cost of living on Bornholm is also often much cheaper than in mainland Denmark, especially when housing prices are compared with the larger urban areas. This is something Bornholm has emphasised when seeking to attract new people to the island. On top of that, people gain time and save money on transport costs, since the distances they need to travel are much shorter (BCB, 2019).

Speaking to some of the younger families on the island – including those who have always lived there, those who are newcomers, and those who have moved away and come back – all were in agreement that time and space were attractive factors in choosing to live on Bornholm. Time in the form of shorter distances to work, school, day care, recreation etc., and space in the form of being able to obtain larger houses or apartments for much less money than in other places. This also seems to have attracted a certain kind of newcomer to Bornholm – those who have lived and worked in an urban environment and who have an idea for



A cardboard cut-out of Rune Holm is part of meets and greets at the airport in Rønne. The real Rune Holm is a full-time consultant for newcomers. He helps newcomers settle in any way possible, and even travels to other places in order to promote Bornholm as a good place to live and work. Photo: Ágúst Bogason

a new business venture. They see moving to Bornholm as a way of turning that idea into reality.

"If one person gets a steady job that usually provides enough income for a family to live a decent life, since the housing prices are much lower than in Copenhagen or Århus," says Fredrik Romberg. He continues: "That leaves the spouse free to spend more time with the family, or on developing their own business idea. Our environment gives them the chance to do their own thing, to make their dreams come true."

Looking over the fence and speaking to some of the younger families on Bornholm, it seems that this is indeed the case in a number of instances. One partner gets a steady job that provides steady income, while the other can pursue an interest, whether that is freelance work done digitally on a global market, making art or brewing beer. Bornholm even has a full time 'recruitment agent' or counsellor, helping people to get settled in and providing assistance in finding a job, housing, day-care, schools, contacts for starting a small business, and so on. The website www.naestestopbornholm.dk (Next Stop Bornholm) is entirely devoted to newcomers. The newcomer consultant even travels to other regions in Denmark, promoting Bornholm as an attractive place to live. Through the strategic vision of 'Et godt og aktivt liv for alle' (A good and active life for all),

the island is promoted as a safe place to live, as easy going, with good welfare provision. There are different work options alongside a varied leisure life, a good health service and quality municipal services (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2012). In view of the answers provided by our interviewees on Bornholm, the island clearly has many things to offer beyond the job opportunities that will naturally attract people.

Education

Educational opportunities on Bornholm are limited, but there is a wide range of vocational options on offer, along with a small number of higher education possibilities. Since there is a shortage of skilled labour in many sectors where there is a demand for more qualified people, one strategy for growth and development on the island is based on enhancing management and employee skills through targeted courses. These initiatives have been aimed at Bornholm companies with growth potential, and have the purpose of improving competitiveness – especially in relation to increasing innovation and exports (BCB, 2019). Other policies, like 'Uddannelse til alle/Education for All', aim to motivate young people on the island to find work. The project goal is to increase the overall number of young people that finish secondary school before entering the job market, and that at least 60% of those who finish secondary school will then continue to get a higher education. The target audience is mainly young students, but also adults who are both employed and unemployed (UTA Bornholm, 2012).

The size and composition of the Bornholm workforce is also seen as dependent upon education and up the correct training of the workforce. It is a challenge when companies need to ensure access to the right skills, but then discover they are hard to find. As a result, closer interdisciplinary cooperation has been promoted by supporting the development of a business-oriented focus on competence, and through a better framework for coordinated enterprise-oriented efforts. In this way, the public actors and schools, along with businesses, have tried to work together more successfully in order to provide the job market with more competent employees.

On Campus Bornholm – the newly opened education centre that houses both the high school, vocational education and those forms of secondary education which are currently available – the

directors acknowledge that the needs of the current job market on Bornholm do not necessarily go hand-in-hand with the ambitions of students (interviews). A large number of students than at present would need to focus on vocational training in order better to meet the requirements of the job market. Efforts have been made, and are still being made, to introduce students to potential future jobs. However, another problem for Bornholm is the relatively small proportion of young people on the island. So, for the last few years, student numbers have been falling (Bornholms Regionsskommune, 2018).

