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ABSTRACT

Administrators should realize that whole language is a multidimensional belief system, that everyone involved in its implementation must become a learner, and that this process requires risk taking in a supportive environment. Principals can provide such support by working cooperatively with teachers during every phase of implementation. The following guidelines are suggestions that can be added to individuals' repertoires and used when needed: (1) form study groups for the purpose of sharing information; (2) develop a firm belief in emerging literacy; (3) treat independent reading as an important activity rather than as a frill; (4) encourage the teaching of vocabulary through reading immersion; (5) support teachers' demonstration activities that reinforce the role of context for expanding word knowledge; and (6) focus on informal evaluation that is well-matched with instruction. These guidelines are only a sampling of the many ways in which educational leaders and teachers can take risks while they promote worthwhile strategies and activities for children. (Eighty-five references are attached.)
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Administrative Guidelines for Supporting
the Whole Language Philosophy

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The whole language philosophy has had a major impact on classroom instruction. In the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, teachers and administrators have been energetically learning about and applying whole language activities. Many of these activities are meant to support a child-centered environment, emphasizing programs that are literature-based and practices that are meaning-focused. Although these efforts are certainly supportive of the whole language philosophy, they do not, by themselves, represent a serious understanding of what whole language is about.

Compounding this problem are myths that are being perpetuated. Included are myths about skills, about instruction, about evaluation, about learners, and about becoming a whole language teacher. According to Newman and Church (1990, p.20), these myths are demonstrated in a variety of ways:

There are misconceptions about specific instructional decisions. There are overgeneralizations that keep teachers from seeing what their students are trying to accomplish. There are orthodoxies that undermine students' learning. And there are large overriding myths that conflict dramatically with the theoretical underpinnings of whole language philosophy.

Obviously, the good intentions of whole language educators are not always well-matched with their instructional practices.

To develop a better understanding of whole language, educators must reevaluate their beliefs concerning children and how they learn. This growth process takes time since both

teachers and administrators need to read and share the pertinent literature, attend related conferences, and become involved in other staff development efforts. As teachers develop confidence, they are more likely to evolve their classrooms into whole language environments.

Not surprisingly, the administrator becomes a key player since the type of support he or she provides can mean the difference between dynamic or mediocre outcomes. To be effective, the administrator should not only believe in the whole language philosophy but also work with teachers in specific ways to carry out worthwhile activities and strategies. What follows are guidelines reflecting a sense of cooperation between the administrator and the teachers. These guidelines are not prescriptive, nor do they preclude other positive happenings already occurring in classrooms. Rather, they are intended as suggestions that can be added to individuals' repertoire and used when needed.

Guideline 1: Form study groups for the purpose of sharing information.

Administrators are frequently criticized for expending too much time and energy as building managers. This preoccupation with managerial tasks sometimes conjures up a negative image of being more concerned with order than with people, of being anti-intellectual, and of being apathetic to instructional leadership roles. Although effective administrators have both managerial and instructional capabilities, they should accent their instructional leadership in matters concerning whole language.

One way of demonstrating such leadership is to grow with the staff. At a Long Island elementary school where I serve as a consultant, the principal and staff read extensively about whole language, and they meet in study groups to share related information. These discussions concern ideas presented in the professional literature as well as strategies for applying the ideas to classroom instruction. In addition to journal articles, the group reads, discusses, and rediscovers a variety of books including Goodman's (1936) What's Whole in Whole Language, Goodman, Goodman, and Hood's (1989) The Whole Language Evaluation Book, Harste, Short, and Burke's (1988) Creating Classrooms for Authors, McLane and McNamee's (1990) Early Literacy, Newman's (1985) Whole Language: Theory in Use, Newman's (1990) Finding Our Own Way: Teachers Exploring Their Assumptions, Paley's (1981) Wally's Stories, Paley's (1990) The Boy Who Would Be a Helicopter, Trelease's (1989) The New Read-Aloud Handbook, and Wepner, Feeley, and Strickland's (1989) The Administration and Supervision of Reading Programs.

The principal is an integral part of these grass-roots activities which range from exploring the literature to planning informal observations of classroom instruction. During actual observations, the principal applies insights gained from the study group discussions. She becomes an active participant in the lessons by reading stories to the children, engaging them in storytelling, guiding their writing, and serving as a reading model during silent reading. This involvement helps the principal to experience firsthand the daily joys and frustrations

of growing with the children and the staff. As expected, these experiences are often highlighted at faculty meetings so that the entire staff benefits from updated information.

