Paved With Good Intentions: Foreign Language Policy in Hungary

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ABSTRACT

On the eve of Hungary’s entry into the European Union, the country was lagging behind in terms of its citizens’ foreign language competence. Recognising this, decision makers imposed quick measures for improvement, with special attention being paid to the socially disadvantaged. This paper reports the complex process of devising and implementing a national language programme.

INTRODUCTION

Until 2002, Hungary did not have a clear and comprehensive foreign language policy or national language programme. This is not to say that there had been no attempts to develop such a policy, but earlier documents were haphazard and programme implementation never managed to get off the ground.

With the imminent entry of Hungary into the European Union, it became obvious to the new government taking office in 2002 that the country was lagging behind all member states and candidate countries in terms of its citizens’ foreign language competence. Both statistical evidence and everyday experience made it imperative for decision makers to face this problem frankly and impose quick measures for improvement. Before taking action, however, they had the foresight to seek expert advice, and even practising teachers, who can seldom make their voices heard beyond the classroom or schools (Kaplan, 1992), were invited to contribute. It is the process of planning the future of foreign language education in Hungary that is reported in this paper.

The first part describes post-communist Hungary and its educational system. It also discusses the current situation concerning Hungarians’ foreign language competence, or rather the lack of it, as well as the place foreign languages occupy in the school curriculum. All these dimensions are investigated through the prism of social disparity prevailing in Hungary. The second part is devoted to the presentation of World - Language, which is a set of programmes designed to put the underlying principles into practice at all levels of education. The third part summarizes our experience, successes, and difficulties during implementation. Throughout this article, we emphasise that Hungary is still in the initial stages of a process aimed at instituting reforms in Hungarian language education, and that challenges need to be handled in a never-ending cycle of planning, implementation, and evaluation.

BACKGROUND

About Hungary

Hungary is a landlocked country, occupying almost the whole of the Carpathian Basin in Central Europe. The area of Hungary is about 36,000 square miles (57,924 kilometres) and its dwindling population was put at 10.2 million in 2001, as opposed to 10.7 million 20 years before (Central Statistical Office, 2002b).
Hungary has always had a turbulent history, and the second half of the 20th century was no exception. Following a communist takeover in 1949, the Hungarian People’s Republic was proclaimed to be under Stalinist rule. A revolution broke out against this regime in 1956, only to be crushed by the Soviet Union with military force. Between 1956 and 1988, Hungary gradually adopted liberal policies in the economic, educational, and cultural spheres, with the result that it was considered to be the most tolerant country behind the Iron Curtain. In 1989, Hungary’s communist leaders voluntarily abandoned their monopoly of power, thus facilitating a peaceful shift to a multiparty democracy and free-market economy. Since 1990, four consecutive free elections have been held—an exceptionally long democratic period in the history of the country. In 1994, Hungary asked to be admitted to the European Union, and after 10 years of candidacy, it became a full-fledged member along with nine other countries. This gives reason for cautious optimism (Medgyes & Miklósy, 2000).

On the other hand, the 1990s also led to dramatic changes in the social fabric of the Hungarian population. The relatively homogeneous structure of society broke up, being replaced by an ever-growing gap between the well-to-do and the needy. The streets of Budapest today are dotted by flashy BMWs zig-zagging and emaciated beggars peeping through the car windows at red lights.

### About the Education System

Hungarians have always taken great pride in their educational system and like to refer to Nobel-prize winning scientists of Hungarian descent and Hungarian gold medalists at international school olympiads. At the same time, there is a growing number of education experts who question the value of the knowledge Hungarian schools traditionally transfer, arguing that although students are inundated with facts, they are ill-prepared to solve even the simplest problems they will be confronted with in real life. Indeed, Hungarian students did rather poorly in all three areas of the international Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) survey (on mathematics, science, and first language reading abilities) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2001). To remedy the situation, the National Core Curriculum was revised in 2003, with the intention of ensuring more space for the development of competency-based skills.

Furthermore, the OECD’s PISA survey reveals strong correlations between social background and student achievement. In this respect, too, Hungary has every reason to be upset. Compared to any other participating country, it is in Hungary that students’ achievement is the most profoundly influenced by their family background—the OECD average is 20%, whereas the corresponding value for Hungary is 26%. To give an example, the correlation between the length of parents’ schooling and their children’s achievement has been calculated. Although the OECD average shows an increase of 4.1 in the students’ scores with every additional school year parents completed, the same figure for Hungary is 12.1. In sum, the PISA report stresses that student achievement in all areas of competence could be greatly improved in Hungary if the social gap were reduced.

