BUILDING BRIDGES: INTER-ETHNIC AND INTER-NATIONAL TRUST IN SOUTHERN MOLDOVA

by

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(Under the Direction of Markus Crepaz)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate why there is more trust of people of another nationality (TPAN) in southern Moldova (where there is more ethnic heterogeneity) than both northern and central Moldova (where there is more ethnic homogeneity), as current field literature suggests that the opposite should be true. The thesis supplies three theories: 1) higher incomes lead to higher TPAN, 2) Peace Corps Volunteers act as catalysts for TPAN in ethnically heterogeneous areas, resulting in higher TPAN, and 3) a residual imposed Soviet identity bridges trust between like-minded individuals, resulting in higher TPAN. The thesis rejects the income theory, as the country's lowest average income is found in the south. The thesis accepts both the Peace Corps and Soviet identity theories, though it notes that the Soviet identity theory accounts for more of the TPAN found in the region.

INDEX WORDS: Trust, Nationality, Ethnicity, Moldova, Peace Corps, Soviet, Contact Theory

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DEDICATION

For Mom, Dad, and Monica.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A few years ago, while I was enjoying a local dish at a restaurant in southern Moldova, I heard a joke about the country. It started as the great leaders of the United States, Russia, and Moldova found themselves unexpectedly in the underworld. The devil gave each leader a chance to say goodbye to his loved ones, but in return for this gift, he charged them a number of extra years in his realm, based on how long the conversations were and the standard of life in their countries at the time they met their most unfortunate end. The American and Russian Presidents made reasonably quick phone calls to their loved ones and were punished with an extra million years each. The Moldovan President called his family, his friends, and everyone he knew. When he hung up the phone, the American and Russian Presidents waited with big grins on their faces, only to find the devil charging the Moldovan President with an extra week. The devil looked to the confounded American and Russian, shook his shoulders, and stated that it was a local call.

I did not laugh. Moldova is the poorest country in Europe and, while history has not favored the country, her people generally live peacefully with each other, struggling for a better future. In fact, as this thesis will attempt to show, Moldova (specifically, southern Moldova) stands to serve as a standard to the world when it comes to inter-ethnic and inter-national relations. Moldova is far from a joke.

To the east of Romania and the west of Ukraine lies Moldova, a small country the size of Belgium, but with a much smaller population: four million. From June of 2005 to July of 2007, I served as a Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV) in southern Moldova. I taught university English at Comrat State University (CSU) in an ethnically heterogeneous region called Gagauzia.

Gagauzia is a semi-autonomous region, populated by ethnic Russians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, and the Gagauz. Descendants of the ancient Thracians and Seljuk Turks, the Gagauz speak a Turkic language and have remnants of Greek Orthodoxy in their church ceremonies. With such an array of people and cultures, my work proved to be quite difficult. Yet it was a rewarding experience because Comrat is a microcosm of the world we live in today: multilingual and multicultural, at times xenophobic and withdrawn.

As I traveled around southern Moldova for conferences, events, and social gatherings with other Peace Corps Volunteers, I learned that most of the regions in southern Moldova were ethnically and nationally diverse, just like Gagauzia. What's more, the ethnicities and nationalities in southern Moldova seemed to get along with one another.

Now, this is not to say that disdain for other cultures in southern Moldova does not exist. On the contrary, it does indeed. As a Volunteer, I heard many derogatory stories and jokes revolving around Roma (Gypsies), Jews, and Russians. As one can see from the opening paragraphs of this thesis, even the Moldovans themselves were not safe from jokes. Yet, considering where I was and the region's history with the Ottoman Turks, the Romanians, the Soviets, and its own independence, I was surprised that I never experienced events or heard stories regarding violent clashes between the different ethnicities or nationalities in my two years in Moldova.

Given Moldova's history, its current economic and political strife, its ethnic fragmentation, it is odd that southern Moldova does not suffer from the inter-ethnic, inter-national, and inter-ethnonational violence and conflict that plague many of its neighbors. While researching World Values Survey statistics from 2006, I learned that southern Moldova has a

high population of people who trust people of another nationality (TPAN). In Table 1, we can see these data (see Appendix for Figure 4: World TPAN comparison levels).

Table 1: Trust of People of Another Nationality (TPAN) by Region in Moldova

	North	**North(%)**	**Center**	**Center(%)**	**South**	**South(%)**
Completely	2	0.69%	7	1.42%	25	10.96%
Somewhat	69	23.71%	179	36.23%	82	35.96%
Not Very Much	125	42.96%	241	48.79%	69	30.26%
Not at All	95	32.65%	67	13.56%	52	22.81%
Total	291	100.00%	494	100.00%	228	100.00%
Upper TPAN	North	24.00%	Center	33.00%	South	46.00%

Table 1, however, does not explain the whole picture. In Figure 1, we can see the ethnic breakdown of each region, along with the average of upper and lower “Trusters” in each region.

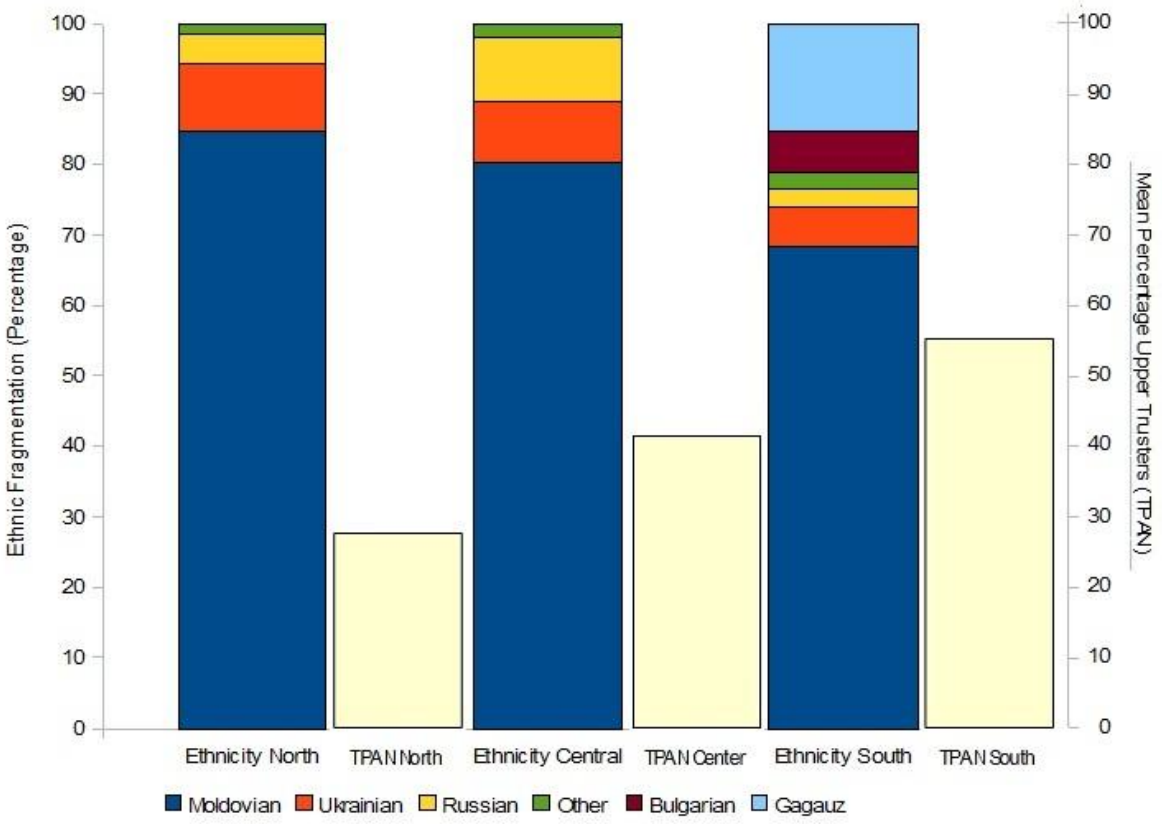

Figure 1: Ethnic Concentration and TPAN Levels

Another term for ethnic fragmentation is ethnic heterogeneity. In Figure 2, we see that as ethnic heterogeneity increases, TPAN increases as well. Another way to view this is to apply the Numbers-Equivalent of Firms (NEF) calculation to ethnic fragmentation. The NEF is used in economics to normalize the number of firms based on their market share. Now, we can plot ethnic fragmentation vs. Upper TPAN (Figure 2).

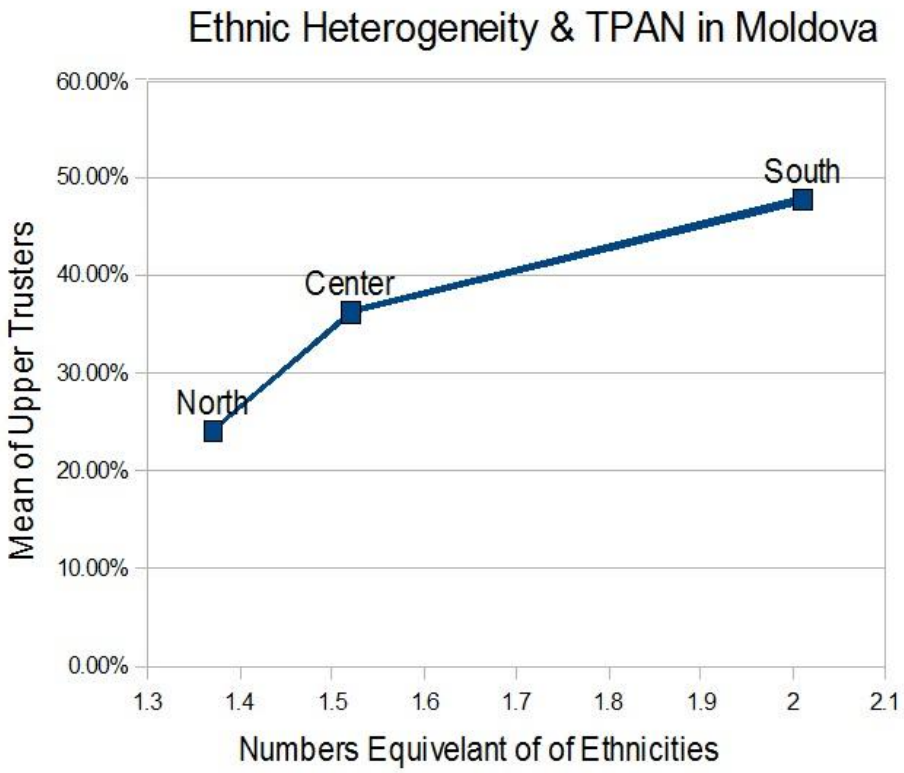

Figure 2: Ethnic Heterogeneity & TPAN Levels

The question this thesis aims to answer is why we see increased trust of people of other nationalities as ethnic heterogeneity increases. That being said, I will now describe the plan of this thesis. First, I will offer three theories, each with its own hypothesis. Second, I will define the data I plan to use, the variables I plan to create, and the methods I plan to use in order to test my hypotheses. Third, I will offer a brief historical background of Moldova, in order to place the country in the necessary temporal and political context. Fourth, I will offer a review of current

relevant literature. Fifth, I will delve further into the theories I plan to use in this thesis. Sixth, I will apply the theories to Moldova and display the results. Finally, I will offer a discussion on the results and the overall process of the experiment.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES AND HYPOTHESES

This thesis offers three theories: 1) Peace Corps Volunteers act as catalysts, providing service projects that create contact between people of different ethnicities, bridging them together, 2) Income determines the level of trust people have for other nationalities, and 3) The imposition of a Russian identity as a result of Soviet influence creates a bond among people of different ethnicities and cultures.