Guideline 2: Develop a firm belief in emerging literacy.

Study groups can generate interesting discussions about whole language, including the role of emerging literacy. This concern is especially important because when children enter kindergarten, they are likely to experience traditional settings that negate their developmental needs. These settings tend to focus on the use of reading readiness books, exposure to the alphabet in isolation, memorization of numbers in sequence, and, of course, preparation for readiness testing. In a recent study, Freeman and Hatch (1989) focused on kindergarten report cards used in Ohio public schools and their relation to developmental theory. From the results of their analysis, the researchers concluded that (1) kindergarteners are expected to achieve mastery in work habits and in math and reading readiness, (2) there is an emphasis on an academic kindergarten influenced by the behaviorist perspective rather than by the maturationist or interactionist one, and (3) the marking systems negatively evaluate the young children. Although these findings are limited to Ohio, the literature of the field suggests that similar approaches are dominating in other parts of the United States (Davis, 1980; Moyer, Egertson, & Isenberg, 1987; Smith & Shepard, 1987; Uphoff & Gilmore, 1986; Webster, 1984).

This trend toward external demands, however, is in direct conflict with children's developmental needs, which reflect a

yearning for constructing meaning in natural contexts. In addition, young children already possess a growing repertoire of literacy knowledge that is used in making sense of their world. According to Clay (1989), five year olds entering school have literacy skills, but they vary significantly among individuals. In observing these children, Clay (1989, p.v) found:

One child knew a great deal about books; another had explored writing. One was proud of being able to recognize all the family names; another could write most of the letters of the alphabet. Some had clusters of skills, and some had no experience in some of these areas. It was rare to find a child who did not have some literacy knowledge on entry to school.

Such observable behavior suggests that children have a natural zest for wanting to be literate and that literacy development is as individual as it is continuous. This perspective is dichotomous to the traditional view of readiness which implies that children reach a stage in development when they are suddenly able to write and read. Instead, literacy learning should be understood as a process that steadily builds on previous experiences. In a sense, emerging literacy keeps emerging (Clay, 1989).

This view establishes the foundation for a success-oriented whole language classroom. Although the whole language philosophy means many things to many people, most enthusiasts would agree that children learn best in natural environments (Goodman, 1986). The most natural environment supports the concept of play as an

important part of a young child's experience. Play is essential because it promotes children's social, affective, and cognitive growth (Leeper, Witherspoon, & Day, 1984; Scarr, Weinberg, & Levine, 1986). Through play, children express in natural ways their view of the world as they comfortably engage in a variety of activities, such as drawing, coloring, pretending, using manipulatives, listening and responding to interesting stories being read aloud, becoming actively involved in storytelling, and creating their own stories. Paley (1981, 1990) believes that as children relate their own story creations to story playing and storytelling, they engage in a social function that releases their fantasies into the richly imaginative classroom of social play. These and other developmentally appropriate activities help children to better understand their world, to expand their oral language, to develop a better sense of story language and story structure, and to enjoy communication. As important, the children benefit from growing socially and emotionally with a community of peers. Such an environment needs the support of administrators and teachers who value children's individual emerging literacy. This valuing of what children can do encourages early success with literacy learning as it prevents an emphasis of paper-and-pencil tasks, isolated skill exercises, and other fragmented activities.

Guideline 3: Treat independent reading as an important activity rather than as a frill.

As administrators and teachers develop a strong belief in emerging literacy, they are likely to support other aspects of

the whole language philosophy, including the role of independent reading. The importance of providing children with opportunities to read in school has been supported by Allington (1977, 1983, 1984), Anderson, et al. (1985), Morrow (1986, 1987), and Sanacore (1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b).

Regrettably, a number of stumbling blocks have prevented independent reading from achieving its full potential in the schools. Among these barriers are educators themselves who tend to view free reading activities as frivolous and of use only after skills have been taught (Sanacore, 1988). In a study concerning attitudes toward promoting voluntary reading in the elementary school, Morrow (1986a) found that principals, teachers, and parents consider voluntary reading to be less important than word recognition, comprehension, and study skills.

