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Media Coverage of Conflict in Educational Policymaking

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As illustrated by print media reporting of the formation of the Council on Alberta Teaching Standards, conflict is a major reason for coverage of educational policymaking. An analysis of print media coverage and interviews with key policy actors showed that there were no winners in the conflict between the Minister of Education and the Alberta Teachers' Association. Ultimately the image of education in the province suffered. To avoid poor press coverage, educational leaders should resolve controversies privately.

In the past couple of decades the mass media have made educational administration more open to public view. As a result, administrators and elected officials at all levels increasingly are required to learn to deal with the press. The administrator-reporter relationship can often be tenuous, very much dependent upon the whim of the journalist to provide favorable coverage. More often than not the coverage is detrimental to the goals of the educational organization and damaging to the administrator's career. It is important, therefore, to understand how the media work, including the motivations and reasons for covering a particular news item.

Among the main criteria for newsworthiness are conflict and controversy. In a classic text about the news media, Dunn (1969, p. 25) listed "conflict, controversy, or attack" as the elements of a story that are most likely to pique the readers' interest. Cans (1980, pp. 171-173) stated that a good story reports "dramatic activities or emotions" and, if it doesn't have action, "journalists try to add what they can during story production." Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, and Roberts (1978, p. 58) suggested that "the setting up of a topic in terms of debate within which there are oppositions and conflicts is one way of dramatising an event so as to enhance its newsworthiness."

The advent of television has had the marked effect on the way journalists view news and the nature of reporting, emphasizing conflict even more strongly as a news criterion. Comber and Mayne (1986, p. 169) indicated that "the values which direct this powerful technology are primarily show business values: action, colour, style, and especially conflict." Television, suggested Almond and Powell (1978, p. 158), in its competition for viewers, tends "to emphasize problems and conflicts and to give them an immediacy not possible in other media." According to the Royal Commission on Newspapers (1981, p. 143), "newspapers appear to have been heavily influenced by television coverage with its emphasis on attacks and counter-attacks."

Another consideration in determining newsworthiness is whether the news item fits with the editor's or reporter's perception of the angle from which the story should be handled. Once a "frame" is set, journalists are not inclined to look at other information or different frames that do not fit their view of how the story should be covered (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, p. 293). As a result, valuable information or different angles may be missed.

This article reports the findings of a study to examine the role of conflict in the coverage of an educational policy decision in the province of Alberta—the formation of the Council on Alberta Teaching Standards (COATS), it shows how conflict between the Minister of Education and the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) became the prime reason for news coverage of the policy decision and how it affected the quality of the coverage. It also describes how news coverage influenced the resolution of the conflict.

Background

In the Alberta Legislature, on March 29, 1985, Minister of Education David King announced the formation of the Council on Alberta Teaching Standards (COATS) to advise him on "policy, practice, and outcomes in the area of teacher evaluation." The Minister had barely sat down following the announcement when an administrative assistant from the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) walked through the House press gallery handing out a press release that criticized the Council and the Minister (Wanagas, 1985). The ATA press release accused the Minister of being more concerned with his own political

future than with education in the province. It quoted ATA president Nadene Thomas as saying,

There is nothing in this proposal which will help children or improve schools. King, in his effort to score political points, proposes a structure whose eventual role, in his own words, "is not planned."

That the announcement should be made on the eve of the Progressive Conservative Party's annual convention is the most blatant example of cynical and calculated media manipulation that I have ever witnessed.

This opening attack set the tone for most of the news coverage that appeared in the next ten weeks. The actions of both sides were described by one newspaper columnist as "general downright childishness" (Saloway, 1985). "When I was in short pants," he said, "if two kids were going at it hammer-and-tong in the school playground for too long, a teacher would break it up and order the combatants to shake hands. Well, it's about time King and Nadene Thomas . . . were made to do just that." Such inflammatory rhetoric characterized news coverage throughout the dispute.

Findings

Nature of News Coverage

News coverage of the formation of COATS fell into three periods, the first showing extensive coverage of the controversy over COATS, the second indicating a growing lack of interest by the press while behind-the-scenes lobbying and negotiations occurred, and the third showing a renewed interest by the media with the announcements of compromise and reconciliation. For the three periods, a total of 171 newspaper and magazine articles were gathered. Each was analyzed for content and identified by date, publication, sources, viewpoint, kind, location, and length.

During Period 1, from the announcement of the Council on March 29 to the end of April, 106 items were published, accounting for 62% of the coverage. This was a month of confrontation between the Minister and the ATA, with almost daily print media coverage for a period of almost a week at the end of April. However, there was practically no daily coverage while the ATA Executive Council considered proposals made by the Minister, and public conflict between them consequently subsided.

