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**Ethnic Identity and Language/Culture Attitudes
among Students of the Sorbian Grammar School
in Bautzen/Budyšin
(2001/02 and 2005/06 – A Comparison)***

1. Introduction

In 2001/02, the author carried out a questionnaire survey among the students of the 5th to the 12th classes of the A-type¹ of the Sorbian Grammar School (Sorbisches Gymnasium/Serbski gymnazij) in Bautzen/Budyšin (in German and Sorbian respectively). The survey concerned some aspects of the students' attitudes to Sorbian (and/or German) and ethnic identity. The results of the research were presented in the sixth chapter of "Sprachverhalten und ethnische Identität: Sorbische Schüler an der Jahrtausendwende" (ŠATAVA 2005).²

Four years later, in autumn/winter 2005/06, a repeat survey was carried out in the 5th to the 12th classes of the Sorbian Grammar School (SGS). The same questions were included. In the case of the 9th to 12th classes, the data were collected from the same respondents who, as students of the 5th to 8th classes, had been surveyed in 2001 already. The analysis and interpretation of the answers given by the same students within the time shift of four years are a valuable source for understanding the present-day ethnic and language situation among (not only the young) Sorbs.

2. Basic information, research methods

Abbreviations used further in the text:

- | | |
|----|---|
| S | – Sorbian language; Sorbian cultural elements |
| SI | – Sorbian identity |
| G | – German language; German cultural elements |
| GI | – German identity |
| n | – number of respondents (students) in the group |

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¹ Until not long ago the Sorbian education system strictly differentiated between what were called A-type classes (with Sorbian-medium instruction in the majority of school subjects) and B-type classes (with Sorbian as only one subject with most learners coming from German language background). Since the school year 2001/02, the strict division between A- and B-classes has been replaced with a new model of common education targeted to *full bilingualism*; this concerns the newly coming classes – the existing ones keep going as A- and B-classes. To make matters simpler, also for the school year 2005 all classes under observation are called A-classes.

² Cf. also partly comparable results of the questionnaire survey conducted at the SGS and published in ŠATAVA 1999.

M	– male
F	– female
SGS	– Sorbian Grammar School
ø	– ratio
SD	– standard deviation ³

Target group (2001):

The questionnaire was implemented in the 5th to 12th A-type classes of the SGS. In the school year 2001/02 there were 299 students attending the above (i.e., all of the existing) A-classes of the grammar school. The ratio of the male and female respondents was roughly 2 : 3. The questionnaires were filled out by a total of 288 respondents: class 5A (n = 23); 6A (n = 20); 7A (n = 42); 8A (n = 41); 9A (n = 40); 10A (n = 41); 11A (n = 42); 12 A (n = 39). The total number represents 96.3 % of all students of the 5th to 12th A-classes of the SGS in the given school year.⁴

Target group (2005):

The questionnaire was implemented in the fifth to twelfth A-type classes of the SGS. In the school year 2005/06 there were 246 students attending the above (i.e., all of the existing) A-classes of the grammar school. The ratio of the male and female respondents was roughly 3 : 5. The questionnaires were filled out by a total of 237 respondents: class 5A (n = 18); 6A (n = 19);⁵ 7A (n = 21); 8A (n = 24); 9A (n = 45); 10A (n = 34); 11A (n = 37); 12 A (n = 39). The total number represents 96.3 % of all students of the 5th to 12th A-classes of the SGS in the given school year.⁶

Residential background of students (2001):

The overall number of data about place of residence: 262.⁷ As far as the residential background of the respondents is concerned, they were mainly students from Catholic

³ Standard deviation (SD) – statistically is the measure of dispersion of the answers from the arithmetical mean which can sometimes be misleading. If we add the value of SD to the mean and then subtract it, about 68 % answers range between the two extremes. The lower the SD value (of course in connection with the *mean value!*), the greater the “unanimity” of the respondents’ answers. If the SD exceeds 50 % of the mean, the whole then is highly heterogeneous (i.e. non-uniform).

⁴ In the school year 2001/02 the grammar school was attended by a total of 521 students, 299 A-class students and 222 B-class students.

⁵ In the given datum, a slight imprecision is hidden. According to the official records of the SGS, the number of students in the 6A was only 16 in the school year 2005/06. Among the completed questionnaires there must also be answers of several respondents from another group – due to the anonymity of the questionnaires, they were impossible to identify and set aside.

⁶ In the school year 2005/06 the grammar school was attended by a total of 387 students, out of which 246 were A-class students and 141 B-class students.

⁷ Out of the total of 288 respondents, 26 students (i.e., 90 % – mainly in higher grades) did not give any place of residence, and/or they could not be determined. The percentage data on the proportion of students from individual regions, therefore, start from the reduced total of 262 persons.

parishes⁸ of the administrative district of Kamenz/Kamjenc (161, i.e., 61.5 %) and the town of Bautzen/Budyšin (62 / 23.7 %)⁹. In the district of Bautzen/Budyšin appeared a larger representation of students from the parish of Radibor/Radwor (29 / 11.1 %). Only a very small proportion of students gave their place of residence in the Protestant area, mainly to the east of Bautzen/Budyšin (7 / 2.7 %); the Catholic parish of Sdier/Zdžěr (1 / 0.4 %); or “other” (6 / 2.3 %). The number of students from individual parishes/settlements of the Kamenz/Kamjenc district and their proportion (within the total of 262 students): Crostwitz/Chrósćicy: 75 / 28.6 %; Panschwitz-Kuckau/Pančicy-Kukow: 31 / 11.8 %; Ralbitz/Ralbicy: 29 / 11.1 %; Ostro/Wotrow: 9 / 3.4 %; Storcha/Bačoń: 7 / 2.7 %;¹⁰ Nebelschütz/Njebjelčicy: 6 / 2.3 %; Wittichenau/Kulow: 3 / 1.1 %.

Residential background of students (2005):

The overall number of data about place of residence: 234.¹¹ As far as the residential background of the respondents is concerned, they were mainly students from Catholic parishes of the Kamenz/Kamjenc district (156, i.e., 66.7 %) and from the parish of Radibor/Radwor (41 / 17.5 %) in the Bautzen/Budyšin district. Students from the town of Bautzen/Budyšin also had a larger representation (23 / 9.8 %).¹² Only a very small proportion of students gave their place of residence in the Protestant area, mainly to the east of Bautzen/Budyšin (11 / 4.7 %), or “other” (4 / 1.7 %). The number of students from individual parishes/settlements of the Kamenz/ Kamjenc district and their proportion (within the total of 234 students): Crostwitz/ Chrósćicy: 68 / 29.1 %; Panschwitz-Kuckau/Pančicy-Kukow: 25 / 10.7 %; Ralbitz/Ralbicy: 34 / 14.5 %; Ostro/Wotrow: 8 / 3.4 %; Storcha/Bačoń: 4 / 1.7 %;¹³ Nebelschütz/Njebjelčicy: 12 / 5.1 %; Wittichenau/Kulow: 5 / 2.1 %.

