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Cooperating teacher participation in teacher education: a review of the literature

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Keywords

review, education, literature, participation, cooperating, teacher

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Abstract

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Cooperating Teacher Participation in Teacher Education: A Review of Literature

Teacher education represents a continuum of professional development for teachers as they seek to improve their teaching. An early but critical phase on that continuum is the practicum, an extended field experience under the guidance of an experienced teacher who is often referred to as the cooperating teacher within this context. Given that student teachers universally regard the practicum as the most important component of their Bachelor of Education degree and the cooperating teacher as critical to their success in that degree (Weis & Weis, 2001; Kirk, Macdonald, & O'Sullivan, 2006), cooperating teacher participation in teacher education is of particular significance (Keogh, Dole, & Hudson, 2006). However, a recurrent theme in the literature is the lack of knowledge of cooperating teachers beyond commonly held conceptions of their participation in teacher education (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education [AACTE], 1990; Gold, 1996; Grimmett & Ratzlaff, 1986; Holland, 1989; Metcalf, 1991; Wang & Odell, 2002; Wideen & Holburn, 1986; Zeichner, 2002). Indeed,

there is little understanding of the additional demands placed on cooperating teachers; of the images they hold of themselves as cooperating teachers and of student teachers; and of the nature of their work as they undertake responsibilities associated with cooperating teaching. (Goodfellow, 2000, p. 25)

It is also widely acknowledged that the current practices for ensuring that cooperating teachers are professionally prepared for their work are inadequate and fail to address some of the most basic issues associated with their supervisory work (Glickman & Bey, 1990; Knowles & Cole, 1996). Without a clear understanding of the ways in which cooperating teachers participate—or are expected to participate—in teacher education, it is difficult to know how best to support or facilitate that work. As such, it is crucial that researchers and practitioners alike

move beyond simplistic conceptions to more detailed and nuanced understandings that both provoke and advance how the work of cooperating teachers is conceived and enacted. Without such understandings, teacher educators are limited in the ways in which they can support cooperating teachers and cooperating teachers are left to rely on their intuitive sense of what it means to supervise student teachers—often by drawing on their own practicum experiences when they were student teachers (Knowles & Cole, 1996). This situation is untenable if we wish to provide the best preparation for the next generation of teachers.

Contrary to what might be expected and what is often heard, there is a large body of literature on cooperating teachers. Indeed, a number of aspects of cooperating teachers' work have been explored but there have been few attempts to theorize that work. Situating this research and identifying professional development needs within a broader frame of cooperating teacher participation in teacher education is essential to address this shortcoming. This theorizing is all the more important when we consider that the teachers in our classrooms who supervise student teachers on practicum are engaged “in the generative process of *producing their own future*” (Lave & Wegner, 1991, p. 57, emphasis added).

We, as university faculty with experience as cooperating teachers, became interested in reviewing the literature on cooperating teachers because of our involvement in a four-year research project with cooperating teachers on Canada's west coast. As we delved into the literature, we found ourselves conducting an ever-expanding review of what is known about cooperating teachers—we systematically examined over 400 papers and articles on the topic. Our review builds on earlier reviews but is notable for its scope and breadth, covering 60 years of research on cooperating teachers and including literature from several jurisdictions.

This review begins by acknowledging the origin of the term, cooperating teacher, and provides a brief commentary on the centrality of that work in teacher education. This is followed by an examination of three commonly held conceptions about the ways in which cooperating teachers participate in teacher education. These three conceptions are important as they set the stage for a detailed examination of *what we actually know* about that participation. The significance of this examination is that while it supports underlying assumptions about the three conceptions, it also deconstructs generalities associated with these conceptions and highlights particularities that are central to the highly dynamic and interpersonal context that constitutes the practicum.

The Origin of the Term, Cooperating Teacher

Although the relationship between classroom teachers and student teachers on practicum has changed over the years and has differed across jurisdictions, after WWII, at least three reasons precipitated the emergence of cooperating teacher as the most commonly used term today to describe this relationship (Cornbleth & Ellsworth, 1994). First, as the preparation of student teachers gradually moved from normal schools to university settings, faculty members, who sought academic status and prestige, increasingly distanced themselves from normal schools and all other practice settings; normal schools were post-secondary institutions for the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers that existed in various places throughout the world from the late-1800s through to the 1950s.

Second, deep budget cuts in the 1960s and 1970s led to the closure of most, if not all, laboratory schools that previously had become an important context for pre-service teacher education. Third, the “baby boomers” of the second half of the 20th century entered the public school system in greater numbers than ever before, creating an urgent need for practicum

placements to prepare teachers for the now burgeoning student population. As a result of these three factors, faculty members who were at the time comfortably ensconced within academia and who felt that they had a “superior capacity to prepare teachers” (Cornbleth & Ellsworth, 1994, p. 63) relative to their school-based counterparts, suddenly had to call on school teachers to assist them. However, given their newly elevated status as experts on teaching, faculty members merely expected classroom teachers to *cooperate* with them in this endeavor (Boivin, Downie, & LaRoque, 1993; Houston, 2008), hence the term, cooperating teacher.

Interestingly, during the mid-1980s, in response to public and political criticism of university teacher education programs, faculties began to seek greater credibility and started to develop closer associations with schools. Within this context, some programs opted for a name change for cooperating teachers and began to use other terms such as mentors or associate teachers. In some instances, this reflected a significant shift on the part of universities as witnessed by the Professional Development School movement in the United States. However, even in some of these more generative contexts, simply opting for a name change resulted in only minor enhancements to the role of the cooperating teacher (Evans & Abbott, 1997). A study by Hall, Draper, Smith, and Bullough (2008) revealed that teachers still think of alternative terms for their role as being “synonymous with the designation of cooperating teacher and means nothing more than providing a place for the pre-service teacher to practice teaching” (p. 343). More recently, Hobson, Ashby, Malderez, and Tomlinson (2009) lamented that the potential benefits of mentoring are often unrealized and that the “conditions for effective mentoring” (p. 214) are yet to be met. The term, cooperating teacher, still remains the most frequently used descriptor for teachers who work with student teachers on practicum and for this reason we have used it throughout this article.

Centrality of the Role

The role of the cooperating teacher has always been regarded as important within teacher education. In an early report on the practicum experience, known as the Flowers Report (Flowers, 1948), the Committee of the American Association of Teachers Colleges in a three-year study of more than 200 American laboratory schools recommended that practicum should be considered an integral part of the professional curriculum. Zeichner (1990) claimed that the groundbreaking Flowers Report set the focus on schools in pre-service teacher education for the modern era and, although this attention sometimes falters, the importance of the role played by cooperating teachers has been a common theme in the teacher education literature to this day.

Guyton and McIntyre (1990), Glickman and Bey (1990), and McIntyre, Byrd, and Foxx (1996) noted that student teachers consider the cooperating teacher to be the most important factor in their entry to the profession. Cooperating teachers themselves also view their role in teacher education as the most important part of 'learning to teach' (AACTE, 1990; Cruickshank & Armaline, 1986; Murray & Male, 2005; Roberts, 2000). Weiss and Weiss (2001) argued that it is generally accepted by students, teachers, and most faculty members that "co-operating teachers are the most powerful influence on the quality of the student teaching experience and often shape what student teachers learn by the way they mentor" (p. 134).

We found only one study that explored the absence of a cooperating teacher within the context of teacher preparation. Hodges (1982) designed a practicum that did not include a cooperating teacher for five of her student teachers because she felt that the cooperating teacher's influence on practicum was not consonant with that of her on-campus methods classes. At the end of her study, she concluded that, in the absence of a cooperating teacher, the student teachers suffered various crises (including challenges with content knowledge and pupil management)

and felt that her student teachers were unable to successfully negotiate the classroom pressures alone. In the absence of a cooperating teacher, the five student teachers were “overwhelmed by the actual experience of teaching” (Hodges, 1982, p. 26).

Common Conceptions of Cooperating Teacher Participation in Teacher Education

Cooperating teachers have been described in a number of ways, three of which have become commonly accepted within the teacher education community: classroom placeholder, supervisor of practica, and teacher educator (Cornbleth & Ellsworth, 1994; Clarke, 2007). For ease of reference, we have depicted these along a continuum representing differing levels of participation in teacher education (Figure 1).