When the ATA leadership rejected the Minister's proposals, for the next two weeks, at the beginning of Period 2, the controversy erupted again in the news media. Forty-two items (24.6%) were published during Period 2 from the beginning of May to June 18, 1985 — 32 in the first two weeks of May, nine during the rest of May, and only one in the first 18 days of June. The news pages became silent on the issue as the ATA consolidated its position, using internal communications and information meetings to reach teachers and lobbying MLAs to make its viewpoint heard in government. During the latter part of the period, negotiations between the parties began. Without a continuing conflict, the media gradually lost interest in the story.

Period 3 was a time of reconciliation between the parties, beginning with the announcement of a compromise on June 19 until the Council began work in August. Twenty-three items (13.5%) were published, mostly about the compromise and the appointment of council members.

Only four items were published in July and only three in the next year-two about funding for the Council and one about the creation of a complaints process for parents.

The four daily papers in Calgary and Edmonton carried the majority of the print coverage about COATS-105 items (61.4%). The issue received less coverage in smaller cities and rural areas. The five small city dailies published 40 items (23.4%), and weekly newspapers published 21 items (12.3%). Four items (2.3%) were printed in the province's only news magazine, *Alberta Report*, and one (0.6%) in Toronto's *Globe and Mail*.

In Periods 1 and 2, when the most controversial items about the Council were published, officials of the ATA were quoted most often. The Minister was most active as a source during Period 3, when the compromise and the Council members were announced. Table 1 gives a breakdown of the frequency of sources in the three time periods.

As shown in Table 1, ATA officials, who were sources in 48.5% of the items, were more active than the Minister in Period 1, when they were sources in 53 items (50%), and in Period 2, when they were sources 17 times (40.5%). The Minister, who was the source in 38.8% of all items, was source 16 times (69.6% of all items) in Period 3.

In the remaining items, other sources were used or background information was given.

An examination of the viewpoints expressed in the articles analyzed for the study revealed that coverage during Period 1 favored the ATA. During period 2 and 3 it was closer to being balanced. In the first period only 27.4% (29) of the items were neutral; in the third period the majority (73.9%) were neutral. When items were analyzed according to viewpoint and kind, news items (N = 114) favored the ATA and opinion items (N = 57) favored the Minister.

The Council was consistently a front-section news item about 60% of the time in all periods. In Period 1 it was front-section news 59.6% of the time (53 items), 57.9% (22 items) in Period 2, and 59.1% (13 items) in Period 3.

Items were longest during the height of the controversy in Period 1 and shortest when dealing with the reconciliation and announcement of the Council members in Period 3. Items in the first period averaged 18.2 column inches, in the second period 15.9 column inches, and in the third period 13.5 column inches.

Conflict as a Criterion for Newsworthiness

The most important criterion for choosing COATS as newsworthy was the drama and action involved in the confrontation between the Minister of Education and the Alberta Teachers' Association. As long as the protagonists kept the conflict alive with charges and countercharges, there was heavy news coverage. As soon as the parties determined that press coverage

was not serving their purposes, and they stopped taking their grievances to the media, the media became less interested until there was practically no coverage. These conclusions were substantiated by interviews with participants in the controversy and news coverage.

Twenty-one respondents were interviewed. They represented the provincial Department of Education, the ATA, the trustees' association, and newspapers and magazines; they included the Minister of Education, David King, and the president of the ATA, Nadene Thomas.

Table 1
Frequency of Sources in Time Periods

	N	Minister	Items	ATA	
Period 1	106	41	38.7	53	50.0
Period 2	42	11	26.2	17	40.5
Period 3	23	16	69.6	13	56.5

Note: Items often had more than one source. Information was also provided by other sources (such as legislators, school trustees, school superintendents) and culled from background information.

According to Dr. Reno Bosetti (1987), Deputy Minister of Education, "The controversy was not created by the media. It was kept alive by them." The news media, he said, focused on the controversy and had no interest in resolving issues. They seemed "to be more bent on the sensational side, the conflictual side, and less so upon agreement. If you have agreement, . . . the matter isn't newsworthy and the media tend to back off."

Dr. Bernie Keeler (1987), Executive Secretary of the Alberta Teachers' Association, said few journalists tried to understand the issues involved in COATS. Rather, they covered it as a "two-party confrontation . . . because that is nice and easy to understand and write about."

