GASTRONOMY AND TOURISM AS A REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT TOOL
– THE CASE OF JÄMTLAND

Madeleine Bonow
Södertörn University, Huddinge, Sweden
e-mail: Madeleine.bonow@sh.se

Paulina Rytkönen
Södertörn University, Huddinge, Sweden
e-mail: paulina.rytkonen@sh.se

ABSTRACT

This article highlights how farm dairies in Jämtland combine gastronomy and tourism as an integral part or a component in their marketing strategies. These activities have been promoted and supported by authorities and NGO’s. Farm dairies contribute to tourism by producing gastronomic products that can be served by local restaurants and hotels, but they are also visiting targets for tourists and create important work opportunities in the villages. As a precursor in using gastronomy and tourism to promote regional development the experiences of Jämtland are of a high relevance for the future development in Sweden

Key Words: Gastronomy, tourism, rural tourism, regional development, farm dairies.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between food consumption/production, culinary heritage and tourism in Sweden has followed patterns that differ from leading culinary nations, such as France. Some scholars characterized Sweden as a “food desert”, e.g. a country permeated by a productivist discourse in the agricultural and food sector, characterized by an export-orientation of agricultural and food products, in which urban and rural patterns of food consumption are distinctly different and where urban consumers demand a considerable amount of fast food (Fonte et al 2006). An important effect of this is that a substantial part of the culinary tradition has been lost over time. But during the last decades, the increased level of competition in the international market for food forced farmers and other rural agents to engage in diversified activities to develop artisan elaboration of farm products, on-farm restaurants, gate-sale stores in combination with tourism activities. This late development is currently supported by state initiatives in search for post-industrial work opportunities for the Swedish population.

In spite of its “food desert” label, there are some examples in Sweden that can be seen as pre-cursors in using culinary heritage in combination with tourism as a tool for regional development. It is well known that a substantial part of the money spent by tourists is used to consume food as an integrated part of the tourism experience. In this sense gastronomy is a two-sided phenomena, because it grasps ‘gastronomy tourism’ and gastronomy as an integral aspect of tourism (van Westering 1999). In this article we address both. The most prominent Swedish example is the county of Jämtland, where gastronomy contributed to a positive economic spin-off effect, which has created new work opportunities, new community practices, changing gender contracts and possibly also new capacities and a more diversified
The example of Jämtland is of high relevance for the articulation of rural and regional development strategies and policies in the near future. Starting off from the experiences of small scale farm dairies in Jämtland, our article explores the strategies that can be used by farmers and small scale rural food producers in using culinary heritage to directly and indirectly promote tourism and thereby make a positive economic contribution at the local and regional level. The purpose is to highlight relevant experiences about the possible contribution that local food and culinary traditions may have in a peripheral region’s attraction to tourists, and, in turn, the potential impact that this may have on regional development.

GASTRONOMY AND TOURISM

One way of addressing this new demand for gastronomy and locally-based cuisine in tourism is to revitalize the local artisan production and to bring back taste, tradition and experience to consumers’ food consumption. Fresh farm products and local food are crucial components on farmstead inns, or in family inns. In addition, local culinary heritage events and traditional restaurants contribute to the importance of rural food (Hall et al, 2003).

Tourism and local food have potential for collaboration in a symbiotic relationship (Hjalanger and Richards 2002). Gastronomy can play different roles in tourism, for example as a complementary produce, in rural tourism and as gourmet tourism (Hall and Sharples, 2003). Food is frequently seen as an emblem or a symbol of local distinctiveness, and when tourists choose local food and beverage they also taste elements of the visited area’s local character (Bessière, 1998). One can say that in consuming the locally produced food and drink the local area is absorbed; intrinsic pleasures are embodied and savoured, the tourist becomes one with the locality. In numerous tourism regions local gastronomy is seen as a crucial part of the local heritage and regional food culture has been interpreted as a competitive advantage for local businesses (Tellström et al 2005). But gastronomic tourism, is also supposed to add value to local produce and enhance the quality of tourists’ experience and add a local uniqueness (Yi-Chin et al 2011).

Today tourists search for the uniqueness in the places they visit. Food and beverages can be used as a means of advertising and branding a tourism destination and marketing place-related tourism products. A food identity can be used to market and brand a region as a culinary tourism destination and give a taste of a locality. It represents a general enhancement of cultural heritage, facilitates tourism producers to sharpen the profile of a destination and contributes to the tourists’ experiences of the area. Locally produced and processed food can underpin the local economy and “add value” to the local farm producers. It can be a crucial instrument to diversify and add value to the local economy (Yi-Chin et al 2011).

