LOVING DESIGNS:
GENDERED WELFARE PROVISION, ACTIVISM AND EXPERTISE
IN INTERWAR BUCHAREST

By

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Abstract

In the early 1920s, Bucharest brimmed with the war-victors-enthusiasm of local elites. Afterwards, between 1929 and 1933, to an even greater degree than before, underemployement, irregular or informal work defined the quotidian of most of those living in Bucharest. The next eight years saw little economic redress, but authoritarianism flourished. During this entire period, Bucharest was the site of various experiments in social assistance provision and small-scale social research studies on standards of living. These were initiated by women involved in what Linda Gordon has termed "welfare activism".

This dissertation analyzes the development of austere welfare provision in 1920s and 1930s Bucharest and uncovers the (not always progressive) role of women welfare activists in the process. It argues that wavering political commitment of governments and growing international financial constraints hampered the creation of broad-coverage social policies, forcing women (especially proletarianized women) into increasingly strained combinations of paid and unpaid work to ensure the survival of their dependents (children, extended families). The low-spending context created by national level politics and geopolitical constraint, combined with electoral law concessions obtainted by suffrage feminists, also left open a space of municipal social intervention for the women politicized as feminists or professionalized in the context of the early 1920s feminist, social reformist and internationalist moments.

The text presents politicized and professionalized women as part of a coherent network of welfare acitvists in Bucharest, and as either active in the local (internationally connected) feminist movement or among the growing number of professional women initially working at the margins of "social" domains, such as social research, social assistance, or public health. Differently from all previous studies on gender and welfare in Romania, it also points to the role of social-democratic, communist, and Jewish women and their organizations in the strained development of public social assistance in the city. Also, distinctively from previous studies, it reconstitutes the on the ground, practical operation of social assistance policies created by welfare activists, analyzing the intended and unintended effects of social research and social assistance practices on the impoverished families who were eligible for the minimal, inconsistent public social assistance available.

This work is a left-feminist revision of the dominant "modernity paradigm" interpretation of the interwar period in Romania (especially the focus on eugenics). It also contributes to challenging the prevailing institutionalism and masculinist bias in studies on welfare provision in Eastern Europe. It claims that welfare provision in Bucharest was an ill-funded gendered mixed economy, in which state and voluntary associations, paid and unpaid work, as well as repression and ignorance of visible need both helped and hindered the social reproduction of various social groups. The dissertation unpacks how contests over expertise and quotidian practices of social knowledge making but also of insuring subsistence were crucial to the operation of this mixed economy.

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I researched and wrote most of a dissertation set in interwar Bucharest in various European cities during a period covering the second half of my twenties. Along the way, I (and it) have accumulated many debts of gratitude, towards mentors, peers, friends and family members. Far more people than I can mention here have supported in large and small ways my choice to pursue a PhD degree.

Prof. Susan Zimmermann has been a serious, supportive and patient supervisor and academic mentor. I will never be able to thank her enough for the careful way in which she has looked out for my academic development. Over the years, Susan has challenged me to become a more resilient, diligent and professional academic. She has written tens of recommendation letters, commented on many more drafts for various parts of this dissertation, and provided helpful career advice and meaningful career support. Most importantly, Susan has constantly challenged me to think about my research topic in more depth, with greater consideration of global entanglements and to pay scrupulous attention to evidence.

I would also like to thank the members of my dissertation defense committee. Prof. Laura Lee Downs, Prof. Eva Fodor and Prof. Victor Rizescu provided truly useful feedback. Prof. Marsha Siefert has chaired the defense of this dissertation, almost a decade after also chairing the defense of my MA thesis. In addition, Prof. Franscisca de Haan has supported and encouraged my work. I thank them for their kindness and interest in my scholarship!

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My extended family and family friends provided all kinds of support. My Dumuța cousins, Florin Chiș (who patiently helped with Excel and Zotero formatting), and the Papici family have my entire gratitude for helping with all manner of logistical issues.

Had they lived, my grandparents, Ana Dumuța and Dumitru Dumuța, and my aunt, Florica Chiș, would have found joy in my finally obtaining a PhD degree – this text is a small dedication to their memory.

My parents, Leontina Ghiț and Vasile Ghiț, supported my education and thankfully, never questioned my decisions to take classes in yet another country. My mother and my sister, Simina Ghiț, taught me about the importance of picking oneself up, working with dedication and creativity, and finding ways to make do.

I met Tobias Bernet right after I finished writing the dissertation. He has brought sparkling wit and good humor to our travels and lockdowns since. I thank him for his love and friendship.

List of Figures and Tables

List of Abbreviations

Archival Institutions and Repositories

ANIC - Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale [The Central National Historical Archives, Bucharest]

BCU – Biblioteca Centrală Universitară [Central University Library]

CSIER - Centrul pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor in România [The Center for the Study of the History of Jews in Romania]

Digibuc - Biblioteca Digitală a Bucureștilor [Bucharest Digital Library] Archive

SMBAN - Serviciul Municipal București - Arhivele Nationale [Bucharest Municipal Service-National Archives]

WASI - Women and Social Movements International Digital Archive

Organizations

AFER - Asociația Femeilor Evree [Association of Jewish Women]

AECPFR - Asociația pentru Emanciparea Civilă și Politică a Femeilor Române [The Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women]

ATF - Asociația Amicele Tinerelor Fete [Friends of Young Girls Association]

ASTRA - Asociația Transilvană pentru Literatura și Cultura Poporului Român [Transylvanian Association for the Literature and Culture of the Romanian People]

CNFR - Consiliul Național al Femeilor Române [The National Council of Romanian Women]

CEB - Comunitatea Evreilor București [Jewish Community Bucharest]

COS – Charity Organization Society

GFR - Gruparea Femeilor Române [The Group of Romanian Women]

ICW - International Council of Women

ILO - International Labour Organization

IOVR (IOV)- Oficiul Național pentru Invalizi, Orfani și Văduve de Război [National Office for War Invalids, Widows and Orphans]

ISR - Institutul Social Român [The Romanian Social Institute]

IAW - International Woman Suffrage Alliance (between 1904 and 1926). International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship (from 1926 to 1946)

LDDFR - Liga pentru Drepturile și Datoriile Femeii Române [League for the Rights and Responsibilities of the Romanian Woman]

LoN - League of Nations

MMSOS, Ministry of Labor - Ministerul Muncii, Sănătății și Ocrotirilor Sociale [Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Protection]

PNL/NLP - Partidul Național Liberal [National Liberal Party]

PNȚ/NPP - Partidul Național Țărănesc [National Peasantist Party]

SAI/ LSI - Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale/ Labour and Socialist International

SONFR - Societatea Ortodoxă Națională a Femeilor din România [National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women]

SSF - Secția de Studii Feminine a ISR [The ISR's Section of Feminine Studies]

SSAS - Școala Superioară de Asistență Socială "Principesa Ileana" [The Superior School of Social Assistance "Princess Ileana"]

UFM/UWW - Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare [The Union of Working Women]

WILPF -Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

WIZO - Women's International Zionist Organisation

Introduction

In 1930, a new journal dedicated to "social work on scientific bases" in Romania published what appear to be facsimiles of actual working documents, meant to serve as samples for social workers in training.[1] Among other documents referring to a single case of successful assistance, the samples included a narrative report. