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# Deaf Education Policy as Language Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Sweden and the United States

The history of deaf education can be summarized as a debate over the best way to help deaf and hard of hearing children participate in society. What language should be used to teach them? What language should they use to communicate?

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AS THE OPENING epigraph suggests, the role of languages is a central issue in deaf education. The function of sign languages in education and deaf students' opportunities to develop linguistic abilities in both sign languages and the dominant language(s) of a society are key considerations (Hogan-Brun 2009; Reagan 2010, 53; Swanwick 2010a). Accordingly, what Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, 122–23) term language-in-education planning—planning that deals specifically with education—is a fruitful area of inquiry for sign language policy and planning. It is in this vein that we provide a comparative policy analysis of national education policies that create a context within

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which sign languages exist and operate in the educational systems of two countries—Sweden and the United States.

The purpose of this study, then, is to offer a cross-national analysis that examines how sign language status and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989) are represented in U.S. and Swedish policy documents. We begin with an overview of deaf-education policy in both polities, which is followed by a discussion of principles of status and acquisition planning as they relate to education. We then present our textual analysis, focusing on the ways in which status and acquisition issues are characterized in the policies of each country. Finally, we consider the different implementational spaces (Hornberger 2005; Johnson 2009) that these policies make available for multilingual education.

## Background

A constellation of policy documents governs education in Sweden and the United States. In Sweden, these documents include the Education Act,<sup>1</sup> as well as national curricula (Lgr 11; Lpf 94, Lpfö 98) and syllabi.<sup>2</sup> Deaf students follow the same national curriculum for compulsory education as mainstream students but with certain modifications and accommodations that are set forth in the Ordinance for Special Schools (SFS 1995:401) and the syllabi for special schools (Skolverket 2002).

The Ordinance for Special Schools (SFS 1995:401) and the syllabi for special schools (Skolverket 2002, 2010) apply to government-subsidized special schools to which deaf and hard of hearing students in Sweden have access (Bagga-Gupta 2004, 28). These special schools offer the same curriculum as mainstream Swedish schools but make special accommodations for deaf and hard of hearing students (Bagga-Gupta 2010; Svartholm 1993, 299).<sup>3</sup> For compulsory education, there are five special schools at the regional level and one at the national level, as well as a few at the local level (Bagga-Gupta 2004, 25). Although the special schools are set forth explicitly in policy, other placement possibilities are available in Sweden as well, including the mainstream classroom (Svartholm 2010, 168–69).

Deaf education in the United States is governed principally by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act of 2004 (IDEA). While IDEA outlines in general terms the educational rights

of students with disabilities,<sup>4</sup> the Regulations of the Offices of the Department of Education, which are codified in Title 34 of the Code of Federal Regulations, provide the federal-level interpretation of IDEA and elucidate the processes by which IDEA is implemented at the state, district, and school levels. Together, these two texts form the legislative framework for deaf education.

There are two primary requirements in IDEA that must be satisfied when implementing the policy. First, an annual individualized education plan (IEP) must be created for each student. The IEP team, which comprises educators and parents, establishes academic and functional (e.g., language) goals. Then the IEP team determines the educational context within which the student will be placed (Ramsey 1997). For deaf and hard of hearing students, these contexts include regular education and self-contained classrooms, regional programs, and schools for the deaf (Fiedler 2001, 56).

### Principles of Language Policy and Planning

Kaplan and Baldauf explain that language-in-education planning is a subset of national language planning that focuses on the domain of education and takes into account “what languages are desirable in the repertoire of speakers in the community and for what purposes those languages will be used” (1997, 126). Inherent in language-in-education planning, then, are two of the three major types of planning: status planning and acquisition planning.<sup>5</sup>

Status planning, meaning decisions that relate to the societal functions of a language, has been recognized as a core type of planning since Kloss’s work in the late 1960s (Hornberger 2006, 28). It typically involves formal and public aspects of language use since they tend to fall under the purview of government and institutional control unlike private or interpersonal language use (Fishman 1979, 12). The educational domain, thus, is a major site for status planning, with respect to both selecting media of instruction and determining which additional languages will be taught as subjects (Cooper 1989, 109–15).

