HAI, DAVAI: ANALYZING LANGUAGE USE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN YOUNG ADULTS LIVING IN THE SOUTH OF MOLDOVA

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ABSTRACT

REBECCA FRANCES RUCK: Hai Davai: Analyzing Language Use and National Identity in Young Adults Living in the South of Moldova (Under the direction of Gareth Price)

This paper examines the relationship between national identity, language, and education in the first generation of college students to grow up in an independent Moldova. As Moldovan elites struggled to establish a Moldovan national identity distinct from both Russia and Romania, they passed the Language Law of 1989, which made Romanian the official language of Moldova. The 1994 Constitution of Moldova further established that minority language speakers in Moldova have the right to use their language and the right to choose the language in which they are educated. To assess the influence of educational institutions on Moldovan youth national identity formation, I surveyed undergraduate students attending B.P. Hasdeu State University in Cahul, Moldova. Students. On a broader scale, I explore how attending linguistically segregated educational institutions and courses have contributed to youths' struggle to form a Moldovan national identity.

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PART ONE INTRODUCTION

The relationship between language, nationalism, and identity has concerned scholars since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1989. In this study, I investigate these issues using the country of Moldova as a case study. In Moldova, language has been politicized to unite and divide language communities at both the national and regional level. As Stephen D. Roper explains, "education and the language of instruction has been a highly politicized issue in the country and education was used by Romanian and Soviet leaders to form group identity as well as support the regime" (Roper, 2005, p. 503). Moldova is a viable case study because minimal literature to date has specifically focused on the country's segregated educational institutions. Using survey data, field notes, primary and secondary sources, I examine national identity, language, and education from the constructivist perspective. I explore the impact of linguistically segregated educational institutions on national identity formation in Moldovan youth.

Moldova has struggled to form a cohesive national identity since gaining its independence from Russia in 1991. Situated between Ukraine and Romania, Moldova is home to 3,656,843 people (CIA, 2013). Its diverse population consists of 78.2% Romanian/Moldovan, 8.4% Ukrainian, 5.8% Russian, 4.4% Gagauz, 1.9% Bulgarian, and 1.3% other ethnicities. Though Moldova has been an independent nation for twenty-two

years, its population remains economically and culturally linked to Romania and Russia. Moldova, one of the poorest countries in Europe, joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) on December 21, 1991 to bolster its economy and establish diplomatic relations with its Eastern neighbors, notably Russia (Anonymous, 1995, p. 195). At the same time, Moldova has tried to strengthen ties with its Western neighbors, notably Romania, by voicing its desire to join the European Union (EU) and participating in the European Neighborhood Program (Schmidtke & Chira-Pascanut, 2011, p. 481).

Moldova's transnational partnerships with both the CIS and the EU are motivated by its desire to mitigate tension between Russian and Romanian speakers living within its borders. 58.8 % of its population claim Moldovan as their mother tongue, 16.4% Romanian, 16.0% Russian, 3.8% Ukrainian, 3.1% Gagauz, and 1.1% Bulgarian. Russian serves as a lingua franca for its linguistic minorities. "Every second Ukrainian, every third Bulgarian and every fourth Gagauz uses, as a rule, Russian" (United Nations, 2010, p. 6). During the Soviet period from 1940-1991, Moldovan civil society fully integrated into the Soviet Union with courses and business conducted in Russian. To develop a Moldovan linguistic identity separate from Romanian, the Soviets banned Romanian literature and rewrote Romanian using the Cyrillic alphabet (Batalden, 1997, p. 66). By russifying Moldova's population, the Soviets unified Moldova's various ethnic groups under one spoken language.

Mikhail Gorbachev's 1985 glasnost policy called for increased public participation in political decision-making in Moldova, and other Soviet republics. Moldovan intellectuals began to rally for increased independence from the Soviet Union delineated by the integration of Romanian language in public institutions. In 1989, the

parliament of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic passed a language law that made Moldovan (Romanian) the official language and replaced the Cyrillic alphabet with the Latin alphabet (Quigley, 1994, p. 78). Citizens living in Soviet-controlled Moldova learned to associate Russian language with nation-state, so policymakers saw the language shift to Moldovan as the first step in establishing their newly independent nation. However, since most of civil society used Russian as its official language and as a language of international communication, Moldovan legislators understood the language shift would be a gradual process. While making Moldovan the official state language was an immediate action that satisfied the majority of Romanian language speakers, particularly Romanian nationalists, within its borders, it left minority language speakers, including Russians, Bulgarians, and Ukrainians concerned about their linguistic rights in independent Moldova.

Despite the language law legislation, it is clear that Moldova's population remains divided on a micro level by Russian and Romanian language. The 1994 Moldovan Constitution guarantees minority language speakers the right to be educated in their mother tongue (see Appendix III). In multilingual communities, Moldovan parents choose the language of instruction for their children. A child sent to a primary and secondary school with Romanian as the language of instruction will attend classes with other Romanian-speaking students and will have minimal exposure to students outside of the Romanian language community. Gathered data suggests that language segregation is also prevalent at the university level.

Institutionalized linguistic segregation of Russian and Romanian speakers in Moldova's education institutions is a factor that has contributed to Moldovan youths'

struggle to develop a unified Moldovan national identity. Examining Cahul, one of Moldova's multilingual communities, provides insight on Moldova's overall difficulty in developing a national identity separate from Russia and Romania. Cahul is located in southwestern Moldova along the river Prut. It is approximately fifteen miles from Romania and culturally identifies itself as a historical part of Romania before Soviet rule.

Cahul is home to B.P. Hasdeu State University, the largest university in the south of Moldova, which instructs students in both Romanian and Russian. When applying to the university, students either apply for admission into the Russian or Romanian programs of instruction. Admitted students receive instruction in Romanian or Russian throughout their four years at the university and attend classes with students who share the same mother tongue.

For the purposes of this research study, I am particularly interested in national identity formation of students attending B.P. Hasdeu State University who are 18-22 years old. This generation is the first to relate to Moldova as an independent entity separate from Romanian and Russian control. However, despite this fact, Russian and Romanian speakers in Moldova struggle to unify under the idea of a Moldovan nation. To gauge factors contributing to Cahul and Moldova's struggle to form a cohesive national identity, I will discuss the concepts of nation, identity and language in a Moldovan framework.

Using data from my research, I examine how Cahul's educational institutions have reinforced linguistic ties to both Russia and Romania. To help understand national identity formation in Moldova, I will take into account the historical pattern of foreign

occupation by both Russian and Romanian regimes. I will further discuss how the segregation of educational institutions and their curriculums guide identity formation in Cahul.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The questions of this study are as follows:

- 1. How has language-segregated education from kindergarten through doctoral studies affected identity formation in young adults aged 18-22 living in Cahul, Moldova?
- 2. Why do young adults living in Cahul readily identify with the languages they speak rather than their geographical location?

RATIONALE:

Moldova has witnessed a historical pattern of foreign occupation. The Ottoman Empire controlled Moldova from 1538-1812, the Russian Empire ruled Moldova following the Russo-Turkish War in 1812, and Romania united with Moldova from 1918-1940 (King, 2000, pp. 16, 18). In 1924, the Soviet Union established the Moldovian Autonomous Oblast in the territory east of the Nistru River bordering Ukraine. The Soviets then created the Moldovian Socialist Republic that existed from 1940-1991(Studies in Moldovan: the history, culture, language and contemporary politics of the people of Moldova, 1996, p. 53). Identity formation in Moldova has unquestionably been shaped by the language, religion, and ideologies of its historical occupiers.