The first conception reflects a minimal level of participation by the cooperating teacher, who is conceived of as classroom placeholder. In this conception, when the student teacher arrives on practicum, her or she immediately exchanges places with the cooperating teacher who then exits to the staffroom for the remainder of the practicum. This conception is based on the assumption that the student teacher, upon entering the practicum, should be immersed in the daily practice of teaching and be expected to quickly assume the mantle of teacher. Cooperating teacher participation in teacher education within this conception is something akin to being an absentee landlord. We found in our conversations with cooperating teachers that this approach often mirrors their own practicum experiences when they were student teachers. In adopting this approach, they are simply modeling the practice that served as their own entry to the profession (Hawkey, 1998). The literature suggests that the classroom placeholder approach to practicum advising is now uncommon (AACTE, 1990; Borko & Mayfield, 1995).

Some distance along the continuum and perhaps one of the more common conceptions currently is that of cooperating teacher as supervisor of practica. Embedded in this view is the

assumption that the cooperating teacher *oversees* the work of the student teacher. In this conception, student teachers are expected to acquire what they need to know about teaching while on-campus and the role of the cooperating teacher is to observe, record, and report on the success or otherwise of the student teacher's application of that knowledge in the practicum setting (Borko & Mayfield, 1995). Although the level of participation by the cooperating teacher is considerably greater than with the first conception, the cooperating teacher's engagement in teacher education is strongly bound in terms of what he or she has to offer the student teacher. Further, the interaction between cooperating teacher and student teacher is largely unidirectional (i.e., from the cooperating teacher to the student teacher).

In contrast to these two conceptions, a third description is that of cooperating teacher as teacher educator (Book, 1996; Browne, 1992; Grimmer & Ratzlaff, 1986; Knowles & Cole, 1996). Being a teacher educator demands that a cooperating teacher, among other expectations, is far more engaged than a classroom placeholder or supervisor of practica. This conception is likened to that of a *coach*, of someone who works closely with the learner in the immediacy of the action setting (Russell, 1997), encouraging and eliciting the meaning that the learner is making of his or her practice (MacKinnon & Erickson, 1988), and judiciously providing guidance to facilitate the development of her or his repertoire (Clarke, 1997; Hatch, 1993; Kettle & Sellars, 1996). Being a teacher educator within the context of a practicum setting requires that cooperating teachers are knowledgeable about and conversant with the teacher education literature and current debates about knowledge generation in practicum settings (Brooks, 1998). As such, cooperating teachers within this conception of their role recognize that their work is characterized by complexity, uncertainty, and uniqueness (Loughran, 1996; Schön, 1987). The paradigmatic shift that is called forth by this third conception in relation to the first two is that

cooperating teachers are teacher educators in much the same way as their university counterparts are—albeit with different responsibilities and roles.

These three commonly held conceptions are instructive in that they point to a landscape of possibilities for how we might think about and envision the work of cooperating teachers; possibilities that have the power to enrich both research (i.e., by situating various studies) and practice (by identifying professional development needs). However, these possibilities remain scattered across the literature and glimpses emerge only from time to time in what appear to be largely unrelated research projects. In an attempt to find out what we actually know about cooperating teacher participation in teacher education beyond the three commonly held conceptions noted above, this review provides a detailed synthesis of the ways in which cooperating teachers participate in teacher education. This task is taken up in the remainder of this article beginning with an explanation of the method employed in this undertaking.

Method

When we decided to conduct an extensive review of the cooperating teacher literature, our first task was to establish a protocol for doing so. To assist in this task, we relied on guidelines such as the American Educational Research Association's (AERA; 2006) *Standards for reporting on Empirical Social Science Research in AERA Publications* and AERA's (2009) *Standards for Reporting on Humanities-Oriented Research in AERA Publications*. In conjunction with these guidelines, we examined examples of similar reviews in the field of teacher education such as Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon's (1998) review of learning to teach.

As our collection of articles for the review grew, we realized that our reading of the papers would need to be shared amongst the three of us. We used our initial foray into the literature to draw up criteria for reviewing the papers, consisting, for example, of whether or not

there was evidence of a theoretical framework, a problem statement, and a defined research method. We sensitized ourselves to these criteria by reading several papers and by testing our use of the criteria through independent reviews of distinctly different papers. After comparing our results, we modified the criteria and repeated the testing process with another set of papers. At this point, the consistency between our respective reviews revealed only minor variation in our review rubric (see Figure 2). Actual article collection continued through to the end of 2011. On an ongoing basis, we double-dipped (i.e., two of us read the same article), enabling cross-checking to ensure that our interpretation of the criteria remained consistent throughout the process. These procedures resulted in only minor corrective measures to the judgments we were making, and did not have a significant impact on the progressive review of the literature.

We generated a rating scale from 1-5 for each paper to designate the degree to which the paper met the criteria of the review rubric. This scale was used when we met to share our progressive reading of the papers and facilitated our decision on whether or not to include a paper. Papers rated “2” or below were excluded from the review. Papers that were considered borderline (i.e., a rating of “3”) were discussed and where necessary reviewed by a second, and sometimes a third reader, and then presented at a subsequent meeting of the group for a final rating. We read 456 articles, 185 of which were rated as “4” or above, thus meeting the criteria we had established and therefore deemed eligible for inclusion in this review. In nearly all instances, these papers are cited in our review. The only exceptions are similar articles in which the authors repeated claims or their claims varied only in minor ways from earlier papers.

As we continued reading the papers we began to independently identify emerging categories that captured different aspects of the literature. We negotiated the identification and naming of these categories and summarized our work on large sheets of poster paper for easy

reference. As the review progressed we migrated to using one entire wall of our research office to chart the evolution of our synthesis of the literature. Category identification was an inductive process. As each new category was proposed, a working definition (including key criteria for item inclusion in each category) was established. Some categories remained almost unchanged throughout the analysis. Others were discarded and replaced as a result of the constant comparative method (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As each new item for inclusion in a category was presented, typically a claim made by an author, the existing categories were scrutinized and judged to be either “still robust,” “subject to modification,” “discarded,” or a “new category established.” The items in discarded categories were reallocated accordingly.

This process was ongoing throughout the entire development of this study. It should be noted that some items were not categorized immediately but put on hold until there was a better understanding of the those items, or until a suitable category was developed, or the items were considered redundant. At this point, there were 30-35 different categories. As the categories became increasingly stable (i.e., less open to dispute within the group), we brainstormed overarching themes or super-categories. The common characteristic of participation for the super-categories was not identified as such until the eighth of the 11 super-categories emerged. Thereafter, we drew on Brodie, Cowling, and Nissen’s (2009) notion of categories of participation as a guiding frame for the development of the final four super-categories and later for reviewing and refining the results of the analysis.

The materials for this study were gathered from personal files, faculty files, library collections, and electronic databases (e.g., ERIC EBSCO, Education Research Complete, Education Index Full Text). Papers that were cited repeatedly by different authors but were not part of our original collection became another target for selection and review; if we could not

locate the papers electronically, we wrote directly to authors. We selected papers that were focused specifically on the role of the cooperating teacher or implicated the cooperating teacher in a substantive way and omitted papers that had other research foci (e.g., student teachers). Our reading involved materials from various research genres such as published empirical research and review pieces as well as autobiographical writing and self-studies as we believed that they all had potential to contribute to knowledge production, challenge taken for granted assumptions, and suggest alternatives to commonplace accounts of cooperating teacher practice (AERA, 2009).

Some avenues yielded little information; for example, we were not successful in finding any relevant arts-based educational research on the role of the cooperating teacher. In dealing with these and other issues regarding our source of papers and the design of our review, we were attentive to AERA's (2009, p. 482) discussion of "expanding the traditions on which we draw" by including "insightful and sometimes provocative portrayals" of knowledge production. This approach is consistent with cultural theorist Massumi's (2002) reminder that

The diagnostic de-situation gives the empirical its formidable practical power. Diagnosing a condition is the first step toward "correcting" or "improving" it. But empiricism's practical power is also its philosophical weakness. The clinical or experimental context produces a backdrop of generality. It does this simply by building an assumption of comparison into the situation. It produces standardization by assuming its possibility and institutionalizing the assumption. Anomalies that do not conform to the applied standard, or do not follow standardizable deviations from it are thrown out, discounted as exceptions. The singular is left out of the loop. Philosophical thought pries open the circle in order to spiral back to the singular. Its object is the exception. (p. 166)

Being attentive to the wider body of cooperating teacher literature addresses Phelan's (2005) call for teacher education to move beyond the preoccupations that entangle teaching and teacher education in a logic of utility. It also heeds Britzman's (2000) call for teacher education to notice that "the world matters" (p. 204). In negotiating these tensions, we found AERA's (2006) standards for reporting research quite useful as these standards could be readily identified in alternative research formats as well as in traditional empirical work.