Cooper (1989) introduced the concept of acquisition planning as a way to highlight aspects of language planning that focus specifically on the users of a language. Planning of this type concentrates on how users might be supported (or not) in the advancement of their

linguistic repertoires through provisions for the ongoing development of a language and/or through the opportunity to learn additional languages (Hornberger 2006, 28). Strictly speaking, acquisition planning need not center on educational institutions since incentives and opportunities to acquire and develop proficiency in a language can be fostered beyond the confines of the classroom by, *inter alia*, employing a language in media or requiring a language as a professional qualification (Cooper 1989, 159–60). The domain of formal education, however, is an institutionalized space where planning about *how* languages are learned can be shaped through national educational policy that guides curricular documents, as well as the allocation of resources for personnel and material (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 125–39). Indeed, as Spolsky remarks, “the language policy adopted by an educational system is without a doubt one of the most powerful forces in language management” (2009, 90).

In sum, status and acquisition are intertwined elements of language-in-education planning. The societal functions of a language (status) are inseparable from the users of a language and how they come to develop the linguistic abilities (acquisition) to perform those functions (Hornberger 2006, 28; Hult 2004, 182). With respect to education, status planning may be said to address *what* languages are learned, while acquisition planning may be said to address *how* languages are learned. In terms of status planning for sign languages, language-in-education planning takes into account both what languages (sign and spoken) are to be used in the educational setting itself, as either media of instruction or as subjects, and what languages students need to add to their linguistic repertoires in order to participate in social and professional life beyond the confines of schools (Reagan 2010, 157–62). Acquisition planning, in turn, deals with the implementation of language education and development in schools, including how sign languages are to be used in the instructional environment as well as what kind of material and pedagogical support students receive in a given language (Spolsky 2009, 101–108).

### Present Study

The analysis that we present here explores the ways in which both Swedish and U.S. educational policies for deaf education reflect these

aspects of status and acquisition planning. The following question guided our investigation: How do Swedish and U.S. educational policies for deaf education reflect principles of language-in-education planning with respect to status and acquisition? Specifically, we identified the major national policies for deaf education in each polity. For Sweden, the policy documents<sup>6</sup> examined were the Education Act (SFS 2010:800) and the Ordinance for Special Schools (SFS 1995:401) current at the time of our investigation. In addition, the national syllabi for special schools, both the current (Skolverket 2002) and the revised provisional (Skolverket 2010) versions, were examined. For the United States, both the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act of 2004 (IDEA) and Title 34 of the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) were analyzed. While the two polities have different legislative and educational systems, these sets of policies represent the governing documents for deaf education on the national scale in each country and thus allow for useful comparison. We employed a discourse analytic approach to policy analysis (e.g., Hult 2010; Scollon 2008) to identify circulating discourses about language status and acquisition in the texts.

### Status Planning

Recalling our discussion on language planning, the status of spoken and sign languages in education can be identified by examining the domains for which the languages are prescribed and the functions assigned them within those domains. Deciding which language is used for direct instruction is “perhaps the status-planning decision most frequently made” (Cooper 1989, 109). Thus, in order to determine status planning for sign languages, it is necessary to examine the policies to find out which educational spaces (domains) are outlined and ascertain the position of sign languages within those contexts. We first turn to the Swedish context.

Students in Sweden typically attend schools that are within their local municipalities. For those who are deaf or hard of hearing, however, the Education Act establishes special schools as *de jure* educational contexts<sup>7</sup> for deaf pupils (SFS 2010:800, chapter 7, §6). As such, unique linguistic spaces emerge within the special schools. The syllabi state

that among the special schools' "most important tasks" is that of supporting deaf students' language development "by offering a rich sign language environment and good models of sign language" (Skolverket 2002, 15). This foregrounds the function of languages within these spaces (Spolsky 2004, 46).