If independent reading is to be considered a major part of the instructional program, then educators must first develop positive feelings about it. The principal's instructional leadership is a major factor in creating a favorable attitude. During faculty meetings (or staff development sessions) the principal can highlight agenda items concerning the importance of lifetime literacy. Included in these discussions is the presentation of documented information, such as independent reading provides a practical context for applying skills (Morrow & Weinstein, 1984), and it is linked significantly to achievement in reading (Greaney, 1980). When reprints of the pertinent literature are distributed to the faculty at least a week before

each meeting, the staff is more likely to bring reflective thought to the faculty discussion.

Talking about independent reading, however, is easier than carrying out this innovation. Morrow and Weinstein (1984) noted that when teachers actively participate in independent reading, their attitude toward it improves. The researchers focused on voluntary reading programs that highlight children's literature and classroom library corners. Their findings suggest that these program considerations not only increase children's reading but also change teachers' attitude favorably. The regularly scheduled literary activities that seem to involve teacher participation include children selecting books independently and reading them silently and teachers directing whole-group literary activities. The library corners contain materials written at varied reading and interest levels, and children have opportunities to read in groups or as individuals and to use headsets with taped stories. Principals who support active participation of teachers go beyond the rhetoric of independent reading as they help to create a positive professional attitude toward this innovation.

The administrator's serious treatment of independent reading and the staff's improved feelings toward supporting it set the foundation for using school time to promote lifetime reading. The staff is now ready to pursue strategies for implementing this innovation. Depending on the limitations of the school, these strategies may represent schoolwide efforts, or they may reflect a modified plan (Sanacore, 1988).

In supporting efforts on a large scale, the principal encourages all teachers to use at least five-week blocks of time for sustained reading during the entire school year. Thus, if this comprehensive approach is applied to each student's instructional schedule, a typical student may have independent reading in social studies during the first 5 weeks of school, and regular classroom instruction for the rest of the school year. The same individual may also have independent reading in English during the next five weeks and conventional instruction before and after that time period. Thus, as the student progresses with this approach from September to June, he or she experiences a wide variety of pleasurable resources across the curriculum. This exposure has the potential for developing flexibility in reading about different topics and also for establishing the foundation for the lifetime reading habit. For more discussion about schoolwide efforts, see Sanacore (1983, 1988) and Spiegel (1981, 1989).

While these comprehensive efforts have merit, they may not fit the needs of a particular school. The principal and teachers therefore have the option of pursuing a modified plan. For example, while considering the daily school-related pressures, the staff can explore realistic ways of incorporating independent reading in the classroom. One consideration is to obtain materials for a classroom minilibrary related to a unit of study. The children would then be encouraged to self select materials in which they are interested and to read them during the last part of each lesson. Another consideration is to scrutinize the

practice of requiring exercises in workbooks, activities in the teacher's manual, and routines in weekly plans. Instead, only necessary assignments should be stressed so that more school time is available for enjoying books (Spiegel, 1981).

Whether the staff pursues schoolwide efforts or a modified plan, the library media specialist becomes a major source of support. This invaluable professional can assist with the selection of materials for classroom and mini-classroom libraries. The librarian can also motivate children to read for pleasure through book talks, read alouds, and storytelling. In working cooperatively with the teaching and library staff, the administrator is not only treating independent reading as a major part of the whole language philosophy but also helping to plant the seeds of lifetime literacy for future generations.

Guideline 4: Encourage the teaching of vocabulary through reading immersion.

An established independent reading program sets the stage for incorporating vocabulary with materials children are reading. Teachers intuitively assume that students with extensive word knowledge are more likely to read with understanding and fluency. While realizing the importance of this relationship, teachers are sometimes unsure about the best approaches and the amount of time and energy needed for effective instruction.

Part of this uncertainty lies in several seemingly contradictory findings. For example, students must have a varied and deep knowledge of vocabulary for effective comprehension of text. Yet, if teachers were to engage learners in intensive

vocabulary instruction, this approach would not only be time consuming but also result in the learning of a minimal number of words (Graves & Prenn, 1986; Herman & Dole, 1988). In fact, teachers who attempt explicit coverage of all new words in basal readers will probably teach less than 500 words each year (Nagy & Herman, 1987). Since average students in grades 3-12 gain an awareness of about 3000 words per year (Nagy & Herman, 1987), apparently much vocabulary is learned incidentally through other means, such as the reading of school materials without direct instructional intervention (Nagy, 1988; Nagy, et al., 1985a, 1985b). In addition, common sense suggests that too much emphasis on intensive teaching of word meanings may displace other important whole language activities, including reading for pleasure.

