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Wanting to become something: about forming identities in Higher Education¹

The Swedish higher education system is, from an international perspective, described as an open system (Schuetze & Slowey, 2000). As a consequence higher education is also an arena for non-traditional learners. In Sweden, among many other European countries, a traditional student used to be a young man with a middle-class background who started his higher education directly after the upper secondary school. Although this picture has changed there are still groups that can be defined as non-traditional. Being the first generation in a family to study in higher education is one of them (HSV, 2008). In this study a non-traditional student is also understood as being a man in an education where women are in the majority, students with a work experience, students with ethnical background other than Swedish and students with disabilities.

Research on non-traditional learners concerns issues about entering, experiences of participating, drop-out and retention in higher education. Non-traditional learners and the clashes they meet in the educational contexts are often in focus. In research concerning participation in higher education, clashes between learners and the academy have been identified in different ways. West (1996) shows for example that the way academic institutions communicate pay little attention to the human experiences many adult learners have which have consequences for adult students in higher education. Murphy & Fleming (2000) identified a clash between “college knowledge”, presented by the universities and “common knowledge” related to the life experience of mature students. Collier & Morgan (2008) found differences between the first generation students and traditional college students concerning their way of interpreting faculty expectations. Leathwood (2006) shows that there is a discourse of the independent learner in higher education, which is inappropriate for the majority of students in a mass higher educational system. Coronel Llamas (2006) found that there are several technologies used in higher education to control and discipline students into the discourse of the “good student”. Quinn (2004) shows that working class students experience a tension between their class identity and the middle class study culture when studying. They also see themselves as facing a paradox of double failure. They are on the one hand starting to study to get a better job. On the other hand, if they fail and drop-out they are risking a worse job, than if they never entered higher education (Quinn, 2004). Bron & Lönnheden

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(2004) found on the contrary that mature students in social sciences and humanities develop a new way of participating in society. They view their meeting with higher education as a democratic process where they gained the self confidence needed for being part of their own life and learning. Merrill and Alheit (2004) describe eight types of adult students entering higher education: the integrator, the patchworker, the emancipator, the careerist, the educational climber, the hesitator, the postponer and the formalizer. Thus the motivations to study differ and have both rational and emotional explanations and they also changes due among other things to experiences, contexts and interests.

The aim of this paper is to understand how non-traditional learners form identities in higher education, especially the character of their identities related to their future career and future occupation in relation to the educational context. Two educational contexts such as one program in Biomedicine and one in Physiotherapy are studied. The study focuses on the following questions:

- What identities are formed in this two different educational contexts?
- How does the background as non-traditional learner influence their study strategies and their plans for the future?

Forming identities in different contexts

Identities can be seen in different ways. This study is focusing on identities as being socially constructed and reconstructed in continuous processes where the identities of the individuals are formed in interaction with others. The way the individual defines his/her identity is depending on the context (Mead; 1934). The last decade the concept of identity has been given various interpretations and is used in somewhat different ways (International Encyclopaedia of Adult Education, 2005). An identity is, in this paper, defined in terms of how actors identify themselves in different educational contexts related to them as non-traditional learners. According to Goffman (1959) a social identity is related to the presentation of oneself in relation to other groups or individuals in a specific situation or context. Two foci could be identified from this point of view. One focus concerns shared presentations by people in for example an occupational group (Thunborg, 1999), an organisation (Hatch & Schultz, 2005), a community or a specific life setting (Holland & Lachicotte, 2007). Another focus is about the individual integration of different life spheres in terms of their own subjective experience (Salling-Olesen, 2006). Johansson et al (2008) shows how Swedish students in political science differ in how they conceive of both the education and their professional life from junior students to senior students. Two phases are recognised; in the beginning they look upon themselves as watchdogs of democracy while in the second phase they relate the identity to the occupations as civil servants and investigators. Abrandt Dahlgren et al (2008) recognise how the individual ideas of the students about their future work interplay with their way of learning. In educations with a strong sense of profession the students relate their learning to the intrinsic meaning of the profession while students within an education with weak sense of profession orient themselves towards learning the extrinsic meaning of the profession.