Language background of students (2001; 2005):¹⁴

⁸ “The Catholic region” (in contrast to the predominantly Lutheran rest of Lusatia) is situated approximately between the towns of Bautzen (Budyšin in Sorbian), Kamenz (Kamjenc) and Hoyerswerda (Wojerecy). Only in this area with ca 15,000 inhabitants, the Sorbian-speaking population is the majority (about two-thirds; in some villages even 80–90 %), and the Sorbian language is the medium of everyday communication of all generations. It is also only here that the schools with Sorbian as the medium of instruction (see Note 1) exist.

⁹ Including the villages of Burg/Bórk, Stiebitz/Śćijecy, Grubschütz/Hrubjelčicy and Niederkaina/Delnja Kina.

¹⁰ The parish of Storcha/Bačoń, administratively part of the Bautzen/Budyšin district, has been historically and territorially linked with the parish of Crostwitz/Chrósćicy and included in the district of Kamenz/Kamjenc.

¹¹ Out of the total of 237 respondents, 3 students (i.e., 1.3 %) gave no place of residence. Percentage data on the proportion of students from individual regions, therefore, start from the diminished total of 234 individuals.

¹² Including the villages of Burg/Bórk, Stiebitz/Śćijecy, Grubschütz/Hrubjelčicy a Niederkaina/Delnja Kina.

¹³ See Note 9.

¹⁴ Data on the Sorbian, German and/or mixed language backgrounds of the students and their parents result from the information obtained from the questionnaires. Obviously, certain distortions might arise because of the subjectivity of responses; with regard to the massive amount of the data obtained, it is, however, limited. The reality of Lusatian bilingualism (and/or diglossia), that is, the interpenetration of both languages in various situations and domains, should be taken into consideration as well.

Table 1: Language Background (in absolute numbers and percentage)

class		5A	6A	7A	8A	9 A	10A	11A	12A	
n (total)	2001	23	20	42	41	40	41	42	39	288
	2005	18	19 ¹⁵	21	24	45	34	37	39	237
both parents S*	2001	11 47.8 %	6 30.0 %	23 54.8 %	27 65.9 %	26 65.0 %	21 51.2 %	22 52.4 %	25 64.1 %	161 55.9 %
	2005	7 38.9 %	14 73.7 %	8 38.1 %	16 66.7 %	26 57.8 %	18 52.9 %	17 45.9 %	13 33.3 %	119 50.2 %
mother S father G	2001	4 17.4 %	3 15.0 %	5 11.9 %	4 9.8 %	5 12.5 %	5 12.2 %	8 19.0 %	6 15.4 %	40 13.9 %
	2005	6 33.3 %	— —	2 9.5 %	3 12.5 %	9 20.0 %	4 11.8 %	2 5.4 %	3 7.7 %	29 12.2 %
mother G father S	2001	2 8.7 %	2 10.0 %	6 14.3 %	2 4.9 %	4 10.0 %	6 14.6 %	4 9.5 %	4 10.3 %	30 10.4 %
	2005	— —	2 10.5 %	4 19.0 %	2 8.3 %	4 8.9 %	2 5.9 %	5 13.5 %	2 5.1 %	21 8.9 %
mixed types with prevailing S language background	2001	2 8.7 %	3 15.0 %	1 2.4 %	5 12.2 %	2 5.0 %	2 4.9 %	1 2.4 %	— —	16 5.6 %
	2005	2 1.1 %	— —	1 4.8 %	— —	1 2.2 %	1 2.9 %	1 2.7 %	1 2.6 %	7 3.0 %
mixed types with S and G language backgrounds in balance	2001	3 13.0 %	2 10.0 %	1 2.4 %	— —	— —	1 2.4 %	2 4.8 %	2 5.1 %	11 3.8 %
	2005	— —	1 5.3 %	3 14.3 %	1 4.2 %	1 2.2 %	4 11.8 %	4 10.8 %	3 7.7 %	17 7.2 %
mixed types with prevailing G language background	2001	1 4.3 %	— —	2 4.8 %	— —	1 2.5 %	— —	1 2.4 %	— —	5 1.7 %
	2005	1 0.6 %	— —	1 4.8 %	1 4.2 %	2 4.4 %	1 2.9 %	5 13.5 %	3 7.7 %	14 5.9 %
both parents G*	2001	— —	1 5.0 %	2 4.8 %	1 2.4 %	— 3.1 %	1 2.4 %	— —	1 2.6 %	6 2.1 %
	2005	2 11.1 %	1 5.3 %	1 4.8 %	— —	— —	— —	1 2.7 %	— —	5 2.1 %
others; without data	2001	— —	3 15.0 %	2 4.8 %	2 4.9 %	2 5.0 %	5 12.2 %	4 9.5 %	1 2.6 %	19 6.6 %
	2005	— —	1 5.3 %	1 4.8 %	1 4.2 %	2 4.4 %	4 11.8 %	2 5.4 %	13 ¹⁶ 33.3 %	25 10.5 %

* including one-parent families.

¹⁵ See Note 5.¹⁶ The results for the 12th class of the SGS 2005 are distorted by the high proportion (13, i.e. one third!) of students who did not provide any information on their language background.

Figure 1 to Table 1: Language background of students (2001)

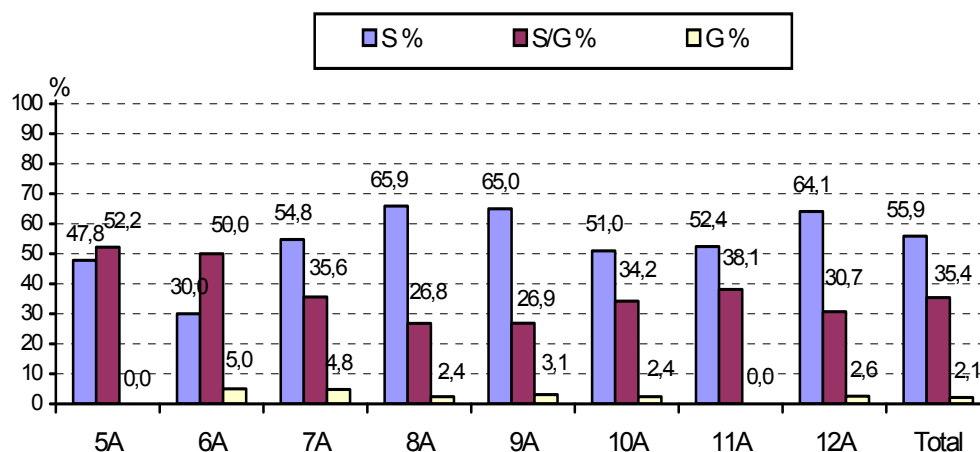
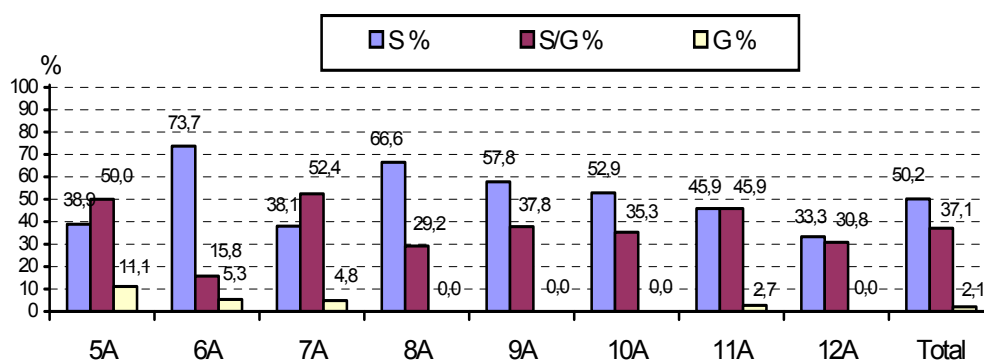