Quality of News Coverage

The quality of news coverage is measured in terms of accuracy. Among the factors determining accuracy are comprehensiveness and balance of coverage (Ryan & Owen, 1977, pp. 27-32). Comprehensiveness is defined by breadth (extent) and depth (detail). Fair coverage of all sides of a story without sensationalism provides balance.

Breadth of Coverage. Throughout the province at least 171 newspaper items dealt with the topic of the Council during the two-and-a-half month period. The issue received extensive newspaper coverage, particularly in Calgary and Edmonton. This breadth of coverage is significant when compared to the number of articles published about the subjects of teacher review and a new Teaching Profession Act in prior years. For the previous ten-year period, 82 items were found.

Depth of Coverage. Depth is more difficult to determine and to show than breadth. Depth can be determined by analyzing the topics covered and those missed. Content analysis of articles and in interviews with participants showed that although coverage of the formation of COATS was extensive, a number of topics were either missed by the media or only briefly covered. Rather than explaining the issue, most of the coverage was about the controversy between the Minister and the ATA.

Participants in the policy decision agreed that newspapers did not do well in covering the major issues about the Council but, instead, covered the controversy between the parties. For instance, Mr. King (1987) said he did not think reporters did a good job of covering the debate about the Council:

In the reporting, in the columns on COATS, I don't believe they demonstrated a knowledge of the issues. I don't believe they demonstrated that there was common cause and common good on which we could come together. /The reporting/ wasn't very knowledgeable.

Similarly, Mrs. Thomas (1987) said she didn't think the press ever fully understood the issues and that it did not ever really see the issues from the point of view of teachers.

In reflecting on how the media covered COATS, Dr. Bosetti (1987) indicated that he felt the reporters were selective in their coverage:

/ think Mr. King should have played down "I'm going ahead regardless" and played up the openness and willingness to communicate which was always there. He tried, but the media tended to pick up the notion that we were going to go

ahead anyway and didn't pick up the notion that we were always open to communication and discussion. I guess they focused on the end product, instead of the process, and the media forgot everything else he said and that became the heading.

As Dr. Keeler (1987) noted, the ATA Executive was concerned about the degree to which media coverage might misinform its members. He said the ATA relied upon its own internal communications because the media did not understand the issue and couldn't be depended upon to explain it:

The media . . . were interested in the process that was going on between us and King, not for its substance but for its form, its style. The media like to view all issues as two-party confrontations if they can do so, because that is nice and easy to understand and write about.

The media seems [sic] to be given to the point that either one party is right or the other party is right. They [sic] ignore both the possibilities that both parties are wrong or that both parties are right. In life both parties are partly wrong and both parties are partly right.

Dr. Keeler further claimed that the media did not take any initiative to go beyond the confrontation between the Minister and the ATA. Nor did they consider COATS as important, as they had other issues.

Interviewees thus agreed that press coverage of the COATS story lacked depth: the controversy between participants was emphasized while background information, full discussion of the issues, and the parties' openness to discussion were missed.

Balance of Coverage. As part of the content analysis, items were examined to determine their viewpoint and were then classified as favoring the Minister, favoring the ATA, or being neutral. Overall the items favored the ATA, although this difference was not significant statistically; this suggests a general balance in coverage. Yet only 48 (28%) of the items were classified as neutral, suggesting that the majority of items (123 or 72%) lacked individual balance. Thirty-five of 114 news items were neutral, which is only slightly greater than the percentage of opinion items (13 of 57 or 23%).

Balance is one way reporters try to achieve objectivity. "Within every news story," said *Edmonton Journal* editor Linda Hughes (1987), "we try to have balance. However, sometimes the other side won't comment and then you are left with only one side of the story."

Grande Prairie Herald-Tribune reporter David Olinger (1987) said he tries "to get both sides of the story as much as possible" and if he can't get both sides in one story, then he is "sure to get a followup as soon as possible." He indicated that fairness is important; otherwise "People are not going to talk to you again; you are going to lose your credibility." In addition, he said, "readers deserve to know both sides of the story."

Despite the best intentions of the reporters, however, some of the key people in the story did not judge the media coverage as balanced. Dr. Bosetti (1987) felt that the media focused on the ATA side because "that is where the controversy was; that is where the action was in general." He attributed the imbalance of coverage to the media's tendency to cover the sensational. This view is substantiated in part by findings which indicated that ATA officials were most often the sources for reporters during the periods of controversy.