GASTRONOMY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Hall and Sharples (2003). argued that local gastronomy brings values for the tourism industry in two ways, by the support provided by the sales of artisan food products to tourists and preservation and cultivation of landscapes. Other effects are that tourism can stimulate agricultural services such as landscaping, tours on farms and processing sites, as well as farm holidays (Telfer and Wall 1996). It has been mentioned that gastronomy has become a vital part of preventing economic deprivation in late-modern societies. The advance of gastronomy related to tourism may also act as a badge of quality for food producing regions and localities (Gratzer 2010). Local artisan production can contribute to secure local employment and keep
rural communities alive and by its very nature tourism brings outside capital into the local community that may be the vital attributes for the continued existence of a rural community undergoing economic transition (Hjalager 2010). According to Petrini (2003) it offers opportunities for development even to poor and depressed regions through a new agricultural model. This is done at the same time as it supports small, local food producers and perhaps strengthens their position in the market, as opposed to international and industrial food producers. (Hjalager 2010). In numerous places in contemporary Europe, there are local initiatives to construct regional development by means of culinary heritage (Rytkönen et. al. 2011). Across numerous countries, food and beverage festivals and trails of different foodstuffs are developed into imperative tourism attractions for certain tourist segments (Gratzer forthcoming). Events and attractions regularly exhibit local specialties and traditions, entertain the visitors, and contribute to learning experiences and better understanding of the destination. Smell and taste are literally adding to a sense of place that tourists often search for (van Westering 1999).

Local cuisine represents the identity of a community or a region. Meal and table customs may also lead to the integration of tourists into local cultures by making the visitors absorb cultural codes. Consuming the food of other people and borrowing from their culinary practices may provide a sense of the place visited, and be seen as a symbolic consumption of a region or a place, facets of its climate, history, customs, and scenery. Furthermore, tourists also buy food and beverages as souvenirs. Such flavorsome reminders embody the link between the destination and elsewhere, and prolong and reinforce the journeys as travel sensations may be reactivated after return (Bessière 2001).

Haukeland and Jacobsen (2001) argue that tourism in small rural communities needs to be rooted in strong back-lines with the local economy if it is to be sustainable. To become an appropriate and successful peripheral development tool, cuisine for tourism must be integrated with other aspects of rural advancements through complementary activities, and they propose that attention should be addressed to (1) Encouraging innovative back-linkages with the local economy, and thereby stimulating niche specialist food production and promotion – including non-standardised and organic food produce, (2) Stimulating locally rooted food-related growth and co-operation of small and medium-sized enterprises, (3) Generating locally retained value-added benefits from production, processing and retailing, (4) Raising food quality and generating awareness of the requirement to improve and maintain quality, at both the production and consumption ends of the gastronomic tourism chain, (5) Strengthening the local image and regional identity through the development and promotion of place-specific food brands, thereby helping to promote – though also lead to possible over-commercialization – of local culture and heritage (Haukeland and Steen Jacobsen 2001).

**GAstronomy and tourism in Jämtland**

Jämtland is a county remote from industrial and metropolitan centers and markets, and a weak economy. Because of its peculiar natural and climate conditions, the agricultural landscape is characterized by very small farms (average size of 21 ha) that are scattered around the territory with large distances between them. Even the population is dispersed over a large area. The region has a history of strong entrepreneurship and Jämtland has more cooperatives than any other region in Sweden. This has made the region a centre for small-scale food production. The production is based on traditional processes and includes hundreds of manufacturers within all kinds of food processing and a number of projects to strengthen production, education, market access etc.
The tourist agencies promote Jämtland (both country side and the city of Östersund) by highlighting landscape attributes and scenery. The region is known for its support of gastronomic entrepreneurs and farmers through guidance, training support and product development all tightly linked to the surrounding nature. Östersund was appointed the capital of food in Sweden 2011 in as well as it gained the title City of Gastronomy by UNESCO (http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001918/191865e.pdf).

As a rapidly emerging food region Jämtland is embedded in tradition and true food craftsmanship that unbridled ambition and a strong food and beverage culture. It is a cultural landscape with pure nature, rich in history and not the least enthusiastic, food entrepreneurs. Jämtland fostered the emergence of clusters of all kinds of cooks, farmers and restaurateurs. There one can find award-winning breweries, live pastures, many farm dairies and cheese producers, fish smokeries and flatbread bakeries, charming courtyard restaurants, exciting bistros and authentic culinary innovators.