Similar findings are reported in a large-scale national monitoring survey (Central Statistical Office, 2002a). With reference to parents’ expectations concerning their children’s career paths, the results show that 16.4% of less advantaged families want their children to begin work as soon as possible (the corresponding value being 0% for advantaged families), while respectively 5.3 and 46.1% plan to send their children to higher education. It is a sociological
platitudes that destitution is reproduced from generation to generation.

It is clear then that both the ideal of social justice and rational thinking call for the strengthening of social cohesion for student achievement to improve on a national scale and, as a consequence, for Hungary to become economically more competitive in an international dimension.

Recognising this pressing need, the Hungarian Ministry of Education has introduced several measures with the purpose of reducing the social gap and discontinuing unjust practices. Two of these measures deserve special mention:

- Until 2002, schools were given a special form of financial incentive, called a catch-up subsidy, to help disadvantaged children with their studies. Money-strapped, schools were eager to qualify large numbers of students as eligible for the support and stream them into special classes. Typically, these classes were provided with low-quality instruction; for example, foreign languages were not included in their curriculum, and even if they were, the only language on offer was Russian (Havas et al., 2002). Moreover, because the representation of the Roma population among the disadvantaged far exceeds that of non-Roma population, this system of financing increased the segregation of Roma students. To reverse this process, in 2002, the catch-up subsidy was superseded by the integration subsidy, which encourages schools to disband the classes for disadvantaged students and integrate them with their better-off peers.

- A programme called From the Last Row has been launched to put an end to discrimination under the pretext of mental handicap. Because schools receive abundant government support for each mentally handicapped student they look after, they have a vested interest in increasing the number of such students and putting them in special classes. This reached such high proportions in Hungary that the ratio of mentally handicapped children was put at 5.3% while the corresponding average for the European Union was only 2.5 percent (Havas et al., 2002). Even more disconcertingly, 42.6% of all Roma children of school age were qualified as handicapped and thus streamed into special classes. Furthermore, it was found that schools often stuck the label mentally handicapped even on those whose problems were due to social deprivation and not to mental retardation. The programme called “From the last row” demands that schools re-examine each child assigned in this category, and channel those found mentally capable into ordinary classes. At the same time, a national integration network has been established to provide free extracurricular lessons for students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds.

About Foreign Language Education

It is a truism to state that every country is multilingual—the concept of monolingual nationhood is a myth. However, it is also true that countries differ in the degree of their multilingualism. Hungary is certainly less multilingual than most of its neighbours: 99.8% of the population speak Hungarian, and a mere 5.6% identify themselves as nonethnic Hungarians (Central Statistical Office, 2002b). Even the largest minority group, the Roma population, represented slightly more than 2% in the latest national census, although sociologists put the real figures at 5% or more (Póczik, 1996).
Hungarian is the most unique and isolated language of Central Europe because it belongs to the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic family of languages, whereas all the surrounding countries use a language of Indo-European origin as their first language. Thus, Hungarians are not able to communicate with their neighbours unless they have learnt to speak foreign languages. It is small wonder, therefore, that the knowledge of foreign languages has always been held in high esteem in Hungary—as a Hungarian proverb puts it: “You are as many persons as the languages you can speak” (Medgyes & Miklósy, 2000).

Nevertheless, the foreign language competence of Hungarians leaves a lot to be desired: Foreign languages are spoken by merely 19.2% of the population (Central Statistical Office, 2002b). Such data, however, should be treated with caution because they draw on self-reports, which reflect stated behaviour, rather than actual behaviour (Marton, 1981). It is assumed that if the claimants were set a spot-check examination of their actual proficiency, this percentage would be much lower. Moreover, the national census provides no indication about the level of proficiency.

The foreign language competence of Hungarians looks particularly insufficient in an international context. Twenty-five percent of Hungarians claim to know at least one of the five most widely spoken foreign languages, a figure that should be contrasted with 53% in the 15 member states before enlargement (European Commission, 2001). But even compared to the other nine countries recently joining the European Union, Hungary is lagging behind (European Commission, 2002).