Mr. King (1987) agreed that the media's tendency toward controversy and sensationalism was reflected in news coverage of the Council on Alberta Teacher Standards:

I think that reporters and columnists covered the development of the Council on Alberta Teaching Standards in such a way as to promote excitement—the sense that there was confrontation between the Minister and the ATA, the sense that it was going to shape up as a major test of will and of strength, that it was going to shape up as a blood battle. And further, as soon as their early stories had expressed those kinds of predictions, they became self-interested in seeing that the predictions came true.

Although Mrs. Thomas (1987) agreed that the news media were interested in covering controversy, she disagreed about their motives and fairness:

The press was very fair They enjoyed watching this sort of pushing match, just like a couple of bullies on the playground, I guess. And so it wasn't necessary for them to manufacture anything. Everything that was happening was so interesting and so full of purple prose that my impression, at least, is that they reported quite fairly on it.

From the viewpoint of *Calgary Herald* legislative reporter Wayne Kondro (1987), the conflict between the Minister and the ATA helped to make balance easy to achieve in covering COATS:

Since this was a breaking news story, I was reporting precisely the latest development. If either side did or said something, of course I went to the other side to get their [sic] viewpoint. Because the sides were so clearly divided it was easy to have balance. They treated the issue without any grey areas.

The two camps were so sized that if you asked them to explain the broad issues, they responded politically.

In sum, while the coverage of COATS was extensive, it lacked detail. Rather than explaining the issue, the coverage over-emphasized the controversial and sensational aspects of the story. Although balance was achieved overall, the majority of individual stories lacked balance. Thus, the coverage failed to be accurate. Over-emphasis of the negative, dwelling on the sensational, and nearly exclusive coverage of controversy and conflict led to imbalance of coverage.

Influence of Media Coverage

One thing all key parties agreed about was that the press had no direct effect in bringing about the settlement. Those who were directly involved all felt that press coverage had promoted the controversy rather than bringing about compromise. As Dr.

Bosetti (1987) said, the media "did much to inflame the situation and very little to resolve it."

However, indirectly the press coverage influenced MLAs and the government. The media helped to bring the debate to the attention of the MLAs, stated Dr. Bosetti (1987). The government does not like to be seen to be "at war" with interest groups in the province, he added. Mrs. Thomas (1987) said "there was no question . . . that it was the pressure on the MLAs that finally brought pressure from the Premier on Dave King."

It seems that Mr. King had immunized himself against bad press and would have continued the conflict or gone ahead without the ATA had not his deputy minister intervened and had he not been pressured by MLAs. According to Rich Vivone (1987), Mr. King's Executive Assistant, the Minister felt that the regular news coverage was so one-sided in favor of the ATA that he ignored it and went to the open line shows on radio to get a sense of public opinion. The comments he heard through talk shows either favored his position or showed that people weren't interested. The Minister might have reacted differently to press coverage had it showed strong public opinion supporting the ATA; for example, only 12 letters-to-the-editor were found, most of them from ATA officers and teachers.

A second major influence in bringing about a settlement was a concern among education officials about the public image of education. As former teachers, both Dr. Bosetti and Dr. Keeler were worried about the bad press the conflict was giving educators. Because of this concern, they encouraged their bosses to settle their disagreements. As Dr. Bosetti (1987) noted,

Both [the ATA and government] recognized the futility of fighting publicly. Our concerns basically were that the whole of education was getting a bad image because of this debate —unnecessarily so and unfairly so. So when both parties recognized that, [think that's when it was agreed that we should find a solution.

Edmonton Journal editor Linda Hughes (1987) felt that the print coverage might have had an influence on the Minister's decision to negotiate, by conveying publicly "the concerns of interested parties." However, David King disagreed:

I think we lost time; I think we lost goodwill towards each other; I think both of us lost some flexibility in our capacity to negotiate as a result of the media coming in and sort of figuratively pouring concrete around our feet and then giving each of us baseball bats. . . . By and large I think the media does [sic] not have a good effect in any situation where there are hard decisions to be made.

A side-effect of this public debate was the impact it had on Mr. King's political future. As Rich Vivone indicated (1987), support for Mr. King as party leader was eroded partly as a result of the media coverage of the issue, and a year later his bid for re-election failed, again partly because of bad press.

Conclusions

This study showed that controversy was indeed the most important criterion for news coverage of the establishment of the Council on Alberta Teaching Standards. The quality and accuracy of coverage were affected because the news media chose to highlight the conflict between the Minister and the ATA. By emphasizing the coverage emphasized the controversy, the coverage had less impact on the final policy decision.