LOCAL SUPPORT FOR THE COUNTY’S GASTRONOMY

Jämtland developed a tradition of producing food that can be associated with the “Nordic” landscape. Nordic food consists of reindeer, arctic char, fermented herring, ptarmigan, cloudberry, (mese) whey cheese, goat cheese and more recently, new value-added products with major national attention. The artisanal cheese has made the county famous far beyond its boundaries and evolved to become a model for the rest of Sweden's small-scale cheese producers. (Figure 1 map of Jämtland’s cheese producers). Artisan cheese from Jämtland has become closely linked to tourism operations. Many hotels and catering establishments sell the product as a local specialty food and it is also marketed under the umbrella of “Food of Jämtland”. A substantial number of high quality restaurants and cafés.

Tourism, food and gastronomy have been stimulated by authorities in Jämtland. With support from the European Structural Funds for Central Norrland regional authorities, municipalities and local companies have participated in various tourism and food developing projects, some of which have had substantial economic impact, for example Eldrimner (www.eldrimner.com) and Mer Vård Mat (Länsstyrelsen 2002).

Some examples of local gastronomic tourism activities supported by the county authorities are: Hosting of festivals with a gastronomic profiles like “Särimner”, an annual forum in Östersund totally dedicated to small-scale food production; “Gregoriemarknaden”, a yearly winter market in Östersund with a history of 1000 years is a market where the local food is sold; Sweden’s largest Christmas Fair at the regional museum ”Jamtli” with 200 local food and artisan exhibitors that attracts over 20000 visitors every year; The “Autumn Feast” in the ski resort Åre that links the summer and winter season connecting the region’s food producers, artists, handcrafters, in happenings, seminars and competitions; “Storsjöyran”, the largest street music festival in Sweden that attracts people who come to listen to music, and enjoy the ambience in the temporary restaurants creating a vivid gastronomic atmosphere for ten days, just to mention some (www.unesdoc.unesco.org).
PUBLIC AGENCIES AND NGO’S THAT SUPPORT GASTRONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

There are a number of agencies that support the gastronomic sector, and Jämtland has also a long tradition in working to maintain and develop regional culinary heritage. Eldrimner¹ (the Swedish National Centre for Small scale Artisan Food Processing) provides a formal structure and framework for culinary and gastronomic development. It became a key agent in the cooperation between government and business. Eldrimner supports product development, conducts practical and more specific theoretical courses on business administration. They also conduct seminars, production courses, study tours, publishes books and magazines on food and development. Each year Eldrimner also arranges a conference and festival that involves small-scale and artisan produced food and the Swedish National Championship in Artisan Food (Særimner). A specific contribution to the development of farm dairies are three mobile dairies that potential new producers can rent at a low rate for a period of two years in order to learn the trade before investing in a new dairy (Cornell 2010-09-13). Most producers in our sample have rented one of the mobile dairies at the beginning.

Jämtland/Härjedalen Tourism (JTH) is a business association founded in 1995. It has grown steadily since then, both in membership and scope of activities. Today the association has nearly 1300 members, direct and indirect. The business community stakeholders are represented by Jämtland / Härjedalen Tourist, County Board of Jämtland, The County Council of Jämtland and the Association of Jämtland. The objective of the JHT is to, by increased influx, strengthen the county's tourism businesses in all sectors and thereby augment employment and enhance business acumen among the county's tourism entrepreneurs. They support entrepreneurial initiatives and share experiences and knowledge through seminars, printed brochures and the Internet. Since 2009, the county tourism website is part of the county portal Jamtland.se. They encourage gastronomic tourism on their web under the heading “gastronomy Jämtland Härjedalen”(www.jamtland.se).

The Food academy of Jämtland - Härjedalen is a nonprofit organization that works to support the development and knowledge of the county's local food production. As part of this work, the Academy recommends restaurants that serve well-prepared food with local produce in the forefront. The recommended restaurants can be identified by the red/white sign at the entrance, that the Food academy testing patrol grants a restaurant after trying out and approving the establishment. A requirement is that the restaurant must always have at least one appetizer, two main courses and a dessert on the menus that are based on local ingredients. The academy supports local cuisine, traditional food from the region, producers, farmers, restaurants and students (Cornell 2010-09-13).