Much scholarship has focused on identity formation, language, and education reform in post-Soviet Moldova. In *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture*, Charles King uses archival data, literature, and media sources to detail the failed Soviet attempt to create a Moldovan nation characterized by a unique culture and language. He asserts that national identity is malleable and can change through education, cultural policy, and state intervention (King, 2000, p. 1). When Moldova gained its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, its priority was to reform its educational institutions. At universities and professional schools, almost all of the instruction was conducted in Russian so that graduates would be viable candidates for state employment and eligible for international business opportunities. According to Chin and Roper,

"during this period, 10% of Kindergarteners were educated using the Romanian language. For example, in 1989, 40.9 % of students studied in Russian while 59.1% of students studied in their own language. By 1992-1993, 71% of secondary schools were taught in Romanian language" (Chinn & Roper, 1995, p. 299).

Moldovan legislators sought to transform loyalties from the former Soviet Union to the Moldovan state. The passage of the language law called for the closure of institutions with Russian as the primary language of instruction, but adherence to and acceptance of the new language law varied regionally. Transnistria, Moldova's breakaway region, asserted that Moldova's new language laws threatened their livelihood and caused them to question their survival in post-Soviet Moldova. After refusing to accept the Language Law of 1989, Transnistria adopted three official languages, Russian, Moldovan (in the Cyrillic alphabet), and Ukrainian at the urging of its emerging leader,

Igor Smirnov (Aneta Pavlenko, 2009, p. 286). In January 1990, 96% of the population voted for the separation of Transnistria in a referendum (Chinn & Roper, 1995, p. 309). In 1991, Transnistria declared its independence from Moldova. However, Moldova, and every country except Russia, refuses to recognize the state of Transnistria.

The Language Law of August 31, 1989, was strongly supported by the Popular Front, a pan-Romanian political party that advocated for the sole use of Romanian language in Moldova. The effect that the language law had on education demonstrates that the government's priority was to decrease the amount of Russian spoken in Moldova.

"In 1990 there were 22,500 college students who did their course work in Romanian language and 25,700 who studied in Russian; by 1995 those numbers had become 24,400 versus 5,600. At universities 24,600 studied in Romanian in 1990 and 29,900 in Russian; those numbers were 36,700 and 15,700 by 1995" (National integration and violent conflict in post-Soviet societies: the cases of Estonia and Moldova, 2002, p. 172).

The state's efforts to mold the identity of the first group to be raised in an independent Moldova are evident in its making Romanian the national language of Moldova and instituting the instruction of Moldovan history in its educational institutions (Worden, 2011). From 1997 until the early 2000s, Moldovan students in primary schools were taught history from a Romanianist perspective. According to King, Romanianism "engineered the rebirth of Romanian culture and wanted to eradicate the notion of an independent Moldovan cultural identity" (King, 2000, p. 151).

It was not until 2006, after the education reform, that students began learning history from the Moldovanist perspective that presupposes Moldovans are "ethnically, culturally, and linguistically distinct from Romanians" (Worden, 2011, p. 235). Until their high school years, youth aged 18-22 were taught to view themselves as extensions of Romanian culture. In high school, these youth were then told to view themselves as Moldovan citizens and members of a nation distinct from Romania. As the recipients of contradictory narratives of their national history, Moldovan youth have had difficulty forming their own national identities.

Both the Moldovanist and Romanianist versions of history emphasize that Moldova's borders have been redrawn many times. Rather than identifying themselves as members of an independent Moldova delineated by its contested versions of history, youth tend to identify with their mother tongue. Rogers Brubaker explains that during the Soviet period, "ethnocultural nationality was more fundamental than territorial nationhood" (Brubaker, 1994, p. 71). Roger Suny further says that "the practice of fixing nationality in each citizen's internal passport on the basis of parentage rendered an inherently liquid identity into a solid commitment to a single ethnocultural group" (Suny, 2001, p. 867). Moldova's youth identify themselves by their spoken languages because they are able to view themselves as a larger community in which speakers of the same language are members.

Since 1994, Moldovan elites have promoted a Moldovan national identity distinct from Russia and Romania. Though Romanian became the national language in 1991, the majority of educational institutions remain segregated. Russian speakers attend separate schools than Romanian speakers from preschool through higher institutions of education.

This trend continues through university education where students attend courses with students who share their same mother tongue. Students remain in these language-segregated groups during their four years at the university.

While there has been significant research into Moldovan identity (King, 2000), the 2006 education reform in Moldova (Worden, 2011), and ethnocultural identities (Brubaker, 2004), there has not been significant research that examines how language-segregated education has affected identity formation in Moldovan youth. Language-segregated education is not unique to Moldova and is characteristic of other republics such as Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. Knowledge gained from the survey conducted in Cahul provides a wide array of audiences a representative view into post-Soviet identity formation in newly formed states.

PART TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I review pertinent literature on national identity, language, and education. These areas are especially relevant to my research because it provides a necessary context to situate youth identity formation.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

To gauge the complexity of national identity formation in Moldova, it is necessary to understand the connection between identity and nation. The idea of the nation remains central to most attempts to define legitimate political communities (Brubaker, 1994). "A nation is a community of sentiment that would adequately manifest itself in a state of its own; hence, a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own" (Weber, Gerth, & Mills, 1991, p. 176).

In the study of nations, two theories have emerged: primordialist and constructivist/instrumentalist paradigms. Primordial theorists, notably Edward Shils, believe that nations are cultural traditions that can be explained by history. Primordialists believe that nations are ancient and immutable. Constructivist theorists such as Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner, conceive that nations are invented and the product of deliberate work or activity. Accordingly, Hobsbawm defines the nation as being "a social

entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, the 'nation-state'' (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 9,10).

Like Hobsbawm, Gellner views nations as constructed. "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist" (Gellner, 1983, p. 48). Gellner emphasizes that the emergence of the modern nation-state could not have been possible without industrialization. Similarly, Benedict Anderson believes that the modern nation-state could not have emerged without significant innovations in European society. Unlike Gellner, however, Anderson explains that the printing press enabled the widespread dissemination of ideas across a large geographical territory. According to Anderson, a common language, which spread with the advent of the printing press, allowed people to view themselves as members of an imagined community. As members of these imagined communities, citizens speaking the same language were able to feel a common sense of unity with people they had never met. Anderson notes this fraternal connection with communities "makes it possible over the past two centuries for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (Anderson, 2006, p. 7).

The emergence of nations, whether real or imagined, unites populations under shared similarities and ideologies. David Block describes national identity as a "sense of a shared history, descent, belief systems, practices, languages and religion associated

¹ A nation-state is a particular type of state, characteristic of post-medieval and modern times, in which a government has sovereign power within a defined territorial area, and the mass of the population are citizens who know themselves to be part of a single nation (Darvill, 2012).

with a nation state" (Block, 2008, p. 37). Similarly, Anthony D. Smith views national identity as a shared sentiment of belonging to a nation.