The languages used in the special schools are set forth in the syllabi, the national guidelines produced by the Swedish National Agency for Education:

Education in the Specialskola [special school] is characterized by the fact that both Swedish and sign language are used [in] parallel in different functions and reinforce each other as tools for communication and learning. (Skolverket 2002, 12)

This excerpt clearly illustrates that the special schools are domains for both sign and spoken languages. In addressing the language of instruction, the role of sign language in the bilingual classroom is described as follows:

The bilingual environment creates conditions [in which] to exchange experiences concerning the two languages, their structure and contents, and together with teachers and comrades plan the working methods and contents of education, express views, search for and impart knowledge, as well as develop new ideas. Learning takes place through both languages. (Skolverket 2002, 14)

The functions of sign language, then, include the formal study of the language, the sharing of knowledge, communication with peers and teachers, and the formulation of new ideas. Furthermore, the last two lines of the text suggest that sign language also functions as a language of instruction. Further evidence can be drawn from the document's recognition that "bilingualism is thus important not just within the subjects of Swedish and sign language, but in all the subjects taught in the school"; teachers are responsible for ensuring that "pupils develop a mastery of these concepts in both languages" (Skolverket 2002, 14). Thus, sign language holds a clear status as a language of instruction, a tool for communicating with peers and teachers, and a school subject.

Taken together, these policy texts explicitly demonstrate "a commitment to the use of sign language in the educational domain"

(Reagan 2010, 157). Thus, one can argue that sign language lays claim to a specific status within the special schools because it emerges from “the process of language selection” as a language to be taught and learned (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 37). This status echoes a sentiment, often credited to a 1981 parliamentary bill<sup>8</sup> but present in Swedish curricular documents since the 1970s, long expressed in Swedish policy that deaf students need to achieve bilingualism in order to participate both in the Deaf community and in mainstream society (Bagga-Gupta 2010, 262–63; Svartholm 2010, 157).

Turning to the United States, IDEA also establishes special schools for deaf students. These contexts, however, are but one of several educational environments set forth in the least restrictive environment (LRE) provision:

To the maximum extent appropriate, children with disabilities, including children in public or private institutions or other care facilities, are educated with children who are not disabled, and special classes, separate schooling, or other removal of children with disabilities from the regular educational environment occurs only when the nature or severity of the disability of a child is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved satisfactorily. (20 U.S.C. § 612(a)(5)(A))

At least two significant findings for language planning can be drawn from this provision. First, the regular mainstream classroom is positioned as the preferred setting. The strength of this inclusion discourse can be seen by the structure of the provision itself. It begins by placing at the head of the paragraph the phrase “to the maximum extent appropriate” and concludes with steps that educators can take to ensure placement within the general education classroom: providing “supplementary aids and services” such as assistive listening devices and sign language interpreting services (34 C.F.R. § 300.34).

Second, the LRE provision establishes “peers” to mean students who “are not disabled.” This discourse first arises within the general provisions set forth at the beginning of IDEA:

Before the date of enactment of [IDEA], the educational needs of millions of children with disabilities were not being fully met because . . . the children were excluded entirely from the public school system and from being educated with their peers. (20 U.S.C. § 601(c)(2)(B))



Prior to IDEA, deaf students were educated primarily in schools for the deaf that are similar to the special schools found in Sweden.<sup>9</sup> Their peers were other deaf students. This changed with the passage of IDEA; the majority of deaf students are now educated alongside hearing students<sup>10</sup> (who communicate in spoken English) rather than with other deaf pupils (Gallaudet Research Institute 2007). Given that spoken English is the dominant language of the mainstream classroom, determining student placement is a de facto form of language management (Siegel 2008; Spolsky 2009).

Although the U.S. policies are explicit about student placement, the status of sign language in education is addressed only latently. Sign language is defined as a native language for deaf students in Title 34 of the Code of Federal Regulations:

§ 300.29 Native language.

...