Figure 2 to Table 1: Language background of students (2005)

**Conclusion:**

The proportion of students from families with Sorbian language background (S), those with Sorbian/German background (S/G), and families with German language background (G) were similar in both 2001 and 2005.

Focal point:

The comparison was focused on the questionnaire that was oriented on subjective ethnic and language and culture attitudes and evaluations (Likert scale).¹⁷ It contained six questions: 1. & 2. rate of ethnic identity (S, G); 3. concern about maintaining the Sorbian language and culture; 4. & 5. language competence (S, G) – self-evaluation; 6. situation of the Sorbs.¹⁸

¹⁷ The questionnaire of 2001 contained an additional part dealing with the respondents' language competence.

¹⁸ A special question (not analysed in this paper) focused on the reception of Sorbian books.

Processing:

The attitudes given were consequently assigned digits 1 to 7; while value 1 refers to zero activity/reception, value 7 indicates activity/reception at the maximum, and values 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 respective inter-stages between the two extreme points. For each of the topics (questions) under observation, both the statistical mean and the standard deviation were computed. Answers of the respondents were further compared in connection with age, sex, and/or place of origin.

3. Comparison of results from years 2001 and 2005 (class units)

Table 2: Subjective ethno-linguistic/culture attitudes and evaluations (ethnic identity; perceived degree of significance of maintaining the Sorbian language and culture; assessments of one's own command of Sorbian/German; overall situation of the Sorbs)
(seven-point Likert scale; the mean of all approached students)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NOT AT ALL					VERY STRONGLY	
NOT AT ALL					VERY IMPORTANT	
VERY POOR					VERY GOOD	

	2001 (5.–8. A)	2001 (9.–12. A)	2005 (9.–12. A)
n (total)	126	162	155 ¹⁹
n	123	160	155
I: “How strongly do you feel a Sorb?”	5.03	5.52	5.45
SD	1.25	1.43	1.17
n	121	160	155
II: “How strongly do you feel a German (disregarding the citizenship)?”	4.24	3.56	3.79
SD	1.35	1.52	1.58
n	123	160	155
III: “How important is the maintenance of the Sorbian language and culture to you?”	6.06	6.12	5.94
SD	1.32	1.36	1.23
n	123	160	153
IV: “What is your assessment of your Sorbian language competence?”	4.82	4.95	4.99
SD	1.10	1.05	1.02

¹⁹ In comparison with "physically identical" classes of the SGS (the first left-hand column) the number of students is higher: this is mainly caused by the fact that higher grades of the SGS are, in part, filled in with newcomers from village schools. Since 2000 the number of children (often of German background) who acquired Sorbian while attending the immersion "Witaj" nursery schools has been rising in the lower grades of the SGS as well; this factor – that could have distortive impact on the context under observation – however, had not still touched the 9th to 12th classes of the SGS in 2005.

n Ø GI SD	2005	18 4.56 1.65	18 3.89 2.13	21 5.00 1.38	24 4.42 1.98	45 3.60 1.64	34 4.09 1.52	37 3.78 1.66	39 3.74 1.45	236 4.03 1.71
n Ø SI - M SD	2001	9 5.33 1.16	8 4.63 0.70	14 4.96 0.86	17 4.94 1.48	13 4.85 1.74	16 6.13 0.78	20 5.75 1.34	14 5.07 1.79	111 5.28 1.40
n Ø SI - M SD	2005	8 5.63 1.80	7 6.29 0.70	7 4.71 1.49	11 4.00 1.95	14 5.50 1.35	14 5.43 0.98	13 5.54 0.93	14 5.14 1.51	88 5.26 1.50
n Ø SI - F SD	2001	14 4.64 1.79	12 4.71 1.05	27 5.15 1.09	22 5.43 1.15	26 5.44 1.18	23 5.41 1.69	20 5.03 1.38	24 6.13 1.01	168 5.32 1.37
n Ø SI - F SD	2005	9 5.50 1.80	11 5.64 1.23	13 5.62 1.21	13 5.08 1.14	31 5.48 1.04	19 5.11 1.52	23 5.70 0.91	25 5.56 1.02	144 5.47 1.21
n Ø GI - M SD	2001	8 3.75 0.66	8 4.88 1.27	13 3.73 1.55	17 4.41 1.09	13 3.69 1.65	16 3.59 1.16	20 3.00 1.48	14 4.07 2.22	109 3.81 1.57
n Ø GI - M SD	2005	8 3.94 1.42	7 3.43 1.59	7 6.14 0.83	11 4.82 1.99	14 4.21 4.66	14 4.29 1.44	13 3.15 1.35	14 3.86 1.51	88 4.15 1.71
n Ø GI - F SD	2001	14 4.32 1.53	12 4.54 1.38	27 4.11 1.20	22 4.32 1.47	26 3.67 1.20	23 3.91 1.50	20 3.45 1.17	24 3.29 1.54	168 3.90 1.43
n Ø GI - F SD	2005	9 5.50 1.00	10 3.90 2.30	13 4.46 1.28	13 4.08 1.90	31 3.32 1.55	19 4.05 1.54	23 4.09 1.74	25 3.68 1.41	143 3.96 1.69

