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Tinker, Tailor, Supervisor, Spy: Lessons Learned from Distant Supervision

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Abstract

This study investigates the transition from a local to a distant model of clinical intern supervision at a large, public, research university. Interviews were conducted with supervisors who had participated in local and distant supervision to explore challenges and adaptations throughout the first year of the distant model. Aside from areas of consensus, such as difficulties with communication, observations, coaching, and seminar meetings, the supervisors revealed distinctly different responses to the expectation of carrying out the distant supervision model with fidelity. Positioning theory provided helpful insight into the range of experiences and reactions within the interview data. Our findings suggest that as programs continue to experiment with distant supervision, they may wish to democratize the process through collaborative inquiry in which multiple players tinker and tailor to support intern learning.

Keywords

distant supervision; positionality; teacher education

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Introduction

Recent reports on clinical teacher education in the U.S. (NCATE, 2010; National Research Council, 2010) have sparked attention to variance “within and across programs,” not only just in the “frequency and quality of mentoring, supervision and coaching,” but also to “the degree of connection between the clinical experiences and the other parts of the preparation program” (Zeichner, 2018, p. 199). Given that high-quality clinical experiences are the linchpin for successful teacher preparation (NCATE, 2010; National Research Council, 2010), teacher educators should be prompted to examine their practices and the impact of those practices on interns’ success in the field. This challenge is intensified as teacher preparation programs incorporate distant internships, which can attenuate the already precarious “degree of connection.”

Situated in a large, public, research university, this qualitative study grew out of a four-year, grant-funded project designed to strengthen an elementary teacher preparation program, in part, by embedding an instructional coaching model in clinical field experiences. As the faculty piloted and then fully implemented a distant internship option, we explored the change, asking: What challenges exist and what adaptations are necessary when transitioning from a local to a distant model of clinical intern supervision? Using positioning theory to analyze data from interviews with supervisors who worked locally and at a distance, we share what we have learned and where we are headed.

Literature Review

The study is grounded in literature on supervision—including growing scholarship on distant supervision—and positioning theory, which illuminated the similar and disparate experiences of doctoral students who supervised both local and distant interns. We address, too, the construct of neoliberalism, an ideology currently limiting both the vision and practices of teacher educators.

Although supervision has been undervalued and under-conceptualized (Carr & Skinner, 2009), a meta-analysis suggests supervisors have five main tasks: “(1) targeted assistance, (2) individual support, (3) collaboration and community, (4) curriculum support, and (5) research for innovation” (Burns, Jacobs, & Yendol-Hoppey, 2016, p. 60). Supervisors guide interns in “the unpacking of complex layers of teaching” (Scalzo Willson, 2018, p. 1), and therefore play a vital role (Ajayi & Lee, 2005). Additionally, recent literature on supervision suggests, “Supervisory roads must intersect squarely with teacher growth and development by unifying purposes and expanding the roles that teachers play in the processes of supervision, evaluation, and professional development” (Zepeda, 2017, p. 2). In sum, we borrow from Sullivan and Glanz (2013) to define supervision as “the process of engaging teachers in instructional dialogue for the purpose of improving teaching and increasing student achievement” (p. 4).

For this study, we shifted the focus of supervision to a distant model wherein supervisors are responsible for carrying out the aforementioned roles and programmatic requirements with teacher candidates “at a distance from the brick-and-mortar site of their teacher education program” (Schroeder & Currin, 2019, p. 4). With the aid of technology, distant supervision at our

institution allowed for supervisors to be university-based while their interns worked in schools and with cooperating teachers in districts from across the state.

Whether local or distant, supervision in our elementary teacher education programs calls for “a partnership between institutions” (Portelance, Caron, & Martineau, 2016, p. 37). As Simpson (2006) described, shifting to a distant model can hamper the school-university connection. Unlike local supervision, wherein faculty, adjuncts, or graduate assistants “work with their students to prepare them for field experience and often supervise them while in the field” (Simpson, 2006, p. 242), distant supervision places the relational responsibility primarily on the supervisor, who may be hundreds of miles from their teacher candidates.

Compounding these concerns is the technology used to bridge the literal divide. Granted, hardware and software are increasingly user-friendly and demonstrably facilitate intern growth (Baecher & Kung, 2011; Cherrington & Loveridge, 2014; Johnson & Cotterman, 2015; Sherin & van Es, 2009). In fact, teacher educators have provided performance-based feedback to interns using bug-in-ear, e-mail, videoconferencing, and video annotation (e.g., Billingsley & Scheuermann, 2014; Nagro, deBettencort, Rosenberg, Carran, & Weiss, 2017). Nevertheless, logistical challenges abound, including access, parental permission, training, and support (Endacott, 2016; Fadde & Sullivan, 2013; Krammer et al., 2006; Wash, Bradley, & Beck, 2014). Regardless of advantages or any plan to overcome obstacles, technology alone does not an internship make (Kopcha & Alger, 2011). Further, attuned to neoliberal influences on teacher education, wherein “performativity” becomes “acceptable, legitimate, and even desirable” (Wilkins, 2012, p. 207), we have concerns about technology’s tendency to reinforce teacher-centered pedagogy. That is, the neoliberal celebration of that which can be counted and measured may place teaching at risk of being reduced to a commodity that can be dissected into discrete skills rather than the richly textured, context-dependent, professional work that it is.