(b) For an individual with deafness or blindness, or for an individual with no written language, the mode of communication is that normally used by the individual (such as sign language, Braille, or oral communication).

Outside of this definition, the term “sign language” appears only once in IDEA and is mentioned once more in the CFR. The role of sign language in the K–12 context is not explicitly stated in IDEA. However, the CFR does make space for sign language as a related service that can be provided in the mainstream setting (34 C.F.R. § 300.34(4)(i)).

With respect to status planning, one can see how “language selection and the implementation to choose and disseminate the language or languages selected” are framed both explicitly and implicitly within these national policies (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 29).

### Acquisition Planning

In addition to status planning, the policies of both countries address acquisition issues. The legislative texts (Education Act, Ordinance for Special Schools, and IDEA) of the two polities do not specify many explicit aims and processes for language acquisition. This is, perhaps, not surprising given their legal rather than pedagogical nature. Nonetheless, looking beyond the legislative texts themselves to the policy documents guiding educational practice (i.e., the syllabi

for special schools in Sweden and the Code of Federal Regulations in the United States), provisions related to language-acquisition planning are discernible.

The development of Swedish/Swedish Sign Language (SSL) bilingualism is a major feature in the syllabi for special schools. For example, the syllabus for Sign Language and Swedish specifies the following:

The majority of pupils in the Specialskola develop, in communication with sign language surroundings, their sign language as a first language. In such an environment, deaf and hearing impaired pupils are given the opportunity to develop high standards of bilingualism in sign language and Swedish. (Skolverket 2002, 13)

Thus, the special school is framed explicitly as a site for language-acquisition planning and the development of bilingualism. The syllabi flesh out how multilingualism can be developed; for instance, students use their knowledge of sign language and Swedish to develop proficiency in English as a foreign language, participate in drama, and develop their deaf identities (Skolverket 2002). As such, the syllabi for special schools serve “to create or to improve the opportunity to learn” Swedish and continue to develop SSL (Cooper 1989, 159).

This focus on bilingual language use and development continues in the proposed new syllabi for special schools, which state that, “For deaf and hard of hearing people commanding both sign language and Swedish is valuable for being able to take part actively in social and professional life” (Skolverket 2010, 28). This reflects continued explicit attention to language-acquisition planning in the special schools. Moreover, this excerpt highlights that such planning transcends the educational setting itself to consider the linguistic repertoire that a student needs to develop in order to participate in society at large (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 126). This is also supported by the current syllabi’s aim to develop deaf students’ fluency in both languages: “The Specialskola has the task of preparing pupils so that they can live and work as individuals with two languages in society” (Skolverket 2002, 13). The discourse in these excerpts thus suggests that sign language is framed as a language for participation in mainstream Swedish society and that it should be learned with that purpose in mind.

As we have seen in the Swedish documents, a major element of acquisition planning is a consideration of how sign language will be used in education, including its relationship to spoken languages. This is further evident in how the use of sign language interpretation is addressed. As Reagan suggests, “perhaps the most important example of acquisition planning for sign languages . . . is in the preparation of sign language interpreters” (2010, 171). Both the Swedish and the U.S. policy documents address the role of sign language interpretation. The proposed new syllabi for special schools include specific topics to address in the subject of sign language with respect to interpretation:

Grades 1–4: “Sign language interpretation and how one engages with interpreted conversations and speeches, for example, how interpretation is used, the interpreter’s role and obligation to observe silence.” (Skolverket 2010, 29)

Grades 5–7: “Sign language interpreting in formal and informal conversations and during speeches.” (Skolverket 2010, 30)

Grades 8–10: “The effect of sign language interpretation and the interpretive context on conversation.” (Skolverket 2010, 32)

Sign language interpretation is linked here to the development of a linguistic repertoire that facilitates social interaction in various speech events such as informal and formal conversation as well as speeches. In the higher grades, attention is also paid to developing critical awareness of the potential impact of interpretation on social interaction. Thus, sign language interpretation is framed as a communicative resource to be cultivated in school for broader use in society (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 126).