The following features are characteristic of a national identity (Smith, 1991, p. 14)

- 1. a historic territory or homeland
- 2. common myths and historical memories
- 3. a common, mass public culture
- 4. common legal rights and duties for all members

LANGUAGE

Language is a vital component of national identity; it provides members of a nation a medium to express cultural heritage, memory, and kinship with one another (Fishman, 2001, Chapter 6). Gellner explains that "political and national unit should be congruent, and the national unit is most commonly defined in terms of language" (Gellner, 1983, p. 1) In fact, different nomadic groups inhabiting the same territory rarely spoke the same language unless their daily lives necessitated it and were not classified as a single political group. Pierre Bourdieu viewed language, speaking, and writing as forms of symbolic capital in which groups in linguistic markets legitimate. For Bordieu, "language legitimation took place through the institutions of the state and especially through education" (Martin-Jones, Blackledge, & Creese, 2012, p. 6).

Before the French Revolution, explains William Safran, the French exclusively used a common language for religious instruction. Bibles were translated into different language to spread religious not nationalist ideas (Safran, 2008, p. 178). Early language theorists, notably Johann Gottfried Herder, treated national identity "as innate, biological, and given by some higher power" (Ciscel, 2007, p. 57). Thought, according to Herder, was only possible if one has a language and the ability to express their thoughts

linguistically (Herder, 2002, p. xv). He established that "a nation cannot exist without its language" (Herder, 1969, p. 175). In 1807, Johann Gottlieb Fichte discussed German language as a link with an ancestral past characterized by the same spoken language (Calhoun, 1993, p. 221). Herder and Fichte established a precedent of associating language with identity.

Unlike Romantic theorists, such as Herder and Fichte, constructivist theorists posit language as a part of a socially constructed national identity. As Safran states, "the sentiment of belonging to an ethnonational community is not necessarily connected with a language, although a specific language may be considered part of the cultural heritage of that community" (Fishman, 2001, p. 91). Following World War I, 1914-1918, and World War II, 1939-1945, the borders of Europe were redrawn to distribute territory to the wars' victors. The drawing and redrawing of national borders produced multilingual populations living under the control of one state. In the Soviet Union, "Leninist and Stalinist approaches to language issues equated language and nation and marked by a fetishized paranoia about the potential of language for resistance" (Ciscel, 2007, p. 63). Stalin declared that a

"national community is inconceivable without a common language...there is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages" (Lenin & Lorimer, 2002, p. 195).

In this way, language knowledge became linked to national loyalty in the Soviet Union.

"The communities of communication provided by national education systems allowed people to circulate easily within their own community" (Wright, 2000, p. 21). Jurgen Habermas necessitated that a group's ability to communicate with one another in the same language is important for formation of national identity.

"When parents educate their children, when living generations appropriate the knowledge handed down by their predecessors, when individuals cooperate, i.e. get on with each other without a costly use of force, they must act communicatively. There are elementary social functions which can only be satisfied by means of communicative action" (Habermas, 1994, p. 111).

Aneta Pavlenko's, "Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries: Language Revival, Language Removal, and Sociolinguistic Theory," describes how Soviet language policy tried to mold a pro-Soviet Moldovan identity. In the Soviet Union, Pavlenko explains that "the Soviets drew and redrew borders, dissolved ethnic groups (e.g. Sarts), created new ethnicities and languages (e.g. Moldavians/Moldavian), reinforced boundaries between fluid identity categories and dialects (e.g. Uzbek/Tajik), formed new national territories (e.g. Turkmenistan), and eventually firmly embedded national categories into the very fabric of Soviet life (Aneta Pavlenko, 2009, p. 280)".

Whereas Pavlenko provides scholarship on multilingualism in post-Soviet countries, Bhavna Davé asserts that state language is kept visible in ceremonial settings and is used as a symbol to cement in-group solidarity to keep challenges out of the public area. Slogans proclaiming that, "a nation cannot exist without its language,"(Dave, 2004)

reflected a Herderian connection between language and nation and were popularized to rally target ethnic groups to support the nation-building process.

EDUCATION

Education is frequently used as a nation-building tool to mold the national identities, to reinforce knowledge of their nation's history, and to increase proficiency in the state's language. Bourdieu asserts that, "the recognition of the legitimacy of the official language is neither imposed nor conscious...it takes place through suggestions which are inscribed in the things, situations, and practices of everyday life" (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p. 51).

In 1805, Napoleon Bonaparte declared

"of all political questions, that [of education] is perhaps the most important. There cannot be a firmly established political state unless there is a teaching body with definitely-recognized principles. If the child is not taught from infancy that he ought to be a republican or a monarchist, a Catholic or a free-thinker, the state will not constitute a nation; it will rest on uncertain and shifting foundations; and it will be constantly exposed to disorder and change" (Reisner, 1922, p. 35).

It is thus possible to trace the emergence of a nation state with the emergence of an education system that reinforces loyalty to one's nation state.

Sue Wright explains that "nation builders saw that national education and national service would create a single community of communication in addition to their primary purposes of training the workforce and the military" (Wright, 2004, p. 67). Accordingly national language becomes rooted in a society when national laws dictate it, and when

education systems, armies, and bureaucracies implement it (Wright, 2004, p. 43). Thus, "state education in the state language is one of the most powerful means of unifying a linguistically diverse population" (Wright, 2000, p. 20).

Ernest Gellner similarly links education to the development of a national identity. "Although the development of nationalism has been linked to many tools of the modern state, the clearest mechanism for the transmission of a shared national identity and a history is education" (Darden & Grzymala-Busse, 2006, p. 90) Gellner argues that modern nations are cultivated by states.

"In general, each state presides over, maintains and is identified with, one kind of culture, one style of communication, which prevails within its borders and is dependent for its perpetuation on a centralised educational system supervised by and often actually run by the state in question, which monopolizes legitimate culture almost as much as it does legitimate violence, and perhaps more so" (Gellner, 2006, p. 134).

There are different state institutions that can be used to shape national identity in a multiethnic state. One of the most important and far reaching is a state's education system. Education can shape the attitude of an entire generation (Christou, 2006). Education involves teaching students in an official language, providing them with textbooks approved by the ruling administration, and teaching them a curriculum established and regulated by the state.

While significant scholarship has examined identity, language, and education, there is a lack of published research that analyzes how segregated educational institutions impact identity formation in Moldova. Charles King, perhaps the most significant contributor to the field of Moldovan studies, states that since independence, Moldovans have struggled to form a cohesive Moldovan identity. In the "Mock Reform of History Education in Moldova," Elizabeth Worden discusses the reform of history to teach history from a Moldovanist perspective (Worden, 2011). While she addresses how education plays a vital role in identity formation in Moldovan youth, her research does not examine the impact of segregated education. Hobsbawm, Gellner, and Anderson deem that nations are a modern construct, whether imagined or real. My research builds upon their constructivist view of nationalism and national identity formation. In particular, it uses Anderson's belief that nations are imagined communities. Moldovan youth residing in Cahul tend to identify with the languages they speak because they are able to imagine themselves as a part of a larger community comprised of speakers of the same mother tongue.

PART THREE: SURVEY DESIGN

METHODOLOGY

During my tenure as a Fulbright scholar in Moldova from 2010-2011, I worked as

an English language instructor at B.P. Hasdeu State University. The students I taught

were separated into Russian and Romanian groups with about 10-15 students in each

group. The combination of my interactions with students at the university and my

observations of language politics in Cahul led me to question how language segregation

in Moldova's educational institutions has effected identity formation in post-Soviet

Moldova.

The first generation of college students to grow up in an independent Moldova

has struggled to form a unified national identity. Instead of identifying as members of the

Moldovan nation, Moldovan youth tend to form ethno-cultural identities delineated by

their mother tongue. In the classroom environment, there is little interaction between

Russian speaking and Romanian speaking groups. Students explained that their social

groups outside of the university formed around sharing a common language and they

often chose to spend their time with their group mates from the university.