Speaking to high school and vocational school students on Bornholm provides a clear illustration of one of the island's principal obstacles. Most of the students described their lives as safe and fun, they had a seemingly wide range of possibilities for fulfilling activity, and they liked living on Bornholm despite the lack of certain recreational opportunities present in larger urban settings. Nonetheless, each focus group of students we spoke with was planning on moving away from the island when they had finished their studies.

"I'm a Bornholmer from many generations back, but I will be going to Copenhagen or Århus to study when I finish high school. I have to if I am to become an engineer," said one student from campus at Bornholm's high school. *"But I will always come back here to work,"* he adds. When asked if he thinks he will find a lucrative job in line with his level of education, he replies that he has certain aims and ideas that he is confident will land him a fitting position on Bornholm when his studies are finished. Overall, the students spoke positively of their home region, and although everyone was planning on going away to study, many remained positive about moving back. *"That said, if you meet someone when you are away, you might have a hard time convincing them to come along with you. But my plan is to move back after going to university and gaining some experience in the work market somewhere else,"* said another student, also in the last year of high school.

While some of the people we spoke to on Bornholm seek improved higher educational opportunities on the island, others point out that this would not necessarily mean more specialised jobs. More educational options might, in that sense, only lead to Bornholm educating people further, only for them still to move away in order to find better jobs. Others also mention that moving away for educa-

tion provides the kind of valuable experience that can prove useful when moving back to the island. The challenge, however, is to convince people of the benefits of the place, and to provide an attractive environment, so that they seriously consider moving back.

Sports and culture

The municipality seems to be placing increasing emphasis on young people, and improving their sense of Bornholm as a good place to live and grow up. Three municipal workers mentioned the fact that if young people did not have fond memories of Bornholm, then the likelihood of them wanting to live there as adults, and to raise their own families on the island, was not particularly high. Over the last decade, the municipality has, therefore, prioritised providing more activities for the younger generations.

A part of focusing more on outdoor activities (like new bike paths all over the island, turning old harbours into swimming facilities, building a skate park, and specifying sites for rock climbing) has not only been to attract tourists, but also to encourage younger locals. This was seen by our focus group of youngsters as a positive thing, adding to the more traditional sports which are already available on the island.

"The sports teams have made an incredibly valuable contribution in providing more activities, as well as increasing available places for recreation activities. This is more or less voluntary work, and we have limited funds to distribute. But it has made a huge difference in making Bornholm more attractive for the younger people," says Louise Lyng Bojesen at the Department for Nature, Environment and Leisure. There is also a school of culture on Bornholm, offering education in music, theatre, arts and literature. The island has a rich tradition of ceramics and other artforms. These are also available for younger people who are interested. Rønne Theatre, one of Denmark's oldest, has been a vital establishment for the promotion of culture life, and it also offers courses for younger people interested in acting.

As mentioned earlier in this case study, all education after elementary school is now housed under one roof in the new Campus Bornholm building in Rønne, which some students found a good thing, while others said they missed being part of a smaller group and identifying as such. The new campus was only opened in the autumn

of 2018. That was a matter of weeks before we met up with the students for interviews and focus groups, so that perception might change as time goes by. The hope is that the new campus will at least create more of a unified student identity, and that it will contribute to further interdisciplinary cooperation. It has also been seen as positive for encouraging interaction among young people, regardless of their studies. The new campus can serve as a meeting place and lead to more diverse pursuits outside formal school hours. Additionally, the panel of young people agreed that there were plenty of things for them to do for recreation on Bornholm. They mentioned sports clubs, the music school and other art courses. Their main issue was perhaps a lack of places to meet outside school during the winter months.

Different demands in housing

Another attractive feature of Bornholm is the fact that housing there is cheaper than in many areas in mainland Denmark, and considerably less expensive than in the most urban areas. Although housing prices are similar in many of the more rural areas of Denmark, most more accessible than Bornholm, the relatively low cost of housing is seen by the Bornholm authorities as a way to get more younger people to move to the island. Housing in the larger cities is simply becoming too expensive for ordinary people and Bornholm is one of the regions trying to use this development to attract newcomers. The official policy of the island is to increase the population back to 42,000 within the next decade. Although that is the number of Bornholm's population less than a decade ago, the current housing situation is not considered capable of handle such an increase. Demographic developments and changes in family structure over the past few years has caused housing policies to change. Now there are fewer families with children on Bornholm, more homes that share custody of children, more single people and more older people.