To determine the validity of the Peace Corps service (PCS) theory, I offer the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis PCS: The more people in Southern Moldova are exposed to Peace Corps Volunteers and take part in Peace Corps Volunteer-service projects, the more trusting of people of other nationalities they become.*

The dependent variable (DV) in the PCS hypothesis is trust of other nationalities. The independent variable (IV) in this hypothesis is the willingness to bridge trust to people of other nationalities.

To determine the validity of the Income Determination (ID) theory, I offer the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis ID: People with higher incomes will be more trusting of people of other nationalities.*

The DV here is TPAN; the IV is income.

To determine the validity of the Russian-Identity Implication (RII) theory, I offer this hypothesis:

Hypothesis RII: As confidence in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) increases, the more trusting of people of other nationalities they become.

The DV in the RII hypothesis is again trust of people of other nationalities. The IV for this hypothesis is the confidence people in Moldova have in the CIS (ConfCIS).

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND PROCEDURE

The data I will use for this thesis comes from three sources: my twenty-six months as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Moldova, the National Bureau of Statistics (Biroul Naţional de Statistică) of Moldova, and the 2006 World Values Survey of Moldova. With regards to the Peace Corps, I will draw upon my experiences as a community member of Comrat, as a teacher of English at CSU, as a co-leader of high school English clubs, and as an educator of other teachers and professors through advanced Teaching English as a Second Language (TEFL) seminars. From the National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, I will use national and regional income averages. I will perform an in-depth case study of my experiences in Moldova in each of the above capacities in order to explain the relationship between communities and the increased trust that occurs between different ethnicities as a result of the contact that is sparked by the Peace Corps Volunteer living and working in those communities.

For the RII hypothesis, I will use a number of variables from the WVS. As stated above, my DV is TPAN, which is coded by the World Values Survey (WVS) on a four-point ordinal scale: 1=Completely trusting, 2=Somewhat trusting, 3=Not very much trust, and 4=No trust at all. I will recode the variables in so that the values ascend from lowest to highest. I will create another TPAN combining the upper-level "Trusters" (completely trusting and somewhat trusting) to create a variable for upper "Trusters" (UT). The IV for this hypothesis will be ConfCIS, which is coded for in the WVS.

To test for the imposition of a Russian identity as a result of the Soviet Union, I will use gender, income, class and education as control groups. For each of these groups, I will use the

WVS variable. However, I will recode income (ten-point scale), class (five-point scale), and education (six-point scale) to three-point scales. In addition to the models, I will also include observations from my on-site experiences.

For the RII hypothesis, I will run two models. In the first (RIIM1), I will use ordinal logit models to determine if there is a relationship between the Russian Imposed Identity (RII), whether or not that there is a positive or negative relationship, and the odds of higher levels of trust existing given the existence of the Soviet Influence. The DV for this model will be TPAN, and the IV will be ConfCIS. I will also control for gender, class, education, and income in the model. I will then report the marginal effects for TPAN levels.

In the second model (RIIM2), I will run ordinal logits to determine if a relationship exists between self-identification as a CIS citizen and having confidence in the CIS as it applies to TPAN in the south, whether or not that relationship is positive or negative, and the odds of being in higher trust categories given the values of the independent variables. RIIM2's DV is TPAN. The IV for M2 is ConfCIS. Again, M2 is specific to the south, and it excludes central and northern Moldova. As in M1, M2 will control for income, education, and gender to exclude alternate explanations. To test the theory that income determines TPAN, I will use WVS and Moldovan National Bureau of Statistics data. I will run cross tables to determine the effect income has on TPAN.

CHAPTER 4

THE PEOPLE OF MOLDOVA THROUGH THE EYES OF HISTORY

While Moldova, the country, has only been independent since 1991, the region itself has been inhabited for thousands of years. The region was home to the Cucuteni and Tripolyean peoples in 5000BC, the Dacian tribes during the Dark Ages, and the Goths, the Magyars, and the Huns until the Middle Ages, when the Principality of Moldavia was established in the fourteenth century. (Mantu 2000, Boia 2001, & Dima 1991). In the late fifteenth century, Moldavia reached its apex under Stefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great). After his death in the early sixteenth century, Moldavia fell to the Turks and was part of the Ottoman Empire until the 1812 Treaty of Bucharest, in which the region was transferred to the Russian Empire.

Moldavia was essentially split into two parts by this time. To the west was the Region of Moldavia (eastern Romania today), inhabited by ethnic Romanians. The eastern part of Moldavia was known as Bessarabia. As in the Region of Moldavia, ethnic Romanians were the predominant population of northern and central Bessarabia. Southern Bessarabia, however, was composed of Ukrainians, Jews, Bulgarians, Germans, and Poles (Clark 1927). With the population of Moldavia having decreased considerably as a result of conflict and war in the mid-19th century, the Russians offered privileges and land rights to its minority populations in the empire to resettle in Bessarabia.

Life in Bessarabia, leading up to World War I, was disastrous for the ethnic Romanians. Their language and culture were slowly eliminated from government institutions, churches, and schools, leaving the population uneducated, illiterate, and unable to develop their lands (Dima 1991). When the Russian Empire fell in 1917, Bessarabia declared its independence. A few

months later, fearing communist Russia, Bessarabia reunited with the Kingdom of Romania (Dima 1991 p17). The U.S.S.R. did not recognize the reunited Romania and seized northern Bessarabia in 1924 and southern Bessarabia in 1940.

In 1941, Romania participated in Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany (Fugate 1989). As a result of Barbarossa, Romania captured most of Moldavia. Over the next three years, Romania, in conjunction with the Nazis, would nearly exterminate the Jewish population of Moldavia. In 1944, the U.S.S.R. defeated the Romanians and established the Soviet Socialist Republic (SSRM).

After World War II, Joseph Stalin stated that the people of Moldavia were not ethnically Romanian, but something else, and he cited the language of Moldavia as the key difference between the two cultures (Library of Congress 1995). From the post-war period until 1989, the SSRM developed and remained stable, to the same extent as the other Soviet republics did. In 1989, the national language of Moldovia was changed from Russian to Moldovan (Romanian).

In ethnically heterogeneous and predominantly Russian-speaking southern Moldova (Gagauzia & Pridnestrovia), this change was seen as a great cause of concern, especially considering the possibility of a reunification with Romania if the Soviet Union fell. In 1990, both Gagauzia and Transiestria declared independence from Moldova. Violence broke out in each region. Ultimately, tensions eased slightly when Moldova announced its independence from the Soviet Union and promised to support minority rights. Gagauzia reunited with Moldova, remaining, however, as a semi-autonomous region. Tensions did not cease between Moldova and Pridnestrovia, as the last bastion of the Soviet military (the 14th Army) still remained in the region and does so to this day.

On August 27, 1991, for the first time in their history, the people and the land that occupied old Bessarabia were in control of their own destinies—sort of. Actually, the newly independent Moldova was still controlled both locally and nationally by the old elites who, not more than a few weeks before, had been proud members of the Moldavian Communist Party and were now full-fledged supporters of the new Republic of Moldova (Solonar 1999).

In order to combat the old elite after independence, Moldova instituted a market economy and free elections. Still, the people tended to elect a variety of communist parties to lead them, but as a result of years of corruption and election tampering, Moldovans protested (BBC 2009). Today, the Moldovan government is lead by the Alliance for European Integration, and negotiations for an EU-Moldovan Association Agreement began in January 2010 (Delegation of the European Union to Moldova 2010).

CHAPTER 5

DEMOGRAPHICS OF MOLDOVA

Similar to the tribes, nations, and empires that occupied the territory between modern-day Ukraine and Romania, today's independent Moldova can be quite diverse. According to the 2004 Moldovan Census, the main population living in Moldova today is ethnic Moldovans. I have called them "ethnic" Moldovans because they have lived in Moldova for generations, speak the Moldovan language, *and* claim Moldovan cultural status. This separation must be defined, as many citizens of Moldova do not self-identify as Moldovans, but rather the nationality or ethnicity of their native tongue. Other ethnonational groups living in Moldova include the Ukrainians, Russians, Gagauzians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Roma, and Jews (see Figure 2).

Table 2: Population of Moldova 2004 National Census

	Population	**Percent of Total**
Total	3,383,332	100.00%
Moldovans	2,564,849	75.80%
Ukranians	282,406	8.40%
Russians	201,218	5.90%
Gagauzians	147,500	4.40%
****Romanians**	73,276	2.20%
Bulgarians	65,662	1.90%
Roma	12,271	0.40%
Jews	3,628	0.10%
Other	18,502	0.50%
Undeclared	14,020	0.00%

It is important to note that there is a contention as to whether or not Moldovans and Romanians are a separate ethnic group. In my experiences as a Peace Corps Volunteer, to deny that there is an ethnic difference to self-identifying ethnic Moldovans between Moldovans and Romanians is to commit social suicide. However, as we have seen from the historical literature,

the Moldovan-Romanian divide was cleaved by the Soviet Union in the 1940s (Library of Congress 1995). For the purposes of this thesis, I will refer to the self-identified, ethnic-Moldovans and the self-identified, ethnic-Romanians as equivalents, given that pre-1940, the two groups were one - the Moldavians.

I have divided the country of Moldova into the same three sections included in the World Values Survey: northern, central, and southern. Northern Moldova consists of the Edinet, Soroca, and Balti regions. Central Moldova consists of the Orhei, Ungheni, and Chisinau regions, as well as the Municipality of Chisinau. Southern Moldova consists of the Tighina, Lapusna, Gagauzia, and Cahul regions. While Pridnestrovia is a region in Moldova, it was not included in the 2004 Census, nor the World Values Survey. Therefore it is excluded from this thesis. Figure 3 shows ethnic heterogeneity of Moldova. The two black division markers have been placed by the author.

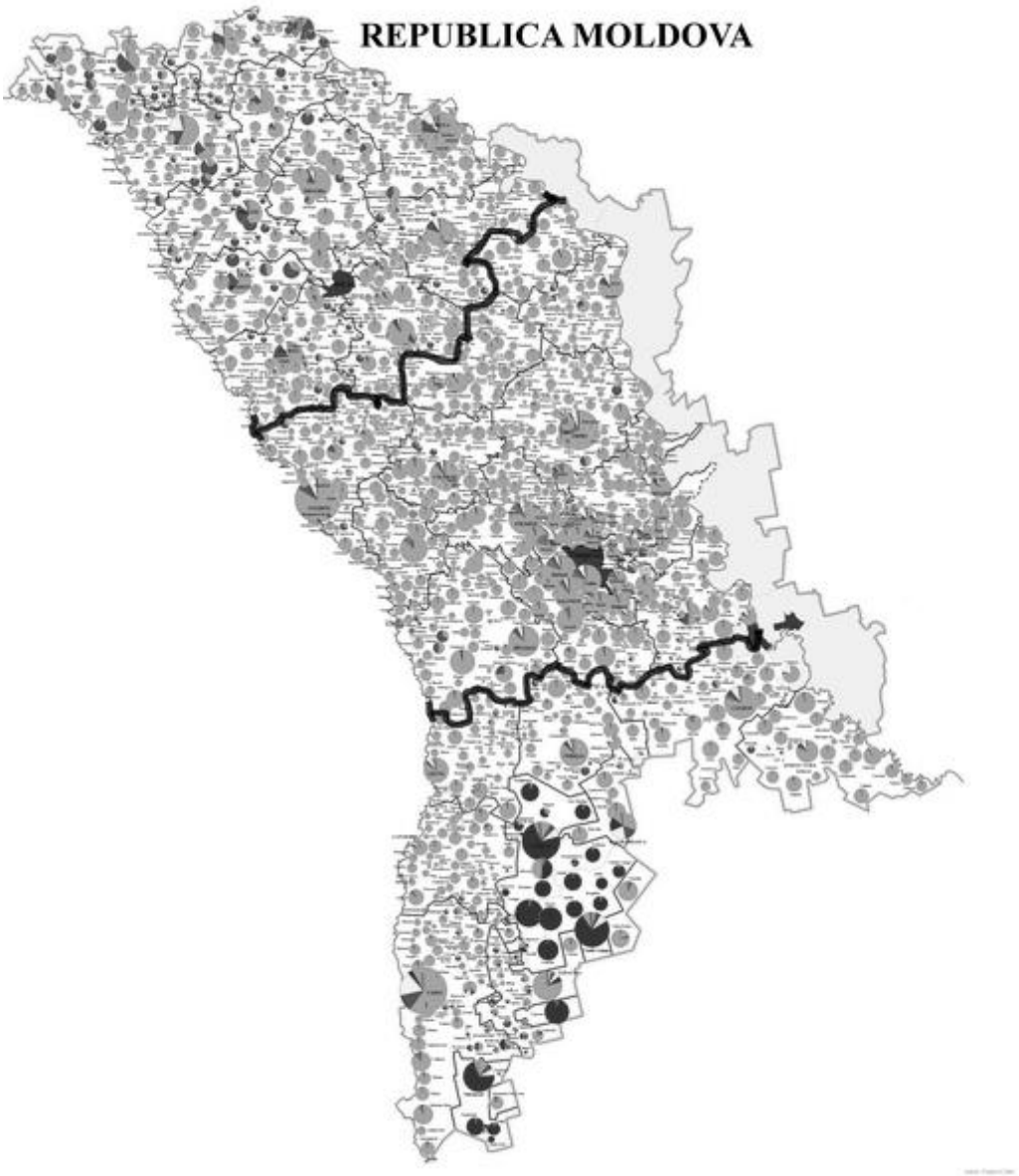

Figure 3: Moldova in Three Parts (Pantea Calin 2004)

CHAPTER 6

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRUST

As self-evident and obvious as it may be, no good relationship can exist without trust. In fact, trust is quite possibly the most important aspect of any relationship, as the existence or non existence of it determines whether or not the relationship lasts. This is true for relationships between individuals and relationships between groups, be they composed of a few individuals or a few million individuals. Generally speaking, societies tend to have good, active citizens who engage in community activities when their peoples trust each other (Putnam 2000). The trust process, if maintained and self-sustained, leads to development of healthy social capital, the social networks necessary for a society to function.

Robert Putnam writes that social capital can create positive social activities, but it can also bring out the more malevolent side of humanity, as seen in the formation of groups like the Ku Klux Klan (2000). Most importantly, for the purposes of this thesis, there are two dimensions in which social capital forms. In the *bonding* dimension, social capital bonds some people together, while excluding others. The other dimension is *bridging*, which occurs when social capital connects people of different groups together. Social capital can occur in a social network in one or both dimensions.

We can define "trust" as a "confidence or expectation" that one person or group will take another person or group's "interests into account in exchanges" (Lin 2001, p147). In order to trust another individual or group, people must give up control within a situation (Tanis & Postmes, 2005). Through trust, we find the answer to "the need in a complex society for individuals to rely on rules that are accepted by many people and that guide both interpersonal

and impersonal exchanges—the institutions... [and without them] societal functioning would cease" (Lin 2001, p148). Thus, "trust" expresses the faith between individuals or groups that the agreed upon actions will occur or will not occur. Coleman describes this process in his *Foundations of Social Theory* (1998):

1. Trust in others allows for certain processes to occur that would not occur, had the trust not existed.
2. Assuming the trusted is trustworthy, the "Trusters" will be in better position than had they not trusted. However, if the trust was misplaced in an untrustworthy individual or group of individuals, then the "Trusters" will find themselves in worse situations than if they had not trusted.
3. Trust is a voluntary action that requires a resource placement at the hands of the trusted without a firm commitment of action.
4. There is a time lag between the trust action and the resulting trusting or distrusting behavior.

With trust comes a variety of other emotions, such as empathy, sympathy, the moral pressure of guilt, and altruism (Durkheim 1973). Together, these emotions, coupled with trust, create a base for bridging a community together.

If trust between individuals and in-groups is complicated, then trust between in-groups and out-groups is downright circuitous. When we trust strangers, we are in effect inviting them into our "moral community" (Uslaner 2002). Bridging trust to outsiders is often difficult because we might not have a baseline of mutual understanding, morals, ethics, or cultures. Furthermore, trust should be seen more of a human trait, rather than a state between individuals, changing given the particular situation. Viewed in this light, people can be broken down into

two different groups: universal and primordial "Trusters". Universal "Trusters" tend to not only trust others within a society, but also tend to be concerned about the lives of people unlike them; primordial "Trusters" tend to only trust and have concern for those who look like them (Crepaz 2008). Generally speaking, universal "Trusters" are willing to extend trust to members of their community who are different than themselves. Primordial "Trusters", on the other hand, are not; they are bonded by their societal commonalities (race, heritage, etc). They are unwilling to bridge trust to the other, as they often see the other as threatening in one way or another.

While it can be said that most countries, cities, and even neighborhoods have their fair share of primordial "Trusters", this is especially true for most—if not all—of the former-Soviet states. Since the fall of the U.S.S.R. almost twenty years ago, the world has seen ethnic conflict after ethnic conflict in the former Soviet states.

At the heart of each of these conflicts is trust, or the lack there of, appearing in the forms of government sanctioned violence on minorities as well as unprovoked ethnic violence, all stemming from the malevolent view of the "other." Distrust, unfortunately, is one of the legacies the Soviet Union left behind (Mishler & Rose 1997 & Mikheyev 1987). If this is the case, then why is trust of people from other nationalities so high in southern Moldova?

CHAPTER 7

BUILDING COMMUNITY THROUGH CONTACT THEORY

Generally speaking, we tend to believe that the more contact individuals have with each other, the more they will like or tolerate one another. Simple contact itself is not enough, though. When in- and out-groups come together, psychological linkages must be made among the individuals of each group in order for the in-groups to formality accept the out-groups. (Lewin & Grabe 1945).

American psychologist Gordon Allport was one of the first members of his field to study the human personality. Allport's approach dismissed both behavioralism and psychoanalysis, citing the first as too broad of an approach to understanding the human experience and the second as being too narrow. As racism plagued the United States during Allport's lifetime, he focused his studies on its causes and attempted to thwart it.

In 1954, Allport developed his Contact Hypothesis, in which he stated that one of the most effective methods to decrease prejudice among in- and out-groups is through interpersonal contact. Allport's main idea was that meaningful acquaintance decreases prejudice (1954). The hope was that by building diverse, cohesive communities, decreases in prejudice would result in individuals recognizing that their fears and racism towards out-group members were unfounded and irrational and, ultimately, attitudinal change would occur (Emerson, Kimbro, & Yancey 2002). In effect, a healthy community of trust would be created, providing for the development of a better future for all, not just some.

As in the social trust literature, Putnam's *bonding* and *bridging* dimensions are also important in Contact Theory. Places of worship *bridge* people of various in- and out-groups

together, creating contact by allowing the *bonding* of said individuals, decreasing their dislike for each other. However, in order for this prejudice reduction process to occur, a series of circumstances must be met.

First, groups must have equal status in the intergroup relationship. Second, the groups must be working towards the same solutions to a problem or be working on the same task, yielding a common goal. Third, the solutions or tasks must be structured in such a way that that the members of each group are interdependent on one another to achieve or accomplish their common goals. Finally, an outside authority must be present in order to provide support and intervene, if necessary, in order to maintain interaction and contact between the in- and out-groups (Allport 1954).

When contact leads to positive experiences between in- and out-groups, social scientists usually observe the decrease of prejudice in both groups. Furthermore, this initial contact has the ability to spur future contact, and we usually see this contact occurring on three levels, ranging from most likely to least likely: 1) a member from group A will have future contact with the same member from group B that he had interacted with before, but in a different setting, 2) a member from group A will have future contact with members of group B who are of the same social class as the member from group B he interacted with in the past, and 3) a member from group A will have future contact with any member of group B, regardless of the social class of the original member from group B (Pettigrew 1998).