The research data includes data from 36 Moldovan university students, contracted

through a snowball sample³. I recruited my former students and asked them to share the survey with their colleagues also attending B.P. Hasdeu State University. While using the snowball sampling method does not guarantee a representative sample, it allowed me to reach a larger audience. The survey was carried out in the winter of 2012 using the Qualtrics Research Suite (see Appendix II). All research was reviewed and approved by the University of North Carolina's Institutional Review Board. Sampling was limited to the Cahul raion in Moldova. Survey participants took the survey in Russian, Romanian, or English. 28 percent of respondents completed the survey in English, 18 percent completed it in Romanian, and 54 percent completed the survey in Russian.

Prospective participants received a recruitment email, which gave them the option of clicking on a link to take an anonymous online survey. Students were then prompted to complete the online survey in English, Russian, or Romanian. After clicking the survey link, students were presented with an online consent form. The survey took participants between 15-20 minutes. Students were asked questions focused on language and identity in Moldova. All participants decided where and when they took the survey and had the option to discontinue the survey at any time. Survey responses were collected using the Qualtrics platform. At no point in the survey process was the identity of survey participants revealed.

³ In snowball sampling, the researcher collects data on the few members of the target population he or she can locate, then asks those individuals to provide the information needed to locate other members of that population who they happen to know (Babbie, 2013, p. 191)

PARTICIPANTS

The participants in the study are university students chosen from B.P. Hasdeu State University in Cahul, Moldova. B.P. Hasdeu State University, a state-funded university established in 1991, offers degree programs in philology, history, economics, mathematics, and public administration ("Cahul State University Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu," 2013). The survey pool, made up of 36 students, consisted of both male and female students ranging in age from 18 to 22 years old. The survey pool comprised of 61.1% native Russian speakers, 33.1% native Romanian speakers and 5.6% native Gagauz speakers.

Table 1: Native Languages of Survey Participants

Native Language	Number of Participants	Percentage of Survey Pool			
Russian	22	61.1%			
Romanian	12	33.3%			
Gagauz	2	5.6%			
Total Participants	36				

The participants were recruited from B.P. Hasdeu State University where I taught English grammar, conversation, and culture to during my tenure as Fulbright English Teaching Assistantship in Moldova. Children under the age of 18 were not included.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

As the largest town south of Chisinau, Cahul is home to a myriad of ethnic groups (see table 2 below). To accommodate both its Russian and Romanian speaking populations, B.P. Hasdeu State University provides course instruction in both languages. Students attend classes with speakers of their same mother tongue. As of 2011, there are 119,231 people living in Cahul and its surrounding villages (raion) (National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, 2011). There are approximately 11,539 young adults aged 18-22 in the Cahul raion (Biroul Naţional de Statistică al Republicii Moldova, 2012). From 2011-2012, B.P. Hasdeu State University enrolled 2,146 students ("Cahul State University Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu," 2013). This research is limited to students 18-22 who attend B.P. Hasdeu State University. Andrei Popa, rector of the university, explains, "our students are natives of the southern districts of Moldova. Most of them are representatives from socially vulnerable families" (Bear, Valentina, 2012).

TABLE 2: POPULATION BY NATIONALITIES AND LOCALITIES, IN TERRITORIAL ASPECT (National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, 2011)

Ethnic Group	Number residing in Cahul
Moldovans	91001
Ukrainians	7842
Russians	7702
Gauauzs	3665
Bulgarians	5816
Romanians	2095
Jews	40

Poles	29
Gypsies	238
Others	803
Total Population:	119231

TABLE 3: POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND AREA, IN TERRITORIAL ASPECT (National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, 2011)

Age	Number residing in Cahul	Percent of Population
15 - 19	12829	10.76
20-24	10752	9.02

PART FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

As both a researcher and teacher living in Cahul, I witnessed the day-to-day lives of students inside and outside of class. While Cahul is the largest town south of Chisinau, its citizens often refer to Cahul as a large village with few secrets and many traditions. Outside of class, I often saw students at the marketplace, meeting their friends in a local café, or in my neighborhood. Groups formed around common language at the university often formed the basis of social groups and extracurricular activities. Pictures posted on social networking sites, notably Odnoklassniki, the Moldovan equivalent of Facebook, showed that students often chose to spend their time with peers who shared the same mother tongue.

Students in both Russian and Romanian groups stressed a high level of familial involvement in their lives. Specifically, students stated that they usually spent the weekends with their family helping out with the household chores. Despite the fact that over half of my students had one or more parents working abroad, students expressed strong connection to their immediate and extended family members. As one student detailed, it is common for several generations of a family speaking the same language to live in the same house or apartment.

Questions of the online survey were designed to investigate sources of influence in youth national identity formation in Moldovans living in Cahul, Moldova (reference

Appendix II). In particular, questions were structured to gauge the amount of personal and educational influence on national identity formation. To avoid isolating a particular language speaking community, questions were open ended and accommodated Moldova's minority and majority language speakers. The majority of survey respondents, regardless of their mother tongue, framed their identities in terms of the languages they spoke. In fact, all survey respondents reported being able to speak at least two languages fluently.

Data suggests that both educational and personal domains influence language use and attitudes of Moldovan youth. For the purposes of this study, the working definitions of personal and educational domain are as follows:

- 1. educational domain: where the person is engaged in organized learning, especially (but not necessarily) within an educational institution
- 2. personal domain: where the person concerned lives as a private individual centered on home life with family and friends, engages in individual practices such as reading for pleasure, keeping a personal diary, pursuing a special interest or hobby, etc. (Council of Europe., 2009, p. 45)

In their survey responses, Moldovan youth report that educational domains, notably segregated educational institutions, have reinforced their tendency to associate their national identity with their mother tongue. Language spoken at home is reinforced by Cahul's educational institutions, which educate its Russian and Romanian speakers separately. The separate but equal educational system has increased the likelihood of youth identifying with their mother tongue. Categorizing my data according to the influence of

educational versus personal domains provides a cohesive view of factors involved in identity formation of university students in Cahul.

Personal Domain

To gain a better understanding of the personal domains of survey respondents, I asked students, "where is your family from in Moldova? If your family is from another country, please list which country". 20% of respondents said they were from Cahul, 60% from the south of Moldova, 7% from Moldova, 8% from Gagauzia, and 5% from Bulgaria. Some respondents chose to draw their family lineage back several generations while others listed the towns in which they grew up. Hometowns, the geographical centers of home life, constitute an integral part of the personal domain.

Several students reported having multiple generations living in their household. 35% of my students reported being raised by their grandparents when their parents worked abroad to financially support the family. Since Cahul is a multilingual town, it was important for me to establish which language(s) students were exposed to while at home. To understand the linguistic landscape of my survey respondents, I asked, "what language(s) do you speak at home?"

TABLE 4: WHAT LANGUAGE(S) DO YOU SPEAK AT HOME?

Language(s)	Respondents who speak		
Spoken at Home	language(s) at home		
Russian	17		
Romanian	9		
Moldovan	1		
Bulgarian	1		

Russian and	2
Romanian	
Russian and	1
Gagauz	

55% of survey respondents said they used Russian to communicate with their family members living within their personal domain. 30% of respondents said they used Romanian at home. Only 10% of respondents reported using more than one language at home. To gauge whether most respondents only spoke one language at home because their parents were monolingual or if it was the result of multilingual parents actively choosing to maintain one preferred language, I next asked students the following questions: what language(s) do or did your parents speak, and what language(s) do or did your grandparents speak?