Furthermore, in reviewing the literature over the last six decades, we were reminded that research as we currently know it has changed—the academy is now more tightly committed to what is known as the basis for establishing and legitimizing the ways in which knowledge is generated and substantiated. Early journal articles, for example, by Andrews (1950), Price (1961), Iannaccone (1963), Bennie (1964), and Lipscomb (1965), rarely cited other authors or literatures, perhaps because there was no recorded research available to them at that time. Theoretical underpinnings regarding the purpose, process, and ideals in education were rarely cited either. In signaling another interpretation of these absences, Cornbleth and Ellsworth (1994) explained that not only was this the result of the early educators' lack of historical perspective of their chosen field but also a tendency to distance themselves from "lower status state college teacher educators and their programs" (p. 59). It was as if these early university educators were starting anew.

Further, Cornbleth and Ellsworth (1994) used Conant's (1963) work to explain how cooperating teachers in the 1960s to 1980s were used as a "conduit for [university] specialists' advice" (p. 58), further underscoring the sharp distinction that had emerged between universities and schools and establishing for the first time "the separation [of] university research and theory on the one side and classroom practice on the other" (p. 59). It is clear that the emerging role of

the cooperating teacher in the eyes of the university educators at that time was based on the assumption that knowledge is

generated by scientific research and interpreted by experts (presumable university faculty researchers) to be applied directly in practice and, further, that such knowledge can be transmitted . . . with little or no regard for the particularities of time and place. (Cornbleth & Ellsworth, 1994, p. 59)

Thus, the wisdom of practice that might have been valued prior to the shift of teacher education to university settings was often quietly disregarded by these new members of the academy. However, in an interesting reversal, from the mid-1980s onwards, teacher education programs began to re-associate themselves more closely with schools as places in which to inquire about how student teachers learn to teach, signaling a shift that may have been more pragmatic than philosophical. This change in attitude was an attempt to stem the loss of credibility in a period when teacher education faced attack from both the profession and politicians for being disconnected from the lived experience of teachers. For example, the professional development school movement took this opportunity to explore a much more integrated approach that involved pupils, teachers, and school administrators in teacher education. Although heavily resource-dependent and often unsustainable in the long term, such experiments did add new insights to the literature.

The fingerprints of these three periods—pre-1960, 1960–1980, and post-1980—are evident in the nature and substance of the review that follows and are important for understanding cooperating teacher research across the decades: initially as research on cooperating teachers, then research with cooperating teachers, and more recently research by cooperating teachers.

In writing this review that covers the past 60 years, the most sensible approach seemed at first to be a chronological rendering of what we know about the role of the cooperating teacher aligned with the progress of its evolution. Cruikshank and Armaline (1986) reflected on this notion of progress:

Over the decades we have learned something about teaching experiences and consequently have modified our practices. In most instances our judgment probably has been correct. In fewer instances, we likely have made judgmental errors. For example, the “more teaching practice is better” mentality is probably an area of increasing vulnerability that nudges us backward toward an apprenticeship notion of learning to teach and denies the accumulation of knowledge about the child, the curriculum, teaching, and learning. Overall our failures have not been derived from ignorance about what needs to be done. Rather our failure is our inability to obtain and/or organize the resources necessary to do the job, that is to produce teachers who are “students of teaching.” (p. 39)

This review is our attempt to respond to this challenge of causal inferencing or phenomenological change over time, and to chart instead what we actually know from research that ascribes meaning in the multiple layers that construct, constrain, and support the work of cooperating teachers.

As research continually revisits previous research in relation to actual situations or lived experience, the body of knowledge about cooperating teachers continues to be problematized, negotiated, and shaped. We believe the past must remain as a kind of vibrating expectancy that is revisited. In generating the broad-brush strokes of this review, the body of previously established research was important, as was research that seeks the exception, and considerations

for future possibilities. Thus, although we rely on a chronological backbone for this review, the reader will also recognize a circling back on occasions to connect the past with the present and the reader will also catch glimpses of an anticipated future.

It is important to note that in different jurisdictions other terms are used for the role of the cooperating teacher, for example school advisor, school associate, supervising teacher, school-based teacher educator, and mentor. As previously indicated, we use the term cooperating teacher because we found it the most frequently used term in the literature. However, when we refer to a specific study, we try to be faithful to that study and use the term for cooperating teacher used by the authors. We have adopted a similar approach to other terms that refer to common practices but that might have slightly different emphases, for example supervision, mentoring, and advising. Also, we recognize that in some jurisdictions, teacher education may reside in locations other than but similar to universities, for example, colleges. For the purposes of this review, we assume that they act in the same way and provide many of the same functions as universities in our context. Therefore, we simply use the term, university, to signify post-secondary teacher education providers.

Our research group also debated how best to deal with the literature from different jurisdictions. We readily acknowledge that as contexts differ, so do the systems, programs, and practices in which cooperating teachers are located and work. When we tried separating the literature, it seemed to do a greater injustice to the contributors and their work than when we integrated them within the collective works on a particular topic. We have chosen the latter approach in this review. Further, we draw on papers that have a general applicability to the North American context and excluded those that are so idiosyncratic to a particular setting that they bear little resemblance to North American understandings and practices. Finally, we were

attentive to analytic studies from a variety of methodologies, traditions, and representations as collectively they render a more reflexive, complex historical, and epistemological account of knowledge production, and as such, allowed us to move beyond commonly held conceptions to a more detailed rendering of what we know about the ways in which cooperating teachers participate in teacher education.

Results and Discussion

Categories of Participation

In this section we provide a thematic analysis of the cooperating teacher literature, rendered as categories of participation (Brodie et al., 2009). Our method of employing categories belongs to a pragmatic philosophy: What a category is depends on what it does (Massumi, 2002). As such, categories are situated practices that represent distinct forms of engagement with defined foci (Brodie et al., 2009). We recognize that, as with all attempts to capture human activity, the categories inevitably overlap. Our analysis suggests that cooperating teachers participate in teacher education in 11 different ways: as Providers of Feedback, Gatekeepers of the Profession, Modelers of Practice, Supporters of Reflection, Gleaners of Knowledge, Purveyors of Context, Conveners of Relation, Agents of Socialization, Advocates of the Practical, Abiders of Change, and Teachers of Children.

Category #1: Providers of Feedback. Cooperating teachers, by dint of their position in relation to student teachers, are regarded as and expected to be providers of feedback (Broad & Tessaro, 2010; Clarke, 2006; Grimmett & Ratzlaff, 1986; Killian & McIntyre, 1985; Miller, Hudson, & Lignugaris/Kraft, 1992; Spear, Lock, & McCulloch, 1997). Providing feedback is such a pervasive activity that even a study comparing feedback from the perspective of two different approaches to learning to teach (an inquiry versus traditional craft model) showed

similar levels of feedback given during supervisory conferences (Zeichner, Liston, Mahlios, & Gomez, 1987). This finding suggests that alternative approaches do not necessarily have an appreciable effect on the quantity of feedback provided to student teachers. However, the quality of that feedback is deemed problematic. As Richardson-Koehler (1988) suggested, it may be that even effective cooperating teachers are not very good at recognizing and being open to conversations about the “deep structures of their discussions and procedures with their student teachers” (p. 33).

This may explain why the majority of feedback given by cooperating teachers tends to be technical, emphasizing the *what* and *how* rather than the *why* of practice (Grimmett & Ratzlaff, 1986; John, 2001; Kagan, 1988). Chaliès, Ria, Bertone, Trohel, and Durand (2004) noted this very technical form of feedback, and observed that post-lesson interviews between cooperating teachers and student teachers commonly validated prior knowledge but were rarely a source of new knowledge construction. Kahan, Sinclair, Saucier, and Caiozzi (2003) reported that even as student teachers’ knowledge and experience develops over the course of the practicum, cooperating teacher feedback remains largely fixed on the technical aspects of teaching. They also found that the feedback tended to be more confirmatory (positive) than investigative (reflective) in nature.