In Brewer and Miller's 1984 model, there are three ways in which groups of people can interact with each other. The Category-Based interaction applies when an in-group member makes a broad generalization about an out-group. From this view point, the two groups are completely segregated from one another, with well-defined borders and well-established social

rules. The Self is centered in the middle of the in-group, and the individuals in each group all classify themselves in the same way. The Differentiated interaction is used when a member of an in-group wishes to note differences across the groups. This interaction is slightly different, as the individuals in each group are allowed to vary to a degree in whatever separates the groups. Because of this variation, the group boundaries are semi-permeable, making it possible for atypical members from each group to exist outside of the group. As a result, the Differentiated viewpoint allows for outlier contact in each group, as well as the potential for in- and out-group boundary breaking.

The Personalized interaction applies when a member from the in-group focuses on a member of the out-group. In this case, boundaries separating each group are less important, and the single in-group individual judges an individual of the out-group, not by his relation to the out-group, but rather by his similarities and differences to himself (Miller 391). From the Brewer and Miller Personalization Model, we get a sense of when in- and out-group members have had prior contact with each other, they are less likely to be prejudiced towards one another.

Emerson et al show that prior contact, especially in schools, leads to increased contact with out-group members later in life (2002). This is tantamount to this thesis because we expect that trust follows the same path as prejudice and distrust. As prejudice and distrust decrease among in- and out-groups, acceptance and trust will fill in, creating a healthy community.
Individuals compare and contrast each other. It is important to understand this process so that we can understand Contact Theory, which states that as meaningful contact increases among groups, prejudice decreases dramatically (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

CHAPTER 8

ETHNICITY, “US” VS. “THEM,” & THE RUSSIAN IMPOSED IDENTITY (RII)

On Christmas Day in 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned from his position, declared the office of the President of the U.S.S.R. non-existent, and transferred his powers to the President of Russia, Boris Yeltsin. The next day, the Supreme Soviet, the highest legislative branch of the U.S.S.R., also declared itself non-existent. And thus, with the stroke of a pen, the Soviet Union was officially destroyed. In the West, people cheered—the Cold War was over—but in the newly independent states, there were many boos that went a long with the many cheers.

Just because the Union was now extinct did not mean that the people who supported the Union were gone, nor did it mean that the mentality was gone, either. The Russification would linger on in many people in each of the Union's former states. It would exist as a visual reminder - a residue - of the good old days to some and the days of oppression and hopelessness to others. For Moldova, the spoils of the collapse of the U.S.S.R. would bring people together, directly *bonding* together the ethnic-Moldovans who were against it and both *bridging* and *bonding* together the ethnic minorities who were for it. In other words, it would lead to catastrophe for many.

The Soviet Union's collapse made it possible for ethnonational communities to rally against their former suppressors (Drobizheva 1996). The increased desire of minority rights and benefits in the newly independent states separated along every line imaginable. From ethnic to national, political to social, and economic to religious, the minorities that had been tyrannized and hiding for almost fifty years began to demand social reform.

At the same time the minorities were calling for rights yet to be achieved, the Russian

population (which was the numerical majority in some states, the numerical plurality in other states, and the economic and political majority in all former states except for Latvia and Estonia), was struggling to keep its own rights, maintain its majorities, and prevent the newly powerful minorities from tipping the power scale.

One of the interesting revelations this situation poses to social scientists is that it makes us re-evaluate what we call states, what we call ethnicities, and what we call nationalities. Are Russian Moldovans Russians or Moldovans? Are Ukrainian Moldovans Moldovans even if they do not want to be? Can nationalities be considered ethnicities? Most strikingly, can the Moldovans be considered an ethnicity if the majority of Moldovans consider it to be so, regardless that the classification was basically created by Stalin in 1940?

Perhaps. These are questions to be answered by the anthropologists. In that regard, according to sociologist and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner, we should think about ethnicity, nationality, and labels we use to define "us" and "them" in terms of a collective consciousness, a self-identifier that spans a collection of classifications (2008). This consciousness will naturally include aspects like customs, standards of acceptance, language, history, culture, and arts. Therefore, "nationality" and "ethnicity" can be, regardless of language, two ideas that, semiotically, have the same meaning.

On that fateful day in 1991 when the Union collapsed, 25 million people who considered themselves ethnically Russian were stranded in what were—all of a sudden—*former* Soviet states and were now considered the "Russian near abroad". Before the fall, the mentality among these ethnic Russians was imperialistic. While both they and their parents may have been born in the republic in which they lived, they still classified themselves as Russians living abroad. Whereas most of the locals in each republic cited their states as their ethnic heritage (i.e. locals in

Georgia considered themselves Georgian), the motherland to the Russians living abroad was always Russia. (Drobizheva 1996).

An interesting point to note is that the single defining method of determining who was Russian and who was not was how these Russians in the near abroad identified themselves. According to a series of inter-republic surveys between 1971 and 1991 carried out by the Department of Ethnosociology of the Institute of Ethnography of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, about 66% of Russians surveyed who lived in major cities claimed the "[Russian] language to be the primary basis of their sense of ethnic identity" (Drobizheva 1996, p. 132). Language, then, would be another kink in the post-Soviet, ethnic, national, and lingual struggle that still rages on today.

While language may be the method in which Russians in former-Soviet Union and current near abroad have always identified themselves, former-Soviet Russians can also be identified by their behavior. The West generally defines Russification as a combination of communism and the cultures, traditions, and ideology of the Russians. American films and television shows usually depict the Soviets and today's new Russians as cold (both temperature and temperament), hopeless alcoholics with mafia ties.

Some have argued that this picture of the nature of the Russian and Soviet people was due to the long, cold winters, the lack of access to warm bodies of water, the repetitious nature of the jobs people worked in, and the rigidity of the communist government. While these factors may have played a role in the shaping of the Soviet society, they do not explain what we see in Moldova. They do not explain why the people of the former-Soviet Union can be cold one moment and hospitable the next, subscribe to anarchy and then follow strict rules, or appear to

have completely given up on their living situations and then fight for something better (Mikheyev 1987).

To define this behavior, we must consider both the basic attitudes, as well as perceptions, that are specific to how the former-Soviets perceive other people. Furthermore, we must also consider how they view the world. It would seem that they are quasi-universal "Trusters" because they trust people of other nationalities, but lack trust in people in general. However, their distrust of those who are not like them would classify them in the primordial realm, basing their trust not on visual, but ideological cues. Furthermore, because of the Cold War and the lack of everyday contact with the people of the former-Soviet states, there is a tendency in the West to stereotype these people as suspicious towards others. By understanding them, one might feel differently.

In the United States, the main influences on people's lives are (in order) families, governmental institutions, places of worship, the media, and the street (friends, acquaintances, and strangers). In the Soviet Union, these influences impacted people in a different order: governmental institutions, family, and the street (Mikheyev 1987). The influence of the Communist Party was pervasive in all aspects of Soviet life. Everyone in the Soviet Union knew they were expected to be model citizens, to be honest, pure, hardworking, and loving towards other socialist societies. Children were brought up freely and treated as innocents until they were ten years old. At that age, they entered the Young Pioneers, where they were introduced to Communist Party issues, such as weaknesses, class-struggles, and the enemies to the Soviet Union.

While physical punishment and deportations were used as retribution in Soviet society, humiliation was often employed as well. Intellectuals who failed to tow the party line were

given dirty jobs. Humiliation extended beyond punishments and into the cultural and habitual aspects of Soviet life. Families shared apartments. Sometimes, four or five families would share the same apartment, totaling some 30 or 40 people in one living space, sharing one bathroom, telephone, and kitchen. Privacy was non-existent.

Dmitry Mikheyev postulates that this social behavior consists of two sectors: the basic perceptions of the self and the life it leads, and the basic attitudes the self has towards others living around it (Table 3).

Table 3: Mikheyev Model of the Soviet Mentality

Basic Perceptions of the Self	**Basic Attitudes of the Self Towards Others**
Physical and social environment is hostile	Suspiciousness, presumption of conspiracies
Life is a struggle for survival	Perception of personal power as a tool for evil
Society has supremacy over individual's goals	Tendency to actively enforce social norms
Disbelief in Supreme Being	Self-sacrifice is the ultimate virtue
	Search for respect

From Table 3, we see that the Soviet self lived in a hostile environment, fighting for its survival, while yielding to the supremacy of society when such a need arose. Suspicion, therefore, was a survival mechanism. By breaking down and defining the locals, we get a glimmer of how the Soviets thought.

Fast forward twenty years, and we see that the vast majority of people living in the former Soviet republics spent most of their lives as Soviet citizens. For those self-identified as ethnic Russians, support for the old ways is quite high. This is due, perhaps, to the nature of revolution and power transfer, where both the old belief system and social order (Soviet life) are attacked by revolutionaries (the plurality of the native-ethnic minorities pertaining to each state). The ideology of the U.S.S.R.'s Communist Party and it’s language (Russian) is what bound the world's Marxist movements together.

CHAPTER 9

BUILDING BRIDGES IN MOLDOVA WITH CONTACT THEORY

After the festivities surrounding my arrival concluded and I settled down in Comrat, I took a walk downtown. While Comrat proper has a population of 30,000, the majority of the population is spread out in houses and farm lands that surround the city. Comrat has one large Eastern Orthodox church, a small Baptist church, two secondary schools, a lyceum for the gifted students, a technical college, a bazaar, a number of free-standing shops and markets, and, of course, Comrat State University, the region's largest center for higher education. It is also the world's only Gagauz university. Walking around downtown, I was shocked at the amount of diversity in the city. I heard people on the streets talking in Russian and in Gagauz. Occasionally, I would encounter two people holding a conversation in each language; one speaking Gagauz and the other Russian. Moreover, as I walked around, I saw a number of buildings for NGO local offices, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and a number of micro-finance offices.

While the Peace Corps is similar to these aid centers, it is different for two main reasons. First, its members are not professionals living abroad, but rather trained volunteers who provide services for host-country nationals in order to decrease dependence on other countries and to increase chances for a self-sustainable future. Second, Peace Corps Volunteers live where they work, as opposed to living in the capital city and providing seminars through weekly excursions or delegating aid to regional offices run by locals. Furthermore, the Peace Corps maximizes meaningful in- and out-group human contact. In current Contact Theory literature, meaningful relationships are the key to decreased prejudice and increased trust. Ultimately, it is through the

process of Peace Corps community and regional projects that create inter-ethnic and inter-national trust, not the actual achievement of the goals of those projects.