Table 5: What language(s) do or did your parents and grandparents speak?

	What language(s) do or did your parents speak?				
Russian	7				
Romanian	8				
Russian, Romanian	3				
Romanian, Russian, Turkish	1				
Russian, Gagauz	3				
Russian, Romanian, Ukrainian, Polish	1				
Russian, Moldovan	2				
Russian, Moldovan, Gagauz	1				
Moldovan	1				

Russian, Ukrainian Moldovan	1
Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian	1
Russian, Romanian, Azerbaijani	1
Gagauz	1

Table 5 above shows that the majority of respondent households are not monolingual. Instead, the data suggests that while around half of parents and grandparents are multilingual, families in Cahul often choose to maintain one dominant language in their household. Two Romanian-speaking students stated that even though their parents have a basic understanding of Russian, they choose not to speak it inside their homes. As one student explains, "my mother is pure Russian, so she speaks only Russian. My father understands Romanian, but he can't speak it". Another student said that, "one grandmother speaks Russian and Romanian, the other only speaks Russian so we usually communicate using Russian." A family choosing to communicate using the language that the majority of its members speak is an example of language maintenance (Wright, 2004).

In addition to dictating the dominant language spoken inside the home, family members also introduce their children to literature written in a preferred language. Students explained that since there was not a children's library in Cahul, the books their parents read to them were usually purchased at the local bookstore. In asking students, "did your parents read to you as a child," I wanted to find out if parents and grandparents did in fact influence language attitudes of survey respondents at an early age. 100% of respondents reported their parents reading to them. 62% of students said that their parents read to them in Russian, 36% in Romanian, and 2%

in both Romanian and Russian. Several students fondly remember reading the Russian versions of *Little Red Riding Hood* (красная шапочка) and *Sleeping Beauty* (Спящая красавица). Six respondents claimed reading poems and stories written in Romanian by Ion Creanga and Mihai Eminescu, two of Moldova's most celebrated writers. While the question did not ask respondents about their national language, several Romanian-speaking students mentioned that the Romanian books they read were written in the national language of Moldova. One student remarked, "of course they were in Romanian because this is the national language".

Half of students surveyed said that their grandparents read to them as a child. 30% of students were read to in Russian, 18% were read to in Romanian, and 2% were read to in Russian and Polish. All students whose grandparents read to them in Romanian listed "Punguta Cu Doi Bani," as one of their favorite children's book. 14% of students whose grandparents read to them in Russian listed "Little Red Riding Hood" as their favorite story.

Another sphere of linguistic influence in students' personal domains is music. Music preference is classified within the personal domain because it is an expression of students' interests. Persons of authority in the personal domain control both the dominant language spoken in the household and exposure to literature in a dominant language. Students themselves control music preference as well as choice to listen to music in one language over another. In Cahul, students have access to music in several languages including Russian, Romanian, Ukrainian, Moldovan, Bulgarian, and Gagauz. Students report that they most commonly listen to music on their computers and on their phones. When surveying students about their music tastes, I asked, "are you more likely to listen to

Russian, Romanian, Moldovan, or other music?" 36.4% said they preferred listening to Russian music, 24.5% to Romanian, 24.5% to other types of music, and 15% to both Russian and Romanian. None of the respondents said that they preferred to listen to Moldovan music. Interestingly, students said that popular radio stations played both Russian and Romanian music on the same channel. Having both languages played on the same channel is unique in Moldova because stations broadcast from Moscow and Bucharest play only Russian and Romanian songs, respectively.

Along with music choice, the news channel and language students choose to watch is considered to be a sphere of influence in the personal domain. In the context of my research, the language of news broadcasts fell under the personal domain because students expressed that they usually watched the news with their families while eating dinner. The tradition of watching the news and the tendency for one family to watch the news in the dominant language spoken in the house thus qualified news channel preferences to be categorized under the personal rather than public domain. The government of Moldova says that in populations where Romanian is not the spoken majority, twenty percent of news must be broadcast in Romanian. However, viewers are not required to watch language in the official language of the state. In 2011, there were 207 newspapers, 57 television stations, and 56 radio stations regularly broadcast in Moldova (Doina Costin, 2011).

I asked students "on what channel do you watch the news? Please list the channel of the news and if you use subtitles." 47.2% of respondents said they watched the news in Russian, 31.8% in Romanian, 9% in both Russian and Romanian, 3% in Russian, Ukrainian, and Romanian, 3% in Russian and Moldovan, 2% in Romanian and English,

and 4% watch the news on the internet. 30% of students who watched the news in Russian used subtitles, with 24% of subtitles in Romanian and 6% in Russian. None of the students who watched the news in Romanian used subtitles.

The data in Table 6 below shows that the majority of students watch the news in their mother tongue and in the majority language spoken at home. 83% of Russian speakers watch the news in Russian, 81% of Romanian speakers watch the news in Romanian. As one student describes, "I usually watch news on Romanian channel because the language is more appropriate to me." While all respondents answered the questions, several expressed discontent with the news outlets in Moldova. One respondent stated that, "I do not watch news on TV because they are all too pro-Russian, pro-Romanian, or too Western; I do not believe that a liberal news channel exists." Students who speak minority languages at home, such as Bulgarian or Gagauz, watch the news in Russian. Data therefore supports the notion that Russian continues to be the language of interethnic communication in Cahul.

Table 6: Language of News Broadcast Categorized by Language(s) Spoken at Home

	Home	Russian	Roma	Russian,	Russian,	Russian,	Bulgaria	Mold	Romania
	Language		nian	Romania	Gagauz	Moldovan	n	ovan	n Russian
	Spoken			n					
Language									
of News									
Russian		14	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
		(83%)							
Romanian		0	9	0	0	0	0	1	0
			(81%)						

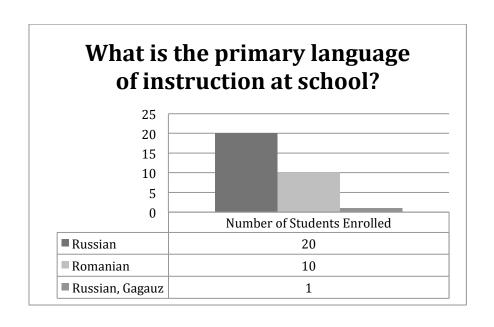
Russian, Romanian	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Russian, Moldovan	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
internet	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Romanian, English	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
I don't watch TV	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Educational Domain

The second half of the survey questioned students about language use, exposure, and attitudes in educational domains. Pre-school institutions, schools, secondary schools, specialized secondary schools, colleges and universities encompass Cahul's educational domain. There are 14 kindergartens, 3 primary schools, 6 lyceums, 2 professional schools, 2 colleges, and 2 universities (Nebunu, Arsene, & Maftei, 2011). In Cahul, parents choose both the institution their children attend and the language of instruction. It is common, as one of my students explained, for parents to send their children to a pre-school with instruction in a language other than their mother tongue. A student who identifies as both Gagauz and Russian said that, "Russian parents usually send their children to Romanian pre-schools so they could learn the language better". However, by the time of kindergarten, or when children are six years old, parents send their children with instruction in their mother tongue.