The most common approach to feedback is the traditional follow-me model, where the level and extent of feedback is dependent on the cooperating teacher’s personality and teaching style (Samaras & Gismondi, 1998) or when the cooperating teachers’ interaction extends to a discussion of alternative conceptions of teaching (Haggerty, 1995). According to Williams et al. (1998), exchanges between cooperating teachers and their student teachers typically involve

more closed than open-ended questions. Further, in discussions with student teachers, cooperating teachers typically dominate the interaction.

In giving feedback, Miller et al. (1992) noted that cooperating teachers are more confident in providing oral than written feedback to their student teachers. Spear et al. (1997) and Williams et al. (1998) suggested that cooperating teachers find written feedback more challenging because they lack the repertoire of skills that a written record requires, indicating that cooperating teachers prefer conversational and informal interactions with their student teachers. This may further explain the lack of depth or analysis by cooperating teachers of a student teacher's practice that was noted earlier in this review.

In contrast to the above findings, Kwan and Lopez-Real's (2005) mentors paid overwhelming attention to providing feedback, not as imposing a particular form of practice but rather "in terms of helping student teachers develop their own strengths and improving their weak areas according to their own personality, character and ability" (p. 285), suggesting the role that a highly dynamic relationship between cooperating teacher and student teacher might play in the provision of rich feedback.

Providing feedback is clearly one of the most significant elements of cooperating teachers' work with student teachers and this provision is not only expected but also largely defines the work of cooperating teachers. Although this review reveals that cooperating teachers provide a great deal of feedback to their student teachers, that feedback tends to be narrow, particularistic, and technical. Feedback that promotes deep and substantive reflection on practice by student teachers is rare. Further, cooperating teachers seem to have difficulty in varying the nature and substance of their feedback according to the stage and level of the student teacher's development over the course of the practicum. Each of these issues points to an important

dimension of feedback that needs to be addressed by cooperating teachers to ensure that student teachers derive maximum benefit from the interaction.

Category #2: Gatekeepers of the Profession. Cooperating teachers provide both formative and summative assessment of student teachers, the latter of which plays a significant role in the entry of student teachers to the profession. Ellsworth and Albers (1991), in trying to determine “whether the university or the field is the authority on issues of teaching [and] whether the scholar or the practitioner knows best” (p. 28), highlighted an significant tension in teacher education: Who is responsible for evaluation? Whether or not cooperating teachers want the responsibility for determining the student teacher’s final grade, they often shoulder that responsibility (Ellsworth & Albers, 1991). Cornbleth and Ellsworth (1994) noted that the mid-1980s retreat by universities from the practicum resulted in cooperating teachers being expected to take much greater responsibility for the summative assessment of student teachers and that this responsibility has persisted.

Many of the challenges outlined in the section, Providers of Feedback, also apply to summative assessment (Crookes, 2003; Nolan & Hoover, 2008). However, other factors come into play with the shift from the formative to the summative. Boivin et al. (1993) reported that cooperating teachers are generally frustrated with the process of providing summative feedback because of a lack of direction and professional preparation for this aspect of their work. The task of summative assessment can be extra challenging in jurisdictions where alternative routes to certification have emerged with reduced university involvement but where a university teaching credential is still the expected outcome (McKibbin, 2001).

Summative reporting practices by cooperating teacher in many jurisdictions include Likert-type scales but such reports are suspect since they contain both halo and leniency effects

(Phelps, Schmitz, & Wade, 1986). Phelps et al. wondered if the final student teacher report could successfully control for a single student teacher trait or behavior (a halo effect) or effects that occur when a rater is reluctant to assign a student teacher an unfavorable rating (a leniency effect). Their research suggested that cooperating teachers are unable to discriminate sufficiently when evaluating a student teacher's final grade, and that cooperating teachers' summative evaluations are often reduced to general impressions and fail to report individual differences.

It seems odd that there is so little research on student teacher evaluation given the significance of this component within the context of teacher education and the increasing expectation that cooperating teachers are primarily responsible for it. Three questions emerge as a result of our review. Are cooperating teachers knowledgeable enough for summative evaluation? Are the tools that are available sufficient for summative evaluation? Are cooperating teachers' summative evaluations discriminating enough to ensure that individual differences and standards of performance are not only recognized but also accurately reported? Our review suggests that the answer is "no" to all three questions, thus indicating that authentic and genuine participation in the assessment of student teachers by cooperating teachers has yet to be fully realized.

Category #3: Modelers of Practice. It is a strongly held expectation that the practicum is an opportunity for student teachers to observe the modeling of teaching practice. Modeling is one of the key mentoring strategies expected of cooperating teachers by universities (Calderhead & Robson, 1991). Through the modeling of practice, cooperating teachers offer their student teachers important images of teaching (Seperson & Joyce, 1973). In this dimension of their work, cooperating teachers often tend towards an apprenticeship model whereby student teachers observe them teaching and then, in many cases, mimic their practice as they begin to experiment

with their own classroom teaching (Brown, 1991). The modeling of practice often focuses on “technique, impulse, tradition, and authority” (Cruickshank & Armaline, 1986, p. 36), which is consistent with an apprenticeship approach. As such, practice is seen as reproducible—cooperating teachers typically expect their student teachers to model their practice after their own (Borko & Mayfield, 1995).

Graham’s (2006) study found significant differences in styles of mentoring between two groups of cooperating teachers: maestros and mentors. Maestros exemplify an expert/novice model and largely dominate (in positive ways) the cooperating teacher/student teacher relationship; they love to teach, emphasize content delivery, offer feedback, and are happy to model teaching practice. In contrast, mentors discuss and analyze events and observations with interns and offer time and opportunities for guided rather than mimicking practice. Graham concluded that the shift from maestro to mentor requires “restructuring and reculturing” (p. 1128) of the practicum if alternative visions of practicum advising are to occur in schools.

Sudzina, Giebelhaus, and Coolican (1997) suggested that cooperating teachers typically hold one of two conceptions of being a mentor: as modeler of practice or co-constructer of practice. Others have noted that while the modeling of practice remains prevalent, a blended approach that draws on two or more orientations might enhance student teacher learning (Grove, Strudler, & Odell, 2004; Sanders, Dawson, & Sinclair, 2005). However, Koerner, Rust, and Baumgartner (2002) noted that while a blended approach may be advocated, cooperating teachers believe that other educative roles such as mentoring belong to the university supervisor despite practicum roles being rarely interpreted as narrowly in the literature. Even in collegial approaches, the modeling of teaching is often the default position in the relationship between cooperating teachers and their student teachers (Keogh et al., 2006; Samaras & Gismondi, 1998).

The emphasis on modeling also arises from cooperating teachers' concern that university coursework is too theoretical and that by modeling practice they are providing the necessary balance between the academic theory and practical experience that comprises the student teachers' program (Evans & Abbott, 1997; Hynes-Dusel, 1999).

In sum, an important aspect of cooperating teachers' participation in teacher education is the modeling of practice, even when other terms are used to describe their work with student teachers. Overall, modeling of practice is expected by universities and seen as desirable but concerns arise when the modeling of practice exists as the primary *modus operandus* in the absence of other practices that would also contribute to learning to teach. It appears that ideally, cooperating teachers would model practice as students first enter the practicum setting and explore teaching in the classroom, which would then be followed by a gradual shift to a more reflective and independent way of engaging with student teachers signaling a shift from mimicked to independent practice.

Category #4: Supporters of Reflection. The current emphasis on reflection in teacher education can be traced to the work of Schön (1983, 1987), that is, the ability to frame and reframe practice in light of past experience or new knowledge. The expectation that cooperating teachers ought to encourage and engage student teachers in reflective practice is evident in virtually every university's Teaching Practice Handbook and responds to university educators' earlier concerns about cooperating teachers' emphasis on technical, custodial, and managerial dimensions of teaching (Carter, 1990; Clarke, 1995). Yet Schulz and Hall (2004) noted that there is a danger that student teacher reflection can simply become a catchphrase if its purpose is "primarily to tinker with and perfect certain skill sets, or to better accommodate imposed change" (p. 266). In other words, support for reflection can be misused for technical ends.