Criteria for Newsworthiness

The content analysis of items about the formation of the Council on Alberta Teaching Standards, and interviews with key participants, showed that the conflict between the Minister and ATA officials was the most important reason for news coverage of COATS. The majority of coverage occurred during periods of controversy and was carried by large city papers. Although the key players contributed to the controversy, the analysis of sources seems to indicate that ATA officials added more to the conflict than the Minister. Controversial statements by sources helped to assure news coverage and good positioning. Longer items were published about controversy than about reconciliation and announcements. Public debate of the issue made it more interesting to the press and tended to prolong press coverage. Coverage continued as long as the parties were willing to continue to debate the issue publicly. Although the prominence of the participants and the impact of the policy on education were significant reasons for covering COATS, conflict and controversy were by far more important.

One of the reasons for the controversial coverage of COATS may be that the media framed the issue as a political and, possibly, a union conflict rather than an educational question. This influenced the nature of the coverage so that stories were limited to only certain viewpoints.

Quality in Print News Coverage

Although coverage of COATS was extensive, the policy issue was not covered well because the reporting lacked depth. The print media gave more coverage to the conflictual and sensational aspects of the story than to an in-depth examination of the issues. Few stories connected this debate about the formation of COATS with past coverage of negotiations for a new Teaching Profession Act. Failure to put COATS into context inhibited discussion of the issues.

While overall coverage of COATS was balanced, most individual items showed bias toward one or the other party in the controversy. Even in when journalists aimed to be objective, a majority of stories about COATS showed imbalance. Apparently the controversy led to this imbalance—the more sensational statements got more prominence in the story and made more interesting headlines.

Although journalists seek the reactions of key parties as a means of being objective and creating balance, the practice seemed to hinder rather than help the political process in COATS. In the case of COATS, government announcements were offset by reactions from the ATA and opposition legislators. Knowing about the media's need for reaction, interest

groups and opposition politicians used the media to get publicity for their own viewpoints. Because of their controversial nature, the reactions often got better positioning than the announcements. Sources who provided reactions seemed to make comments which were more sensational or controversial than the comments to which they were reacting.

Mass Media Impact on Policy Making

This study indicated that the mass media coverage of COATS had no direct influence on the policy decision, although it may have had an indirect impact. In the COATS issue, the effect of the media was mediated through other groups in the policy process, such as interest groups and legislators. These other group members were often influenced more by media coverage than was the Minister. They, in turn, generally had greater influence than the news media on the Minister.

Because of past experiences, the Minister mistrusted the media and discounted their viewpoints on policy issues. He indicated that this was partly due to the media's tendency to dwell on the sensational rather than providing in-depth coverage of issues. In addition, the other groups—including teachers and other legislators—competed for the attention of the policy actors and had more influence on the policymakers than the news media.

Because COATS was framed as a political rather than an educational issue, not only was the story limited to certain viewpoints, but its impact was also restricted. While an educational angle might have appealed to a larger audience of parents and established the issue on the public agenda, political framing limited the audience to those who were directly concerned. Choice of frame also accounted, in part, for the conflictual nature of the coverage. Choosing to cover the conflict rather than the issues lessened the impact of the press and restricted public discussion of the formation of the Council.

Implications for Elected Officials and Administrators

Because of the nature of mass media coverage and because the press has made education more open to public scrutiny, elected officials and administrators need to be prepared to deal with the news media. To develop a working relationship with journalists and to obtain the best possible news coverage, educational policy makers should gain a better understanding how the mass media work, including the reasons for covering news. The following recommendations, resulting from this study of print media coverage of COATS, may facilitate better press relations and better coverage.

First, as sources of information, elected officials should take time to explain issues. The temptation is to respond in clips of information which fit television's format but do little to provide depth to coverage. Politicians should invite reporters to meet with them one-on-one in a setting where issues could be explained. Journalists would better understand the issues and be better able to explain the background and complexity of viewpoints.

Second, elected officials and administrators should avoid trying to use the news media for their own purposes, or as a forum for debate. As sources of information, they should be open in the expression of their true intent, and they should avoid controversial statements which will inflame and polarize the interested parties.

Third, elected officials and administrators should gain a better understanding of how the news media work, including their criteria for news coverage. Such an understanding would assist them in gaining better news coverage and would improve the image of public institutions and the political process.

In conclusion, a prime goal of educational leaders should be to keep the public aware of organizational developments and decisions. This may mean reporting both good and bad news. It does not mean using the media as a forum for debate. Education officials need to realize the value that journalists place on conflict and should therefore avoid airing their differences in public. Although conflict is only one of many criteria that reporters use, this study indicates that it can become the overwhelming reason for coverage. When that happens, other, more important elements of a story are lost in a sea of controversy—and the image of education suffers.

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