As a Peace Corps Volunteer, living with a host family that did not speak English, working with a faculty that spoke minimal English, teaching English to students, and teaching educators new and innovative ways to teach English, I was a conduit for Contact Theory. Most of my students only knew one American: me. The students who knew more than one American knew the woman I replaced.

There were two other Peace Corps Volunteers in Comrat in 2006. One (Abbott)[1] worked at a USAID-sponsored women's organization, teaching the NGO how to manage the monetary flow through grants and other resources for aid. He also held business seminars for young women. These women came from around the city to participate in the seminars, and they represented a variety of ethnicities and nationalities. The other Volunteer (Daniel) worked at the lyceum teaching high school English. In addition to the Americans in Comrat, there was also a doctoral student from the U.K. (Henry), studying Gagauz religious practices. He also taught university classes at CSU.

The four of us were the outsiders. We were not born in Moldova or its neighboring countries. We went there to help people, which was a foreign idea. The people of Comrat knew who we were. While we did not experience any overt hostility, we were often stared at. Yet, because we were outsiders from the West, we had the unique opportunities to not only increase contact and acquaintanceship between our countries and Moldova, but also to bring the people of Moldova together, increasing the contact and acquaintanceship among themselves. Our activities, which included college courses, English and film clubs, business seminars and

[1] The names of people in this thesis have been changed for privacy reasons.

secondary school programs, brought people of almost all of Moldova's ethnicities and nationalities together.

Large organizations like the Peace Corps and USAID focus their energies on a variety of projects that can be broken up into a hierarchical structure. Aid agencies tend to focus on communities, other organizations, trainers, and individuals. For our purposes, communities are classified as groups of people living in varying group sizes, from villages to cities. Organizations are project-oriented associations developed within the communities. Trainees are community members trained by the aid agency, who then provide services to others in need. Individuals are those assisted directly by aid agency members.

In addition to the aid agency activities, a number of embassies are active in southern Moldova. The embassies of Britain, Greece, Turkey, and the United States all have language and cultural centers set up in communities, schools, and universities. Furthermore, CSU is home to not only students from Moldova, but also students from Turkey. These students study in Moldova because they did not pass the Ögrenci Seçme Sınavı (ÖSS), the Turkish university entrance exam. Every year in Turkey, over 1.5 million high school students take the exam, while the Turkish university system can only handle approximately 450,000 students (ÖSYM 2010). About two-hundred of these students study in southern Moldova every year, and most attend university in order to become teachers. During their practicums, these students teach Turkish and/or English at Turkish-funded schools in villages and towns in the south.

Given the diversity of native nationalities and ethnicities (Bulgarian, Gagauz, Moldovan, Russian, and Ukrainian), the variety of non-native nationalities and ethnicities (American, British, Greek, and Turkish), the broad range of international aid agencies and embassy centers, the higher percentages of trust, and the non-existent ethnic conflict in southern Moldova, it

appears that Allport's Contact Theory is at work. As mentioned above, the PCS hypothesis will test this, using host-country national willingness to bridge as the IV and trust as the DV.

CHAPTER 10

BRIDGES IN MOLDOVA: A RESULT OF THE RUSSIAN IMPOSED IDENTITY (RII)

I suspect an alternate theory to explain the high TPAN in southern Moldova is the Russian imposed identity (RII) by the Soviet Union. It is ironic to suggest that a residual mindset, emphasizing suspiciousness and conspiracies is *bonding* and *bridging* people of different ethnicities and nationalities together. However, I suspect that this has occurred as a result of the ethnic-Moldovan struggle for independence.

As we have seen in the historical literature, after Moldova was created in 1991, the national and ethnic minorities who had once ruled the SSRM with an iron fist lost their power and stature in society—those who the Soviet elite and Soviet colonizers once referred to as peasants were now in control of their own country. With the stroke of a pen, the Soviet in-group had become the frowned-upon out-group. It could be that this trust of other nationalities in southern Moldova relates all ethnicities and nationalities in the region, *except* for the ethnic-Moldovan population.

Understanding this, how do we test for RII? I will take apply variables based on Mikheyev's Model of Soviet Mentality to Moldova's three regions using data from the 2006 World Values Survey of Moldova. After the Soviet Union collapsed, a number of the newly formed republics entered into the largely symbolic Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). While the CIS has very little international power (if any), it is a great proxy to measure the lingering RII this thesis wishes to test.

CHAPTER 11

BUILDING TRUST AND COMMUNITIES THROUGH INCOME

Income is the great equalizer. Worldwide, as people's incomes increase, we tend to see more trust. This trust that we see covers a broad spectrum, from trust of other people in the community to trust to people of other nationalities. At the higher levels of income, we tend to see less petty crime and less community trouble overall. Because we see higher levels of trust in southern Moldova over both northern and central Moldova, we must intuitively think that the south is the wealthiest of the regions. However, according to the 2006 Moldovan Census, we see that this is not the case at all. In fact, people living in southern Moldova have the smallest incomes in the country (Table 4).

Table 4: Average Monthly Salary in 2006 MDL to 2006USD

Average Monthly Salary	**2006MD to 2006USD**
Chisinau	$180.93
North	$113.32
Central	$103.97
South	$97.08

Furthermore, in later sections, we will see that income does not have a statistically significant effect on TPAN levels in Moldova.

CHAPTER 12

BUILDING COMMUNITY THROUGH THE PEACE CORPS

When many people think the Peace Corps, they tend to think of Volunteers dropped into villages with no running water or electricity, hundreds of miles away from other English speakers, and free to work on any projects they wish. However, this is not the case. Peace Corps posts are highly structured, and Volunteers are assigned jobs based on their qualifications. In Peace Corps Moldova, Volunteers are assigned work in primary fields: as English teachers at primary schools, secondary schools, and colleges; as teacher trainers for schools and universities; as health teachers at secondary schools; as counselors in agriculture; and as counselors at non-profit organizations and NGOs. Furthermore, Volunteers are assigned counterparts, individuals who work with and guide the Volunteers at their sites throughout their two years in the Peace Corps. It is important to note that, in addition to working in their primary fields, Volunteers are required to take part in secondary activities, projects not directly related to their assigned primary objectives.

Recognizing the heterogeneity of my classes, I wove diversity studies into each of my courses. It was important that the students not just learn the English material we studied, but also to connect with it. Higher student interest meant more students willing to work hard to learn English. One of the most successful activities in this regard involved S.E. Hinton's *The Outsiders*, a book about two rival gangs of kids (rich and poor), which my English class read and conducted a mock-trial. The students enjoyed it because they could all relate to the characters and the situation depicted in the book. For the mock trial, I divided the students into two teams, one for the prosecution and the other for the defense. Then, the students chose who would act in

what capacity on the case. The students were allowed to use the book and American law websites for source information. The trial would then be held live, in front of a different class of students as the jury.

I had my doubts about the project because it was completely dependent on all of the students doing their individual parts in addition to working together. We discussed the American court system, and we compared it to the Moldovan court system. We talked about corruption in the Moldovan legal system and the protections against corruption in courts in the United States. On the day of the trial, we packed forty students and three teachers into a room that barely sat twenty. The room was set up like an American courtroom. I introduced the jury, the prosecution, and the defense. As the students progressed through the defense and prosecution, it was clear that they were all well prepared.

In addition to the mock trial, all my intermediate and advanced classes read, compared, and contrasted readings form Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. After these readings, we looked at racism and bigotry in Moldova, specifically in southern Moldova. Furthermore, through a series of activities revolving around the readings, the students realized that they had certain biases of their own (many of which were against their fellow classmates). One activity in particular that brought this out was an open dialogue about stereotyping, racism, and distrust of others. Unfortunately, the only way I could demonstrate this to them was to intentionally let my classes get out of hand to the point at which my students were both angry and excited enough to freely express themselves in English. The hope was that the students in each group would experience direct or indirect out-group stereotypes and fire back with their own stereotypes for the other groups.

After stereotyping each other for a few moments, I stepped in and continued with the lesson, demonstrating that everyone in the room was guilty of stereotyping. So as to not appear without a flaw to my students, I related the stereotypes of Russians and Soviet people with which I had been brought up. We worked on trying to figure out why these biases existed. The students realized that these biases really had no basis of reality, so we worked to undo what we had been taught.

The conversations that ensued after the mock trial and the stereotyping units were quite informative. The students all agreed that they learned a great deal about the workings of the legal system and racism. However, the students learned much more than that. With regards to Contact Theory, the students learned to trust each other so they could work together. For the mock trial project, one could argue that the students had to work together in order to achieve a good grade on the project. However, this was not the case. In the Moldovan educational system, bribes are quite common. Students unhappy with the grades they received in any of my classes could easily have the grade changed for the right price with the right administrator. Therefore, the students did not work together just so that they could receive a good grade.

The students found the mock trial project to be interesting and fun, and they wanted to do well. The students all actively participated in their team's case preparation. This meant that in order to come together and operate as a cohesive functional group, the students had to bridge trust to one another. They did. None of my students engaged in free riding. The students were overwhelmingly reluctant to participate during the racism and stereotyping units at the beginning. However, as we tied these themes to the Moldovan situation, students were quick to participate. While encouraging active stereotyping in my class could have ended very badly, it did not, and it ended up creating an environment for the students to discuss issues that they

would not otherwise have the opportunity to talk about. In order to have a classroom to freely discuss even society's most dangerous topics, the students had to trust each other. Therefore, I must conclude that the process of these projects bridged trust between my ethnically heterogeneous students.

In addition to teaching courses at the university, I also had duties to the university faculty. I had weekly meetings with my counterpart, where we discussed teaching methods and successful activities. These meetings were quite a cultural exchange, as my counterparts were often hesitant to use any of the teaching methods that I employed in the classroom. It was not until I presented my teaching methods at a series of seminars and conferences that my counterparts began employing some of my methods. The conferences brought teachers and professors from all over southern Moldova to CSU. Held in English, the conferences attracted educators who spoke Moldovan, Russian, Gagauz, and Bulgarian alike. My students who were studying to become teachers often attended my presentations at conferences, so they could use my teaching methods in the future in their own classrooms.

During the school year, we, the Peace Corps Volunteers of Comrat (Abbott, Daniel, and I) and the University of London doctoral student (Henry), held two clubs: English Club and English Film Club. The clubs were open to teachers, professors, and students in either secondary schools or at the university. Regulars to the clubs consisted of students from the lyceum (Comrat's public school for gifted students), two high schools, and CSU. The only rule we had in our English clubs was that students were to speak English only. English Club and Film Club were designed to be a fun environment, where students could practice their English. Each week had a different theme. We introduced the film, screened the film, and then held a brief discussion after it had finished. When we started running the English Club together, the students routinely

sat with their friends within their own ethnic group. However, through randomized group activities and games intensely focused on learning and fun, the ethnic groups slowly dissipated, and our students integrated.