Stegman (2007) argued for the essential position of cooperating teachers in guiding student teacher reflection. Further, he documented specific strategies that enhance reflection: offering suggestions and observations from personal experience; providing supportive commentary; providing advice and insight; recommend instructional and participatory strategies; and validating thoughtful lesson preparation. With a reflective focus, cooperating teachers can guide discussions and jointly develop and negotiate understandings of professional practice with their student teachers (Smagorinsky & Jordahl, 1991). For example, Smith (1991) and Silva (2003) reported that when cooperating teachers and student teachers contribute and respond to joint-journaling exercises, a greater reflective disposition is evidenced by both.

Crasborn, Hennissen, Brouwer, Korthagen, and Bergen's (2011) *mentor roles in dialogues* (MERID) model enables educators to observe, describe, and analyze mentoring dialogues and offers an empirical basis for the claim that the most effective cooperating teachers are those who exhibit and support a reflective disposition. A reflective disposition has been shown to move cooperating teachers' interactions with their student teachers beyond simply reporting on to substantially inquiring into practice (Clarke, 1995; Keogh et al., 2006; Timperley, 2001). Further, this shift provides an "ongoing exploration of . . . specific situations as the route to wise decisions about how to act" (Phelan, 2005, p. 341). Cooperating teachers who underwent professional development with an inquiry focus—*the Praxis III/Pathwise Framework* (Educational Testing Service, 2002)—demonstrated "greater reflectivity on practice" (Giebelhaus & Bowman, 2002, p. 250) than those without the training. Also, Smith (1991) argued that, at least in the short term, when cooperating teachers encourage student teacher reflection, their own practice is influenced by broader and more generative perspectives on teaching and learning.

In supporting reflection, a cooperating teacher potentially broadens her or his educative impact on the student teacher and may go beyond simply reporting on practice to a deeper consideration of that practice, enriching his or her own as well as the student teacher's learning. The disposition for reflection and an expectation that cooperating teachers engage and support their student teachers in reflection is generally more of a university than school emphasis. Nonetheless, cooperating teachers as supporters of reflection is clearly a highly desired and an important form of participation in practicum settings.

Category #5: Purveyors of Context. Of the many roles that cooperating teachers play, one of the most important is purveyor of context for student teachers. The practicum is multi-faceted and often overwhelming for most student teachers. Cooperating teachers have an important role in managing that context and introducing students to the readily apparent as well as the hidden dimensions of teaching as appropriate to and in light of a student teacher's stage of readiness. Copeland (1978, 1979) argued that student teacher behaviors are manifest as components of an ecological system and explored the factors that caused some student teachers to persist with target skills (e.g., specific competencies) on practicum while others abandon them. He suggested that the context created by the cooperating teacher is key to student teacher uptake of target skills and teaching behaviors. The continued use of a targeted skill by the student teacher correlates with the cooperating teacher's sense of it within the broader context of schooling—whether or not the student teacher actually observes the cooperating teacher using the skill.

White, Deegan, and Alleksaht-Snider (1997) identified contextual factors as more significant than individual members' interactions with each other within the practicum. They argued that the manner in which cooperating teachers are sensitive and responsive to the contexts

in which teachers work is critical for student teacher development. In short, cooperating teachers “help mediate the flux of activity” (Fairbanks, Freedman, & Khan, 2000, p. 35) within the contextual boundaries of the practicum, something that universities emphasize, but that is also recognized by cooperating teachers. In a similar vein, Wang’s (2001) exploration of the relationship between the instructional contexts of mentor teachers illustrates that “different instructional contexts can open different opportunities in shaping the nature of ideas and practices that mentors develop” (p. 70) with their student teachers.

Crasborn et al. (2011) extended our understandings of context by noting that supervisory behaviors are more than an undifferentiated set of skills. Given the prevalence of an ‘imperator’ role in their study (a highly directive mode of interacting with student teachers), they recommended cooperating teachers to be conscious of the cultural and political contexts that they invoke, especially those pertaining to the discourses of the school itself where the classroom is only one of a series of interrelated systems that student teachers encounter while on practicum. Further, for the practicum to be a rewarding experience for each member of the triad, Koerner et al. (2002) asserted that the context in which student teacher learning takes place must be open to change and that that context must not be considered as being static and fixed. This challenge should be embraced as a learning opportunity, rather than minimized to protect student teachers from the vagaries of the practicum setting.

Flexibility on the part of the cooperating teacher in managing the practicum context is clearly important for a successful practicum, and an ecological view of the practicum may be useful to fully realize the interconnectedness of the systems that constitute schooling in general and the practicum in particular. Although this is something that cooperating teachers are conscious of, it is also something that universities are sensitive to and strive to encourage within

the context of the practicum. In short, context is a powerful contributor to the overall practicum experience and cooperating teachers are the best placed to ensure that this element of the practicum is fully engaged and utilized as part of the student teachers' experiences in the school setting.

Category #6: Conveners of Relation. Although there is a power differential between student teachers and cooperating teachers, an important aspect of the cooperating teacher role is the nature of the relationship that he or she is able to develop with the student teacher. It is also important for cooperating teachers to encourage relationships between the student teacher and other actors within the practice context (Latour, 2005; Little, 1990).

Relationships figured significantly in Edwards and Briers' (2001) research, where cooperating teachers saw their relationships with student teachers as second in importance only to their own success as classroom teachers. Friendship, welcoming, and familiarizing are central to successful mentoring according to Adey (1997). Bullough and Draper's (2004) work underscores the cooperating teacher's role as a convener of relation:

The proper mentor is an expert teacher and skilled coach, a sometimes mother figure who defends her "children," is open and responsive to whatever needs a neophyte presents, has a flexible but heuristically useful concept of how beginning teachers develop, is able to maintain an optimal distance and involvement in the neophyte's classroom and protects the neophyte not only from threatening parents and potentially meddling administrators but from knowing too much about the mentor, what the mentor actually thinks about the neophyte as a person and as a teacher, and about the range of responsibilities the mentor has embraced on the neophyte's behalf. (p. 285)

Glenn (2006) found that a focus on relationships is one of the five characteristics of exemplary cooperating teachers: they should “collaborate rather than dictate, relinquish an appropriate level of control, allow for personal relationships, share constructive feedback, and accept differences” (p. 88). And according to Garner (1971), the most desirable cooperating teachers are those “concerned with democratic human relations” (p. 100). Other studies also point to aspects of personal relationships such as flexibility (Kahn, 2001) and open-mindedness (Campbell & Williamson, 1973). Clarke’s (2006) cooperating teachers felt that establishing a personal connection with a student teacher was a precursor to being an effective advisor.

Haigh, Pinder, and McDonald’s (2006) work with cooperating teachers revealed a strong relationship with the student teacher as the key enabler for student teacher learning on practicum. Further, Draves (2008) found that without a trusting and respectful relationship, student teacher learning was curtailed. This is telling in Miller, Duncan, and Hubble’s (1997) study of educators and counselors in which they found that the relationship itself is the second largest contributor to positive outcomes for the student/client compared to all other factors. Further, a positive mentoring relationship extends beyond information sharing to relational responsibility, suggesting a deeper and more meaningful connection between the student teacher and the practicum setting (Awaya et al., 2003). This finding is consistent with Clarke and Jarvis-Selinger’s (2005) work, which evidenced a strong nurturing orientation in the teaching perspectives of cooperating teachers at the elementary and junior high school levels. This orientation went beyond the typical student teacher and cooperating teacher dynamic to support the broader relational context that constitutes the practicum (including other staff members, the administration, classroom assistants, pupils, parents).

Research points to the role cooperating teachers play in establishing a sense of connection with and for student teachers within the context of learning to teach. This connection goes beyond merely attending to the day-to-day logistics of the practicum and suggests that cooperating teachers should understand, be attentive to, and create a learning environment for student teachers that is grounded in relationships.

Category #7: Agents of Socialization. Research highlights the socializing process that occurs on practicum—not only in normative terms of customs and ideologies but also in terms of dispositions and habits that define teaching as a profession (Boydell, 1986; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Evidence suggests that while cooperating teachers are not always cognizant of the full nature or scope of their influence on student teachers—and in fact often underestimate their influence and see it as inferior to that of university professors on student teacher (Anderson, 2007)—their socialization of students into the profession is nonetheless a powerful factor within the practicum setting (Applegate & Lasley, 1982). Bunting (1988) explored this further and compared cooperating teachers who were more teacher-centered versus student-centered. Bunting found that student-centered cooperating teachers were more flexible and adaptable and had a greater influence on student teachers than teacher-centered cooperating teachers. Boschee, Prescott, and Hein (1978) found that philosophical change (e.g., one's underlying beliefs about teaching and learning) was one area of a student teacher's professional practice that seemed to be the most resistant to cooperating teacher socialization.