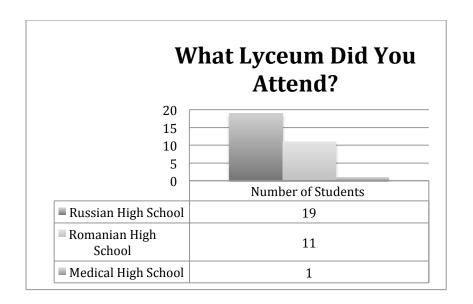
The majority of the students I taught were Cahul natives who attended schools in Cahul and its surrounding villages before matriculating to the university. I asked the students about language of instruction of schools they attended before starting university to better understand their linguistic background. To look at how educational institutions affected the formation of national identity of surveyed college students, I asked my students, "what was the primary language of instruction at school?" 65% of students attended Russian language classes, 33% attended Romanian classes, and 2% of students attended classes taught in both Russian and Gagauz as the language of instruction (see Table 8 below).

TABLE 8: PRIMARY LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AT SCHOOL



Next, I asked "what lyceum (high school) did you attend?" 61.3% of students attended a Russian High School, 35.5% attended a Romanian High School, and 3.2% attended a Medical School taught in both languages (see Table 7 below).

TABLE 7: WHAT LYCEUM DID YOU ATTEND?



At lyceum, 48.4% of students used texts written in Russian, 35.5% in Romanian, 9.7% in both Russian and Romanian, 3.2% in Russian, Romanian, Gagauz, and English, and 3.2% in Cyrillic Romanian. The majority of Romanian speakers stated that they studied from Romanian texts. However one Romanian speaker said, "though our textbooks were written in Romanian, some of the older books had texts written in Romanian with Russian letters." Two students reflected the discontent in the quality of textbooks available to Russian speakers by stating, "textbooks were in Russian and badly translated from Romanian," and "a number were translated into Russian from Romanian, which aside from logical errors made the material difficult to understand".

When questioned about their language of instruction and textbooks used at the university, students stated the materials available to them were higher quality and none of the respondents complained about poorly translated materials. Table 9 below shows that 62.1% of students are taught in Russian and 37.9% of students are taught in Romanian.

TABLE 9: PRIMARY LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AT B.P. HASDEU STATE UNIVERSITY

	What is the primary language of your instruction at the university?
Russian	18
Romanian	11

B.P. Hasdeu State University, like many universities in Moldova, caters to both Romanian and Russian speakers. Each course of study has both a Russian and Romanian department to teach separate, but similar classes to the Russian and Romanian groups studying at the university. During my tenure as a Fulbright scholar, the courses I taught were categorized under the English Department. Each day, I taught one lesson to first year English majors whose mother tongue was Romanian and then another lesson to first year English majors whose mother tongue was Russian. All courses at the university are structured this way and there is minimal interaction between Russian and Romanian speakers at the collegiate level.

In their survey responses, a few students discussed that teachers at the university disliked having to teach courses in both Romanian and Russian. In fact, some teacher went so far as to express negative attitudes towards students who did not share the teacher's same mother tongue. As one student asserted, "some Russophobes teach at the university and expressed Romanian nationalist attitudes against Russian speakers living in Moldova".

The majority of students I taught lived in on-campus dormitories during the week and travelled to their home villages on the weekends. For the purposes of my research, the educational domain also includes social interactions outside of class but still within the limits of the university campus. Thus, I asked, "outside of class, do most of your friends speak Russian or Romanian at the university?" Table 10 below shows that the majority of students form their social networks around students who speak their same mother tongue. 26% of students stated that they did not have friends who spoke another language. Interesting however, both Romanian and Russian speakers expressed willingness to use a language other than their mother tongue to communicate with someone who did not know their dominant language. 51.9% of Romanian speakers said they would use Russian to communicate with someone who did not speak Romanian. 40.7% of Russian speakers said they would use Romanian to communicate with non-Russian speakers.

Table 10: Language of Social Interactions at the University

	Language of Communication with Peers at University	Russian	Romanian	Romanian, Russian
Native Language(s)				
Russian		13	0	1
Romanian		0	7	0
Russian, Romanian		0	0	1
Russian, Gagauz		1	0	0
Russian, Moldovan		1	0	0
Bulgarian		1	0	0
Moldovan		0	0	1
Romanian, Russian		0	1	0

Despite their willingness to communicate in another language, some speakers still struggle to overcome the language gap. This is notably evident in when one respondent vocalizes that, "I have some friends that speak Russian not Romanian but we understand each other very well because they understand Romanian but they cannot speak it. For them, Romanian is very difficult, especially the pronunciation." In describing her roommates who do not share a common language, one student explains, "I can speak Russian, they in Moldovan and we understand each other"

When interacting with staff at the university, several students explain they've experienced forms of language discrimination. 68% of surveyed students reported they remembered a time when someone requested that they speak another language. Of the students who remember being asked to speak another language in the educational domain, 50% speak Russian, 27.8% speak Romanian, 5.6% speak Russian and Gagauz, 5.6% speak Russian and Moldovan, and 5.6% speak Moldovan. One Russian speaker recollected that, "the university requests Russian speakers to do this all of the time. This is because it is a Romanian university and teachers are Pro-Romanian here." Another student voiced a similar experience and said that, "Romanian language speakers are often outraged when I speak to them in Russian." At the university bus stop, one Russian-speaking student said "an old woman at the bus stop told me to talk in a normal language."

Students reported experiencing similar language discrimination in public places in and around the university. 59.3% of Respondents use Russian in public places such as the market, doctor's office, and shops, 25.9% use Romanian, and 14.8% use both Romanian and Russian. One student said, "I remember when I went to doctor's office and I tried to explain my problem to him but he said to me: sorry, could you speak Russian? I do not

know Romanian." Another describes, "yes, Romanian-speaking nationalist shop keepers refuse to recognize Russian when I was speaking to them."

Though a major part of my research into Moldova's educational domains focused on language of instruction, another facet centered in on ideologies learned and reinforced through school curricula. Following Cahul's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, much of its history curriculum was rewritten to reflect the uniqueness of the new Moldovan nation. Cahul's nation-building efforts, like the rest of Moldova's, focused on raising a generation of young Moldovans who would identify themselves by a shared common language and shared traditions and state emblems. During the first part of their schooling, survey respondents remembered learning a Romanian-centric version of Moldovan history that said Moldova was an extension of Romanian history and culture. During their high school years, students witnessed the change to a Moldova-centric version of Moldovan history that reinforced Moldova's separate language, culture, and history apart from Romania and Russia.

Part of Moldova's new educational curriculum involved teaching students to identify with the new national symbols of Moldova, notably the flag of Moldova. Russian, Romanian, and Moldovan flags are frequently displayed in shops, state buildings, rear view mirrors, and parks. Flags are flown with pride and are symbols that Moldovans use to define their heritage and reflect their national identity. Half way through the survey, I presented students with pictures of the Russian, Romanian, and Moldovan flags and asked them to describe the flag and details what it means to them. Student responses reflect competing loyalties to both Romania and Russia. First, students were shown a picture of the Moldovan flag. One Romanian-speaking student said, "this flag represents identity,

peace and motherland for me". While homeland for some respondents meant Moldova, others said the flag reminded them of the fact that "we are really Romanian".