This is not to deny that significant progress has been achieved since the change of regime. To give an example, the number of foreign language speakers has more than doubled in 15 years, which has largely to do with increased motivation: In present-day Hungary, stating the vital importance of foreign language proficiency is stating the obvious.

According to recent statistics (Central Statistical Office, 2002b), two languages run neck and neck on the popularity scale: German is spoken by 9.9% of the population and English by 9.8%, but it is no exaggeration to assume English has already overtaken German in the past couple of years. Nevertheless, the rapid spread of English did not take place at the expense of German; indeed, the number of German speakers is also on the increase, as are speakers of other languages, including Russian, which was considered to be a pariah after long decades of Soviet dictatorship and mandatory Russian instruction.

Oddly enough, the school curriculum fails to reflect the booming interest in foreign language learning, and the space assigned for foreign language study has not grown in the past 15 years. Although it is true that 33% of primary students engage in learning a foreign language before it becomes compulsory in Grade 4, instruction on the whole is ineffective. It is similarly disquieting that, except for secondary grammar schools, where two languages must be learnt, only one language is obligatory in Hungarian public education. This is a far cry from the ideal of the trilingual European citizen (the native language plus two foreign languages) advocated by the European Union. To aggravate the situation, the distribution of foreign languages is uneven. Although language choice is not regulated by law, two languages (English primarily and German secondarily) take the lion’s share, leaving hardly any space for all the other languages.

The ill effects of social disparity permeating Hungary may also be felt in the area of foreign
language education. Although 17.5% of more advantaged children are provided with a relatively high number of foreign language lessons, this value for the disadvantaged is merely 2.7%. The data that refer to the provision of private language lessons show a similarly dismal picture: Although 11.4% of the students who come from better-off families take extra lessons, the corresponding percentage for poor students is 0.8% (Central Statistical Office, 2002a). Even more strikingly, less advantaged, especially Roma, students are often exempted from language learning under the pretext that they had better focus on their “unsatisfactory” Hungarian proficiency, before they engage in foreign language learning.

In sum, it has to be admitted that much less has been achieved since the change of regime than has been hoped for: The average Hungarian youth still does not speak foreign languages. Hartinger’s (1993) statement made more than 10 years ago still holds true: “It was easier to pull down the barbed wire on the border than it has been to cross the language barrier” (p. 33). A major stumbling block to success seems to be the absence of concerted efforts for language planning. Even though pressure brought to bear on consecutive governments to take a more proactive approach had intensified, it was not until the present government came to power in 2002 that a breakthrough was made.

The next section demonstrates a set of programmes that have been designed to give a boost to foreign language instruction in general, and to help disadvantaged students in particular.

WORLD LANGUAGE

Basic Principles
World Language (WL) is the campaign logo used by the Hungarian Ministry of Education to publicise its new policy of foreign language education. Underlying the campaign is a policy paper, the most complete document of its kind ever produced in Hungary, that the government has declared to be the national foreign language strategy of the country.

The policy paper is premised on two basic principles:
• Foreign languages should be learnt during the most formative years of human development; hence attention should be focused on primary and secondary education.
• In order to create equal opportunities, positive discrimination should be practised to help learners who come from disadvantaged backgrounds and who have learning disabilities. Accordingly, most of the measures introduced within the framework of WL are intended to realise one or both of the above strategic goals.

The next two sections respectively present some of the new elements in legislation aimed at effecting radical improvements, and a few other measures that provide a framework for innovation in foreign language education in Hungary.

Legislative Measures
The Year of Intensive Language Learning
A clause in the amended Public Education Act (2003) concerns foreign language education; namely it resolves to create an opportunity for a year of intensive language learning for 9th graders in every secondary school, grammar and vocational, to the extent of one such class to be launched in 2004, and one more class each year thereafter. The introduction of the programme is optional, but once established, a minimum of 40% of the total curriculum time (at least 11 contact hours per week) should be allocated for foreign language study. To follow
it up, volunteering schools are obliged to assign a sufficient number of lessons in Grades 10–13 for students who participated in the intensive language training programme to be able to take the advanced-level school-leaving examination in their first foreign language. These students will leave school after Grade 13, that is, a year later than their peers. Incidentally, the clause does not specify whether one or two languages should be taught during the intensive year of study, nor does it say which languages may be offered. This regulation aims to enhance language education for young people in general, while ensuring access to free instruction for those in particular who cannot afford to pay for private tuition.