Our Club activities for Halloween offered a unique opportunity to view this transition. In 2005, we provided candy and treats for the students, we dressed up, and we promised carving of watermelons, as pumpkins were out of season. As a result of the activity, the ethnic cliques dissolved, and we were all one group. Halloween 2006 was similar, but instead of carving watermelons, we set up Halloween boxes with different "human" organ the students could feel. We had over-cooked noodles for a brain, a latex glove filled with rice for a hand, and formed dough for both a tongue and an ear. In addition to the boxes, we also set up a station for bobbing for apples.

As we were setting up for the event, an interesting thing happened. The professors and foreign language department staff entered the room. We invited them to try apple bobbing and the feel boxes. While none of them tried bobbing for apples, a few tried the feel boxes, which sparked laughter, warmth, smiling, interaction, and a general sense of happiness. What we had planned as a "coming together" activity for the students also worked on the faculty.

The student Halloween 2006 event was quite successful. We had one of our largest English Club turnouts ever. While the attendants did socialize and sit in cliques, these groups were based on friendships they had made in English Club as well as the social group from which they had heard about the Halloween event. Furthermore, once the attendants arrived, they spoke in English without having to be prodded. Seeing the boxes and the floating apples piqued attendee interest. The students responded to the activities in the same way the professors and department staff did: with intrigue, excitement, and laughter. It seems that our English Clubs

activities were as successful as they were because they provided a controlled environment (classroom), a common medium (the English language), and safe direction (Peace Corps Volunteers) for students of all ethnicities and nationalities to converse.

A long-term project we did with our English and Film Club students was Odyssey of the Mind, an international English education event that requires its participants to solve problems through critical thinking and creative methods on subjects from mechanical devices to the interpretation of classical literature. Students form teams, lead by a teacher who provides both a meeting space and encouragement. The teacher is forbidden to help the students on their projects. Students compete at the local, state, national, and world levels. The final competition is scored on two sections: the spontaneous portion and the long-term problem. Each year, the teams are presented with three long-term problems, and teams pick one for which to prepare. There are three types of problems: vehicular, where teams construct and drive some type of vehicle; tech transfer, where teams build a device that moves objects from one place to another; and literary, where students create and present plays or other creative performances based on historical literature (Odyssey of the Mind 2010).

In the 2006 competition, Abbott, Daniel, and I all coached teams. My team was composed of students from the main public high school in Comrat. Daniel's team was from the lyceum, and Abbott's team was composed of students from other schools. Together, as a team (the students and myself), we determined that the event with the least participation was the vehicular problem. In efforts to maximize their chances of winning the overall competition, the students decided that they would take on the vehicular challenge. According to the project guidelines, teams would build a vehicle and then use it in a parade as a float. The problem required the parade to have three parts with three different float designs (the same float, but

different decorations). During each part, the vehicle would move from one side of the room, designated the Back Lot, then travel down a parade route, which ultimately lead back to the Back Lot, where the team would transform the float for the next part. The problem also required a technical feature for one of the floats, as well as during the grand finale (Odyssey of the Mind 2006).

Given the scope of the project, I was initially worried that the students were setting themselves up for a categorical failure. Before I could suggest a different problem, the students had started brainstorming with great excitement. They had lofty visions for what they could do. They envisioned a holiday parade consisting of floats and costumes for Halloween, Christmas, and the Moldovan holiday National Wine Day. The girls talked about costumes, makeup, and decorations, they boys talked about the construction of the vehicle, and I thought about the cost of the project.

Yet, seeing the students work together, including one another, and taking suggestions from everyone, no matter how lofty or impossible each idea was, I did not want to steer them to a different project for fear of diminished group cohesion and participation. As it turned out, one of the team member's father owned one of the major dairy farms in Comrat. As a result, money was not an issue for the team.

We had weekly meetings at the high school in which the students would practice the parade. The entire team showed up to each meeting, regardless of the weather. One week, the south had been hit by a cold snap. The temperature for the week was a few degrees below zero Fahrenheit—abnormally cold, even for Moldova. Still, the students came to the meeting.

The weekend of the national competition, Abbott, Daniel, and I chartered a bus to take our teams from Comrat to Chisinau. When we arrived at the competition, it was time for the

vehicular long-term project teams to perform. I felt pretty confident about our presentation going into the competition, but watching as the other groups performed, I became nervous for my students. Either the other teams were remarkably ingenious and creative, or they had serious outside help. As I looked around to the team's floats, I worried that my team would blame me for their loss because I would not let them cheat.

The students had practiced their routine for days, but when they performed, everything seemed to go wrong. The ground at the competition site was different than the school, proving difficult for the vehicle's wheels. The electrical outlet at the competition site was faulty, nearly blowing out the cassette player the students brought. Still, they worked through the competition, and they did not give up. When they finished, it was clear that they would not win, nor place, in the competition. I congratulated them on a job well done, anyway. Despite the mishaps, they were proud of themselves as they did all the work themselves, without outside help.

The competition went extremely well for Daniel's team, as they placed in their category and would go on to the European championships in Poland[2]. I worried that my team members would be angry and jealous. While they were initially upset about their performance, they were thrilled that a Comrat team would represent Moldova. It seemed, as a result of the competition, that the members of my team saw themselves and their peers as members of southern Moldova, who would proudly represent Moldova in an international competition. Through a nine-month extracurricular project, our students—fractured by in- and out-groups based on language, nationality, and ethnicity—became one in-group. They bridged trust to each other even when

[2] The cost for the trip to Poland was quite high. Daniel made sure each of his team members would be able to go by applying for a Peace Corps Partnership grant, which allows Americans state-side to fund Volunteer projects, provided that the individual Peace Corps country community in which the project will occur donates funds as well. Abbott and I contributed to process as well by spreading the word to our families and friends in the United States.

they were on opposing teams. Furthermore, the trust they formed for each other continued on well after the contest.

While the obvious goal of the Peace Corps is to help people in a given country, the ultimate goal of the Peace Corps is actually to leave the country. Peace Corps, as an organization, strives to teach people in developing countries how to be self-sustainable. That being said, we can infer that the Peace Corps is not an accomplishment-based organization, but rather a process-based organization. As such, most Volunteers consider their service in the Peace Corps to be process-based as well. When people ask me about my major accomplishments in the Peace Corps, I point to the university students, the English Club students, the Film Club students, the Odyssey of the Mind team members, my host family members, my local friends, and the host-country nationals who I worked with during my service.

Had the Peace Corps not existed, life would be quite different for all the people who have had Volunteers in their communities over the last seventeen years. With regards to ethnically heterogeneous southern Moldova, without the Peace Corps, the people would not have been brought together by university TEFL Volunteers, secondary school TEFL Volunteers, primary school Volunteers, agriculture Volunteers, health Volunteers, and NGO Volunteers. The students who did not have Volunteers in their schools would not have benefited from attending Volunteer English Clubs. Students who participated in the Odyssey of the Mind competitions would not have had the opportunity to travel to the capital city, meet, and compete with their fellow citizens.

In the south, especially, people of different ethnicities would not have had the opportunities to meet each other and work together. It is true that Peace Corps is no different in the northern, central, or southern Moldova. Yet, because of the diversity in the region, the Peace

Corps acts as a catalyst for bringing people together. However, it is the process of attending classes or work-related meetings and working on long-term interdependent projects in equal, safe, open, and constructive environments that helps breed the bridging of trust to people of other nationalities.

The students who took part in the mock trial project had to work inside, as well as outside of the school environment, in order to prepare their respective cases. The project required that students of various English levels be able to draw from a text and construct an argument within the confines of the story and American law. In order to achieve this, the stronger English students had to work with the weaker English students. On each team, there were only a few strong students, which meant that the majority of their teammates depended on them for textual interpretation. In response, the students with lower-English levels were able to work on the logic and reasoning pieces of the arguments. As the students progressed through the book and their case preparations, they connected with each other; they trusted each other. After the project, I noticed that the students were much friendlier with the people who had been on their case teams than before. The students were from different regions and spoke different languages.

Every student – whether they worked on the mock-trial project, took part in the various diversity projects, or participated in the English Club, Film Club, or Odyssey of the Mind - benefited from Peace Corps Volunteers. Not only did they learn English, but they also learned that they could trust people who were different than them. Moreover, in the future, when they come in contact with people of the same ethnicities of the friends and acquaintances they made in the classes and clubs, they will be willing to bridge trust to them. Had they not been exposed to Peace Corps Volunteers, they would not be willing to bridge this trust. By this token, we can accept the Peace Corps Service hypothesis: Peace Corps Volunteers act as a catalyst to gather

people who normally would have little or no contact with one another in order to create meaningful relationships through interdependent projects.

CHAPTER 13

TRUST AND THE RII

Towards the beginning of my service, a number of people in my town worked in the wineries located outside of the city. Moldova is known all over the former-Soviet Union for its wines. Wine exports to Russia in 2005 accounted for much of the Moldovan economy, and the wineries employed many people in Southern Moldova.

Many of the wineries terminated most of their work force in April of 2006, a few weeks after Moscow banned Moldovan wines from Russia. According to the Russian news media, the bans occurred for sanitary reasons, according to the Russian Federal Customs Service (Chivers 2006). However, at the time, Moldova was attempting to move away from Russian dominance of its industries and politics. The feeling in Moldova was that Russia's move was based on politics, not health concerns.

Intuitively, one would think that the people of and around Comrat would hate Russia for its actions. While this may have been the sentiment in northern and central Moldova, it was not in the south. Many people in southern Moldova blamed the Moldovan government. To most people in the south, Moldova's move away from Russia and towards Europe, politically, was a spit in the face to Russia—the country that had helped independent Moldova in its infancy.

Around the time of the ban, it seemed like everywhere I went in the south, people were taking this perspective. However, while I was on a routine trip to Chisinau one weekend after the ban, the sense I got there from the people was that it was Russia's fault. The difference between the Moldova supporters and the Russian supporters seemed to be language and culture.

Those that spoke Moldovan (Romanian) supported Moldova; those that did not speak Moldovan seemed to overwhelmingly support Russia.

It is important to note that many people had mixed feelings about Russia during the Soviet Union; however, all the negatives seemed to be outweighed by the fact that the state took care of its people like a mother takes care of her children. When I asked people why they favored life during Soviet times to life today, I received the same answer, over and over again: everyone worked, everyone went to school, everyone was provided with medical care, and the elderly were guaranteed life-sustaining pensions. Life was enjoyable, and there was no need to worry about food, shelter, or safety. Only when I prodded host-country nationals did I learn the cost of such safety: random arrests, the occasional famine, and the KGB.