Sign language interpretation in U.S. policy is framed in terms of related services. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, 130–33) note, language-in-education planning includes providing personnel and staffing to support students’ linguistic needs. In IDEA, the purpose of sign language interpretation can be gleaned from how it is framed in the requirements set forth for training language professionals:

Preparing personnel to be qualified educational interpreters, to assist children with low-incidence disabilities, particularly deaf and hard of hearing children in school and school-related activities, and deaf

and hard of hearing infants and toddlers and preschool children in early-intervention and preschool programs. (20 U.S.C. § 662(c)(2)(E))

Thus, the need to account for multimodal communication is addressed; however, unlike the Swedish policy, the focus is on helping deaf students to gain access to “school and school-related activities” rather than on developing communicative skills related to using an interpreter as part of a bilingual/bimodal linguistic repertoire. This is further seen in the Code of Federal Regulations, where interpretive services are defined:

(4) *Interpreting services* includes—

(i) The following, when used with respect to children who are deaf or hard of hearing: Oral transliteration services, cued language transliteration services, sign language transliteration and interpreting services, and transcription services, such as communication access real-time translation (CART), C-Print, and TypeWell; and (ii) Special interpreting services for children who are deaf-blind. (34 C.F.R. § 300.34(4))

Explicit attention is paid to the role that sign language interpretation plays in how deaf students access educational services, but the focus is on its role as a compensatory tool for accessing the dominant hearing classroom environments (i.e., the least restrictive environment, as noted earlier) through “‘language brokers’ who can interpret between the sign language and the national spoken language” (Reagan 2010, 161).

Furthermore, with respect to acquisition planning, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, 127) point out that it is important to determine “the space in the curriculum allocated to language instruction.” For Sweden, the Ordinance for Special Schools states that of the 7,845 hours of instructional time during the academic year, time spent on language instruction will be allocated as follows: 1,560 hours for Swedish, 725 hours for Swedish Sign Language, 515 hours for English, and 320 hours for other language electives (SFS 1995:401, appendix). Although the U.S. policy does not similarly codify the allocation of instructional time, space for the development of sign language/English bilingualism can be found in IDEA in the communication-needs provision:

[I]n the case of a child who is deaf or hard of hearing, consider the child’s language and communication needs, opportunities for direct communications with peers and professional personnel in the child’s

language and communication mode, academic level, and full range of needs, including opportunities for direct instruction in the child's language and communication mode. (20 U.S.C. § 614(d)(3)(B)(iv))

While the dominant discourse in the LRE provision suggests that the regular education classroom is the preferred placement option, IDEA also requires that deaf students' communication needs be considered when making placement decisions. The regular education classroom provides students with access to peers without disabilities; however, it often restricts deaf students' "opportunities for direct communication with peers and professional personnel" and direct instruction in sign language.<sup>11</sup> It becomes evident, then, that competing discourses exist within the U.S. policy texts regarding where deaf students should be placed, thus creating "gaps and spaces" that individuals can use (Ball 2006, 45) to support sign language acquisition.

### Discussion and Conclusion

Through this comparative analysis, we have traced the ways in which Swedish and U.S. deaf education policies address educational language-planning issues. Language-in-education planning for sign languages centers on the educational contexts in which deaf students are placed and the functions of sign language within these domains. Figure 1 (inspired by Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 512) illustrates the interaction of these two types of planning. On the horizontal axis we map the discourses of bilingual development and assimilation (i.e., acquisition) that are present within the policy texts. The various educational contexts (i.e., status) are mapped onto the vertical axis, with schools for the deaf at one end and the inclusion setting at the opposite end. Then, drawing on the findings from the textual analysis we have presented, we plot the Swedish and U.S. policies in order to visually represent the interaction between status and acquisition planning. It is important to note that our focus here is on policy provisions rather than on the implementation of deaf education in practice, which would vary greatly in each country.<sup>12</sup>