Learning is another concept used in this paper. It could be defined in different ways. One distinction attributed to Bruner (1990) is to separate “learning about” from “learning to be”. “Learning about” seeks knowledge about how to learn of a given content or a concept of a specific subject, while “learning to be” is focusing on learning to become someone in a specific situation or context. To become a learner in higher education could for example be discussed in terms of how students relate themselves as agents also structured by their social background or previous learning experiences to the specific educational academic institutions, their expectations of how to be a good student in relation to a specific subject or occupation (Alheit, 1995). By opening up the educational system for new social groups Alheit (1994), drawing on Bourdieu, means that it has been a change in the distribution of the cultural capital. At the same time there is a subtle change in the cultural codes (Alheit, 1994). Social identities are formed in the relation between agency and structure (Giddens, 1984). Ashwin (2008) is further developing this theoretical concept by focusing on the interactions between teaching, learning and assessment in higher education. He means that interactions shift over time and between situations, due to both structural and “agentic” factors. When interpreting a particular situation actors use these different factors. The situation includes an individual biography, the institutional setting, the historical moment and wider social-political factors. The biography is here used to view the social order being created in, through and from interactions between members of different life spheres and settings in everyday life (West et al. 2007). Assuming the individual to be an acting agent and considering the agent/structure as having a reciprocal influence (Giddens, 1984) makes it possible to get an understanding of how identities are formed through an individual biography. Within the concept of agency both intentionality and competence to act are involved. Structures are defined in terms of normative, regulative and cultural processes used in social practices (Scott, 1995).

The educational contexts

The educational programmes in this study are both situated in Karolinska Institutet (KI) in Stockholm. Karolinska Institutet (KI) is interesting while it is one of the largest medical universities in Europe and also the largest centre for training and research in Sweden. The majority of the students are female. The University offers over twenty different programmes in basic- and supplementary education. Most of them results in a professional examination. 75% of the students studies programmes for a professional examination. One of them is the programme for Physiotherapist. 7% studies to get a more general academic degree like the programme in Biomedicine (www.ki.se/content/1/c4/04/01/arsredovisning2006.pdf). The educational contexts in this study are situated in two different campuses within KI. At KI research is conducted in fields like Cancer, Endocrinology and metabolism, Neuroscience, Movement and reparative medicine and Public and international health. It is Karolinska Institutet that each year nominates the winner of the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine. (www.ki.se/content/1/c4/04/01/korta_fakta_0708.pdf). Among the beginners in undergraduate studies at KI in 2007 21 % had working-class background, 32 % immigrant background and 37 % had parents who are highly-educated (HSV, 2008).

The students in this study

The students in Physiotherapy are studying for an obvious profession while the students in Biomedicine are studying for a more general academic degree. The study is based on ten interviews², five students studying to become Physiotherapists and five who is studying Biomedicine, all in their last year. They are all defined as non-traditional students. One man, age 26, studying Physiotherapy, has been working as a postman for four years. He is also a man in a program with a majority of women. One woman, age 24, has a father who is a house-painter. She has also been working for two years. One woman, age 24, has a father with an ethnical background other than Swedish who has no higher education. One woman, age 28, has been working two and a half years. She has also an art education. Her father is a farmer and her mother is working in a library but has no exam as a librarian. One woman, age 34, has problems in her back since working for thirteen years. Her mother has been studying in higher education but not her father. Two women studying Biomedicine are the first generation studying in higher education – one, age 30, has also been working for seven years while the other, age 28, has earlier both been studying and working. She also has another ethnical background than Swedish. One woman, age 23, has dyslexia. One man, age 22, has a mother working as bus driver and studying at the same time. One man, age 28, has five years work experience as a postman.