Jansen (1971) argued that the cooperating teacher's influence depends on the level of congruence between the values of a cooperating teacher and student teacher—the greater the congruence, the greater the influence of the cooperating teacher, indicating the potential benefit of matching student teachers with cooperating teachers. Similarly, Kabadayi's (2007) study of

cooperating teachers concluded that matching teaching styles to learning styles significantly enhances the cooperating teachers' influence, suggesting that if socialization is a goal of the practicum, then alignment on these two dimensions is important. However, the complexity of matching, whether on a conceptual, practical, or personal basis, may explain Leslie's (1971) earlier claim that effect sizes in matching cooperating teachers and their influence on student teachers were too small to justify the effort and resources required.

Studies by Huffman, Holifield, and Holifield (2003) and Hoy and Rees (1977) showed that the prime, although unintended, socializing influence of the cooperating teacher is that student teachers become more custodial and controlling over their pupils. Hoy and Rees concluded that cooperating teachers implicitly reinforce values of "conformity, impersonality, tradition, subordination, and bureaucratic loyalty" (p. 25) in their student teachers. Zeichner and Tabachnick (1981) acknowledged the widespread opinion that the practicum is inherently conservative in its impact, but warned that it cannot be assumed that the university is neither necessarily a liberalizing influence, nor that the school is the conservative culprit.

Overall, research indicates that although cooperating teachers have a considerable influence on the ways in which student teachers come to know and participate in the profession, they are not always fully aware of the extent and strength of this influence. Nonetheless, cooperating teachers are powerful agents of socialization and it is important that they are aware of the messages that they communicate (both implicitly and explicitly) to student teachers and how these messages impact student teacher learning.

Category #8: Advocates of the Practical. Mentoring is a very a practical endeavor (Seperson & Joyce, 1973) where cooperating teachers carefully guide student teachers in practicalities of a school classroom (Beck & Kosnik, 2000; Dunne & Bennett, 1997; Rajuan,

Beijaard, Verloop, 2007). When Edwards and Protheroe (2004) asked mentors what they thought they offered student teachers, they described hands-on experience of daily practice as one of their main contributions.

A key element of the practical is helping student teachers adapt to their classroom placement (Wang & Odell, 2002). Although this is certainly an important goal early in the practicum, Lemma (1993) cautioned that a potential problem with a strictly practical orientation is that, over time, student teachers are not adequately prepared for the complex and unpredictable interactions that characterize classrooms, and that cooperating teachers may assume that the job of supervising is complete once the student teacher demonstrates practical competence. Lemma concluded that operating on this assumption may have the effect of closing down critical thinking and any further prompt to a student teacher's more complex understanding of teaching. For example, the cooperating teachers in Moore's (2003) study believed that the most important things for student teachers to learn on practicum were basics such as lesson planning, pacing and transitions, and classroom management. Thus, an emphasis on the practical may thus exist in opposition to reflective engagement where critical judgment is important (Coulter et al., 2008).

In an exploration of the differences between a reflective or "taken-for-granted" perspective on learning to teach, Franke and Dahlgren (1996) showed that when a reflective perspective was emphasized, the student teacher's learning activities became not only tasks to be achieved but also sources of reflection. However, far more commonly, a taken-for-granted perspective was evident where theoretical ignorance of how a student teacher learns meant that a mentor was focused more on simply transferring his or her practical knowledge to the student teacher. Williams et al. (1998) suggested that regardless of the perspective taken by the

cooperating teacher, the elicitive exchanges with the student teacher are key. Both approaches—practical and reflective—have their own place and time during the course of the practicum.

Wang and Odell (2002) raised another concern, noting that because of the emphasis on the practical in some settings, there is the danger that mentors' conceptions of knowledge, learning, and teaching do not necessarily evolve as their teaching experience accumulates and, as a result, their conceptions "do not differ dramatically from those of their novices" (p. 513). This view is underscored by Sands and Goodwin (2005), who found that some cooperating teachers could not demonstrate the attributes of critical judgment that universities expect student teachers to develop.

In sum, as advocates of the practical, cooperating teachers excel at providing first-hand knowledge of the day-to-day workings of a classroom, a dimension of teaching that is important to successful classroom practice. Further, cooperating teachers hold on tightly to the importance of the practical as being within their own domain and rarely raise questions that might challenge the importance of the practical. Researchers acknowledge the importance of this contribution but caution that a singular focus on the practical with its emphasis on generality and its inattention to the particulars of practice (Phelan, 2005) does not always ensure the development of wise and thoughtful teachers for the profession.

Category #9: Gleaners of Knowledge. A key motivator for volunteering to be a cooperating teacher is an increase in one's own professional knowledge as a result of the interaction with someone who is learning to teach (Clarke, 2006; Evans & Abbott, 1997; Ganser, 1996; Gibbs & Montoya, 1994; Wilhelm, 2007). Campbell and Williamson (1983) found that working with student teachers allowed cooperating teachers to think more deeply about their own teaching, including exposure to new professional materials and the opportunity to spend

more time on lesson and unit planning. Reciprocal benefits also emerged in Koskela and Ganser's (1998) research where cooperating teachers viewed "personal gains and change in terms of receiving new ideas and strategies from their student teachers" (p. 112) as a clear bonus to having a student teacher in their classrooms. Similarly, Hamlin (1997) showed that having a student teacher "helped [cooperating teachers] refine or review their knowledge of teaching methods" (p. 82). Consistent with this trend and going beyond learning new techniques and strategies, Kwan and Lopez-Real (2005) and Kitchel and White (2007) showed that mentors' perceptions of teaching change as a result of working with student teachers. Arnold (2002) suggested that this benefit arises because having a student teacher provides a "purposeful focus" (p. 130) for cooperating teachers to inquire into their own classroom practices. Similarly, Bullough and Draper (2004) detailed the quiet pleasure cooperating teachers derive from their role, "not because mentoring was easy but because it was difficult" (p. 284) and forced them to problematize their existing practice.

Although cooperating teachers seem to consider the practicum experience to be a good professional development opportunity for themselves as classroom teachers, it is rare for them to consider it in relation to their development as cooperating teachers. For example, Koskela and Ganser (1998) found that cooperating teachers viewed themselves as learners but saw their growth as bounded by the context of benefits to pupil instruction. However, few studies have tracked the benefits accruing from the practicum in terms of cooperating teachers' evolving practice as teacher educators. One exception is Allen, Cobb, and Danger's (2003) study that showed that cooperating teachers specifically acknowledged that working with student teachers helped them to "hone their mentoring skills for the future" (p. 181), suggesting that supervising a student teacher is a benefit to teacher education more broadly and not just to pupil learning in the

classroom.

Cooperating teachers also place a high value on their engagement with university as a result of working with student teachers (Applegate & Lasley, 1982; Bennie, 1964; Clinard, Ariav, Beeson, Minor, & Dwyer, 1995; Deeds, Plowers, & Arrington; 1991; Kahn, 2001). Becoming a cooperating teacher provides an opportunity for new knowledge as a direct result of interaction with faculty members (Elsmere & Daunt, 1975). However, Bullough and Draper (2004) reminded us that it is important sometimes for university supervisors to prompt this collegial engagement without which cooperating teachers, although willing, might be reluctant to engage fully with their university colleagues.

The professional development school (PDS) movement makes a strong case for cooperating teacher learning within the context of practicum settings. The PDS movement emerged following the Holmes Group's (1986) proposal for reconceptualizing teacher education and represent large, school-based initiatives in which researchers, graduate students, and classroom teachers collaborate within the context of pre-service teacher education (Darling-Hammond, 1994). The PDS concept is seen as an historical change in the role of cooperating teacher with expanded responsibilities, including ongoing professional development and inquiry (Koerner et al., 2002; Teitel, 1997; White et al., 1997). Nonetheless, Teitel warned that within the context of PDS's, teacher-initiated workshops need to replace "traditional top-down mandated in-service workshops" (p. 11), or cooperating teachers in PDS settings will be "no better prepared for their roles than teacher leaders historically have been" (p. 16). Supporting Teitel's (1997) claim, Bullough and Draper (2004), in a study of PDS's, noted that if a traditional approach to teaching and learning remains, then PDS's just perpetuate the shortcomings of other models.