Figure 1 to Table 3: 2001

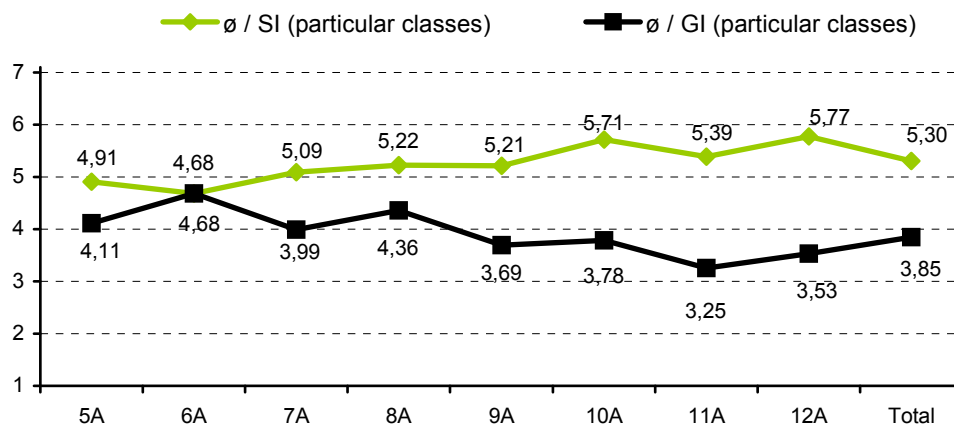


Figure 2 to Table 3: 2005

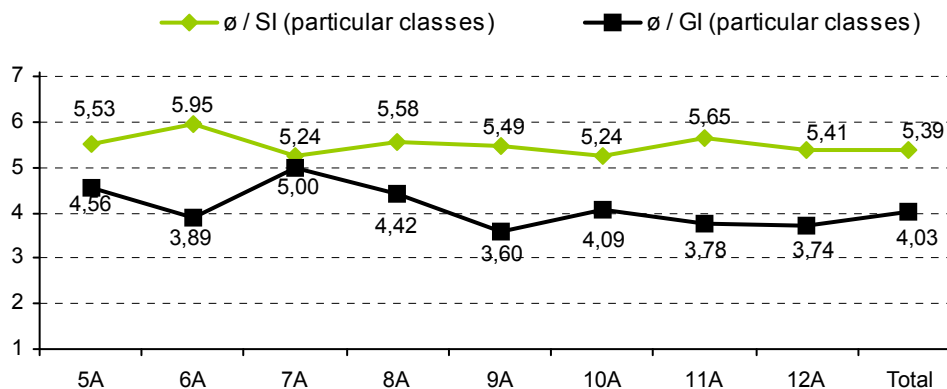
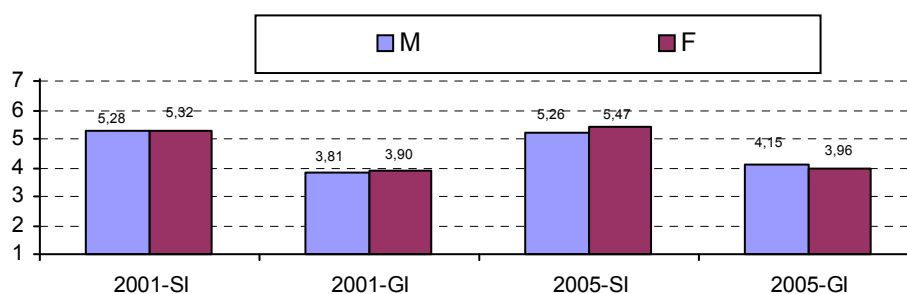


Figure 3 to Table 3: (2001; 2005)



Questions I, II:

After dividing the students in two parts – the younger students (5th to 8th classes) and the older ones (9th to 12th classes) – and comparing these groups in years 2001 and 2005, considerable developmental changes in the sphere of ethnic self-identification stand out very clearly. As far as **the Sorbian identity** (SI), there had been a considerable increase in declaring it over the four years (from 5.03 to 5.45), practically the same with both sexes (M from 4.97 to 5.40; F from 5.07 to 5.48). On the contrary, declaring **the German identity** (GI) showed considerable decrease from 4.24 to 3.79 (M from 4.19 to 3.89; F from 4.28 to 3.74). The given findings can be compared with data of the older respondents (9th to 12th classes) of 2001, which also showed identical tendencies: SI rising with age and GI falling in later years. Moreover, within the comparison of 2001 and 2005, the same people (a majority anyway) have been investigated after four years of personality development, so the findings and hypotheses concerning this subject presented earlier (ŠATAVA 2005: 210–211 and others) can be considered even more conclusive. When comparing the answers of the boys and girls, no significant differences were detected within the SGS 2001 questionnaire; in the SGS 2005 questionnaire, on the other hand, in comparison with the boys the girls gave a somewhat higher relationship to S and slightly lower to G. As to SD, the instability of opinions (i.e., respondents' views are divided) is substantially higher in connection with GI than with SI. (SD of the relationship to GI is, within the 9th to 12th classes in the

questionnaire of 2005, the highest of all the surveyed topics in both questionnaires, which seems to show evidence of the increased immediacy and dubiousness of this topic in the higher school age.)²¹ As for the rate of the homogeneity of the answers, it is higher in the younger age group than in the older one.

Table 4: Question I: “How strongly do you feel a Sorb?”
Question II: “How strongly do you feel a German
(disregarding the citizenship)?”
 (seven-point scale – ratio, SD and percentage distribution of answers)

class			n	Ø	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5A	2001	SI	23	4.91	4.35	4.35	4.35	26.09	26.09	8.70	26.09
		GI	22	4.11	4.55	4.55	22.73	22.73	36.36	4.55	4.55
	2005	SI	18	5.53	5.56	5.56	5.56	–	5.56	50.00	27.78
		GI	18	4.56	5.56	5.56	11.11	22.22	27.78	11.11	16.67
6A	2001	SI	20	4.68	–	–	10.00	35.00	30.00	25.00	–
		GI	20	4.68	–	5.00	10.00	35.00	25.00	10.00	15.00
	2005	SI	19	5.95	–	–	–	15.79	15.79	26.32	42.11
		GI	18	3.89	16.67	16.67	16.67	11.11	5.56	16.67	16.67
7A	2001	SI	41	5.09	–	2.44	2.44	19.51	36.59	34.15	4.88
		GI	40	3.99	–	15.00	17.50	35.00	20.00	5.00	7.50
	2005	SI	21	5.24	–	4.76	4.76	23.81	14.29	33.33	19.05
		GI	21	5.00	–	4.76	4.76	33.33	19.05	19.05	19.05
8A	2001	SI	39	5.22	–	2.56	5.13	23.08	25.64	20.51	23.08
		GI	39	4.36	5.13	5.13	10.26	25.64	33.33	20.51	–
	2005	SI	24	4.58	8.33	4.17	8.33	25.00	16.67	29.17	8.33
		GI	24	4.42	12.50	12.50	4.17	16.67	12.50	29.17	12.50
9A	2001	SI	40	5.21	2.50	–	10.00	15.00	25.00	25.00	22.50
		GI	40	3.69	2.50	15.00	17.50	42.50	7.50	10.00	2.50
	2005	SI	45	5.49	–	–	2.22	24.44	17.78	33.33	22.22
		GI	45	3.60	17.78	17.78	11.11	26.67	17.78	11.11	2.22
10A	2001	SI	39	5.71	2.56	2.56	2.56	7.69	17.95	30.77	35.90
		GI	39	3.78	–	20.51	26.64	25.64	12.82	12.82	2.56
	2005	SI	34	5.24	2.94	2.94	11.76	8.82	26.47	35.29	14.71
		GI	34	4.09	20.59	20.59	11.76	14.71	29.41	20.59	–
11A	2001	SI	42	5.39	–	4.76	2.38	19.05	23.81	21.43	28.57
		GI	42	3.26	9.52	23.81	23.81	23.81	11.90	4.76	2.38
	2005	SI	37	5.65	–	–	–	13.51	24.32	45.95	16.22
		GI	37	3.78	24.32	24.32	8.11	18.92	24.32	13.51	2.70
12A	2001	SI	39	5.77	2.56	–	5.13	12.82	10.26	28.21	41.03
		GI	39	3.53	12.82	25.64	15.38	15.38	10.26	12.82	7.69
	2005	SI	39	5.41	–	–	2.56	12.82	30.77	33.33	17.95
		GI	39	3.74	17.95	17.95	23.08	17.95	23.08	12.82	–
Sum	2001	SI	283	5.30	1.41	2.12	4.95	18.37	24.03	25.09	24.03
		GI	281	3.85	4.98	15.66	18.15	28.11	18.15	10.32	4.63
	2005	SI	237	5.39	1.69	1.69	4.22	16.03	20.68	35.86	19.83
		GI	236	4.03	16.53	16.53	11.86	20.34	20.76	16.10	6.36