While these benefits may no longer exist for Moldovans, it appears that those in southern Moldova who have a higher level of trust for other nationalities are heavily influenced by the RII and its residue. People living in the south who are students, government employees, members of charitable organizations, members of sports clubs, and members of social clubs, are between 22% and 82% more likely to be trusting of people of another nationality than people in central and northern Moldova (Table 5 & 6). This is a clear indicator of the communal nature imposed on Moldova by the Soviets.

Table 5: Societal Activities & Upper TPAN by Region

Social Activity	Upper TPAN South	Upper TPAN Center	Upper TPAN North
Active in Charitable Organization	92.30%	16.67%	16.67%
Student	66.67%	38.10%	31.25%
Active Member of Sports Club	58.82%	33.33%	26.67%
Active in any non-church organization	58.46%	32.26%	31.75%
Government Employee	46.67%	36.56%	26.13%

Table 6: TPAN Likelihood

Societal Activity	Percent More Likely For TPAN In South To Center	Percent More Likely For TPAN In South To North
Active in Charitable Organization	81.94%	81.94%
Student	42.85%	53.13%
Active in Sports Club	43.34%	54.66%
Active in Any Non-Church Organization	44.82%	45.69%
Government Employee	21.66%	44.01%

CHAPTER 14

TRUST OF OTHERS FROM AN UNLIKELY SOURCE: THE RII

The RII exists in southern Moldova. Sometimes, it may come in the form of support for Russia, and other times it may come in the form of nostalgia for an older lifestyle. Whenever it appears, it seems to bind Moldova's minorities and Russian speakers together. How can people who were born in the Soviet Union, who speak no Moldovan, and who practice no Moldovan customs be considered Moldovan? Ethnicity and nationality are complicated in Moldova. However, during the Soviet Union, it was easier. Everyone and everything was Soviet.

Peace Corps Volunteers have been in Moldova since 1993 (Peace Corps 2010). However, my host family had never housed one. Yet, they invited me into their home, where I lived for two years. An explanation for taking me in could be that my host family needed the extra income that I would provide. However, my host family did not need the money. I did not just rent a room; I became a member of the family. I ate my meals with them. I spent so much time with my host mother that she often found herself scolding me, like she would her own son, when my room was less than clean. I spent so much time with my host father that when people gave me a hard time for the actions of the American government overseas, he would stick up for me and tell them that I was different, that the Peace Corps was not the army.

Most people living in southern Moldova have strong values. They self-enforce these values in their communities. Furthermore, southern Moldovans sacrifice themselves for the good of their families and their communities. Most families in southern Moldova have a son or a daughter working outside of the country, who wire money home each month. Southern Moldovans also strive for individual respect in the community, and there is a sense that the

community is more important than the individual. Finally, a trust of the "other" exists quite strongly.

Each of these characteristics, be they positive or negative for society as classified by this thesis, are similarities that one would expect to see in the Soviet Union. Our proxy for RII (Sovietness) is confidence in the CIS. When we run ordinal logit regressions of our models (RIIM1 and RIIM2), we find that confidence in the CIS is significant and positively related to TPAN. We see this in Table 7-9. Tables 10 and 11 (in the Appendix) show the marginal effects of both models).

Table 7: RIIM1 and Odds Ratios

TPAN	RIIM1	Odds Ratios
Confidence in the CIS	0.303***	1.354***
SE	(0.0780)	(0.106)
Z-Score	(3.88)	(3.88)
Education	0.300**	1.350**
SE	(0.0979)	(0.132)
Z-Score	(3.07)	(3.07)
Income	-0.143	0.866
SE	(0.109)	(0.0947)
Z-Score	(-1.31)	(-1.31)
Gender	-0.0789	0.924
SE	(0.124)	(0.114)
Z-Score	(-0.64)	(-0.64)
Class	0.259*	1.296*
SE	(0.122)	(0.158)
Z-Score	(2.12)	(2.12)
South	0.533***	1.704***
SE	(0.156)	(0.266)
Z-Score	(3.42)	(3.42)
Cut1		
_cons	0.406	
SE	(0.355)	
Z-Score	(1.14)	
Cut2		
_cons	2.367***	
SE	(0.362)	
Z-Score	(1.14)	
Cut3		
_cons	5.273***	
SE	(0.415)	
Z-Score	(1.14)	
N	918	

Table 8: RIIM2

	North	Center	South
TPAN			
ConfCIS	0.346*	0.0398	0.648***
SE	(0.153)	(0.115)	(0.154)
Z-score	(2.26)	(0.35)	(4.19)
Education	0.255	0.298*	0.271
SE	(0.186)	(0.144)	(0.205)
Z-score	(1.37)	(2.08)	(1.33)
Income	-0.276	-0.134	0.295
SE	(0.193)	(0.167)	(0.240)
Z-score	(-1.43)	(-0.80)	(1.23)
Gender	-0.116	0.174	-0.408
SE	(0.231)	(0.182)	(0.260)
Z-score	(-0.50)	(0.96)	(-1.57)
Class	-0.297	0.462**	0.334
SE	(0.248)	(0.177)	(0.245)
Z-score	(-1.20)	(2.61)	(1.36)
Cut 1			
_cons	-0.631	-0.183	1.860**
SE	(0.686)	(0.533)	(0.703)
Z-score	(-0.92)	(-0.34)	(2.65)
Cut 2			
_cons	1.275	2.227***	3.381***
SE	(0.689)	(0.543)	(0.725)
Z-score	(1.85)	(4.10)	(4.66)
Cut 3			
_cons	5.706***	6.024***	5.642***
SE	(1.208)	(0.684)	(0.800)
Z-score	(4.72)	(8.81)	(7.05)
N	264	448	206

Table 9: RIIM2 and Odds Ratios

	North	Center	South
TPAN			
Confidence in the CIS	1.414*	1.041	1.911***
SE	(0.217)	(0.120)	(0.295)
Z-score	(2.26)	(0.35)	(4.19)
Education	1.290	1.347*	1.311
SE	(0.240)	(0.193)	(0.268)
Z-score	(1.37)	(2.08)	(1.33)
Income	0.759	0.875	1.344
SE	(0.147)	(0.146)	(0.322)
Z-score	(-1.43)	(-0.80)	(1.23)
Gender	0.890	1.191	0.665
SE	(0.206)	(0.216)	(0.173)
Z-score	(-0.50)	(0.96)	(-1.57)
Class	0.743	1.587**	1.396
SE	(0.184)	(0.280)	(0.342)
Z-score	(-1.20)	(2.61)	(1.36)
N	264	448	206

Table 7 depicts the result from RIIM1. We see that there are positive and significant relationships between ConfCIS and TPAN levels in Moldova when we hold region, education, class, income, and gender constant. We find that as ConfCIS increases by one unit, the change of the odds of being in a higher level of trust increases by 35% across the country. We also find being in the south, education level, and class to be both positive and significant.

Table 8 and 9 depict the results from RIIM2. In figure 10, we see that ConfCIS has a positive and significant relationship with TPAN in northern and southern Moldova. Education and Class levels also have a positive and significant relationship with TPAN in central Moldova. With regards to the odds ratios, we see that in central Moldova, as class increases by one unit, the likelihood of being in a higher level of trust increases by 58.7%. In the north, as ConfCIS increases one unit, the likelihood of being in a higher level of trust increases by 41.4%. In the south, the increase is much higher: 91.1%.

Because of the positive and significant effect that ConfCIS has on TPAN in Moldova, we can accept RIIM1. Furthermore, because of the positive and significant effect that ConfCIS has on TPAN in the south, we can accept RIIM2. Through ordinal logit tests, we have found that confidence in the CIS does indeed lead to higher levels of trust of people of other nationalities. This is true for both the south and the north. While northern Moldova has the lowest TPAN levels, it seems that confidence levels in the CIS explain 40% of the trust that does exist in the country. In southern Moldova, the results are very clear. The higher the confidence people in southern Moldovans have in the CIS, the more likely they are to have higher levels of trust for people of other nationalities. Finally, we see that for southern Moldova, gender, education, income, and class are not significant variables to determine TPAN levels.

CHAPTER 15

INTER-ETHNIC BRIDGE OR BRIDGES:

TRUST OF THE OTHERS IN SOUTHERN MOLDOVA

Conventional wisdom says that strong economies and citizenships with healthy incomes breed higher trust of people from other ethnicities and nationalities than weak economies and citizenships with unhealthy incomes. However, our results in Moldova show that people living in the south earn lower incomes than both the center and the north, and yet, are far more trusting of people of other nationalities. In this thesis, I have provided three theories to explain the increased trust of others in the Moldovan south: 1) contact created by Peace Corps Volunteers, 2) income, and 3) an Russian imposed identity by Soviet influences. It is important to note that each theory is based around the fact that southern Moldova is a highly heterogeneous region, much more so than northern and central Moldova.

In the first theory, Peace Corps Volunteers either intentionally or unintentionally create a safe medium for contact among their community members and proceed to work on communal, inter-dependent, goal-oriented projects: a process that ultimately results in trust among the people who worked on the projects, as well as an extension of trust to the respective out-group ethnicities and nationalities of those in-group individuals who worked on the projects.

In the second theory, we find, counter-intuitively, that income does not play a statistically significant role in increasing TPAN in southern Moldova.

In the third theory, we find that the Soviet Society is not all dead, and RII and its expectations of values are still prominent in the south. To some extent, this can be observed in the north as well. Given the history of the land that was once Bessarabia, we find that many

people living in southern Moldova today are quick to define themselves *not* as Moldovans. Yet, for many of these people, ethnicity *is* nationality, which seems to be determined by a slew of factors—one of which is sheer choice. The conundrum for Moldova is identity.

Examining the major ethnic minorities of southern Moldova, we see that they are the Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Gagauz, and Russians. While Bulgarians born and raised in Bulgaria and Ukrainians born and raised in Ukraine have different customs, languages, and values, how different are these same features in Bulgarians and Ukrainians who have lived in Bessarabia for generations?

To answer this question, more research needs to be conducted—preferably, on-site and in-country. From my experiences in the south, a preliminary answer is that the differences between the two are quite minimal. While the older generation of Ukrainian and Bulgarian southern Moldovans may speak their respective languages, most people just speak Russian. Where we find the most differences is in the Gagauz community.