Why Higher Education

All students in this study except one have always planned to get a higher education. Some of them have studied other disciplines before but noticed that the disciplines not were what they had expected. One man has taken different courses in different disciplines just in his own interest and one woman has sometimes used the university as “a place to spend her time” instead of getting a job while she has thought of what to do with her life. Most of the students have had different unqualified jobs as their “places to spend the time” while finding out what they want to become. The exception is one woman, 34 years old, that always thought of her as not having a good head for studying, who never liked school and the demands from the teachers. A chronic injury in her back since working in restaurants for several years got her in contact with physiotherapists and suddenly she discovered her future occupation. When studying in the municipal adult education to prepare her application for the program she also discovered that she actually has a good head for studying. All the students in Physiotherapy emphasize that they are studying to get a profession – to become something, to become Physiotherapists. The students in Biomedicine on the other hand have no such common ground for their studies in higher education. Some wants to leave the academy and get an occupation “in the real world” while others wants to have a career within the academy.

Forming identities

² The method used in this article is life history. It is based on biographical interviews with ten students in their last year to finish Bachelor degrees.

An identity is in this study defined in terms of how actors identify themselves in different educational contexts related to them as non-traditional students. What identities are formed in these two different educational contexts?

Learning by doing vs. learning by theory

The aim of the education for the students studying to become Physiotherapists is to get a distinct profession. They adapt to the demands from the institution even if they sometimes think the education is too tough. The students appreciate that they have practice early in the program study. It makes them aware of what is expected from them in their future occupation. The clash is between the institutional demands in teaching lots of theory and the student imagining that it would be more fruitful for them using more practice. They can easier relate practical education than theoretical to their future occupation. They prefer *learning by doing*.

The aim for students in Biomedicine is to get an academic degree that gives them an opportunity to get different occupations in different fields. The students are prepared for an education which is theoretic and they have no problems to relate the education to their own assumptions of higher education. They are practicing in laboratories in school. There are no clashes between the demands and expectations of the students. They are *learning by theory*.

The body as an object vs. the body belonging to a subject

The interest in the human body is similar for all the students part of this project although the interest differs. In both groups you find students with more interest in the human body as an object than the human being as a subject. Even if some of the students in Biomedicine emphasize their interests of helping the others it is obvious that they look upon the human body as an object, possible to manipulate in different ways. One student is also an educated masseur but she is more interested in examining how the body works than to work with the patients' bodies. The interest of the students is within *the biological processes in the human body as an object* not in the human being as a subject. The aim is to contribute to improvement for humanity.

The Physiotherapists look upon the body as something to manipulate at the same time as they see the patient as a person they can help to get a better physical life. They emphasize their ability to promote peoples possibility to get a normal life. Their interests are in the training and the locomotive power of the human body. They also emphasize that it is important for them to work with human beings. All students have a personal interest in physical training except one. She is personally not at all interested in training although she has been riding horses all her life until she got an injury in the back. She looks upon herself as plump. This student describes that she because of that sometimes have met a lack of confidence in her both from patients and colleagues. To be well-trained is an important characteristic for physiotherapists. They have an interest both in their own body and in the bodies of other persons. They look upon *the body as belonging to a subject*. The Physiotherapists aim is to help persons, not the humanity as a whole.

Identifying with an occupation vs. identifying with the academy

The students in Physiotherapy have no problems identifying with their future occupation and they do not identify themselves with the academy. This is not expected from them. From early in the education they also have periods of practices. All students look at the occupation as a possibility to promote people to get a better life. Some students define the work as a service occupation rather than a caring one. They also describe the occupation as one that is appreciated and popular while their assignment is to help people. Whatever interest all these students have they all want to get a distinct occupation and they have no interest in getting a PhD. To get an exam they have to do a small research assignment but this is nothing they seem to worry about. They have no interest in doing research although the university is trying to get them interested. They all study hard to get their exams which also mean that they will become professionals and get an authorization.

The students in Biomedicine are expected to identify with the academy. The education is preparing them to get a PhD and doing research. Their concerns are about deciding in what field to engage. In their last semester the students are supposed to do an examination. It is highly important to be strategic when deciding what this examination will be about. It is an opportunity for all the students to get involved in an interesting research project and/or to get contacts for a job in the future. They all discuss about this and about how to get access to different research groups within KI or out in interesting companies. This discipline differs from disciplines aiming to get a more obvious profession like Physiotherapists. In an education not aiming to a distinct occupation it seems like the academy is the most obvious context to identify with while all teaching is situated within the context of the academy.