²¹ A similarly increased SD level in the 9th to 12th classes in questionnaire SGS 2001, seems to prove the hypothesis.

Table 5: Question I: “How strongly do you feel a Sorb?”
Question II: “How strongly do you feel a German
(disregarding the citizenship)?”
 (seven-point scale – ratio, SD and percentage distribution of answers
 according to place of residence)

area/parish			n	$\bar{x}$	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bautzen / Budyšin	2001	SI	62	4.68	1.44	3.23	6.45	4.84	27.42	29.03	17.74	11.29
		GI	62	4.06	1.50	6.45	9.68	16.13	25.81	25.81	11.29	4.84
	2005	SI	23	4.44	1.38	4.35	4.35	4.35	52.17	4.35	26.09	4.35
		GI	23	4.57	1.56	–	17.39	4.35	26.09	17.39	26.09	8.70
Radibor / Radwor	2001	SI	28	5.46	1.43	3.57	–	3.57	10.71	35.71	14.29	32.14
		GI	28	4.54	1.52	–	7.14	17.86	28.57	14.29	17.86	14.29
	2005	SI	41	5.56	1.13	–	–	4.88	12.20	29.27	29.27	24.39
		GI	41	4.26	1.44	–	12.20	17.07	34.15	12.20	17.07	7.32
Crostwitz / Chrósćicy	2001	SI	73	5.57	1.25	1.37	–	1.37	16.44	26.03	24.66	30.14
		GI	71	3.59	1.38	4.23	21.13	19.72	32.39	11.27	8.45	2.82
	2005	SI	67	5.75	1.19	1.49	1.49	–	10.45	17.91	41.79	26.87
		GI	67	3.87	1.78	10.45	20.90	10.45	11.94	25.37	16.42	4.48
Panschwitz- Kuckau / Pančicy- Kukow	2001	SI	29	5.79	1.28	–	–	6.90	13.79	10.34	27.59	41.38
		GI	29	3.72	1.16	3.45	10.34	27.59	31.03	20.69	6.90	–
	2005	SI	25	5.40	1.44	4.00	–	4.00	16.00	20.00	32.00	24.00
		GI	25	3.40	1.83	16.00	24.00	16.00	16.00	12.00	8.00	8.00
Ralbitz / Ralbicy	2001	SI	29	5.36	1.19	–	3.45	3.45	10.34	31.03	34.48	17.24
		GI	29	3.57	1.44	6.90	17.24	24.14	24.14	20.69	3.45	3.45
	2005	SI	35	5.29	1.26	2.86	2.86	2.86	8.57	25.71	51.43	5.71
		GI	34	3.97	1.51	5.88	17.65	11.76	17.65	32.35	14.71	–
Ostro / Wotrow*	2001	SI	9	6.33	0.47	–	–	–	–	–	66.67	33.33
		GI	9	3.39	1.82	22.22	22.22	–	22.22	11.11	22.22	–
	2005	SI	8	5.75	1.09	–	–	–	12.50	37.50	12.50	37.50
		GI	8	3.75	1.64	12.50	12.50	25.00	–	37.50	12.50	–
Protestant areas*	2001	SI	7	4.14	0.99	–	–	28.57	42.86	14.29	14.29	–
		GI	7	3.14	0.99	–	42.86	–	57.14	–	–	–
	2005	SI	10	4.05	1.56	–	10.00	40.00	10.00	20.00	10.00	10.00
		GI	10	5.50	1.36	–	–	10.00	20.00	10.00	30.00	30.00
Nebelschütz / Njebjel- čicy* ²²	2001	SI	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
		GI	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2005	SI	12	6.08	0.76	–	–	–	–	25.00	41.67	33.33
		GI	12	3.17	2.15	33.33	16.67	8.33	16.67	8.33	–	16.67

* Due to the relatively small number of respondents, the results are not fully comparable with other groups.

²² The data for the parish of Nebelschütz/Njebjelčicy for the year 2001 were not processed due to the very small number of respondents (6).