The internship model in this study—both local and distant—was guided by Knight’s (2007) instructional coaching philosophy, wherein coach and teacher enter an egalitarian, non-hierarchical relationship. Coaching cycles target a co-selected observation focus area for improvement (Knight, 2007). Like many effective practices, the use of coaching with interns has challenges. Supervisors who serve as both coach and evaluator can experience “a boundary between them and their interns which inhibits the real capacity of coaching” (Scalzo Willson, 2018, p. 2). Thus, like technology, instructional coaching brings both risk and reward.

The supervisors in this study had to learn and/or adapt to two separate yet connected processes: distant supervision and coaching. Following a pilot study, supervisors were oriented to the model and expected to implement it. Given the structural realities of teacher preparation programs, including the fact that supervisors at research universities are often graduate students and, therefore, transient (Slick, 1998), a top-down approach is pragmatic. However, supervisors responded in markedly different ways to the distant coaching model. While some focused on implementing it with fidelity, others had concerns about implementing a model designed without their input. The study we originally envisioned as a straightforward identification of challenges and strengths was no longer so straightforward. We wondered how to account for supervisors’ divergent responses to distant supervision.

Positioning theory proved helpful, as it is “based on the principle that not everyone involved in a social episode has equal access to rights and duties to perform particular kinds of meaningful actions at that moment and with those people” (Harré, 2012, p. 193). Positioning theory illuminates inequitable power relationships and/or the context and biographies of individuals engaged in an activity, as well as how they understand their positions and responsibilities. In teacher education, positioning theory highlights how supervisors “influence learning, preserve [their] sense of self, and achieve or maintain a measure of control” (Bullough & Draper, 2004, p. 418).

Supervisors’ maintaining such measures is especially germane within the neoliberal context, wherein metrics control the work of teachers and students (Apple, 1986/2013; Hargreaves, 1994; Kuhn, 2014; Sugimoto & Carter, 2016). Scholars consistently deride the deskilling impact of neoliberal ideology, in what Sinnema, Meyer, and Aitken (2017) refer to as “exacting accountabilities” (p. 10). Rejecting the commodification and corporatization of the neoliberal ethos, we are far more aligned with the alternative Noddings (2009) endorses when she distinguishes between accountability, which “points upward in the chain of power” and responsibility to “the legitimate needs of those placed in our care” (p. 17). Likewise, Ball and Olmedo (2013) encourage educators to resist “the rationality of performativity” by questioning the “mundane and rational truths of neoliberal education [...] to expose the power relations in which they are immersed” (p. 89). Positioning theory, then, helps us understand how the supervisors in our study tinkered and tailored with the model for their interns’ sake.

Research Design and Methodology

This qualitative interview study focuses on three doctoral student supervisors who participated in a larger study examining the transferability of a local reflective coaching model to distant locations. The study was designed to answer the question, “What challenges exist and what adaptations are necessary for teacher education programs transitioning from a local to a distant model of clinical intern supervision?”