Around one thousand new apartments are planned over the coming years along with 200 new family houses. These apartments are to meet the need for different types of housing provision. There are few smaller apartments for students, personnel within the armed forces and other single people on Bornholm at present, and since those groups are growing across the island, new homes will need to fill the gap. These will also have to comply with expectations for a higher standard

of living and with construction standards that say new buildings must fit the character of the current setting – with the focus particularly on architecture, the environment and energy considerations. This is also in line with the municipal vision of Bornholm as a green and sustainable island, and is an important factor in preserving the identity and visual attractiveness of the location (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2019).

Another factor affecting the housing situation on Bornholm is the fact that a substantial share of houses on the island are owned by 'part-time Bornholmers' who use them only as holiday homes. Some of them are Bornholmers who now live in other regions, while it has also become increasingly popular for financially well-off Danes to own a property on the island. This affects the overall housing situation and if the trend continues, it might do so even more in the future, causing housing prices to keep rising.

Safety and societal security

Another aspect that many mention when asked about the attractiveness of Bornholm is the feeling of safety it provides. A small community that has next to no crime is considered a draw, along with the fact that all public services are personal in quality and almost without waiting times. *"Although we have had to close down some elementary schools and kindergartens in recent years, both to save money and because of how few children there are on Bornholm compared to a few years ago, the service is excellent and there are no waiting lists,"* confirms Allan Westh, a director at the municipality office. He adds that because of the relatively small population, the provision of services has more of the personal dimension that people value. Fredik Romberg at the Bornholm Centre for Business goes even further, commenting drily: *"If you have an issue, you can book a time with the mayor and then take your bike to go and see her."*

Bornholm also has a large hospital considering its size, and it is part of the Copenhagen Health Region. This guarantees essential patient treatment. Unlike many other regions in Denmark, there is no waiting for healthcare appointments. Although it is sometimes difficult to recruit the right healthcare workers permanently on Bornholm, being linked to Copenhagen Health Region provides security, since staff can be appointed to Bornholm from other regions when needed. Equally, when it is not possible to perform required operations on Bornholm,

patients can be flown by helicopter to Copenhagen, where they will receive exactly what they need.

There is a common feeling among those we spoke to on Bornholm that people are willing to help each other out in whatever way they can, and that a small society is often more welcoming to newcomers. This was confirmed by those we spoke to who had moved to the island without any pre-existing social networks. Many of them spoke fondly of how they were both welcomed and helped to adapt to their new home by neighbours and work colleagues. *"I made friends in a few weeks. People were really helpful and willing to invite my family to social events when we moved over,"* one of our interviewees who moved to Bornholm a few years ago said. They added: *"I thought it would be harder and that I would feel more isolated here. Sometimes I do, but then it is just a short flight to Copenhagen if I need to see my family there, so this has proved to be no problem at all."*

When considering transport on Bornholm, people seem to be generally satisfied with the current arrangements. The island itself is very small, so getting around there by bus is quite easy, although most people still travel by car. Many mention this as one of the attractive aspects of the region: time spent commuting is very limited, which leaves more time available for family and hobbies. In recent years transport to and from the island has also got a lot better, especially when the new

fast ferries were introduced from Ystad, in Sweden, to Bornholm. Their arrival has made travelling by a personal vehicle to mainland Sweden, and from there to Copenhagen and the rest of Denmark, much easier. There are numerous flights to and from Copenhagen every day as well, and the trip only takes about 25 minutes. However, many complain that spontaneous and regular trips can be quite expensive. But most of the people we spoke to say that the situation regarding transport to and from the island is far better than it was a few years ago.

Opportunities for the future

When asked to consider further opportunities for the future of Bornholm, many of our interviewees mentioned the tourism industry as a starting point. Making tourism more of a year-round activity was emphasised by one interviewee, who talked of looking more closely into better developed services designed for tourists, pointing out that visitor surveys suggest that tourists are less than happy with the shopping opportunities on the island. Focusing more on cooperation between food producers, artists, cloth makers, store owners and others could be a valuable step towards making the experience of visitors even better. It would also benefit local residents and businesses.

