Dr. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Brussels, 4-5 May 2019, www.Tove-Skutnabb-Kangas.org
Examples of some common models of both weak and strong models of bi/multilingual education. All the strong models, with "good" results have goals which are positive for the children concerned; they/their parents have chosen the model voluntarily, and there are alternatives. The teachers are bi/multilingual and able to enhance children's metalinguistic awareness of how languages function, and differences between the 2(3) languages. (common underlying proficiency, Cummins). MA」 =Majority; MIN = Minority. Both are defined in terms of power relations, not necessarily demographics (numbers). A numerically much smaller group - e.g. Englishspeakers in (former) colonies can be dominant in terms of power, so MAJ for this Table. Often numerical minorities are also MINorities in terms of power. "Poor" vs "Good" results are linguistic, cultural, affective, cognitive, social and school achievement related. and group-based. Individuals may differ. GOALS. Often the goals are not explicitly formulated (i.e. in models with "poor" results there is often not any conscious intention to harm the children, no "evil motivation"). Instead, the goal/intent can be deducted from the results. If the educational administrators and politicians have been told, repeatedly, what the results of various models are, and they still choose a model with "poor" results that harm the MIN children, this can be seen as "educational effects-discrimination". The negative goal/intention is still there, embedded in the way the institution - educational authorities and schools - functions. The institution of formal education will over time do the "harm", despite nice and well-intentioned teachers. See genocide definitions $2 b \& 2 e$ in the UN Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948. Some MIN children (e.g. Asian children in UK or Canada) may as a group succeed even in submersion programmes but often this is not because of the way their education is organised, but despite it THERE ARE NO ONE-MODEL-FITS-ALL. All models are context-dependent and have to be adjusted.

Table 1 Some models of bilingual education programmes (Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, copyright Tove)

| Programme | Segregation | Submersion | MIN language maintenance | Immersion for "maj." | Dual lg/ two-way | MIN revitalisation immersion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Linguistic goal | Dominance in L1 | Dominance in L2 | Bilingualism | Bilingualism | Bilingualism | Bilingualism |
| Societal goal | Apartheid/ repatriation | (Forced) assimilation, marginalization | Equity and integration | Linguistic \& cultural enrichment | MIN equity Integration MAJ $\lg$ cult enrichment | Reconciliation (Indigenous peoples or MIN whose $\lg$ is endangered) |
| Child's lg | MIN | MAJ + MIN | MIN | MAJ | MAJ+MIN | Min? Maj? |
| Teaching lg/ LOI, $\lg$ of instruction | MIN | MAJ | MIN; MAJ as subject; maybe LOI after gr. 8 | Min + bil. later, most often MAJ from gr 7, <br> MIN as subject only | Min + bil. later (e.g. gr,6: 50$50 \%$; $80-20 \%$,) the longer Min. $\lg$ the better | MIN; MAJ as subject |
| Teacher | Often monol. | Monolingual | Bilingual | Bilingual | Bilingual | Bilingual |
| Does child know teaching language? | yes | MAJ yes MIN no | MIN yes | Initially no | MAJ not initially; MIN yes | MIN? No, or a little |
| Programme chosen voluntarily? | no | MAJ? MIN no | MIN yes | yes | Both yes | MIN yes |
| Are there alternatives? | Often no | MIN no | MIN yes | yes | MAJ yes MIN ? | MIN yes |
| Results | Poor | MAJ ? MIN poor | Good | Good | Good | Good |