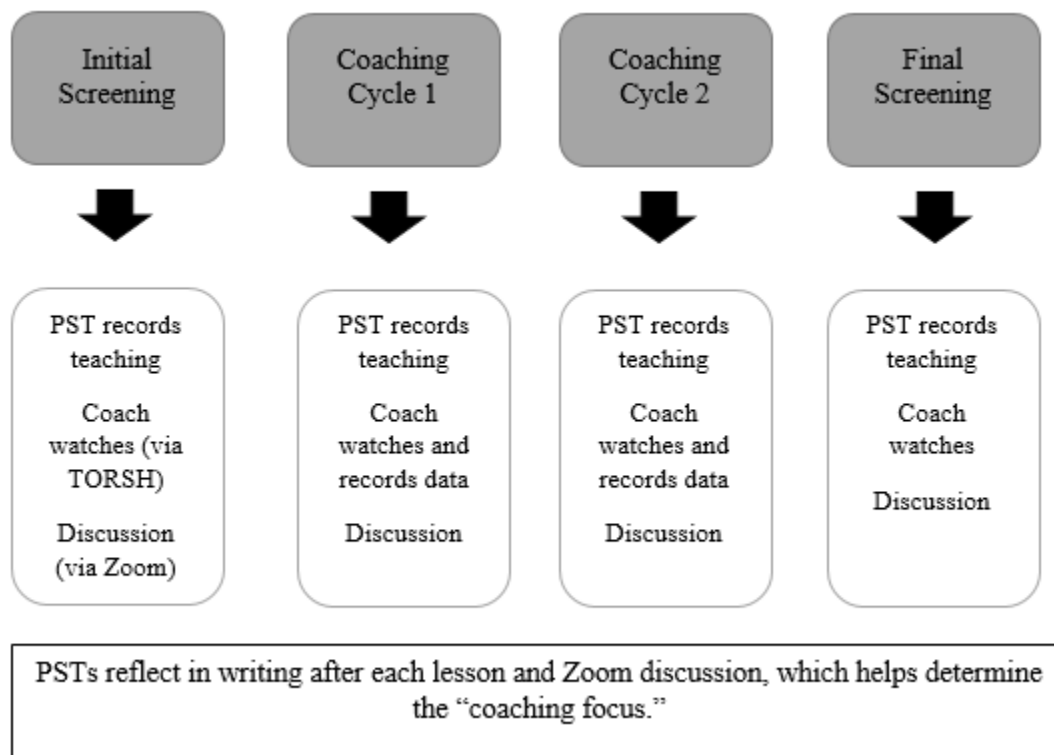
Context

At our large, public, research university, a fifth year of graduate-level coursework and a year-long internship in a public school within the state serve as the capstone of the elementary teacher preparation program. At the time of the study, there were 42 graduate-level interns assigned to work with 1 of 8 university-based supervisors (6 doctoral students, 1 adjunct professor, and 1 retired teacher educator). Of those interns, 20 were placed in local elementary schools, within the district surrounding the university, and 22 chose to complete this requirement as a “distant intern,” at an elementary school in another district within the state. All interns, regardless of location, were held to the same expectations for internship and evaluation requirements, including 14 formal teaching observations (6 completed by a mentor teacher and 8 by a supervisor) throughout the year as well as mid-semester progress checks and end-of-semester evaluations of accomplished teaching practices, defined by the state Department of Education (DOE).

The study took place during the period in which the faculty were implementing a four-year teacher preparation grant. The grant, a total of \$2.4 million, was funded by the state DOE to enhance the preparation of classroom-ready novice teachers. Included in the four-year contract was a requirement of annual, week-long “inspections” of the program conducted by an external agency; semi-annual formative assessment meetings with DOE personnel; regular written documentation of progress; and our own ongoing evaluation of the project. As will be addressed later, this climate of inspection, accountability, and performativity no doubt shaped the faculty’s approach to their work, including the ways in which supervision was implemented.

Within the project, \$80,000 supported the development of a system of reflective coaching for the year-long internship. The faculty adapted Knight’s (2007) instructional coaching model, traditionally used with practicing teachers in face-to-face interactions. This model promotes seven partnership principles that aim to minimize the power differential between educators and supervisors: Choice, Voice, Equality, Reciprocity, Reflection, Dialogue, and Praxis. In our year-long internship, screening observations are completed three times a year to provide an overview to interns, supervisors, and mentor teachers about the students’ progress toward meeting state-required standards of practice. In between screenings, interns engage in focused coaching cycles with their supervisors to address specific aspects of their teaching through data collection and analysis. Through conversation and collaborative examinations of data, interns are provided opportunities to be “central actors assuming, alongside supervisors, the responsibility for growth” (Zepeda, 2017, p. 2).

Figure 1. Overview of the coaching sequence embedded within the distant supervision model



In this study's context, supervisors, who engaged in coaching, carried additional roles: establishing relationships with mentors; conducting observations using the local district's instructional framework; facilitating a bi-weekly seminar; and balancing formative and summative evaluation. Beginning in Fall 2017, distant supervision was formally implemented in districts as many as 300 miles from campus, using cell phone, tablet, or laptop cameras; TORSH Talent for uploading and annotating video; and Zoom for coaching conversations and seminars. Figure 1 depicts the coaching sequence for distant interns and supervisors during each semester of the year-long internship. With the distant supervision model in its infancy, supervisors engaged in monthly, collaborative meetings to discuss progress, challenges, and potential solutions to emerging issues.

Participants

With our research question focused on the transition from a local to a distant model of clinical intern supervision, four supervisors were selected based on the criterion that they had participated in both local and distant models. All were invited via e-mail and agreed to participate in the study. They included a retired teacher educator who had developed the coaching model and three teacher education doctoral students (in the first, second, and fourth years of their studies). Due to their unique position as graduate assistants, we focus here on the three doctoral students, all of whom are white women, approximately 30 years of age, and former classroom teachers. Although they had all undergone formal supervision training by university faculty and were positioned by program leaders as dutiful implementers of the model, each experienced distant supervision differently. In fact, responses ranged from wholehearted enthusiasm to passionate resistance. Here we provide brief portraits of the supervisors to illuminate their diverse positioning as actors in this study.

Sara: confident fan of Foucault/uncertain elementary supervisor. Having majored in English and history as an undergraduate and with a strong interest in women's studies, Sara earned a master's degree in English education before teaching in a public charter school within the demographic diversity of Queens, New York. A fourth-year doctoral student when the study took place, Sara had eagerly completed coursework in critical perspectives on education and co-founded a Teaching for Social Justice collective. She was in the midst of collecting data for her dissertation, which was grounded in Cultural Historical Activity Theory, Foucault's concepts of governmentality and surveillance, and Apple's work on neoliberalism. Already well published, Sara was an emerging scholar of critical democracy in education and confident about her research trajectory. However, having never taught in elementary classrooms, she was neither confident nor enthusiastic about participating in elementary intern supervision, even after two years of such work.

Blair: pioneer of distant supervision. Blair entered the teacher education doctoral program after six years of teaching in elementary and middle school classrooms. Partial to teaching mathematics, she intended to maintain her disciplinary focus within her more general program of study. A graduate of the university's elementary teacher education program, Blair had taught close to home and was eager to become a teacher educator. A second-year doctoral student at the time of the study, Blair had one year of supervision experience. She enthusiastically volunteered to work with the Supervision Coordinator to tweak the coaching model and assist with the design

and pilot of distant supervision. Blair interviewed the two senior supervisors who piloted the distant model throughout the spring of 2017 to implement targeted improvements before the model went to scale in Fall 2017. She assisted the Coordinator in developing training materials and implementing professional development for the team of distant supervisors, including Sara and Anna. Comfortable with the technology and with the role of elementary supervisor, Blair moved into distant supervision with confidence.