The New School-Leaving Examination
The amended Public Education Act abolishes entrance examinations, rendering the school-leaving examination the only eligibility criterion for entry into higher education as of 2005. In all school subjects, the examination may be taken at two levels: intermediate and advanced. One of the four compulsory exam subjects should be a foreign language, but school-leavers may opt for another foreign language as their fifth subject. Administered to measure communicative proficiency in the four skills and use of language, the language exam consists of an oral and a written component. The expected level of competence corresponds to A2/B1 for the intermediate and B2 for advanced level as specified in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001). This new system offers an additional possibility. Traditionally, pupils are exempt from having to take the school-leaving language examination once they have passed the medium-level state foreign language examination, for which they have to pay (38% of the whole population passing the exam is aged 14–19; Halász & Lannert, 2003). With the new system in place, the reverse will apply: Those who have passed the advanced-level school-leaving examination (which is obviously free of charge) will automatically be granted the state foreign language examination certificate as well. Both the abolition of the entrance examination and the mark-up of the school-leaving examination are aimed at bridging the social gap.

The State Language Examination Made Free of Charge
Until the new school-leaving examination system takes effect, 12th-grade students in secondary schools may have their successful state language examination fees refunded by the state. This temporary measure is intended to urge every student, irrespective of his or her financial background, to set a direct goal during his or her language learning career while in school. It also serves to compensate for the fact that the new school-leaving examination can only be taken from 2005, which means that students currently in the 12th grade have to pay for the privileges the successful state language examination grants.

Other Measures
The Programme Package
A package of 11 programmes and a number of subcomponents was launched for the second year in 2004, initiating developments at every level of language education. All of them are accessible through an open application system, and the criteria for bidding are in accordance with the general aims and principles of WL. As a general rule, applicants from disadvantaged regions and schools are given preference. Below is a brief summary of two programmes, which have been specially tailored, to help socially or physically handicapped students successfully learn foreign languages.

Resource bags. This programme provides schools with authentic foreign language materials
for German, English and French. It also supplies audiovisual equipment to assist self-directed language learning and the establishment of foreign language libraries and resource centres. An in-service training project and the creation of a network of coordinators are linked to the programme. In 2003 and 2004, a total of 80 resource centres have been set up.

“Help the disadvantaged!” The programme is targeted at secondary school students who come from disadvantaged family or ethnic backgrounds, or who are dyslexic or dysgraphic, visually or hearing impaired. More specifically, schools may apply for financial aid to increase the number of language lessons for students with special needs, and to purchase suitable equipment. In 2003, 11 schools were given support; bidding for 2004 is still under way.

A Language Competition for Secondary School Students
The 2003–2004 school year was declared The Year of Language Learning by the minister of education, and this competition was planned as a major event of the year. It was aimed not only at raising students’ awareness of the importance of knowing foreign languages, but also at motivating them by means of creative and enjoyable tasks. Arranged in three consecutive rounds, the competition was made open to all secondary schools. To give a taste of the tasks included, here are two examples.

1. Students were given the equivalent of *I love you* in 30 different languages, and they had to match the phrases with the right language.
2. Five sentences were supplied in Eskimo with their Hungarian translations, followed by another five Eskimo sentences without their Hungarian translations. Students were expected to deduce the meaning of the second series of sentences by analysing the first series. Participating classes were urged to work cooperatively, drawing on any form of support they could muster: parents, teachers, libraries, the Internet, and so on. The winning class would go on a trip to Brussels at the Ministry of Education’s expense.

The National Development Plan
The National Development Plan is a blueprint of priorities vis-à-vis Hungary’s participation in the first 3 years of the European Union (2004–2006). A comprehensive plan, it also targets several areas of education, such as the provision of equal opportunities and foreign language education. Measure 2.1 is designed to enhance the chances of disadvantaged students in the job market and in society in general, by introducing integrative teaching methods to replace ingrained forms of segregation in public education. Measure 3.1 includes the knowledge of foreign languages as one of the six major competences Hungarian citizens are expected to acquire through life-long learning. The foreign language component includes content development and concomitant projects for inservice teacher training, a reform of evaluation systems, and quality assurance. Public education institutes may apply to pilot or implement the centrally elaborated programme packages and the relevant supplements in partnership. It is hoped that approximately 900 schools will have taken part in the programmes by the end of 2006.