Figure 1 to Table 5: 2001

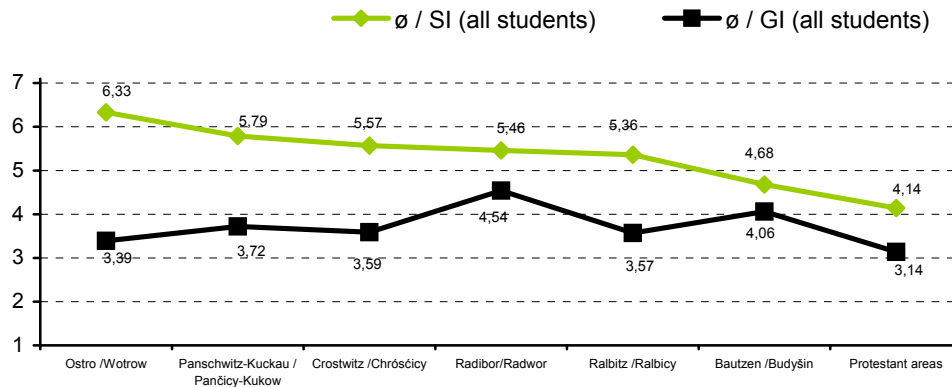
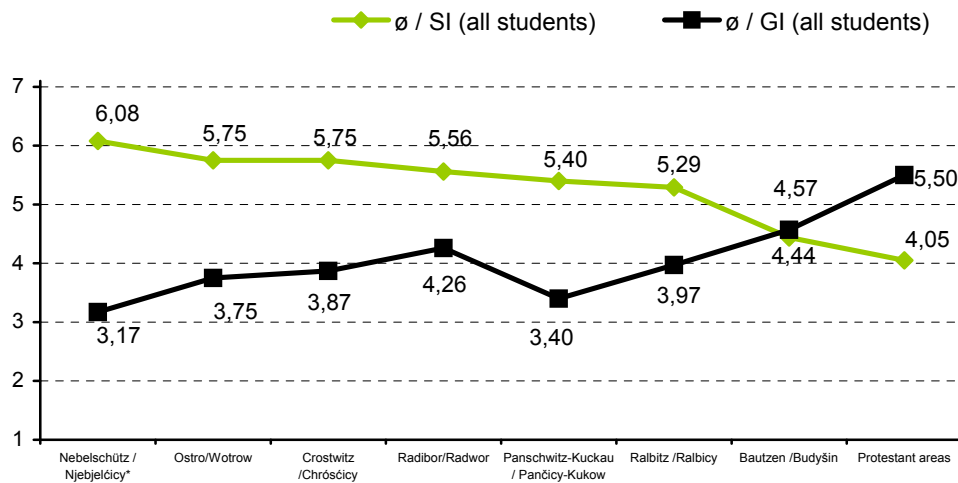


Figure 2 to Table 5: 2005



As far as the residential background of the respondents is concerned, in both 2001 and 2005 relatively similar results were found. The highest SI values and mutually similar ones for GI were in both years given by students from the Catholic parishes of the Kamenz/Kamjenc district; the validity of the “winning team” data from Ostro/Wotrow (2001) and Nebelschütz/Njebjelčicy (2005) is, however, challenged by the small number of respondents. Though the students from Radibor/Radwor gave a similarly high SI level, that of GI is, compared to the former parishes, considerably higher. The lowest SI level in both years was given by students from Bautzen/Budyšin and the Protestant areas; in 2005, in both groups, the level of GI exceeded the SI level.

3.2. Concern for maintaining Sorbian language and culture

Table 6: Question III: “How important is the maintenance of Sorbian language and culture for you?”
(seven-point scale – ratio)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
NOT AT ALL VERY IMPORTANT

class: n (total)	2001	5A	6A	7A	8A	9A	10A	11A	12A	
	2005	23	20	42	41	40	41	42	39	288
		18	19	21	24	45	34	37	39	237
n	2001	23	20	41	39	40	39	42	39	283
Ø		6.20	6.05	6.22	5.82	5.88	6.23	6.19	6.17	6.09
SD		1.19	1.07	1.35	1.43	1.62	1.27	1.22	1.28	1.35
n	2005	18	19	21	24	45	34	37	39	237
Ø		5.75	5.74	5.33	5.08	6.07	5.56	6.32	5.77	5.77
SD		1.42	1.58	1.36	1.94	1.12	1.33	0.84	1.42	1.40
n (M)	2001	9	8	14	17	13	16	20	14	111
Ø		6.33	5.88	5.46	5.62	5.50	6.44	6.65	5.21	5.91
SD		1.05	1.05	1.82	1.75	1.86	1.00	0.91	1.57	1.53
n (M)	2005	8	7	7	11	14	14	13	14	88
Ø		5.75	6.29	4.57	4.27	6.00	5.71	6.00	5.36	5.52
SD		1.39	0.88	1.40	2.18	1.20	1.33	0.88	1.91	1.61
n (F)	2001	14	12	27	22	26	23	20	24	168
Ø		6.11	6.17	6.61	5.98	6.21	6.09	5.75	6.69	6.23
SD		1.26	1.07	0.77	1.11	1.24	1.41	1.34	0.64	1.16
n (F)	2005	9	11	13	13	31	19	23	25	144
Ø		5.61	5.55	5.85	5.77	6.10	5.47	6.48	6.00	5.93
SD		1.45	1.83	1.10	1.37	1.09	1.35	0.77	0.98	1.24

Figure 1 to Table 6: (2001)

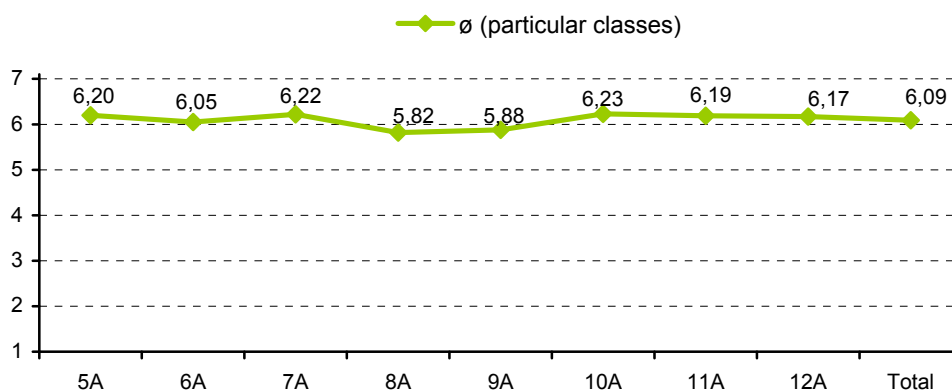
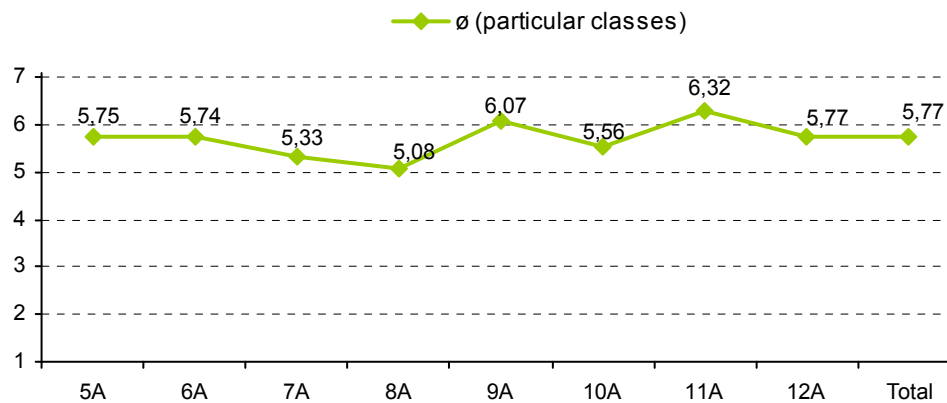


Figure 2 to Table 6: (2005)