Anna: stepping out of an elementary classroom and into a doctoral program. A first-year doctoral student at the time of the study, Anna had just completed her sixth year of teaching fifth grade in a district close to home. Earning a bachelor's degree in elementary education and a master's degree in educational leadership, Anna had always known she wanted to be a teacher. Assigned to supervise distant interns, Anna attended professional development sessions before her first semester of graduate school even began. Unlike Sara and Blair, Anna had no reference point based on prior supervision experience, except her own experience as an intern and two years as a mentor. Eager to learn and to excel in her doctoral studies, and fresh out of an elementary classroom, Anna stepped into distant supervision with purpose and enthusiasm.

Data sources

Two semi-structured, individual, in-person qualitative interviews were conducted with each participant at the conclusion of the fall 2017 semester and toward the end of the spring 2018 semester, for a total of six interviews lasting 45-90 minutes. Open-ended questions covered a range of topics, including: "What is it like to be a distant supervisor?" and "How would you compare and contrast this semester of distant supervision with last semester as a local supervisor?" Each audio-recorded interview was transcribed and anonymized, yielding 150 pages for analysis.

Data analysis

A collaborative, inductive data analysis strategy (Hatch, 2002), relying on Spradley's (1979) domain analysis was systematically implemented. First, each researcher read, annotated, and analyzed the same transcript for salient domains. The four researchers then collaboratively reviewed the initial domain lists to refine language and ensure shared understanding. The resulting codebook included 14 domains, such as "challenges of distant supervision" and "ways to adapt supervision." Each researcher then analyzed three to four additional transcripts using the codebook. At least two researchers coded each transcript, corroborating their coding before further analysis by the whole team. After data from each interview were organized under relevant domains, we created brief memos to convey the challenges faced and adaptations made by each of the participants. This article shares the cross-case analysis of the three doctoral student participants, using positioning theory as an interpretive framework.

Limitations

As qualitative researchers, we embrace the unique and specific experiences our three participants shared with us about distant and local supervision. To that end, we do not suggest that our findings are generalizable or replicable. As with all research, there are limitations to our study,

including our small sample size and data collection methods, limited to interviews. Because we set out to study the first iteration of university-based, distant supervision at one institution, there was a limited number of supervisors who had engaged in local and distant work, thereby limiting our sample size. Of course, appropriate sample size in qualitative research is hotly contested (Morse, 2015). We believe that our findings suggest our data were saturated, as similar experiences surfaced across participants, but also were varied enough to provide a theoretically interesting account of how positioning theory may play a role in supervisors' experience of distant and local supervision. Stemming from the saturation of findings, we believe our findings have internal validity. Having engaged in a process of member checking, we believe the descriptions of distant supervision can be "recognized by others who have had the experience" and "appreciated by those who have not had the experience" (Morse, 2015, p. 1213). Additionally, rigor was attended to by prolonged engagement in the field, as three members of the research team worked alongside our research participants doing similar work. This prolonged engagement, including the interview timeline which enabled us to check in with participants at two key points in time during the year-long internship, contributed to our ability to provide thick, rich description (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Future studies on this topic could attend to rigor by varying data collection methods to include observation in the field and the voices of student teachers undergoing this experience. For our purposes of understanding the experience of supervisors with the new university-based, distant model, listening closely to three supervisors was appropriate and pointed us toward insights and next steps in our ongoing work to improve teacher preparation.

Findings

Although the three doctoral student supervisors, based on their unique positioning, experienced distant supervision differently, we begin with the challenges on which there was consensus before examining their nuanced "tinkering" and "tailoring" in response to those challenges. From these findings we then articulate the recommendations that arose from tinkering and tailoring.

Challenges

The supervisors agreed about four persistent problems they encountered in distant supervision. These problems were related and contributed to the supervisors' shared sense that they were not serving their interns at the high standard that they and the program leaders expected. The problems, referred to here as challenges, include communication, observations, coaching cycles, and assessment.

Communication. Communication problems within distant internships ranged in complexity. Supervisors characterized their relationships with field placements as essentially uni-directional, with supervisors providing information about program requirements and timelines to mentors. Encouraging prompt replies to e-mails also proved challenging. Supervisors agreed they wanted a partnership with mentor teachers and a strong intern-mentor teacher-supervisor triad, but were unsure how to accomplish this at a distance.

Sara, Blair, and Anna all described communication as starting and ending with the supervisor, who sent an initial welcome e-mail to organize virtual meetings with mentors, interns, and school principals. Thereafter, communication with mentors and principals was nearly non-existent. As Anna explained, “I never heard from [mentors] unless I was reaching out to them to get an update.” Blair shared that her connection with mentor teachers was a “piece of the puzzle [that] just kind of got left out.”

Encouraging interns to reply to e-mails also proved difficult. Because there was “less accountability” in the distant environment, Anna believed, “It was easier not to respond to an e-mail than it would be to answer a question if I was there in person.” In some instances, she “wouldn’t receive an e-mail back for several days” and resorted to follow-up e-mails. She was understanding, claiming, “It’s kind of easier to get around that a little bit when it’s distant: put off an e-mail or reschedule a meeting.”