These findings are not as contradictory as they are complementary, especially if teachers guide students to link vocabulary with reading immersion. Although this approach is no guarantee that individuals will improve their vocabulary, extensive reading provides three essential properties of vocabulary instruction: integration, repetition, and meaningful use (Nagy, 1988). The essence of integration is that knowledge is structured by sets of relationships and that readers comprehend new information by relating it to their prior knowledge. Repetition is important because the more exposure and facility readers have with words the more attention they give to comprehension. Providing students with substantial exposure to new words, however, is especially effective if students use the

words meaningfully. Thus, dealing with words in context is more beneficial than merely defining the words in isolation.

Interestingly, independent reading that is frequent and extensive can support these properties of powerful vocabulary instruction. According to Nagy (1988, p.31):

Consider the first property, integration--the need to relate the meaning of a new word to students' prior knowledge. If the reader is largely successful in comprehending the text containing the new word, then the new word is being tied in with the reader's prior knowledge; most of the words and the concepts in the text are already at least partly familiar. As for repetition, whether reading supplies this for a new word depends on how much the student is reading and whether the new word is repeated. If the most important words for a student to learn are those that do occur repeatedly, reading will supply the necessary repetition. And of course in reading, one makes meaningful use of words. Reading is the best practice for reading.

The administrator can support these characteristics by encouraging teachers to provide school time for reading a wide variety of books. Similar to the suggestions in Guideline 2, the principal works with the staff in large scale or low-key efforts. The emphasis, however, is on stimulating children's word knowledge in the natural context of reading materials. One way of accomplishing this goal is to devote part of faculty meetings and informal conferences to discussions that value the teaching and learning of vocabulary through meaningful immersion in books.

The teachers probably will be delighted to learn that their instructional leader is not concerned with teaching skills in isolation to accommodate external pressures, such as competency testing requirements, media coverage of testing results, and board of education and parental expectations concerning skill development. Instead, both the principal and the staff reinforce their confidence that students learn vocabulary more effectively by experiencing words in a variety of meaningful contexts. This approach, of course, is not intended to take the place of explicit vocabulary instruction. Sensitive teachers work cooperatively with their students in deciding when word knowledge needs to be taught directly and when it is learned adequately through book immersion.

Guideline 5: Support teachers' demonstration activities that reinforce the role of context for expanding word knowledge.

As students immerse themselves in silent reading and simultaneously expand their word knowledge through context, teachers may vary this classroom approach by demonstrating interesting ways in which context plays a major role in vocabulary development. The principal can help by engaging in mutual lesson planning with teachers before classroom instruction. This process is an adaptation of the planning phase of clinical supervision (Cogan, 1973; Garman, 1982; Goldhammer, 1969), and it is useful here for organizing demonstration activities for passages to be read by students. The staff is therefore prepared to engage in contextual strategies while students follow along with a transparency or duplicated material.

The purpose of these demonstration sessions is to help readers gain contextual insights, such as the following:

- A. Certain words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs help to determine the meaning of some new words and concepts. The teacher thinks aloud as he/she attempts to grasp an awareness of a key word through its context. Here, the teacher notes that context may be helpful in making an inference concerning peripheral rather than explicit meaning. He/She also suggests that peripheral meaning is probably sufficient for understanding the whole selection. Then, the teacher encourages students to use context while reading their self-selected books.
- B. Reading whole selections increases an awareness that thorough knowledge of all words is unimportant. The teacher reads a passage aloud and indicates that he/she is unsure of certain word meanings. Then the teacher says, "Instead of trying to figure them out, I am going to put light marks by these words and to continue reading." At the completion of the selection, the teacher summarizes the author's ideas and discusses the marked words. "Do I know what these words are now?" "What about the words I am still unsure of?" "Are these important to understanding the selection?" The teacher then shows that many of the words he/she already knows incidentally, that some of the words still causing difficulty may or may not be necessary for understanding the passage, and that context is not always helpful in determining the meaning of new words. Decisions, therefore,

have to be made, and approaches to gaining the meaning of some words have to be considered. These strategies reflect a variation of Vacca, Vacca, and Gove's (1987, p. 217) suggestions to be used by students for word identification purposes. These strategies, however, can also be employed by teachers for demonstrating an awareness that knowing the meaning of all words in a selection is unnecessary for comprehension. After the demonstration, students derive additional benefits from practicing with the teacher's guidance until they are able to use context discriminatingly.