In sum, a cooperating teacher's desire for knowledge is an important part of her or his participation in teacher education. Cooperating teachers appreciate the prompt it provides to their own professional development as well as the connection with the university that arises from their participation. In this sense, the intentional interaction between universities and schools in the practicum context benefits all involved.

Category #10: Abiders of Change. Although cooperating teachers enjoy working with student teachers, there are many implicit and hidden dimensions of their work that they quietly and patiently accept, and they do so without fuss or fanfare despite the impact it may have on them. For example, Koerner (1992) found that working with a student teacher results in "interruption of instruction, teacher displacement, disruption of classroom routines, breaking teachers' isolation, and a shifting of the teachers' time and energy" (p. 46). Caruso (1998) discovered that the phases of a cooperating teacher's interaction with a student teacher parallel those of a student teacher's with pupils and includes tensions such as anticipation and excitement; feelings of inadequacy and being judged; experiencing the ups and downs of daily life in the classroom; and feelings of loss and relief at the practicum's conclusion.

Further, the ways in which student teachers are responded to is a hidden dimension of teacher education, not only in what cooperating teachers do but also in particular judgments they make (Phelan et al., 2006; Silva, 2003). For example, Smith (2007) and Keogh et al. (2006) found that the conversations between cooperating teachers and student teachers reveal a rarely acknowledged affective dimension. And Silva and Tom (2001) argued that mentoring goes beyond "advocating a particular set of educational values or . . . a specific view of good teaching" (p. 50) to include unstated moral imperatives.

In addition, overt cooperating teacher behavior in many cases masks the emotional labor

involved in working with student teachers (Bullough & Draper, 2004). Concealed dimensions of this emotional labor include disciplining a critical tongue, withholding valuable information if the student teacher is not ready for it, and maintaining a hopeful and positive attitude. Hastings (2004) noted that this labor is rarely recognized and that responding or not responding to a student teacher may take a greater emotional toll on the cooperating teacher than is typically realized. Bullough and Draper (2004) argued that the deep emotional investment that cooperating teachers make in their work with student teachers needs to be foregrounded in any conversation about cooperating teachers and that without such acknowledgement, cool conceptions of professionalism may result “in part because [the relationships] are not fully satisfying and involve far too much emotional labor” (p. 286).

Another dimension involves unanticipated modifications to professional identity on the part of the cooperating teacher, which makes the work far more complex than is typically acknowledged. For example, Ritter (2007) showed that working with a student teacher shifts the cooperating teacher from the central position as the teacher in the classroom, and that this displacement can result in discomfort or envy as the practicum progresses. Bullough and Draper (2004) observed that the biggest difficulty for cooperating teachers is negotiating the space between the self-as-teacher and the student-as-teacher of the classroom. Haggarty (1995) found that when this space is unrecognized, there is a tendency for cooperating teachers and student teachers to be excessively polite to the extent that difficult conversations are avoided and cooperating teacher engagement becomes reserved.

Cooperating teachers tolerate many unacknowledged dimensions of their supervisory practice as they interact, advise, and work with student teachers. These dimensions of their work fall almost entirely within the cooperating teachers’ own domain and often remain completely

hidden. In some instances, abiding change allows cooperating teachers to withhold judgment and allows student teachers to explore the practicum setting with a degree of freedom. However, in other instances, abiding change masks the real impact (emotional and otherwise) of having a student teacher in one's classroom. Surfacing this important dimension of cooperating teacher work with student teachers would, at the very least, acknowledge some long ignored aspects that are central to how cooperating teacher engage with student teachers and, perhaps equally importantly, it would provide a forum for a more open and richer understanding of its impact on cooperating teachers.

Category #11: Teachers of Children. Cooperating teachers are first and foremost teachers of children. Although this may seem commonsensical and hardly noteworthy, too often this commitment is unacknowledged and represents a significant oversight in conversations with cooperating teachers in relation to their participation in teacher education (Evans & Abbott, 1997). Rajuan, Beijaard, and Verloop's (2007) noted this challenge as a "conflict of dual loyalties to student teachers and to the pupils they teach" (p. 239). Feiman-Nemser (2001) contended that both the culture of teaching and school organization render as problematic anything that takes teachers away from their main responsibility to pupils. Further, Goodfellow (2000) and Edwards and Protheroe (2004) saw this as a source of serious tension that rarely surfaces.

Cooperating teachers see working with student teachers as a challenge to be managed and it is to be done so with little or no disruption to pupil learning (Koerner, 1992). Koskela and Ganser (1998) found that mentoring a student teacher is perceived as an add-on to a teacher's regular work. However, cooperating teachers' understanding of their role can change with specialized training (Crasborn et al., 2011; Giebelhaus & Bowman, 2002; Lesley, Hamman,

Olivarez, Button, & Griffith, 2009). For example, professional development may serve to widen cooperating teachers' perspective on working with student teachers and it might be seen as an opportunity to observe their own pupils in ways that are not possible when they are teaching the class themselves (Kent, 2001). In addition, Arnold (2002) noted that cooperating teachers found that working with a student teacher has the potential benefit of providing "collegial support around student learning" (p. 130).

In light of a cooperating teacher's commitment to their pupils and the attendant responsibilities associated with that commitment, difficult teaching assignments or challenging classroom circumstances can discourage classroom teachers from taking on a student teacher (Boivin et al., 1993). Sinclair, Dowson, and Thistleton-Martin's (2006) analysis of cooperating teachers revealed that an experience with a student teacher that negatively impacted pupil learning can lead to a cooperating teacher avoiding taking student teachers in the future. Goodfellow's (2000) cooperating teacher justified her avoidance by defending her need to recommit herself to her pupils.

Overall, cooperating teachers face a dilemma when inviting student teachers into their classroom: Their desire to foster the next generation of teachers is in tension with their commitment to their pupils. Classroom teachers are also reluctant to take on a student teacher if they believe their teaching assignment is too demanding, the classroom too challenging, or their experience with a previous student teacher too difficult. Regardless of the situation or circumstance, cooperating teachers view themselves as teachers of children first. Everything else is a distant second. The research suggests that acknowledging this reality is the one of the most important steps when inviting cooperating teachers to work with student teachers.

This summary concludes our identification and description of the 11 categories of participation. In identifying these 11 categories, we have provided both the empirical support for and normative evaluation of each as presented in the literature. In the following section, we draw on Gaventa's (2007) three-part typology of participation: closed, invited, and claimed. When the typology is set against the 11 categories of participation, the result is a cooperating teacher participation grid that juxtaposes the *nature* and *substance* of cooperating teacher participation in teacher education. This grid allows us to move beyond the commonly held conceptions of cooperating teacher participation—classroom placeholder, supervisory of practica, and teacher educator—to a more comprehensive portrayal of their participation in teacher education.

Typology of Participation: Closed, Invited, Claimed

Our analysis of the literature suggests that cooperating teachers participate in teacher education in the aforementioned 11 ways. Further, cooperating teacher participation has been—and continues to be—positioned in relationship to the university, an issue that surfaced at several points in the above analysis. The cornerstone of that relationship is that universities are the final authority with respect to the degree that is awarded to successful student teachers upon completion of the program. Underscoring this point, and also noted earlier, classroom teachers who supervise student teachers on practicum are regarded as *cooperating* with the university.

A discussion of greater sharing of power between schools and universities surfaces from time to time in different policy contexts (e.g., recently in United States), and in some contexts, a shift in power sharing has occurred (e.g., the United Kingdom in the late 1990s). However, at the current time, there is no substantive research literature on cooperating teachers' participation in teacher education in which universities are not involved or a teaching degree (or equivalent) is

not awarded, although we recognize that such circumstances exist. We look forward to these contexts generating research on and about cooperating teacher participation. The following discussion reflects the power relationship between schools and universities as it currently exists and is reported in the research literature.