Because of the communication issues, Blair worried the mentor she worked with at a distance would be unable to remember her name. Anna also expressed a desire to have “some sort of stronger relationship as far as making goals for the intern together and evaluating them.” All three participants wanted more collaboration with mentors. Sara noted the possibility, given how one of her intern’s mentors was in the background during their virtual meetings. She shared, “We wouldn’t talk although I kind of wish we would, but I knew that what I was saying, she was hearing.”

Observations. Supervisors agreed the camera limited their view of the classroom and hence the larger context of the lesson. Similarly, they expressed concern about what they were unable to hear. Stationary cameras restricted their insight into student engagement, as well as the culture of the classroom, school, and larger community. The supervisors agreed this information was important for understanding interns’ decision-making and practices.

Each participant struggled to establish context with distant interns, evinced in one supervisor’s missing “feeling like I’m a part of a classroom,” or even walking “into that front office to know what it’s like to go to school there.” Reflecting on their experiences with local interns, participants offered vivid descriptions—the “delightful” welcome or the “messy,” backpack-strewn classroom. Conversely, participants struggled to describe the distant classrooms. Sara shared, “I have no idea what these distant classrooms are like.” Likewise, Anna admitted,

I don’t know what the school looks like or the neighborhood looks like or the classroom. I’m not able to see the routines. I think as far as me really being immersed in the school environment, I’m kind of limited to what I know about my relationship with the intern. I don’t know anything about the school other than what I can read online, but it’s different than driving through the neighborhood, going to the school, and kind of seeing it in person.

As a result of this contextual void, distant supervision felt just that—distant.

Interns’ camera placement limited supervisors’ views in a more literal sense. Reflecting on intern-focused videos, Blair lamented, “You don’t see the students really; the camera is...more

centered on the intern than...on the students.” All supervisors found it difficult to “tell exactly what’s going on.” Observing for classroom routines and procedures was nearly impossible, as Anna explained, “I could hear when they would use different classroom management procedures, but I couldn’t always see. It’s hard to see where the class is sitting and who’s participating, and so you’re very limited.” Blair agreed, “When a student gets in trouble for something, you don’t always get to see who it is that’s getting called out.”

Supervisors also perceived mentors and interns as performing for the camera, ensuring what was captured was as perfect as possible rather than illustrating the true complexity of classroom life. Going so far as to wonder whether observations were just a “show,” Sara described a mentor who would focus “on the ‘good’ kids, not the ‘bad’ kids. She didn’t want to highlight for me kids who were off task. She thought that would reflect poorly on [the intern].” The same intern refused to share recorded lessons she was ashamed of, despite Sara’s coaxing. Blair acknowledged a similar trend with an intern, suggesting, “She’s so focused on ‘I have to get this right in front of the camera.’” As a result, “trying to collect data on certain things is really a struggle,” particularly because video can mask classroom realities.

Coaching cycles. Supervisors agreed the quality of their coaching correlated with the quality of the videos. All experienced a sense of missed opportunities due to the audio-visual limitations and, they noted, the requirements of the coaching model, which addresses one element of instruction agreed upon by coach and intern.

A key part of the coaching cycle includes the creation of the data display. Because of the poor quality of videos, all supervisors struggled to create data displays. Anna shared,

As I became more distant from that [initial coaching] training, I struggled to have ideas for data displays for what I was able to see. I couldn’t do seating charts most of the time because I couldn’t see the students, and I couldn’t do participation because I was also limited by what I could see. There were points where it was very difficult to even hear the questions that were being asked.

Anna’s remarks are indicative of the practical challenges all participants faced when applying the coaching model at a distance.

In addition, Blair and Sara expressed some philosophical reservations. Noting the intentionally limited focus of the coaching model, Blair found herself constantly reminding interns, “We’re focusing on this one thing, but don’t forget about all of these other things.” Although Blair’s concern is arguably a challenge within local internships, too, Sara suggested coaching was not compatible with distant supervision of interns at all:

We’re not set up to be coaches in the way Jim Knight talks about coaching. We are not embedded in schools, so there’s a huge context piece missing in the coaching. I feel there was a disconnect from what I was taught about coaching and what I was expected to do with it because the articles that we read about coaching did not coincide with what was actually going to happen with interns.

The dual challenge of implementing distant supervision in conjunction with the coaching model weighed heavily on participants' minds.

Assessment. Lastly, supervisors felt uncomfortable with their roles: coach or evaluator? Sara explained, "The coach is not an evaluator, but we are coaches and evaluators." Blair felt her biggest challenge "is just feeling like I'm present in [the intern's] experience and that I'm not just the evaluator." The discomfort associated with being "the evaluator" stemmed from a perceived disconnect: participants had positioned themselves as coaches, yet the end of each semester brought with it a deluge of evaluation paperwork, including final grades and "accountability measure[s] for the state." Given the challenges above, Sara admitted, "I don't have the evidence to say they haven't [met all of their competencies], but I also don't have the evidence to say always that they have." Anna found a way around this by relying on interns' self-evaluations:

I kind of just went off that, and some of that was just faith that they had that conversation with their mentor teacher. [...] For the accomplished practices that I could observe and I felt confident in, I would do my own rating, but then I would kind of go back to that self-evaluation of what they did.