**Question III:**

The mean values received from responses to this question are quite high; nevertheless, they testify only to the declared abstract level of the value of the Sorbian language and culture. In contrast to the preceding two questions, no substantial development showed in connection with the subjective expression of *the level of interest in maintaining the Sorbian language and culture*. The slight decrease detected in the compared groups (from 6.06 to 5.94) and practically identical SD can, therefore, be interpreted as an essentially stable level of this relationship in connection with age. If, however, we compare the younger students (i.e., the 5th to 8th classes in years 2001 and 2005), there is a considerable decrease from 6.06 to 5.45. Both in 2001 and 2005, compared to male students, the total of female students gave a little higher level of importance to Sorbian matters. As for the developmental tendencies, male students showed stagnation (2001: 5.75; 2005: 5.76) whereas female students showed a slight decline (from 6.26 to 6.04). In their attitudes, at the same time, the female students are far more unanimous than the male students. The differences between them, however, disappear with age. As far as the residential background of the respondents is concerned, in 2001 the highest value (6.89) was given by students from Ostro/Wotrow (accompanied by an extraordinarily low SD: 0.31!); the values for other Catholic regions largely exceeded the value of 6. Also in 2005 the highest level of interest in Sorbian matters was again given by students from Ostro/Wotrow (6.50). In general, however, the answers ranged between 5 and 6. A relatively lower rate of interest was shown by respondents from Bautzen/Budyšin and students of the lowest grades from the Protestant areas (in 2005 it was only 4.15).

3.3. Linguistic competence (Sorbian; German)

Table 7: Question IV: “How do you assess your language ability concerning Sorbian?”
Question V: “How do you assess your language ability concerning German?”
 (seven-point scale – ratio)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 VERY POOR VERY GOOD

class:		5A	6A	7A	8A	9A	10A	11A	12A	
n	2001	23	20	42	41	40	41	42	39	288
(total)	2005	18	19	21	24	45	34	37	39	237
n	2001	23	20	41	39	40	39	42	39	283
Ø S		4.76	4.60	5.01	4.76	4.98	5.05	4.92	4.87	4.89
SD		1.33	0.80	1.14	1.00	1.07	0.99	0.83	1.25	1.07
n	2005	18	19	21	24	45	33	37	38	235
Ø S		5.08	5.12	4.81	4.88	4.98	4.85	5.24	4.87	4.98
SD		1.24	1.14	1.37	1.01	0.93	1.08	0.88	1.25	1.08
n	2001	23	20	41	39	40	39	42	39	283
Ø G		5.28	5.30	5.34	5.10	5.43	5.64	5.41	5.41	5.37
SD		0.87	0.95	1.19	1.29	1.09	1.14	1.09	0.91	1.11
n	2005	18	19	21	24	45	33	37	39	236
Ø G		5.44	5.21	5.81	4.58	5.44	5.49	5.24	5.18	5.30
SD		0.93	1.20	1.22	1.75	1.05	1.21	0.94	0.91	1.25

Figure 1 to Table 7: (2001)

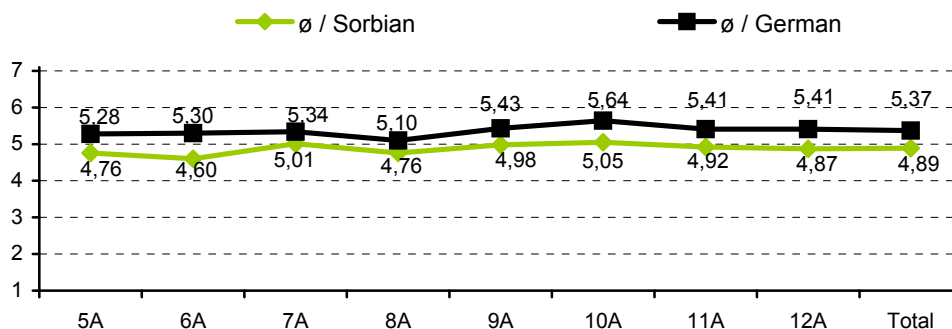
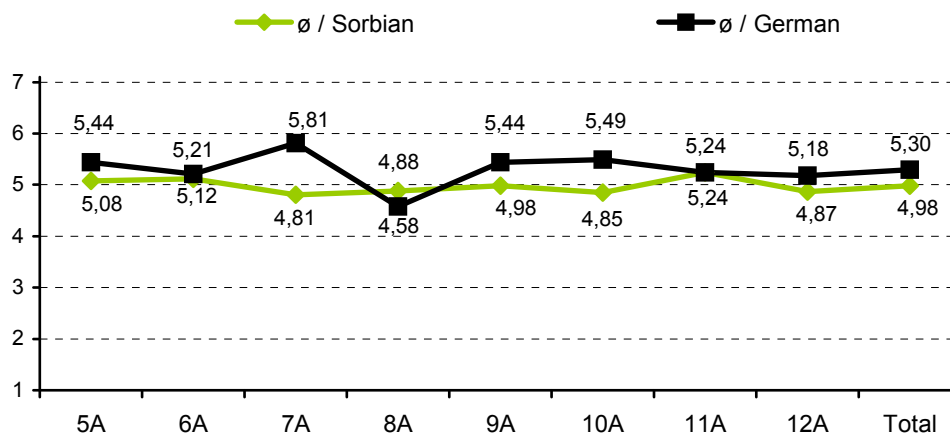


Figure 2 to Table 7: (2005)

**Questions IV, V:**

Questions aimed at the self-stereotype of the respondents are, from the point of view of sociolinguistics, highly significant because every one of them contains a combination of subjectively perceived language abilities and components of an attitude to the language and its vitality.²³ Self-evaluation of the **language competence (both in Sorbian and German)** has not changed much over the four years of its development. As in 2001, in 2005 the compared respondents defined their language competence in S as slightly lower than in G. With both languages, however, there was generally a slight increase of the values (2001: S – 4.82; G – 5.25; 2005: S – 4.99; G – 5.34). A closer analysis of the obtained values brought some interesting findings. The above-mentioned difference between S and G is similar with both sexes (2001: M/S – 4.70; M/G – 5.20; 2005: M/S 4.91; M/G – 5.24); (2001: F/S – 4.89; F/G : 5.28; 2005: F/S – 5.0; F/G – 5.38). From the given numbers, it is obvious that girls assess their language competence (S and G) higher. Related to the sex of the respondents, the SD values do not show marked deviations; in general they testify to a great homogeneity of the answers.

In connection with residential background, it was only the respondents from Ostro/Wotrow who valued their competence in S higher than their competence in G in both 2001 and 2005; the same results were obtained in 2001 from students from Crostwitz/Chróścicy and (surprisingly) from the Protestant areas as well as in 2005 from students coming from Nebelschütz/Njebjelčicy. In both years under observation, the greatest difference to the benefit of G was detected among students from Bautzen/Budyšin and, in 2005, also among respondents from the Protestant areas.