The county has taken several other initiatives where tourism and gastronomy have been the driving forces for development. These are run by organizations and individuals. One example is Food of Jamtland, a web portal about Jämtlandic food run by Internet Media in Östersund AB, LRF Jämtland and Matakademin Jämtland Härjedalen. This portal adresses national and international tourists and provides Jämtlandic food producers with a marketing

¹ Eldrimmer originates from a EU project from 1995 that was established to develop local artisan food production. Because of its success it was appointed as a national agency a few years ago. The base and head office is still located in Ås, just ten kilometers outside of Östersund. The driving force behind Eldrimmer is Bodil Cornell, who has worked continuously at the county authority with the development of artisanal food production for over 30 years. Within the frame of Eldrimmer and in cooperation with professional food artisans she identified needs for knowledge and skills in the business.
platform where everyone can be seen regardless of size and discloses local products all in one place (www.foodofjamtland.se).

The Taste of Jämtland is a GPS-based service that helps tourists interested in food tourism. The service includes restaurants, local food specialties and selected accommodation. Jämtland / Härjedalen Tourism and The Taste of Jämtland have an additional service called Go Slow Travel, a food and meal-based taste Travel Jämtland beads. Together they have picked out some of the most prominent gastronomic experiences from the large selection that Jämtland has to offer. The chosen places are located around Storsjön and Östersund, or around Åre, the tours can also be combined and customers are offered a wine package, cooking classes and taste booklets. An additional initiative was taken by Filmpool Jämtland and Gastronomy Jämtland/Härjedalen. They produced a film for the internet about the food culture of Jämtland during the summer of 2011. (http://www.filmpooljamtland.se/) All of the named organizations, companies, associations and initiatives mentioned are parts of the marketing schemes used to promote regional or local identity and boast the economy by promoting gastronomy.

GASTRONOMY AND TOURISM IN FARM DAIRIES IN JÄMTLAND

There are a total of 28 farm dairies in the county of Jämtland, our sample consists of half of the them. The population is highly heterogeneous with one feature that differentiates them from regular farming, namely that a lion’s share of them is run by women. Some of them are also quite successful. The main products are traditional cheese, butter and acid milk. Three of them are summer chalets and one is a village dairy run by several families.

Table 1. Overview of tourism related activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farm café/store</th>
<th>Farm Inn</th>
<th>Markets and fairs</th>
<th>Nature related</th>
<th>Cooperation local hotels</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using farm stores and/or farm cafés to sell a part of the yearly production was the most important way in which the dairies combined gastronomy and tourism. Only three of them had the store/café open all year. For the remaining producers the farm store/café was one of many ways to sell the products and create a relationship with potential consumers. Many of them claimed that gate sales at a farm store or café were initiated as tourists spontaneously stopped by during the summer months asking for the possibility of buying cheese and taking a lunch or coffee break. All dairies are also considered as an important sightseeing in their municipality, the largest of them, Skärvångens village dairy is the main tourist attraction at the municipality of Krokom. The rate of success of the café’s was partially dependent on the location. One of the largest dairies does not have a main road in its immediate location. There the café activity is secondary. The owner tried to run a gourmet restaurant, but devoting time for tourism was not as profitable as selling cheese. She had therefore decided to only run her café during three weeks every summer. Another dairy that also requires a detour sells most of the yearly production in the farm store and the café during the summer months. An additional dairy has a really privileged geographical location, with a natural walking trail in a natural park passing right outside their farm. There the county board

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2 A summer chalet is a cabin owned by a farm that is used as summer pasture for the animals and to elaborate milk. The chalets belong to farms that are located near the village. The animals and their owners walk from the farm to the chalet in May and return back in September or October. The summer milk is used to produce cheese, butter, tjockmjölk (thick milk) and other typical chalet products.
invested in improving the road, building a parking lot, a museum of the natural park and sanitation facilities. Moreover, the head of the family is employed by the county board as a ranger and wildlife guide. In spite of all these advantages the combined café and store had very little visitors. Other dairies have been highlighted by national TV programs. A fourth dairy has tried everything they can to promote sales of cheese in the summer cabin where the cheese production takes place, but they have been unsuccessful, mainly due to their isolated location. The personal attributes, capabilities, and the business idea of the producers are also important for the attraction of tourists. Several of the producers are appreciated by their costumers as story tellers. At least four of them arrange cultural activities, for example poetry evenings, lectures, wine tastings, etc to attract visitors to their facilities.