Supervising, because it encompassed more than merely coaching, thus became more difficult when it came to assessment, in part, because of communication and observation problems.

Tinkering and Tailoring

Aside from these areas of consensus, the supervisors articulated distinctly different responses to the expectation of carrying out the distant supervision model with fidelity, ranging from wholehearted enthusiasm to passionate resistance. Through the lens of positioning theory, aided by participants' portraits, we examine the "tinkering" and "tailoring" supervisors employed as they attempted to address what they perceived as interns' needs despite the program's emphasis on fidelity to the model. To us, "tinkering" connotes hard and intentional metalwork, whereas "tailoring" conjures images of a softer craft. These analogies capture the variety of practical, philosophical, and even radical changes our participants made to the existing supervision model.

Sara. As someone who did not even want to be a supervisor but acquiesced in exchange for her tuition waiver, Sara openly addressed the impact of her positioning on her work:

The buy-in for me has never been there. If someone chose the work, there would be so much more buy-in to doing it, rather than saying, "You must do it. You have to do this." [...] Did my interns suffer because I didn't want to do it? I know that someone else would have been better for them, absolutely, who wanted to do it, who was excited, who wanted to tackle both of these things.

In Sara's estimation, supervisors had "to tackle" the dual challenges of the coaching model and distant internships because "the work wasn't done I think to adapt [the existing model]. The adapting didn't really happen." She wished program leaders had been "just a little bit more honest" about the impracticality of seamlessly applying the local model to a distant context.

Noticeably positioning herself as a knowledgeable member of the profession, Sara shared, “It’s something we always do in education: take something that worked someplace else and try to impose it on something that doesn’t work.”

Though Sara acknowledged her own lack of experience in elementary education, which often caused her to “feel like such a phony,” she took it upon herself to do the work that had not, by her account, been done. Her position as a fourth-year student with a well-developed critical stance likely gave her the confidence necessary for “breaking the rules.” For example, Sara’s “seminar didn’t really exist,” as she quickly realized, “All I’m going to be doing is reminding [interns] of deadlines.” Sara perceived that she lacked sufficient time “to create a real seminar class,” which could have been “really rich and helpful.” Though she admitted her interns “still needed that support,” she openly rejected the prescribed seminar plans, which failed to address the very real differences between local and distant internships.

Likewise, Sara actively questioned whether the coaching model should operate the same way in local and distant contexts. Owing to her confidence as a fourth-year student, she “raised all of these questions” during her training but “was kind of told to worry about that later.” Drawing on her coursework, she engaged in self-study to brainstorm possible adaptations to the model, envisioning “not just coaching where I coach them, but they can begin to coach themselves and coach each other.” Motivated by her own critical stance, she also imagined interns’ conducting an “equity audit,” explaining, “Let’s look at your school critically...tell us about it, and then look at it critically.” While such tinkering may not have been feasible in her inaugural experience with distant supervision, she did actively adapt the prescribed coaching model by “tak[ing] a long time after watching a video to create a data display or to really think about what are the questions I’m going to ask them.” Eschewing the program’s preference for objective data, such as “tally marks,” Sara experimented with alternatives, admitting, “sometimes the data display would change because I took time to think about it.” Being able to make these changes was consonant with Sara’s positioning.

Blair. Like Sara, Blair viewed herself as “breaking the rules.” However, Blair was noticeably less comfortable with this radical stance, believing she should keep “distant supervision as similar to local as possible,” though she recognized the practical rationale for change. For example, she cited the need “to alter the way that we did things in [in the coaching model] in order to accommodate our schedules.”

Having played an instrumental role in the piloting of distant internships, Blair understood the “developmental” vision of the program, in that the distant supervision model was likely to undergo modifications over time, yet she hesitated or second-guessed her own modifying instincts. She turned to texting to develop relationships with her distant interns, as it felt far more personal than a formal e-mail exchange. Supervision, to Blair, requires “getting to know the students and getting to work on what they need specifically. I guess I feel like my role as a coach is also as a friend to them. I don’t know if everyone feels that way.” Here, Blair acknowledges how her fellow supervisors, who are positioned differently, may take alternative approaches.

Indeed, whereas Sara felt forced to be a supervisor, Blair relished the role as “a really great way [...] to stay in the classroom.” Naturally, then, she did not feel as “present” during distant

internships, and her tinkering and tailoring efforts reflect her desire to mend that breach. While supervisors were encouraged to use the timestamp feature in TORSH to provide feedback, Blair “decided early on to focus on the data display.” Even so, she chafed against the concept of “disconnected data,” suggesting, “there’s not a lot of learning going on because it feels like [...] ‘I evaluated your questioning. Here’s the data. What are we moving on to next?’” Instead, Blair preferred to provide direct advice. She explains, “I know that’s not part of the coaching model, but that is something that [...] our interns ask us for.” Given her positioning, it was important to meet that need, whereas when strictly adhering to the coaching model, “it was almost like I wasn’t doing my job correctly.”