Attracting people for the 'jobs of the future', as some call them, was also identified by quite a few

Rønne harbour is being developed so that it can accommodate more and larger vessels in the future. This will provide Bornholm with various new opportunities, due to its strategic position as a centre for transport in the Baltic Sea. Photo: Ágúst Bogason



of our interviewees. This means jobs where location does not matter, such as digital jobs, and ones that are creative and innovative. As mentioned above, this is already being done to an extent. But many considered that more attention needs to be devoted to this sector. There seems to be a tradition and culture of independent and innovative micro-businesses on Bornholm. In that sense, it could be considered one of the particular identities and specialities of the region – something which could perhaps be used to further advantage.

Considerable investment is due to be made in the harbour in Rønne in the coming years. This could potentially revolutionise the transport possibilities for Bornholm and make its strategic position even better. When finished, Rønne harbour will be able to welcome much larger vessels than it can today, which will provide better opportunities for becoming an even more vital hub for international shipping in the Barents. Some consider this a key improvement for the future, because it is directly connected to possibilities in relation to the Arkona wind farm in the Baltic, between Germany's Isle of Rügen and Bornholm. The wind farm was officially opened in April 2019 and has now been generating electricity for many months. Bornholmers are of course very positive about the expansion of this project, since their island is strategically well located for all kinds of services related to sea-borne wind farms. What is called Germany's Energiewende is a transition policy regarding energy production. It involves the gradual increasing of renewable energy sources. It is a large-scale project and a major investment, even for a big economy like that of Germany. The project therefore provides Bornholm with all kinds of possibilities for future development.

Conclusions

Although Bornholm has not been able to turn its demographic development from negative to positive, rapidly decreasing population numbers have now been arrested and stabilised. This is, in fact, a general trend for the rural areas of Denmark. But in Bornholm's case, that decrease has been among the most notable in the country as a whole during the first part of the decade. A gradual increase in population is therefore a realistic goal for the coming years. Providing an attractive environment to live in is naturally considered important for this to be possible on the island. Bornholm's remoteness makes commuting back and forth to

work less easy than it is in many other rural areas. Therefore attractive jobs need to be available on the island itself. Diversifying the labour market is another key issue for the future and linked to this.

In the past few years, Bornholm has done a remarkable job in turning its negative factors and negative press profile around, as well as creating a brand that is associated with sustainability, cleanliness and quality. This has in part been achieved by focusing on the visual attractiveness of the island, as well as thinking about how to be properly sustainable.

Louise Lyng Boiesen, who works on attractiveness for the municipality, nicely summed up how Bornholm views sustainability as attractiveness, and how important Bornholmers considered these aspects for the future development of their island. *"We consider it important to face the fact that nobody but ourselves is going to turn Bornholm's development around. Bornholmers themselves hold the key to Bornholm's future,"* she said, adding that visual appearance and identity is important when considering the overall attractiveness of a community. *"By having attractive and traditional houses present in our towns, lively culture life, things happening in the harbours, quality food and restaurants, interesting stores and art galleries – along with our unique natural environment on Bornholm – we have something really attractive to offer."*

The interviewees were hesitant in naming just one or two factors which could specifically be thanked for halting the negative spiral Bornholm's demographic development had previously been in. Instead, most of them considered the change to be reward for many years of effort whereby a succession of smaller changes have complemented one another and have together created a feeling of something happening, of innovative, new and sustainable thinking – which is considered by many to be attractive. This has been complemented by a more stable economic environment across the whole country, following the downswing in late 2008. All in all, Bornholm has therefore become a more attractive place to live and work.

Inherent attractiveness does not make a difference if there are no effective ways of presenting Bornholm to the rest of the world, however. Things like the Bright Green Island concept and the *Folkemødet* have served as great promoters for all the things that make Bornholm positive in the eyes of onlookers. This has contributed to the high level of media attention Bornholm has received. In this

way the island has introduced itself as an attractive place not only to visit, but also to live and work. Many opportunities lacking in other places are notably present on Bornholm. The goal has been to make people outside the Island aware of its uniqueness and to show that something progressive, new, innovative and exciting has been happening. In this overall task, Bornholm has succeeded.