- C. Context can support other approaches to learning unfamiliar words independently. The teacher carefully selects a passage with words consisting of prefixes, roots, and suffixes that do not reveal meaning on the basis of word structure. Nagy (1988, p. 38) provides a striking example: "knowing that abs means 'away from' and tract means 'to draw, pull' is not likely to help a student encountering the word abstract for the first time." After selecting the passage, the teacher reads it aloud and attempts to determine the meaning of key words through their word parts. When this fails, context is used as another option or strategy for determining the word meanings. The teacher reminds students that although word structure is an important strategy for independent word learning, context is also useful and complementary especially when word parts do not provide clues to intended meanings. Students are then

motivated to use context during independent reading as a support system for unlocking the meaning of words.

- D. For comprehension to occur, vocabulary and prior knowledge must interact. According to Adams and Bruce (1982, p. 23), "Without prior knowledge, a complex object, such as a text, is not just difficult to interpret; strictly speaking, it is meaningless." The classroom teacher can help students to activate their prior knowledge (or schemata) of a text by using a variation of a prereading plan referred to as PReP (Langer, 1981). For example, the teacher thinks aloud indicating that before reading the book, he/she is going to skim and become aware of the title and subtitles as well as the key words, phrases, and pictures. Then, the teacher says, "I am going to say anything that comes to my mind when I see the word _____." For the purpose of clarification, responses are placed on the chalkboard. Afterward, the teacher says, "I want to think more deeply about these responses." Thus, certain words are weighed, accepted, revised, rejected, or integrated. Finally, the teacher says, "Based on these thoughts and before I read my book, do I have any new ideas about _____?" Here, more elaboration, revision, or refinement is noted. Although Langer's PReP is intended as a teacher-directed activity, appropriate teacher demonstration can encourage students to use a variation for the purpose of integrating their prior knowledge with their self-selected text. As

with other approaches that focus on context, guided practice is essential.

- E. The intonation a reader brings to a text can affect the importance and meaning of words. Pitch, stress, and juncture are aspects of intonation that determine a reader's interpretation of text. Lefevre (1964, pp. 74-75) provides a classic example: "I did not say you stole my red bandana." In this sentence, when the word I is highlighted, the implied meaning is "someone else said it." Conversely, when the word you is emphasized, the interpretation is likely to be "someone else stole it." The teacher can increase students' sensitivity to intonation by demonstrating its use while reading aloud. Since intonational patterns are especially useful for interpreting dialogue, the teacher selects dialogues from a book and highlights specific words. The children are then challenged to make inferences about intended meanings and to apply this skill to their own books. Students also should have opportunities to practice the skill with different materials in varied content areas. Linking intonation with word meaning reflects one of the basic linguistic principles which views text as an implicit representation of speech. Students who are frequently exposed to this process gain important insights concerning the comprehension act.

These five demonstration approaches support the role of context for expanding vocabulary development. The staff should be aware, however, that these approaches are most effective when

students believe they can imitate them and actually want to imitate them (Schunk, 1987; Winograd & Paris, 1988-1989; Winograd & Smith, 1987). The staff also should be cautious about overdoing demonstration activities since they could displace independent reading and negate its philosophy. What teachers and administrators need to provide is a balance of encouraging wide and varied reading as much as possible and of using demonstration at appropriate times in clear, motivational ways.

Guideline 6: Focus on informal evaluation that is well-matched with instruction.

As teachers continue to nurture children's literacy learning in a natural whole language context, the issue of evaluation inevitably surfaces. Typically, many school districts in the United States administer readiness testing in kindergarten and other standardized testing throughout the grades. This type of assessment reflects a subskill orientation which is dichotomous to a natural learning environment. Such an overt mismatch of learning and evaluation frustrates children and provides inadequate information concerning their prior knowledge, their comprehension of complete stories, their authentic writing, their love of language, and other growth patterns.