Based on her prior experience with supervision, the job was important to Blair, and tinkering and tailoring evinced the value she placed on that work, even as she felt a little guilty about deviating from the script. She confides, “I have tried so hard to just transfer the model, and it has for the most part worked for me. Maybe I just haven’t been as critical about thinking about the things that have not felt so great in this process.” Working with mentors at a distance was challenging, and Blair envisioned future tinkering and tailoring to solve that “puzzle,” sighing, “I hope [the process] gets better.”

Anna. As a first-year student, Anna’s position was markedly different. She recalls, “the semester started with a lot of ‘I don’t know what I’m doing. I don’t know the interns. I don’t know the counties. I don’t know how to use TORSH or Zoom.’ Everything was brand new.” This caused her to position herself as a “real follower,” as she hesitated to deviate from the structures handed down to her. For example, she followed the “rules” for seminar religiously, adding, “I want very much to do things the way I’ve been taught to do them and told to do them, and I want all of our interns across the program to get very similar experiences.”

However, Anna’s first-year status also primed her to be sensitive to her students’ needs, given how she was “not so far removed from the classroom or from internship.” Reiterating how she is *not* a professor, Anna continued, “Just being a TA shapes me as a supervisor because I know and they know I’m a student, too, and I’m doing this for the first time. [...] We’re learning this together. I’m not an expert. I am just a student.”

This attitude informed Anna’s reliance on “back-up” communication plans. She explained, “I will text my interns if there’s something quick and easy,” such as “rescheduling,” or “they’ll text me, ‘I’m on my way home right now. I’ll be in seminar two minutes late.’” These open, informal lines of communication fostered more authentic relationships with interns and proved crucial when technology failed: “I’ve been on Zoom before doing a coaching conversation, and something went wrong with the computers, and we finished our conversation over phone.” Thus, despite Anna’s position as a first-year “follower,” she engaged in necessary tinkering and tailoring to cultivate rapport and to overcome practical challenges.

Anna also took liberties with the coaching model. Like Sara, she enjoyed being able to “watch observations over and over again and pause [each video] and think about it and have time creating our data displays.” Anna also suggested, “Coaching cycles don’t address everything a new intern needs to know,” wondering, “why can’t we do a coaching focus on how well they plan a lesson?” Whereas the model demands a focus on “something observable,” Anna

recognized the challenge distant internships posed: “the viewpoint through the camera and trying to construct data displays for what I could see was sometimes difficult.” Her position as a first-year student left her wondering, “If there’s a different need, is it ok to go in that direction?” She tinkered with the structure in a unique way by electing to use the same data display from cycle to cycle, a process she described as “going deep.”

While this modification had interns’ needs in mind, Anna ultimately felt she needed permission to engage in any major tinkering or tailoring. She explains,

I think it would be good to know how much of this I have the ability to kind of go outside of the prescribed model. [...] I don’t know that I’m really allowed to do things. [...] I don’t know how much room there is to kind of mold this as we go. [...] I don’t know how much room there is to kind of do things on your own versus, “This should look a certain way.”

Reiterating her desire not to be “restricted to a certain [data] display,” Anna longed for permission and encouragement to tinker and tailor alongside her fellow supervisors, whom she recognized as “having the same tensions or struggles or concerns.” Stressing how important it is to “not get stuck in ‘This is how we do it: this is the framework, and these are the guidelines,’” Anna envisioned a community of practice that might “look at it critically and see what’s working and keep those things,” while simultaneously engaging in “conversations that continually develop it and change it to make it better.”

Looking across these testimonies, we understand the supervisors’ tinkering and tailoring as forms of improvisation, which embraces “tension as potentially generative” and thus “in opposition to the dominant models of professional development” (Rubin & Land, 2017, p. 197) that demand fidelity. In other words, Sara, Blair, and Anna, as nascent teacher educators, tinkered and tailored their way to keen insights about supervision. Acting from their distinct and unique positions, they generated a cohesive set of programmatic recommendations, which we review below.

Recommendations

The diverse experiences of the tinkering, tailoring supervisors yielded recommendations to make the distant model more educative for interns and the novice teacher educators (i.e., doctoral students) who work with them. These include (a) conducting virtual meetings among supervisors, mentors, interns, and program leaders to establish expectations for how triads might co-construct successful internships; (b) having interns conduct virtual tours of the community, school, and classroom; (c) inviting mentors to serve as observation videographers to capture a broader view of classroom life; (d) hybridizing collaborative, reflective coaching and directive coaching to provide interns with an inquiry-driven experience while also holding interns to a high standard in their implementation of core practices; and (e) giving interns more responsibility for co-constructing and leading seminars.

Repeatedly the supervisors shared how they wished “to collaborate more” with one another and with their interns and mentor teachers, learn more about the context in which distant classrooms

were nested, and “dig deeper” into data and observations by bringing a more critical lens to the supervision process. Research focused on quality supervision supports our participants’ concerns and recommendations. In particular, the role of the mentor teacher is crucial to the supervision process, as mentors are repeatedly considered vitally important in the “learning trajectories and identity development” of student teachers (Chen & Mensah, 2018, p. 434). Additionally, Hawkman, Castro, Bennet, and Barrow (2015) suggest “instructional examples in the field” support the learning pre-service teachers glean from methods courses (p. 198). Despite the importance of the field experience, Cochran Smith et al. (2015) point out the “persistent disconnect between the coursework and fieldwork components of university-based programs” (p. 113). As a result, scholars recommend a strong triad—of student teacher, mentor teacher, and supervisor—to ensure cohesion and boundary crossing (Zeichner, 2010), yet lack of communication can lead to an imbalance of power within the triad and an enlarged gulf between the field and the university (Beck & Kosnik, 2002; Bullough & Draper, 2004). This large gulf is particularly problematic in light of scholars’ finding that effective feedback to student teachers should be tightly connected to the particulars of the setting (Cornelius, 2014; Hattie & Timperley, 2007), and as our participants noted, this information was lacking in the distant internship.