The next part of the paper presents an overview of both the successes scored and the problems encountered, and shows ways in which these problems may be overcome.

**ACHIEVEMENTS, DILEMMAS, AND SOLUTIONS**

It is no exaggeration to say that the first 2 years of the WL programme have been met with a roar of approval by the language teaching profession and beyond. There seems to be
consensus over the two underlying principles, and hardly anyone doubts that the programme on the whole is forward-looking and that its components have been meticulously designed. Nevertheless, we, despite having been major agents in conceiving and implementing the programme, cannot help voicing our concerns over some of its aspects.

The Year of Intensive Language Learning
Since the mid-1980s, there have been about two dozen bilingual schools operating in Hungary, which have offered accelerated language instruction, and thus only privileged students have been the beneficiaries of bilingual education. The year of intensive language learning, on the other hand, opens the gate to large numbers of students, who have so far either had to pay private teachers for extra lessons (if they could afford it), or to make do with a weekly three or four lessons (if they could not afford private tuition). It is hoped that a huge dose of input will equip students with an excellent command of the first language (which they started in Grade 4 at the latest), as well as enable them to take the advanced-level school-leaving examination in this language a couple of years before they graduate from school. Having been thus relieved, students may embark on or continue their studies in a second (and possibly in a third) language as well. Although the first year of intensive language learning is yet to start, preliminary applications show that close to 50% of all schools intend to launch such a class.

However, the new system is likely to be rife with problems.
• It may well be the case that even schools insufficiently prepared will launch the programme in order to obtain the extra financial support envisaged. For example, they may be short of well-qualified language teachers, or will not urge their staff to attend in-service training courses that would prepare them specifically to deal with this intensive form of teaching.
• All foreign language lessons will be devoted to the teaching of just one language, which is likely to be either English or German.
• Even if two languages are offered, choice will generally be limited to English and German, leaving little space for the lesser taught languages.
• The knowledge acquired during the intensive year will become rusty and motivation will flag after the number of lessons drop or, worse still, after the first language is no longer taught in Grades 10 through 13.
• Obsessed with output, school principals may insist on students taking the school-leaving examination as soon after Grade 9 as possible, thus making a negative backwash effect on the teaching process.
• Because by law schools may launch only one such class in the first year, they may go along the line of least resistance, preferring students who produce the best results at an entry test, thus indirectly favouring the privileged.

To prevent and confront these problems, certain safety valves have been built into the system:
• Measures have been taken to prepare schools and language teachers for this new form of teaching. Among other things, a list of recommendations on input/output levels has been put together, the number of contact hours per teachers has been set, methods suitable for intensive language teaching have been suggested, training courses, conferences, and workshops have been held separately for teachers and school principals.
• Every opportunity has been taken to raise the stakeholders’ awareness about the importance of equal opportunities in education, including a series of road shows led by
the minister himself.

- As of 2005, one more class per school will be given the opportunity to study in the intensive programme, which will make the system even less elitist.

**The New School-Leaving Examination**

Within the framework of a general reform of the school-leaving examination, the foreign language component is also being overhauled. There are two reasons for the need to revise the present system. One has to do with its outdatedness: At present, it measures grammar-translation skills, fails to include pilot tests or task calibration, and does not set reliable and valid evaluation criteria. The new examination, on the other hand, rests upon communicative principles and introduces professionally appropriate instruments, which harmonise with current European trends in language education and language testing. The other reason for revision, as explained earlier, is that the new examination will be socially more equitable by means of its elevated status and general availability.

However, it is not without potential flaws. For one thing, better schools are likely to better train their students for the advanced-level examination, which is a precondition for receiving special bonuses. Furthermore, most teachers are as yet unprepared to apply up-to-date evaluation methods, and unless the budget earmarked for running special in-service training courses and producing teachers’ guides is considerably increased, the reform is doomed to failure.