Considering acquisition planning, the Swedish syllabi are placed on the left side of the continuum given that Swedish and SSL development are promoted and sign language is set forth as a language of

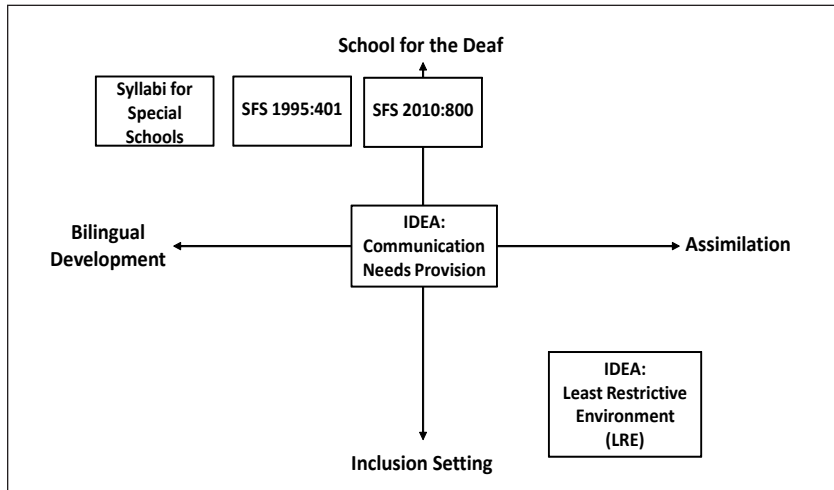


FIGURE 1. Interaction between Status and Acquisition Planning for Deaf Education in Sweden and the United States.

communication and instruction. The Ordinance for Special Schools (SFS 1995:401), with some attention to instructional time for different languages, though not clearly specifying bilingual instruction, is placed slightly to the right of the syllabi. In the LRE provision, sign language is framed as a related service to assist deaf students in accessing the dominant language of society: English. At the same time, the communication needs provision provides space for sign language as a language of communication and instruction. As such, the LRE provision is placed closer to the assimilation side of the horizontal axis. The communication needs provision, in turn, is placed in the middle of the continuum to signify that bilingual development is dependent upon the needs of the deaf or hard of hearing student.

Turning to status planning, the policies of both countries establish a preferred-placement context for deaf students. In Sweden, the special schools are the *de jure* educational contexts. As such, the syllabi, the Ordinance for Special Schools, and the Education Act (SFS 2010:800) are placed on the upper end of the figure, with the Education Act centered on the horizontal axis since it offers no specific guidance for or against bilingualism or assimilation. In the U.S. policies, the LRE

provision sets forth the inclusion setting as the preferred placement context; hence, it is placed in the lower quadrant. The communication needs provision, however, opens up potential space for placement within schools for the deaf and other contexts where sign language development could be fostered. Accordingly, it is placed in the center.

As one can see, framing educational contexts for deaf students in policy instantiates a process of language planning whereby the languages to be taught and learned are determined by the context within which students are placed (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 37). Language-in-education planning for deaf education, as reflected in policy texts, tends to be explicit in Sweden but implicit in the United States. However, implementational space in the policies of both countries exists to varying degrees for sign language development and bilingualism.

As Hornberger (2002, 30) suggests, *all* policies create “ideological and implementational space” to support the coexistence of many languages rather than restricting the educational environment to a single language. Hornberger further states the following:

[I]t is essential for language educators and language users to fill up implementational spaces with multilingual educational practices, whether with intent to occupy ideological spaces opened up by policies or to prod actively toward more favorable ideological spaces in the face of restrictive policies. Ideological spaces created by language and education policies can be seen as carving out implementational spaces at classroom and community levels, but implementational spaces can also serve as wedges to pry open ideological ones. (2005, 606)

The first step in responding to Hornberger’s call to fill up implementational space with multilingual educational practices is to identify where the spaces exist. Hence, we suggest the communication needs provision in U.S. policy as one such space that agents can pry open to promote multilingualism. Similarly, greater awareness of the spaces for multilingual education in *de jure* Swedish policy might help to inform parents, teachers, and other key agents about educational options for deaf students beyond mainstream classrooms.