The majority of respondents described the Moldovan flag as the flag of their homeland, but students also said the Russian and Romanian flag represented their homeland. When presented with the Russian flag, one Russian speaker expressed that "for me, it is the flag of my homeland, even though I reside in Moldova. I hope that someday I will be recognized as a Russian citizen." Other positive responses stated, "this flag represents power and the future," and "the Russian flag connects me with other speakers of my mother tongue". Several students who did not claim proficiency in Russian language, stated that the flag represented "war and lots of pressure," and that "this is not my nation, for sure". Similarly, one student who claimed Russian as their mother tongue described the Romanian flag as "crap". Another student stated, "I do not associate this flag with anything special; it is similar to any other flag of foreign countries".

Although it is evident that a minority of respondents harbored negative feelings towards Russia and Romania, the majority of respondents described what they thought the colors in each flag meant but did not associate it with their personal lives or incorporates it into their personal narratives. Students noted that during their primary and secondary education, they remembered both the Romanian and Moldovan flag displayed in Romanian educational institutions and the Russian and Moldovan flag displayed in Russian educational institutions. Students said rather than being taught to associate with only the Moldovan flag, they also learned to see themselves as members of a larger community of language speakers.

As the recipients of a mixed history education and having grown up in a time of transition in Moldova, many students reflected that they did not know who they were and could not quantify their ethnic identities. When asked about their cultural identities, it was not uncommon for a student to say "I'm Romanian and Moldovan" or that "I feel Russian, Moldovan, and Gagauz". Despite the Moldovan government's efforts to mold a strong Moldovan identity in its youth, the students I surveyed in Cahul are still struggling to define their national identity twenty-three years after independence (see Table 11 below).

Table 11: Cultural Identities of B.P. Hasdeu State University Students

	What is your cultural identity? Russian, Romanian, Moldovan or other?
Russian, Moldovan	3
I identify with more than 3 cultures	4
Moldovan, Romanian	7
Moldovan	5
Gagauz	3
Russian, Polish	1
Russian	3
Ukrainian	2
Bulgarian	1
Azerbaijani	1
Romanian	1

Examining the table above provides evidence to the fact that Moldovan youth struggle to situate themselves in the context of the Moldovan nation. Only 16% of respondents said they culturally identified with Moldova. The majority of respondents define their cultural identity along linguistic lines. Students who identified themselves as both Russian and Moldovan listed their Russian identity first, thus exhibiting their loyalty to a larger community of language speakers rather than a national identity. Both student responses and collected data suggest that a lack of exposure to speakers of other languages has further contributed to students' difficulty in formulating strong national identities. Respondents' tendencies to situate their identity in terms of larger linguistic communities reflects Moldova's struggle to unite its multiethnic population under one common identity. Instead students form their identities around the majority language spoken at home, the language of instruction at school, and the language used to communicate with social groups and in public.

CONCLUSION

This paper examined how the personal and educational domains of Cahul university students have effected their national identity formation. The Language Law of 1989 and the Moldovan Constitution of 1994 made Romanian the official state language and established that minority language speakers had the right to be educated in their mother tongue. Analyzing student opinions towards language and national identity in Moldova, provided insight into students' experiences in linguistically segregated institutions. Attending segregated educational institutions from primary school through collegiate studies explains students' tendency to define their identities in terms of the languages they speak. In particular, students whose parents sent them to Russian or Romanian language institutions attended course with speakers of the same mother tongue and formed social networks with their classmates based on their mutual shared language. At home, parents and grandparents who shared the same mother reinforced language of instruction. It is important to recognize that while linguistic segregation is not the only factor contributing to national identity formation, it was the only one examined in my research.

Survey questions were designed to examine how language-segregated institutions have affected identity formation in young adults aged 18-22 attending B.P. Hasdeu State University in Cahul, Moldova. In particular, students were asked to share their personal anecdotes, attitudes, and experiences with language in Moldova. Over half of the

surveyed students experienced language discrimination. The majority of respondents expressed an overwhelming willingness to speak a language that their peers would understand. However, when asked to detail their thoughts about language in Moldova, all Russian respondents declared that they thought Russian should also be recognized as one of the official languages of Moldova. In comparison to Romanian speakers in Cahul, Russian speakers experienced more language discrimination. In particular, Russian students at the university described not wanting to take classes with professors who infamously favored Romanian-speaking students.

Survey data supported many of my observations as a teacher and a Russian-speaker during my time in Moldova. Several times a month shopkeepers would question why I didn't know Romanian, the national language of Moldova. On several occasions, I was refused service at the local restaurant and grocery stores. It wasn't until I explained that I was an American that the shopkeepers would let down their guard and speak to me in Russian.

Amidst a region terse with language politics, the college students I surveyed conveyed their confusion in defining their national identity. Few were willing to simply classify themselves as Moldovans and chose instead to draw their cultural identities to several countries or languages. One student rationalizes, "I think that when children are younger it is difficult to perceive the difference between languages, now I am older and I can't say that I'm really Romanian, Moldovan or Russian."

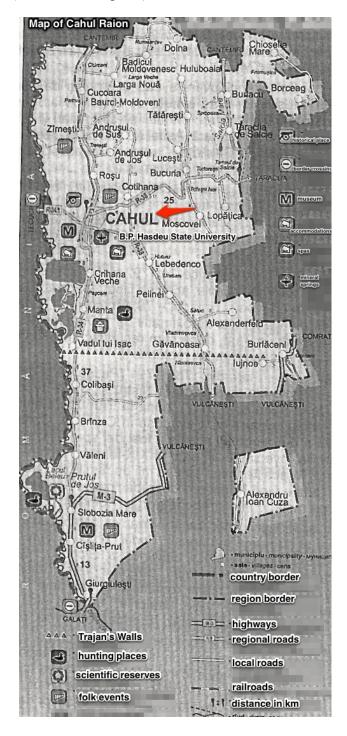
Language choice is something that students admitted to not thinking about on a daily basis. In fact, most students replied that the survey was the first opportunity they

had been given to voice their attitudes about language and identity in Moldova. While I distributed the survey to both my Russian and Romanian groups, I received the majority of my responses from Russian speaking students. As the minority language speakers in Cahul, Russian speakers understandably voiced the most dissatisfaction with the status of language in Moldova. One student claimed, "it is crazy that many consider Russian an inferior language in Moldova; it should be equal to Romanian". Most respondents think Russian and Romanian should have equal status in the Moldovan Constitution.

Survey data exhibits that both personal and educational domains influence language use and attitudes in Cahul. Of particular interest is the fact that parents willingly send their children to pre-schools taught in a language other than a language spoken at home. However, after kindergarten, parents choose to send their children to educational institutions with instruction in the family's native language. In the framework of Moldova's educational framework, students attending linguistically segregated institutions receive little exposure to speakers of other languages. This trend continues in collegiate studies and while students are willing to speak and socialize with speakers of other languages, the organizational framework in place provides for few opportunities. It is evident that neither educational nor personal domains entirely influence the language use and attitudes of Romanian and Russian students studying at B.P. Hasdeu State University. Rather both domains contribute to language segregation in educational institutions and have further complicated national identity formation in Moldova's first generation to grow up since gaining its independence.