Although the 11 categories are insightful in terms of illuminating the ways in which cooperating teachers participate in teacher education, the nature of their participation is an equally critical dimension. There are various ways to examine this dimension and the literature on the nature of participation within various contexts is extensive (Armstein, 1969; Beetham, Blick, Margetts, & Weir, 2008; White, 1996). To assist with our conceptualization of the nature of cooperating teachers' participation in teacher education, we have chosen one of those ways: Gaventa's (2007) three-part typology of participation. We believe that Gaventa's typology is particularly appropriate because it positions participation as both a situated and relational practice, both of which are central features of the practicum in teacher education. The three elements of Gaventa's (2007) typology are as follows:

- **Closed:** The authority (or more the powerful partner) makes decisions with little consultation with the others about the ways in which they ('the others') will participate.
- **Invited:** There is a degree of negotiation between the authority (or the more powerful partner) and the others about the ways in which they ('the others') will participate.
- **Claimed:** The others act independently of the authority (or more powerful partner) about the ways in which they ('the others') will participate.

We argue that the *invited* space is the most productive for all concerned. This space represents a genuine engagement between the parties and the endpoint of that engagement is not prefigured by one party or preempted by the other. This characterization of an invited space is akin to Gadamer's (1990) concept of a genuine conversation:

the more genuine a conversation is, the less its conduct lies within the will of either partner. Thus a genuine conversation is never the one that we wanted to conduct.

Rather, it is generally more correct to say that we fall into conversation, or even that we become involved in it. The way one word follows another, with the conversation taking its own twists and reaching its own conclusion, may well be conducted in some way, but the partners conversing are far less the leaders of it than the led. No one knows in advance what will come out of a conversation. (p. 383)

This positioning of participation as an invited space does not mean that everyone has to agree on everything before proposals, policies, or practices can move forward and action taken. At the very least it assumes that the parties are willing to respectfully attend to each other's perspectives. Without this attention, negotiation is at best a guessing game and at worst a time-consuming pretense.

When Gaventa's typology of participation is set alongside Brodie, Cowling, and Nissen's (2009) categories of participation, the outcome goes well beyond the three commonly held conceptions of cooperating teachers' work reviewed earlier (i.e., placeholder, supervisor of practica, and teacher educator) and provides a rich and provocative rendering of cooperating teacher participation in teacher education. Further, if we consider the elements that constitute Gaventa's (2007) typology as relative rather than absolute, we can use a continuum ranging from closed to claimed for thinking about each of the 11 categories, resulting in "a continuum of

spaces which vary according to their openness for . . . engagement” (Gaventa, 2007, p. 215).

The outcome is a cooperating teacher participation (CTP) grid that depicts both the nature and the substance of cooperating teacher participation in teacher education (see Figure 3) and allows us to think differently about how cooperating teachers participate in teacher education.

For example, we might speculate that an ideal teacher education program would invite participation across all 11 categories. To date, the PDS movement is perhaps the closest example to this ideal, where cooperating teachers are invited to participate across many of the categories on the CPT grid. A similar claim might be made for cohort programs in teacher education that cluster student teachers in school settings as opposed to assigning them as singletons to schools for their field experience (Clarke & Erickson, 2009; Elliot, 1988). As such, we can imagine many of the markers on the continua for professional development schools or cohort programs populating the center portion of the grid (see Figure 4, shared region).

However, if the communicative practices between universities and schools are restricted and the relational distance between them is greater, markers on the continua become dispersed: a situation that our review suggests is typical in many teacher education contexts today. For example, the literature depicts the Provision of Feedback, Gatekeepers of the Profession, and Modeling of Practice as normative expectations established by universities and as almost preconditions for cooperating teacher participation in teacher education. These categories are rarely open to discussion or negotiation and, based on our review, the markers for each would be positioned towards the far left hand side of the CTP grid (see Figure 5).

University faculty hope that cooperating teachers will be Supporters of Reflection but have little control over and therefore are not insistent on the degree or extent to which cooperating teachers participate in this aspect of teacher education. Similarly, our review

suggests that cooperating teachers as Purveyors of Context and Conveners of Relation is a hope expressed by university faculty, but the ways in which these two categories manifest in practicum settings depend, to a great degree, on the individual philosophies and dispositions of cooperating teachers themselves. However, there is more of a meeting of minds on these three categories than the first three categories and, therefore, the markers for each are located towards the center of the continuum for each on the CTP grid.

Our review suggests that the categories referred to as Agents of Socialization and Advocates of the Practical are much more strongly claimed by the cooperating teachers than any of the previous categories and therefore the markers for each appear further to the right hand side of the CPT grid. Gleaners of Knowledge and Abiders of Change also fall strongly within the realm of the cooperating teacher's control and are much more internalized by cooperating teachers than any of the previous categories; the second perhaps a little more so than the first based on our review of the literature. As such the markers for each also populate the right hand side of the grid.

Finally, cooperating teachers see themselves first and foremost as Teachers of Children. Although this aspect of the way in which they participate in teacher education is rarely the subject of conversation between schools and universities, it is the most strongly claimed by cooperating teachers of all the 11 categories on the grid. The marker for this category is therefore located at the far right of the grid.

The CPT grid and the positioning of its markers as revealed by this review draws attention to intended and unintended consequences of how cooperating teachers participate in teacher education, pointing to areas of both congruence and difference between schools and universities in the professional development of student teachers in practicum settings (see Figure

5). As such, by drawing on the 11 categories of participation, the grid highlights a different way of thinking about cooperating teacher participation in teacher education from currently held conceptions of their work. As we conclude this review, we suggest some implications arising from, and prompts for further inquiry into, the nature and substance of cooperating teacher participation in teacher education.

A Final Word

Teacher education programs rely on willing teachers to become mentors in practicum settings and provide classroom experience for beginning teachers, a reliance that has grown over the years. Despite critique of the apprenticeship model in preparing beginning teachers, this model remains dominant in many learning to teach contexts as evidenced, among other things, by an emphasis on the technical dimensions of teaching in the interaction between cooperating teachers and student teachers, for example, Modelers of Teaching and Advocates of the Practical. Attempting to confront these emphases might be counterproductive. Alternatively, they might be best incorporated into a broader conception of the practicum as highlighted by the variety of ways in which cooperating teachers participate in teacher education in the above analysis.

This review indicates that cooperating teachers' principal focus is on their pupils and suggests that this focus sometimes limits the mentoring possibilities that might otherwise exist in practicum settings for student teachers. Consistent with this perspective, it is also possible that cooperating teachers see themselves as providing nurturing environments and therefore, by extension, shy away from an overly critical or reflective engagement with student teachers. Again, the interaction between the categories becomes insightful, as the varying ways of participating in teacher education can be seen as either in healthy tension or awkward

dissonance, depending on the nature of the cooperating teachers' participation (e.g., closed, invited, or claimed).

The review also reveals a strong sense that cooperating teachers lack specific preparation to enable high quality and developmentally appropriate support for student teachers—they tend to be under-prepared for their work as mentors. For example, most feedback offered by cooperating teachers is observation-based feedback and therefore moving beyond reporting on to inquiring into practice is unrealized in many practicum settings. More substantive engagement with a focus on inquiry may offer rich possibilities for student teachers and provide reciprocal learning opportunities for cooperating teachers.

Our analysis suggests that cooperating teachers who have teaching experience, expertise as classroom teachers, and a commitment to professional learning make good mentors. However, knowing what makes for an excellent cooperating teacher does not necessarily mean that every student teacher is placed with one. University and school-based selection policies for the most part do not include robust options for choosing the best possible mentors for student teachers. Attempts to make suitable matches become logistically challenging with very large numbers of student teachers who need to be placed annually by teacher education programs. Therefore, although we can speculate on what would make for appropriate placements, cooperating teachers remain essentially volunteers who assume the responsibility of working with a student teacher in addition to their existing professional commitments. This framing remains a challenge for teacher education, but the CPT grid at least suggests potential avenues for thinking differently about how and in what ways cooperating teachers might be engaged, involved, and participate in teacher education—something that has been largely missing from current conceptions of their work.

In sum, pockets of excellence with respect to cooperating teacher participation in teacher education abound. We hope that this review facilitates continued research into and development of that participation. This could happen through the activation of the categories of participation by the various stakeholders in teacher education. Further, although individual contexts vary, we believe the CTP grid provides some enduring possibilities for preparing teachers for the profession, all of which have the potential to both enrich and promote our understanding of cooperating teachers' participation in teacher education.

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