This study illustrates how distant supervision can compound these problems. If distant supervision unfolds elsewhere as it unfolded in this study, the disconnect between the teacher preparation program and the classroom—what Darling-Hammond (2009) calls the “Achilles’ heel of teacher education” (as cited in Zeichner, 2010, p. 91)—will continue in a more exacerbated form. As scholars call for more context-laden Professional Development Schools (PDS) (Rodgers & Keil, 2007; Silva & Dana, 2001) and the simultaneous renewal of schools and universities (Goodlad, 1994; Paufler & Amrein-Beardsley, 2016), we see our participants’ concerns as stark reminders that neoliberal solutions to problems in education may not be panaceas, nor do they always center teacher learning as their primary concern.

Our participants’ recommendations underscore the value of positioning supervisors in an active role as co-constructors of a distant supervision model rather than simply as implementers of a model. The recommendations also reinforce the importance of continuing to study our own practice with the help of critical lenses that uncover and disrupt assumptions and habits that fail to serve teacher candidates.

Discussion and Conclusion

Zepeda (2017) insists, “Supervisory roads must intersect squarely with teacher growth and development” (p. 2). This study lays bare how distant supervision can create formidable roadblocks, not only for pre-service teacher growth, but also for the development of the nascent teacher educators who serve as their supervisors. In particular, the disembodied nature of distant observations contributed to participants’ struggle to reconcile their roles as both coaches and evaluators. Scholars have addressed this subject at length (Burns & Badiali, 2015; Zepeda, 2017), such that Nolan and Hoover (2011) maintain, “The question of whether teacher supervision and teacher evaluation are compatible roles for the same individual has plagued both practice and scholarship for many decades” (p. 5). Our study demonstrates a need to continue

that debate in the digital age and begs the question of how supervisor training might acknowledge the dilemma and prepare supervisors to navigate those dual roles.

In the case of the supervisors in this study, it appeared program leaders, in attempting to meet the expectations of the funding agency's "exacting accountabilities" (Sinnema, Meyer, & Aitken, 2017, p. 10), succumbed to the neoliberal ethos that commodifies educational practices like coaching. By expecting fidelity to the model, program leaders illustrated Ball's (2012) warning: "Neoliberalism gets into our minds and our souls, into the ways in which we think about what we do, and into our social relations with others" (p. 18). With the specter of program inspections and frequent data requests shaping our judgment, we implemented a model of supervision in a manner that treated our supervisors as technicians, which in turn may have denied our interns access to the potential power of coaching. Where evaluation is paramount and based on "narrow definitions of accountability," the sort of "tailored feedback" most useful for teacher development is scarce (Mette & Riegel, 2018, p. 44). Such limited paths are at odds with our expansive view of supervision as a means for "engaging teachers in instructional dialogue" (Sullivan & Glanz, 2013, p. 4). Fortunately, Anna, Blair, and Sara persisted in tinkering and tailoring in ways that pointed us toward recommendations for strengthening our efforts to prepare better teachers.

Teacher education that cultivates "professionals" rather than "technicians" requires "extensive knowledge about the social and political contexts" surrounding teachers, who must "exercise their judgment in the classroom and adapt what they do to meet the continually changing needs of their students" (Zeichner, 2018, p. 29). Consequently, Zeichner urges a "democratic approach to the issue of whose knowledge counts in the education of teachers" (p. 271). As we "tinker toward utopia" in all facets of teacher education (Tyack & Cuban, 1995), it might behoove us to rethink top-down models. In internships, "often lauded as the most important aspect of professional preparation" (Burns et al., 2016, p. 46), multiple players have knowledge that could strengthen this capstone experience. Supervisors' "rule breaking," tinkering, and tailoring might have been encouraged and embraced as part of the process of constructing a powerful model of distant supervision. Instead, supervisors felt more akin to "spies" engaged in some form of subterfuge when they sought to stimulate the professional development of their interns.

Positioning theory reminds teacher educators to attend to the experience, perspectives, and knowledge of the people at the center of the work, including mentors, interns, students, families, and supervisors, whether they be faculty members, adjunct instructors, or doctoral students. Their insights may "improve the teaching of student teachers" (Burns et al., 2016, p. 143). In addition, because supervision has implications for the development of interns *and* supervisors (Bullough & Draper, 2004), teacher educators responsible for the preparation of future teacher educators (i.e., their doctoral students) should engage doctoral student supervisors in the work. Will they be treated as "disenfranchised outsiders" (Slick, 1998) or valued for their knowledge and expertise (Carr & Skinner, 2009)? Our findings suggest that as programs continue to experiment with distant supervision, they may wish to democratize the process through collaborative inquiry in which multiple players tinker and tailor to support intern learning.

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