Many also conducted nature related activities as an integrated part of their operations, for example moose and bear hunting and fishing tours, hiking and guided nature tours, “goat”-hiking with pick-nicks. All of these include meal services in which not only the dairy products but all farm products are used in the preparation of traditional meals. Some of the cafés also have a miniature zoo with farm animals and pony riding for children, access to meadows and space for playing, etc. Some of the dairies also offer photo opportunities during milking time, and/or tours at the dairy. Moreover, two of the summer chalets offer cabins and one of the dairies rent rooms. Eight of the fourteen dairies sell an important part of their production in local markets. Two of them sell almost all their products in markets. During the winter months most of the markets target the local population, in the summer there are also markets directed to the large number of tourists that spend their vacations in the county. Besides being a sales channel, markets are important in the promotion of rural tourism. Markets provide meetings between consumers and producers. Some producers use folkloric attributes to bring about an atmosphere of tradition and/or wildlife to their consumers.

The products of five of the dairies are sold and served by local hotels. They also recommend the dairies as destinations for daily excursions. In this sense the existence of the farm dairies contributes to the activity portfolio offered by the hotels, thereby improving their attractiveness. In addition, all stores and cafés sell other local products from nearby producers. The farm dairies also organize other activities, one example is the Road of Senses. This initiative organized by one of the farm dairies together with a farm bakery, an egg and lamb farm, a handicraft firm, a furniture carpenter, a forging artist, a café and bakery, and a vegetable grower. The cooperation started in 2000 and tourists are welcome all year around. The idea is to provide “genuine quality” for consumers through a positive and memorable experience and to strengthen members' business. Their marketing is based on internet, advertisements and a brochure. (http://www.sinnenasvag.se)

CONTRIBUTION TO LOCAL EMPLOYMENT

Measuring the economic impact of rural activities has been and still is an important obstacle in the conduction of solid economic evaluations. The value to secondary agents (for example travel agencies, hotels, restaurants) is not possible to estimate based on current data, but the trajectory of the farm dairies and their contribution to local employment can be helpful in illustrating their direct economic impact on the local and regional economy.

The farm dairies are either sole proprietorship companies or economic associations, therefore there is no available public information about their annual turnover. All farm dairies (see table 2) have contributed with work opportunities that would not exist without the dairies. Some provide self-employment for the owners, while others provide employment
opportunities to additional people from the villages. Many of the dairies receive unwaged help from family members or close friends. In addition, there is a large number of market traders used by some of the dairies, therefore it is not possible to make a total estimation of the total contribution to local employment. Skärvångens village dairy for example has ten employees at the dairy, but during the summer they also employ people to run the summer café, they have distributors at the county level and also in the main cities. The dairy is the largest employer in the municipality and one of the largest in the region. Åsbergets farm dairy, Bränna Goatfarm, Ovikens Ost and Herrö Goatfarm all run substantial operations with several employees. They also employ market traders and distributors at the regional and in the main cities.

Table 2. Nr of employees and total annual output per farm dairies 2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Nr of employees</th>
<th>Annual Output (tons)</th>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Nr of employees</th>
<th>Annual Output (tons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bränna Goatfarm</td>
<td>4 (F,M,H)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Raftsjöhöjdens Farm dairy</td>
<td>3 (F)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gärde Goatfarm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,5-5</td>
<td>Sjoutnäsets Farm dairy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrö Goatfarm</td>
<td>2 (F)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Skärvångens Village dairy</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kittelbergets Farm dairy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Smååkrans Goatfarm</td>
<td>1 (F)</td>
<td>2,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kullens farm dairy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3**</td>
<td>Tivars Farm dairy</td>
<td>2 (F)</td>
<td>Na*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myhrbodarna</td>
<td>4 (H)</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>Åsbergets Farm dairy</td>
<td>4 (F, M)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovikens ost</td>
<td>4 (M)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Östvallen</td>
<td>1 (F)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F= Additional family labour is added, M= Uses market traders with commission based compensation H= employs additional staff for different expeditions, for example for hunting and dog handlers. The farm dairy started the 1st of July 2011, **estimated value.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article highlighted some of the important strategies used by farm dairies in using culinary heritage to directly and indirectly promote tourism. Even though it is not possible to make a total estimation of the contribution of the farm dairies to the tourism industry it is clear that farm dairies contribute by providing ‘gastronomy tourists’ with a relevant content. The farm dairies are also an integral part of the tourism trade in general through their establishments, by contributing to the attractiveness of other establishments and enriching the county’s “product” portfolio. Gastronomy has also proved to be an important part of the strategies developed by regional authorities and by non governmental organizations.

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