²³ Cf. WENGLER 1993: 58.

4. Conclusions

In general, we can claim that the basic comparison of the same questionnaires answered in 2001 and repeated in 2005 by identical groups of A-class students of the Sorbian Grammar school in Bautzen/Budyšin brought remarkable and conclusive findings. After four years the students under observation (within the classes) displayed obvious **strengthening of Sorbian identity** and/or **weakening of German identity**. In contrast to this finding, **the declared concern for maintaining the Sorbian language and culture** practically stagnated. The values for **the language competence self-evaluation** concerning both Sorbian and German tended to increase with age; German, however, continued to prevail (on the average) slightly over Sorbian. **The assessment of the overall situation of the Sorbs** was almost identical in both cases.

The documented shifts and changes within the Sorbian identity and German identity (of course, mutually interlinked and intertwined, and frequently actually “dual”) can be pointed out as the most significant of all the findings. Results and thoughts on similar issues published earlier (ŠATAVA 2005: 206–212) can then be considered conclusive and validated in terms of the comparison presented here. It is, however, also necessary to consider a certain “national elitism” which had led to the enrollment of the students in this school in the first place; similarly the education towards Sorbian awareness at this school should be taken into consideration as well. Prospectively, this theme should be processed in greater detail – especially with a focus on regional differences and personal development of particular individuals.

The given findings could also become the basis for practical measures of **language planning** which, in Lusatia, has been slowly developing since about 2000²⁷ (ŠATAVA 2006). In a number of minority regions of Europe and other continents this phenomenon brought considerable results in the range of efforts to maintain ethnic groups and their languages threatened with assimilation; in a number of cases it has become the linchpin of revitalisation tendencies. The Sorbian language (particularly its Upper Sorbian variety) is still a living language spoken by children and young people.²⁸ One of the aims of the research presented in this paper was also the effort to help it remain so in the future.

Literature

- ŠATAVA, L. (1999), Ethnic Identity and Language/Culture Attitudes Among Students of the Sorbian Grammar School in Bautzen/Budyšin, *Lětopis*, 46 (1): 78–103.
- (2005), Sprachverhalten und ethnische Identität. Sorbische Schüler an der Jahrtausendwende. Bautzen: Domowina-Verlag (Schriften des Sorbischen Instituts/ Spisy Serbskeho instituta; 39).
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²⁷ Language policy in Lusatia is at present partly controlled and coordinated by the Witaj Language Centre. Considerable activities are displayed especially in the area of setting up Sorbian immersion kindergartens and school classes.

²⁸ The total of the Sorbian speaking young people is small – less than 2,000 persons under twenty (cf. WALDE 2004: 8). At present, on the average, only about 50 to 60 (sic!) children who might be expected to acquire Sorbian as their mother tongue are born in Lusatia annually.

- WALDE, M. (2004), Demographisch-statistische Betrachtungen im Oberlausitzer Gemeindeverband „Am Klosterwasser“, *Lětopis*, 51 (1): 3–27.
- WENGLER, J. (1993), Serbska kultura w rozsudze – folklor a abo socialna kultura, *Rozhlad*, 43 (2): 54–60.

Resumé

Na přelomu let 2001/02 uskutečnil autor mezi žáky 5.–12. A-tříd (tj. tříd s lužickou srbštinou jako vyučovacím jazykem) Lužickosrbského gymnázia (Sorbisches Gymnasium/Serbski gymnazij) v Budyšině (ls. Budyšin, něm. Bautzen) dotazníkový průzkum, týkající se některých aspektů jejich vztahu k lužické srbštině (resp. němčině) a etnické identity. Výsledky tohoto výzkumu byly prezentovány v VI. oddíle publikace „Sprachverhalten und ethnische Identität“, publikované jako 39. svazek řady Spisy Serbskeho instituta (ŠATAVA 2005).

O čtyři roky později, v zimě 2005/06, proběhl v 5.–12. A-třídách SGS opakovaný výzkum, zahrnující stejné otázky. V případě 9.–12. třídy tak byly získány údaje od stejných respondentů, kteří byli (coby žáci 5.–8. třídy) předmětem výzkumu již v roce 2001. Analýza a interpretace odpovědí týchž (celků) žáků na tytéž otázky v časovém posunu čtyř let je cenným zdrojem pro postžení současné etnicko-jazykové situace u (nejen mladých) Lužických Srbů.

Komparace stejných dotazníků, zodpovězených v rámci návratného výzkumu v letech 2001 a 2005 shodnými skupinami (A-tříd) žáků Lužickosrbského gymnázia v Budyšině, přinesla pozoruhodná a průkazná zjištění. Po čtyřech letech se u sledovaných žáků (v rámci třídních celků) zřetelně projevilo **sílení lužickosrbské identity**, resp. **pokles identity německé**. Oproti tomu deklarovaný **zájem o zachování lužickosrbského jazyka a kultury** prakticky stagnoval. Hodnoty **sebehodnocení jazykové kompetence** jak pokud jde o lužickou srbštinu, tak i němčinu s rostoucím věkem mírně vzrostly; němčina však nadále (v průměru) mírně dominovala nad lužickou srbštinou. **Hodnocení celkové situace Lužických Srbů** bylo v obou srovnávaných případech takřka totožné.

Z uvedených zjištění je jako nejvýznamnější možno vyhodnotit doložené posuny a změny v rámci (vzájemně provázané a prolnuté, mnohdy vlastně „podvojně“) lužickosrbské a německé identity. V daném kontextu již dříve prezentovaná (ŠATAVA 2005: 206–212) zjištění a úvahy je tak v rámci prezentované komparace možno považovat za potvrzená. V potaz je třeba samozřejmě vzít i fakt jistého „národního elitářství“ v souvislosti se samotným přihlášením se žáků na SGS, stejně jako fakt výchovy k lužickosrbskému uvědomění v tomto školním zařízení. Výhledově by však bylo třeba prezentované téma zpracovat ještě detailněji – zejména se zaměřením na teritoriální rozdíly a osobní vývoj konkrétních jednotlivců.

Uvedené poznatky by se mohly stát i podkladem praktických opatření – v rámci v Lužici jen pozvolna (zhruba až od roku 2000) se výrazněji rozvíjejícího „jazykového plánování“ (language planning). Tento fenomén již v řadě menšinových oblastí Evropy i jiných světadílů přinesl výrazné výsledky na poli snah o uchování asimilací ohrožených etnik a jejich jazyků; v řadě případů se stal i osou revitalizačních tendencí. Lužická srbština (především její hornolužická varianta) je dosud živým jazykem, kterým stále ještě hovoří i děti a mládež. Jedním z cílů uskutečnění v této studii představeného výzkumu tak byla i snaha napomoci, aby tomu tak zůstalo i nadále.