A better approach to evaluation is to eliminate all standardized testing from, at least, kindergarten to third grade and to replace it with informal kidwatching strategies (Marek, Howard, et al., 1984; Goodman, 1989). Kidwatching involves observing, interacting with, and analyzing children's behavior during writing, reading, listening, speaking, art, drama, and

other language-oriented activities. The important consideration here is that kidwatching is a continuous process of evaluating children's growth while teaching and learning are occurring; it is different from typical standardized testing which takes place once a year and which does not consider the daily dynamics and frustrations of teaching and learning.

Observing involves viewing children's performance from a distance. The classroom teacher may decide to observe a student working individually, a child working in a group, the whole group working together, or the entire class; the purpose of observing is to determine use of language, leadership, problem solving, and collaborative abilities. Interacting involves conferencing, participating in small-group and whole-class discussions, posing pertinent questions, and reacting to students' journal entries; the purpose of interacting is to determine students' current knowledge and to stimulate their thinking beyond this current state of thought. Analyzing involves in-depth approaches, such as miscue analysis (Goodman, Watson, & Burke, 1987) and careful attention to spelling development (Read, 1971); the purpose of analyzing is to consider linguistic insights while determining children's knowledge of language and their development in language use. According to Goodman (1989, p. 8), in most cases, these three types of evaluation are overlapping and integrated. "They are strong evaluation tools, especially when they are used in concert. Each can help confirm the information gained from the use of the others."

Complementing these kidwatching efforts is a portfolio approach to assessment. Valencia (1990) provides four guiding principles that support the portfolio approach: (1) sound assessment is grounded in authenticity; (2) evaluation must be a continuous process that records students' ongoing development; (3) valid assessment is a multidimensional process that samples a wide range of activities, responses, and processes; and (4) evaluation must provide for collaborative reflection that helps to determine the extent of learning.

Portfolios contain samples of students' writing, teacher's anecdotes of children's reading habits, students' self-evaluation, classroom tests, checklists, and other indicators of learning. What is included in the portfolio, however, should be linked to the goals of instruction. For example, demonstrating a desire to read and expressing personal feelings in journal writing are among the goals that help to focus the portfolio so that only pertinent items are included in it. Thus, administrators, teachers, students, and parents can feel confident that this type of assessment represents a global picture of development.

While elaborating important uses of the portfolio approach, Valencia (1990, p. 340) gives a balanced perspective:

The real value of a portfolio does not lie in its physical appearance, location, or organization; rather, it is in the mindset that it instills in students and teachers. Portfolios represent a philosophy that demands that we view assessment as an integral part of

our instruction, providing a process for teachers and students to use to guide learning... It is a philosophy that honors both the process and the products of learning as well as the active participation of the teacher and the students in their own evaluation and growth.

Administrators and teachers should consider kidwatching, portfolio assessment, and other informal strategies for evaluation because they focus on what students can do during literacy learning. They also provide better instructional direction than does standardized testing.

Summary

Administrators should realize that whole language is a multidimensional belief system, that everyone involved in its implementation must become a learner, and that this process requires risk-taking in a supportive environment (Newman & Church, 1990). Principals can provide such support by working cooperatively with teachers during every phase of implementation. The guidelines presented here are only a sampling of the many ways in which educational leaders and teachers can take risks while they promote worthwhile strategies and activities for children. Forming study groups is an initial consideration for bringing people together and helping them share important information. As the staff reads about and discusses whole language implications, concerns are likely to emerge such as developing a belief in emerging literacy. With this belief firmly grounded, other concerns will emerge including the role of

independent reading as a major activity. Here, administrative impetus is needed not only for encouraging independent reading during school time but also for supporting vocabulary development through reading immersion. In addition, as students expand their word knowledge through book immersion, the principal can assist with the development of related teacher demonstration activities. Although the teaching of other skills was not discussed within the space limitations of this paper, they also should be linked to a meaningful context. Finally, any innovation, including whole language, inevitably leads to the issue of evaluation. Kidwatching, portfolio assessment, and other informal approaches are well-matched with the whole language philosophy, and the administrator should encourage their use as viable alternatives to standardized testing. Unless these and other guidelines are considered seriously by administrators and teachers, the whole language movement will probably not fulfill its true potential.

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