To become authorized vs. to prove the authorization

The students in Physiotherapy all want to get an occupation – ‘to become something’ – and the authorization is an evidence of that. Their concern is about not to be able to fulfil the demands from the patients and colleagues when they get their exams. They look upon themselves as novices. In the last semester they will decide in what field they will get their specialization but they emphasize that they will not be specialized until they have been working a couple of years in their occupation.

The students in Biomedicine have no such sign to prove their knowledge. They have to show their competences in other ways. The students in Biomedicine emphasize that their education is as good as the education for medical doctors. The only difference is that they do not have clinical studies with patients. They worry about academics and others not realizing what a degree in Biomedicine is and are unaware of what these students can manage. This is not an occupation but an education that makes it possible to get an interesting occupation. Although they are not authorized they are convinced of their knowledge and skills. At the same time they have to convince the people that shall employ them, either in the pharmaceutical industry or in the academy, that they can manage more qualified assignments. One way of doing this is to get a PhD and make a career as a researcher.

Clashes and Strategies when forming identity

In this study all the students are in their last year and they have got familiar to the world of higher education and academy. Some of them have had some experiences of clashes in relation to the context but managed to overcome their difficulties but some still think of the university as a strange world, as 'a bubble'. What clashes and strategies are found in this study when the learners are forming identities? In what ways does the background as being non-traditional influence their possibilities and strategies?

Clashes and strategies related to theory and practice

The clash the students in Physiotherapy experience are between theory and practice within the education. Some of them think that there is too much theory and they sometimes have difficulties to understand the link between the theory and practice. One female student in Physiotherapy describes how she used to build small models of the bones in the human body in modelling clay to get a better understanding of what she was studying. Although some of them think it is tough the students adapt to the institutional demands while it is the only way to get the profession. This clash is not related to their background as being non-traditional students.

Clashes and strategies related to disability

One female student in Physiotherapy has a chronic injury. Her strategy is to adapt the situation to what she is able to manage but there are assignments she cannot perform. These she has to give up. Her strategies are accepted by the institution. One female student in Biomedicine has dyslexia. She has always been studious at school but not always capable. Her true interest is to become a doctor, just like her mother, but she thinks this will be too tough for her. In Sweden students with disabilities get support from the institutions. In this case the student for example has accepted to get help from a fellow-student taking notes during the classes. With this support and by studying hard and disciplined together with her friends she has managed so far. She has also been supported by her family, all with university graduates. She still wants to work with human beings and is aiming to get a job within the pharmaceutical industry to work with clinical tests. In both these cases the students have been supported by their educational institutions helping them to manage the education.

Clashes and strategies related to class background

None of the students in Physiotherapy have had any clashes with the educational context related to their class backgrounds. They adapt to the expectations relating the demands to their future occupation.

In Biomedicine there are two female students who is the first generation of students in higher education. They both have a working class background. One of the students has decided to leave the academy but the other one is prepared to try and adapt. Both of them talk about the academic world as strange, like a 'bubble', and about using the academic language in a way that excludes people. They have difficulties adapting to the way they think you have to behave in the academic world; using the language, being fussy with the lecturers, making yourself noticeable and being strategic in your studies; to become careerists. One is in her thirties and has been working for several years with unqualified jobs in restaurants, grocer's stores and as a watchman. Her dream has always been to

become a doctor but she did not manage to get the admission points. She started to study Biomedicine instead. She is not interested in research for research own sake. She talks about getting out in the real world again. She is the first in her family to study in higher education. Her family is very encouraging and proud of her but cannot really understand what she is studying or support her in her studies. The other female student has decided to try to get a PhD although there have been lots of clashes during the education, not least the academic language. She grew up with her mother who came to Sweden from former Yugoslavia in the sixties. Her mother has not finished compulsory school. She has never had any contact with her father. The mother has never understood her studies. The student has always done well in school but had a hard time to decide what to study. She has got herself different unqualified jobs and also studied for example literature and sociology at the university. She describes herself as an intellectual and a drifter. She has always managed to transform her studies to suite her but in this programme she is the one that for the first time has to adapt – and she is trying to. She just does not know how. Although they have got information about how to make an application for research and about how to become a candidate for the doctorate she feels totally lost. She has no idea of how to act and she does not know who to ask.