However, here the main difference is language; the overwhelming majority of the Gagauz are bilingual (Russian and Gagauz). Otherwise, the Gagauz, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, and Russians who have lived in Moldova for generations have very similar or almost identical cultures. Furthermore, there is very little religious difference between the minorities. Ninety-five percent of southerners are Eastern Orthodox, and the remaining five percent are Roman Catholic or Protestant.

In essence, this second theory is rooted in the idea that the Soviets succeeded in assimilating southern Moldovan minorities into their union. Ethnic and national differences are either non-existent or so slight that they simply do not matter, and what the minorities in the south seem to be facing is the fact that the identity of a Soviet citizen is simply unavailable.

Given that the southern ethnic-Moldovan majority of the country is 58% less likely to trust other nationalities than the average of the southern minorities, we can suggest that there really is an "us vs. them" contingent in the south.

If this is the case, then it would seem that the minorities are actively bridged together by their bond of RII against the native-Moldovan population. However, it could also be that the minority population in southern Moldova is passively bridged together by the RII—the Russians have had the most control over Bessarabia (in some way or another) in the last 200 years, and the Russians used the Bulgarians and Ukrainians to "restock" Bessarabia as a result of population decline from regional wars, which ultimately lead the two minorities to elite status in Bessarabia.

Thus, one could interpret Moldovan-majority-to-Moldovan-minority oppression as a response to the minority-majority oppression the ethnic Moldovans experienced at the hands of the Soviets, ever since they were—in essence—created by Stalin in the late 1940s. That is, it could be that the current Moldovan population is pigeon-holing the minority population. Ironically, if this is the case, the Moldovans are adding to the fragmentation of their country, encouraging the minority factions to band together, as well as the primordialism of both the people harboring RII and the ethnic-Moldovans. This results not only in a bridging together of trust for other nationalities among minorities, but it also decreases the capability for ethnic-Moldovans to trust other nationalities. In other words, among minorities, it increases heterogeneous trust, but among the majority, it increases xenophobia.

Like it is today, before the Soviet Union, Bessarabia was quite the diverse region. However, the relationships between the various ethnicities were not very healthy. During the Soviet Union, these ethnicities got along. Regardless of one's view of the U.S.S.R., it clearly created community in southern Moldova, and it seems that it is still mostly responsible for the

trust in-groups are willing to extend to out-groups. We can say this because of the significant results of the ologit regression analysis.

However, there is a logical flaw in this idea. The second theory states that the Soviet Union unified people by assimilating them into one culture, thus attempting to erase ethnicity or convert it to something resembling Russian culture. Indeed, the second theory does answer our question of why people in Southern Moldova are more trusting of other nationalities than the rest of the country. However, the next questions we need to ask are who trusts whom and if there are peoples not being trusted.

If we say that the second theory explains the trust differences, then we are basically saying that the people of southern Moldova who are upper-level "Trusters" of people of other nationalities are not part of in-groups (defined by ethnicity) extending trust to members of out-groups (different ethnicities). Another way to look at this is that these upper-level "Trusters" are all members of the same in-group, an in-group defined by RII. Thus, one can make the argument that the RII bridges like-minded people together, regardless of their ethnicity. However, while RII brings these people together, it also cleaves a wedge between those who have it and those that those who do not.

What we need to know is how the trust of other nationalities breaks down. Given the arguments above, I suspect that there is greater trust between the Bulgarians, Russians, Gagauz, and Ukrainians than there is between any one of the four and the ethnic-Moldovans. However, removing the ethnic-Moldovans from the equation, I suspect that the trust between the four main minority ethnicities breaks down rather quickly if the members of those ethnicities do not harbor RII.

Something we must remember about the Soviet Union and its people is that there were some ethnicities that prospered under it and were happy to be members, while other ethnicities struggled as unhappy members. For example, while the Soviet Union was stifling to their religion, the Jews did much better in the Soviet Union during World War II, as opposed to the Jews who lived in Nazi Germany or German controlled areas during World War II. The Gagauz also did quite well under the Soviet Union. However, the Ukrainians and the Latvians were not too keen on their membership.

Before the U.S.S.R. took control of Jewish and Gagauz villages and towns, the two groups were terrorized: the Jews by the Nazis and anti-Semitism and the Gagauz by the Romanians. As citizens in the Soviet Union, both the Gagauz and the Jews were treated by the State like everyone else, which brought these groups up to an equal level in society. Other nationalities saw their entrance or existence in the Soviet Union as a downgrade from what could have been. This is clear in the case of the Baltic nations, which were the first to successfully leave the Soviet Union.

By applying the second theory to the south, we see that a Soviet mentality increases the trust of other nationalities. We also see that this trust is particularly strong in the Gagauz (91.17% at upper levels) and the Bulgarians (100% at upper levels) who suffered most at the hands of others before they were members of the Soviet Union. Contrarily, we see that this trust is much lower for the southern Ukrainians (58.43% at upper levels).

Leonardi, Nanetti, & Putnam tell us that trust is unique to the system in which it operates (1994). Southern Moldova is indeed unique. Unfortunately, RII is mostly bad for Moldova over the long term because of the wedge it creates between those with it and those without it, as well as the strong bond it creates among the minorities, against the ethnic-Moldovan majority.

Furthermore, the more the ethnic-Moldovan majority feels this exclusion, the more it will push back against the minorities, which may eventually lead to a violent conflict.

The one positive feature of the theory, from a normative standpoint, is that it does create trust of other nationalities. Yet, at the same time, it also creates the belief that the environment is hostile, that people in general are out to cheat others, and that there is little respect for individual rights. While trust of other ethnicities is important, the people of Moldova need to be able to trust each other in order to structure the society, government, future they wish to see.

Luckily for Moldova, it seems that a substantial amount of trust for other nationalities does indeed develop as a direct result of Peace Corps involvement in the country. There have been 963 Peace Corps Volunteers in Moldova since 1993 (Peace Corps 2010). Furthermore, at any given time of the year, there are between 125 and 180 Volunteers in the country. Here, we can see that the Peace Corps has a strong presence in Moldova. Therefore, it is important to note that while the experiences I have discussed in this thesis—teaching at CSU, English and Film Club, Odyssey of the Mind, leadership courses for girls, seminars for other teachers, and living with host families—pertain to me, we can assume that similar events are occurring everyday all around the country. Furthermore, in especially diverse regions, Peace Corps Volunteers act as the catalyst that sparks the bridging of trust in their communities, whether they intend to or not.

One of the more interesting (and perhaps most unrecognized) aspects about the Peace Corps is that because Volunteers live in the villages, towns, and cities where they work, they develop bonds with the people outside of work. It is often these outside-of-work bonds that strengthen the Volunteers' ability to perform their primary and secondary duties. Through the acceptance as members of these communities, Volunteers gain respect from the host-country

nationals. This is extremely important because acceptance and respect of the Volunteers leads to community motivation and action.

As a result of this process, Volunteers are able to perform their jobs more effectively. In the Moldovan south, this means that Volunteers are able to create an environment where their students, community members, community workers, or community farmers are able to come together as equals. As trusted outsiders who have been accepted into the community, Volunteers are able to ensure that their motives are pure, dispelling the worries of skeptical host-country nationals that there are alternative motives for Volunteer action. Thus, the Volunteers are able to bring people together, who normally would have nothing to do with each other. The initial contact that is created sparks conversation. The conversation leads to a goal that everyone involved is interested in achieving, something each party would not have known, had it not been for the Volunteer. What most Volunteers ultimately realize is that it is not the goals accomplished over the two-year period that creates trust and respect among people, but the processes that went into accomplishing those goals.

While RII is a bridging process (across minorities), it is also an exclusionary bonding process (against the majority). From a normative standpoint, RII is not good for Moldova, especially considering Moldova's clear intentions of Europeanization. A better method of building trust is through the meaningful process of achievement in the presence of the acceptance and inclusion of diversity—be it ethnic, national, or ideological. The key words here are “acceptance” and “inclusion.” Acceptance and inclusion of all “others” leads to trust, and trust opens the door to happier and healthier communities.

The most frustrating part of international development is that change can be such a slow process; but for the people of Moldova, perhaps this slow change is needed to undo the centuries

of hostility instilled by their leaders before independence and to build social capital for the future. Lucky for the Moldovan south, it has a starting point: high trust of people of other nationalities. While people may joke about Moldova, they should note that her people live peacefully with one another, and they are clearly working for a better future, despite their economic setbacks. Southern Moldovans, especially, are willing to bridge trust to people who do not look like them or talk like them. Perhaps the world can learn a thing or two about inter-ethnic and inter-national relations from this small country trying to make its way in the world.

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APPENDIX

Figure 4: TPAN Worldwide for Comparison

Table 10: Marginal Effects M1 (Moldova as a Whole)

	(1) TPAN	(2) TPAN	(3) TPAN	(4) TPAN
TPAN				
ConfCIS	-0.0493***	-0.0200**	0.0607***	0.00856**
	(-3.86)	(-3.26)	(3.85)	(3.29)
Class	-0.0422*	-0.0171*	0.0520*	0.00733*
	(-2.12)	(-2.00)	(2.11)	(2.01)
Education	-0.0488**	-0.0199**	0.0602**	0.00849**
	(-3.06)	(-2.72)	(3.05)	(2.74)
gender (d)	0.0128	0.00519	-0.0158	-0.00223
	(0.64)	(0.64)	(-0.64)	(-0.64)
Income	0.0233	0.00948	-0.0287	-0.00405
	(1.31)	(1.28)	(-1.31)	(-1.28)
South (d)	-0.0793***	-0.0467**	0.109***	0.0175**
	(-3.76)	(-2.62)	(3.37)	(2.69)
N	918	918	918	918

Marginal effects; z statistics in parentheses

(d) for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 11: Marginal Effects M2 (Southern Moldova Model)

	(1) TPAN	(2) TPAN	(3) TPAN	(4) TPAN
TPAN				
ConfCIS	-0.101***	-0.0611**	0.110***	0.0517***
	(-4.13)	(-3.01)	(3.71)	(3.53)
Class	-0.0518	-0.0315	0.0567	0.0266
	(-1.35)	(-1.31)	(1.34)	(1.35)
Education	-0.0421	-0.0256	0.0460	0.0216
	(-1.32)	(-1.27)	(1.30)	(1.31)
Gender (d)	0.0636	0.0377	-0.0690	-0.0324
	(1.56)	(1.51)	(-1.56)	(-1.52)
Income	-0.0459	-0.0279	0.0502	0.0236
	(-1.22)	(-1.19)	(1.22)	(1.22)
N	206	206	206	206

Marginal effects; z statistics in parentheses

(d) for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$