Today, ten years after introducing the 'Bright Green Island' concept and leaving the effects of the 2008 economic crisis behind, Bornholm seems to at least have found some balance in its demographic development. Hopes are now high that the efforts of the past years in promoting the island are starting to pay off, and that the goal of reaching a population of 42,000 before 2025 can be realised. Some indicators also show that Bornholm has, in part, succeeded in attracting younger people to the island, often bringing their jobs with them or creating new ones. Consultancy jobs have steadily been increasing in numbers over the past few years, accompanying a significant rise in the registration of new companies and webpages. These are indicators of entrepreneurship and innovation.

Certain interviewees, working independently in the more creative and innovative industries, acknowledged that being associated with Bornholm was helpful in marketing their products and selling their work. Public funds have been devoted towards start-ups and innovative projects in recent years, in an effort to further shape an attractive environment to live, work and create new possibilities in. In some sectors "being from Bornholm" certainly seems to be helpful. Organizing support and investing in these new ideas, along with focusing on existing strengths and knowledge, now seem to be altering the way people outside the island perceive Bornholm. At the same time, this seems to be improving Bornholmers' own self-image. Many of them expressed a new-found optimism about the future; something that appeared non-existent only a few years ago.

Many factors therefore indicate that the migration into Bornholm in recent years is partly driven by features other than seeking a lucrative job. This supports the notion that migration can be both demand and supply driven.

Table V.4.1. Attractiveness on Bornholm and obstacles or challenges to overcome

| Good practice and reasons underlying attractiveness | Obstacles and challenges |
|---|---|
| <p>Access to public services No queues for child day care or minor health services.</p> <p>Culture, sport, recreation Many amenities, including sports, history, culture and a unique character in a Danish perspective. Well preserved image; round churches and traditional houses kept in good shape, creating a strong, visually attractive identity. Closeness to nature and diverse outdoor activities.</p> <p>Education Guaranteed training positions for vocational education.</p> <p>Entrepreneurship culture Culture of entrepreneurship and cooperation among local companies. 'Bornholm Brand' valuable for food production and creative entrepreneurship. Green focus very much in tune with the goals for business development put forward by the new government: "Green transition is not a burden to business but a gift". Inexpensive commercial premises for start-ups and entrepreneurs.</p> <p>Housing Space = cheaper houses than in mainland Denmark.</p> <p>Infrastructure and transport Distances shortened = Transport between Copenhagen and Ystad in Sweden is now far more regular and better overall. During the summer, ferries operate to Poland and Germany.</p> <p>Location Distinctive: Bornholm is one municipality – no need to collaborate with other municipalities about, for instance, usage of the coastline</p> <p>Quality of life and local community A safe place to live, next to no crime, attractive physical environment. Cleanness, sustainable development and ecological lifestyles are all widely embraced. Time and distance = easy to get everywhere, both to reach jobs and recreation/amenities. Being an island (and one municipality) creates a common identity, helps to promote the region and makes it easier to turn policies into practice. Also creates a tradition for all daily activities to be on the island (shopping, working, leisure, etc.) <i>Folkemødet</i> (the People's Meeting) has made the rest of Denmark aware of Bornholm and put the focus on the island for at least one week every summer.</p> | <p>Access to public services In some instances, children go to elementary school or kindergarten outside their own town. Many have closed in recent years, due to fewer children on Bornholm. While there can be shortage of labour in health services, Bornholm is part of the Copenhagen Health Region, guaranteeing essential patient treatment and staff when needed.</p> <p>Education Limited availability of higher education.</p> <p>Employment and Jobs Lack of job opportunities in R&D and for certain sectors of skilled labour and more highly educated people. Shortage of skilled labour within other sectors, e.g. carpenters, electricians, social workers, teachers.</p> <p>Housing Although there is no lack of houses, Bornholm lacks 'the right houses', mainly smaller apartments, to meet today's needs; there is a certain mismatch between present demand and the quality and type of housing available.</p> <p>Infrastructure and transport Regular trips, and those planned with short notice, can be expensive.</p> |

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