As Johnson (2009, 75) suggests, “[T]here are varying interpretations in each policy layer, and such interpretations and re-interpretations create the possibility for agentive appropriation.” Johnson (2004, 81)

further suggests that language educators need not assume that “policy texts necessitate inevitable educational outcomes.” In addition, educators of deaf students need not assume that policies require inevitable placement decisions (Compton 2010). Rather, these educators must view themselves as agents of change (Swanwick 2010b, 147) who work to implement national policies within local contexts (Johnson 2009, 75) in such a way as to ensure “the education of deaf children in settings in which they will acquire the sign language of the surrounding deaf community” (Reagan 2010, 170).

To conclude as we began, it is useful to revisit the questions set forth by the Laurent Clerc National Deaf Education Center. As we have shown here, tracing language-in-education planning for sign languages within Swedish and U.S. education policies brings to light the ways in which educational policies address how to help students participate in society, what languages should be used for teaching deaf students, and what languages should be developed for communication. Even when it is not explicit, language planning is undertaken for both sign and spoken languages. Raising awareness of status and acquisition planning in education, especially in contexts where they are implicit, is a contribution that sign language scholars and language policy and planning researchers can make to help educators take advantage of implementational spaces such that educational settings become robust domains for multilingualism and sites for multimodal language development.

## Notes

1. At the time of writing, Sweden is undertaking educational reform, including the replacement of the previous Education Act (SFS 1985:1100) with a new one (SFS 2010:800), which became effective on July 1, 2011. While the Ordinance for Special Schools (SFS 1995:401) currently remains in force under the new law (F. Nilsson, personal communication, Feb. 2, 2011), a recent government bill (Prop. 2008/09, 87) set the stage for curricular changes, and the Swedish National Agency for Education has crafted new syllabi for special schools (Skolverket 2010) and other areas of compulsory education that are expected to go into effect for the 2011–2012 school year (Ministry of Education and Research 2008).

2. The national syllabi are available online at [http://www.skolverket.se/2.3894/in\\_english/2.2701](http://www.skolverket.se/2.3894/in_english/2.2701).



3. While the special schools serve deaf students, they also serve students with a range of special needs related to physical and neurological conditions (SFS 1995:401).

4. While IDEA frames deafness as a disability, we do not share this paradigm. Rather, we view deafness as a characteristic of linguistic and cultural minority groups (see Ladd 2003, 164).

5. The third dimension is corpus planning with respect to vocabulary and the standardization of spelling, grammar, and so on (see Cooper 1989, 122–56). Though all three are interrelated (Fishman 2006; Hornberger 2006), we focus here on status and acquisition since they are most germane to the U.S. and Swedish contexts.

6. All Swedish policy excerpts were translated by Francis; however, excerpts from Skolverket's (2002) English version of the syllabi are cited.

7. It should be noted that, de facto, the settings are increasingly mainstream classrooms (Svartholm 2010, 168–69).

8. It is important to note that the 1981 bill passed in Sweden does not grant Swedish Sign Language official status. Rather, the legislation recognizes it as a legitimate language of instruction (Bagga-Gupta 2010, 262–63; Reagan 2006, 332).

9. Although schools for the deaf were the primary educational context for deaf students prior to IDEA, the role of sign language in education varied among these facilities. Sign language was the language of instruction in some of the schools, whereas others prohibited its use (Reagan 2010, 333).

10. Bagga-Gupta points out that this is becoming more common in Sweden as well, with the increased mainstreaming of students with cochlear implants (2004, 25; 2007, 9–10).

11. See Ramsey (1997) for an illustration of how this plays out in regular education classrooms.

12. Future studies that explore connections between policy and practice (e.g., Menken and García 2010) might make use of this matrix to plot the *implementation* of status and acquisition planning.

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