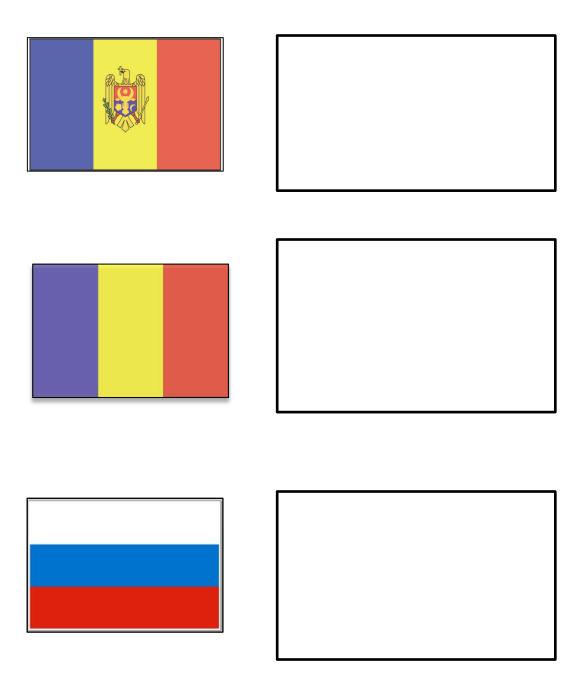
APPENDIX I: MAP OF CAHUL

(Eremia, 2007, p. 20)



APPENDIX II: ONLINE SURVEY QUESTIONS

- 1. What are some of your favorite books that you read growing up?
 - a. What language were they in?
- 2. Did your parents read to you as a child?
 - a. What language were the books written? List some of the books.
- 3. Did your grandparents read to you as a child?
 - a. What language were the books written? List some of the books.
- 4. Are you more likely to listen to Russian, Romanian or Moldovan music? List a few of your favorite bands or singers.
- 5. What international artists do you listen to?
- 6. On what channel are you most likely to watch the news?
 - a. What language is the news broadcast in?
- 7. When you watch the news, are there subtitles?
 - 1. What language are the subtitles?
- 8. Would you rather watch a movie dubbed in Russian, Moldovan, or Romanian?
- 9. Look at each flag below and in the space provided, describe how you relate to each flag. What does the flag mean to you?



- 10. What lyceum (school) did you attend?
 - a) What was the primary language of instruction?
 - b) In what language were your textbooks written?
- 11. What language(s) do you speak?

- 12. What language(s) do you speak at home?
- 13. What language(s) do or did your parents speak?
- 14. What language(s) do or did your grandparents speak?
- 15. Where is your family from in Moldova? If your family is from another country, please list which country.
- 16. What is your cultural identity? Russian, Romanian, Moldovan or other? If you identify with more than one cultural group, please list all that apply.
- 17. What is the primary language of your instruction at the university? Russian, Romanian, or Moldovan?
- 18. At the university, do you have many friends that speak a language different than yours? If so, how do you communicate with each other?
- 19. Outside of class, do most of your friends speak Russian or Romanian? Please describe.
- 20. If you are a Romanian speaker, how do you communicate with your Russianspeaking friends?
- 21. If you are a Russian speaker, how do you communicate with your Romanianspeaking friends?
- 22. Outside of the university, what language do you use in public places (market, doctor's office, etc.)?
- 23. Can you remember a time when someone requested you speak another language?
 Please describe.
- 24. What are your attitudes towards language in Moldova? If you wish to convey any additional information, please use the space provided below:

APPENDIX III: MOLDOVAN 1994 CONSTITUTION ON LANGUAGE

Article 10

Unity and the right to identity

- (1) The State foundation is unity of the Republic of Moldova. Moldova is the common and indivisible homeland of all its citizens.
- (2) The State recognizes and guarantees the right of all citizens to preserve, develop and express their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious.

Article 13

Language, the functioning of other languages

- (1) The state language of the Republic of Moldova is Moldovan, work on the Latin script.
- (2) The State recognizes and protects the right to preserve, develop and Russian language and other languages spoken in the country.
- (3) The state facilitates the study of international languages.
- (4) The use of languages in Moldova is determined by organic law.

Article 35

Right to education

- (1) The right to education is provided by general secondary education through secondary and vocational education, by higher education and other forms of education and training.
- (2) The State shall, by law, shall have the right to choose the language of education and training of people.
- (3) Studying language shall be ensured in educational institutions at all levels.
- (4) education is free.
- (5) All educational institutions, including the state, shall be established and operates under the law.
- (6) Higher education institutions have the right to autonomy.
- (7) high school, vocational and higher education is equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
- (8) The State shall ensure, under the law, freedom of religious education. State education is secular.
- (9) The priority right to choose the educational background of children lies with the parents.

(CONSTITUȚIA REPUBLICII MOLDOVA, 1994)

Appendix IV: IRB Form of Approval



OFFICE OF HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS
Medical School Building 52
Mason Farm Road
CB #7097
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-7097
(919) 966-3113
Web site: ohre.unc.edu
Federalwide Assurance (FWA) #4801

To: Rebecca Ruck Ctr Slavic, Euras and E Eur.

From: Office of Human Research Ethics

Date: 1/10/2013

RE: Notice of IRB Exemption

Exemption Category: 2. Survey, interview, public observation

Study #: 12-2444

Study Title: Hai, Davai: An Ethnographic Survey of Language Use and Identity in Young Adults Living in the South of Moldova

This submission has been reviewed by the Office of Human Research Ethics and was determined to be exempt from further review according to the regulatory category cited above under 45 CFR 46.101(b).

Study Description:

Purpose: The purpose of my research is to examine the effect of language segregation on identity formation in post-Soviet Moldova. Since gaining its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Moldova has struggled to form a unified national identity. Instead of identifying as a Moldovan nation, many Moldovans identify with the Romanian or Russian heritage. Romanian was declared the national language of Moldova in 1991. However, schools have been segregated by language. In the south of Moldova, university courses are taught in both Russian and Romanian. There is minimal interaction between the Romanian speaking majority and the Russian-speaking minority. I will focus my research on the resurgence of nationalism in university students aged 18-22 who were born after Moldova gained its independence and who do not have a historical memory of life in Moldova during Soviet rule. The question to be addressed is how classroom segregation by language has affected identity formation in Moldovan young adults. The university students will be given an online survey in which they can complete at their convenience.

Participants: The participants in the study will include 30 university students chosen from B.P. Hasdeu University in Cahul, Moldova. The class consists of both male and female students ranging in age from 18 to 22 years old. All are English proficient. The subjects of this study were purposively chosen because they are members of the first generation to grow up in Moldova after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The participants were selected because they were students I taught during my completion of a Fulbright English Teaching Assistantship in Moldova. Children under the age of 18 will not be included.

Procedures (methods):

Prospective participants will receive a recruitment email which gives them the option of clicking on a link to take an anonymous online survey. I will provide students with a link to complete the online

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survey in English. After clicking the survey link, students will be presented with an online consent form. The survey will take participants between 15-20 minutes (but most likely 15 minutes, the variation coming from reading rate and speed of computer service at individual institutions). The survey will ask students questions focused on language and identity in Moldova. Questions have been carefully selected as to avoid any politically and culturally sensitive material. All participants can decide where and when they take the survey. Participants will also have the option to discontinue the survey at any time. Survey responses will be collected using the SurveyMonkey platform. I, along with my thesis advisor, will be the only individuals able to access participant responses. At no point in the survey process will the identity of survey participants be revealed. After receiving all of the completed online surveys, I will analyze their data and use it towards the completion of my MA thesis.

Investigator's Responsibilities:

If your study protocol changes in such a way that exempt status would no longer apply, you should contact the above IRB before making the changes. The IRB will maintain records for this study for 3 years, at which time you will be contacted about the status of the study.

Researchers are reminded that additional approvals may be needed from relevant "gatekeepers" to access subjects (e.g., principals, facility directors, healthcare system).

CC: Robert Jenkins, Political Science

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