One male Biomedicine student, with a mother working as a bus driver while studying, also has a father with an academic degree. He grew up in an area with higher middleclass and upper-class families. He is actually more traditional than non-traditional. That is why his life history is interesting in this study while he has quite other experiences and strategies about how to handle his studies. He started studying economics but soon found out that it was not his cup of tea. He has been interested in biology since upper secondary school but cannot stand blood. He is not very fond of doctors either so he decided to study biomedicine. He will not earn a lot of money but money is not everything, as he puts it. He is well aware of how to act strategic to be able to make it in the academic world. He spends a lot of time to get himself contacts and to build a network. Although he emphasizes that his interest is to do something good for humanity and make a difference he is also the only student part of this study that explicitly talks about his eagerness of being successful.

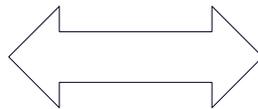
Another male student in his late twenties is more relaxed. His parents are middle-class and got their educations rather late in life. This student has been working as a postman for several years while thinking of what to study. He has attended several courses at the university just in his own interest. He is among other things very interested in music and language. He is trying to find out how to act to become a candidate for the doctorate and is also active in different student projects.

What identities are formed?

This study is about forming identity. An open educational system like the Swedish is an arena of former non-traditional students. At the same time some earlier occupational educations, such as Nursing and Physiotherapy, in the 90's became programs with an academic exam. When studying in higher education to get a quite obvious profession (like Physiotherapists), the students are not expected to relate to academy as such but to *form an identity related to their future occupation*. The students appreciate learning by

doing within their future occupational context. There are no clashes related to backgrounds like class. Maybe that can be related to the fact that the education is quite new as an academic education. The students can be seen as non-traditional in higher education but not in this specific educational context. When studying to get a more general academic degree (like Biomedicine) the students are expected to relate to the academy. In this context they are supposed to *form an identity as an academic*. Here are clashes between the academic world and students being the first generation in higher education. Two different ways to handle this are recognised; one is to leave the academy trying to get a work “in the real world”, one is trying to adapt but having difficulties when not knowing how to act.

In this study the students are using both learning to be and learning about (Bruner, 1990). The students in Physiotherapy have some problems to relate “learning about” to their future occupation. They are more interested in “learning to be”. When learning to be a good student (Alheit, 1995) in Physiotherapy it is quite acceptable not to relate to the academy as such. It is not expected. This is not the case when studying Biomedicine. To be a good student in this context means focusing on learning about and relating to the academy, planning for an occupation within the academy. They have to learn to be an academic. The students with disabilities get support from the institutions in different ways to help them manage the education. The students with a non-traditional background as first generation in higher education do not get any specific support at all. They have no problems with “learning about” but they do not know how to learn to be neither a good student within the academy nor becoming an academic. The different educational contexts in this study are related in different ways to the academy. How they relate seems to influence if there are clashes due to being first generation in higher education.



Occupational education	Occupational identity
	No clashes related to first generation
General academic degree	Academic identity
	Clashes related to first generation

Figure 1
The table illustrates identities learnt in two different educational contexts and clashes related to them.

Being representative or not

Although some of the learners part of this project have to study really hard they all have managed so far. It is not a question of capability. The clashes found are within the educational context. Opening up the educational system in higher education for new social groups perhaps mean that it has been a change in the distribution of the cultural capital (Alheit, 1994). At the same time the students with a background being the first generation studying in higher education experience a clash with the academic context.

Maybe that can be related to whether being the first generation in an educational context is representative or not. The program in Physiotherapy is quite new as an academic education. In this educational context they are representative while students studying Biomedicine being the first generation are not. In the latter the students have to adapt to the academy but not in the former. Although the Swedish educational system is described as an open system (Schuetze & Slowey, 2000) being non-representative as a first generation in higher education still seems to result in clashes between class background and the educational context.

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