**The State Language Examination Made Free of Charge**

The decision to refund the fees charged by profit-oriented language examination centres was welcome by both parents and students. The only hitch is that physically challenged students, incapable of taking either the written or the oral part of the exam, are legally excluded from the scheme. They are exempted from taking the school-leaving examination if they have passed the other part in the state language exam, but they are not refunded the fee. It is small comfort for the present cohort to be aware that, as of 2005, students with similar learning difficulties will be exempted from the relevant part of the new school-leaving examination and yet be awarded the certificate with all the bonuses attached.

**The Programme Package**

On the basis of the experience gained during the first year of the two programmes, the following areas of difficulty were discerned:

- Many potential candidates who were in genuine need of support had no skills in devising and submitting an application.
- Schools often lacked the necessary infrastructure (e.g., a library room) for teachers to accommodate the resource bags.
- If the resource centres were located in smaller schools, few other schools had access to the facilities, whereas if they were set in a more central place, they were virtually inaccessible to the most disadvantaged—a typical case of catch-22.
- With respect to accelerated language instruction, because there were no programmes centrally developed for disadvantaged students’ specific needs, the professional quality of the programmes may occasionally be queried.

To overcome these difficulties, the following solutions have been worked out for the second year of bidding:

- A network of consultants has been formed whose task is to provide on-the-spot assistance...
with the application procedure.

- For the purpose of better availability, at least one resource centre should be set up in the largest city of each county, while the rest should be located in smaller cities or villages, ensuring an even spread between primary and secondary institutions.
- Applicants have to announce the opening hours of their library or resource centre for better availability.
- Teachers are obliged to attend special training sessions to learn how to enhance students’ self-study skills.
- The programmes developed within the framework of the National Development Plan also include provision for students with special needs.

The Language Competition
The competition was held only for secondary school students. Enthused by its huge success, the Ministry of Education decided to stage a similar contest for primary school kids (aged 11–14) in 2004–2005.

The National Development Plan
The programmes to be realised within the National Development Plan are based on legitimate and ambitious ideas:

- As opposed to similar projects, foreign language teaching strongly features in the scheme.
- The development of teaching and learning content is supplemented with components of teacher training, evaluation, and quality assurance.
- Besides the two dominant languages, English and German, it includes not only French, but also Hungarian as a foreign language, whose importance is expected to rise as it has become one of the 20 official languages of the European Union.

On the debit side, it should be noted that:

- Measure 2.1, whose aim is to support the disadvantaged, does not have a foreign language component.
- Despite the best of intentions, Measure 3.1 may fail to reach less advantaged schools, because
  - they are obliged to apply in partnership with other schools; this is a tall order for a remote village school with no networking capabilities
  - the minimum amount of support to apply for has been set too high for a small institution to dispense
  - the communication system envisaged is not sophisticated enough for all disadvantaged schools to access information
  - in terms of teachers’ methodological and linguistic competence, the gap between reality and the goals set may be too wide to bridge in the short run
- As only secondary schools are required to include a foreign language programme in their application, primary schools may decide not to avail themselves of the opportunities.
- The inclusion of only four languages will further narrow the scope in the curriculum for lesser taught languages, namely Spanish, Italian, and Russian.

Although at this stage it is too late to radically cure these problems, the fact that they have been acknowledged offers us some guarantee that they will not recur in the follow-up programmes of 2007–2009.
CONCLUSION
This paper reported on the radical reforms conceived and implemented in Hungarian foreign language education. Necessitated by the unsatisfactory level of the foreign language competence of Hungarians, these reforms have been directed at the enhancement of the primary and secondary school population. The medium-term goal has been to equip young people graduating from compulsory education at the age of 18 or 19 with the ability to speak at least one language at intermediate or upper intermediate level and a second language at pre-intermediate level, thus living up to the ideal of the trilingual European citizen. A subsidiary goal of the language education reform has been to give assistance to disadvantaged students, with special emphasis laid on the plight of the Roma cohort. These initiatives have tied in with an all-encompassing educational policy to reduce social disparities by practising positive discrimination.

According to the feedback so far received, the World Language programme has earned many words of praise. The only area where serious criticisms have been expressed concerns the efforts devoted to helping students at a disadvantage. Experience shows that support has often failed to arrive at its destination or, paradoxically, benefitted groups being the least underprivileged. This, however, is not a problem characteristic of language education only; good intentions in Hungary often produce unintended results in all walks of life. But isn’t this a dilemma of universal proportions?
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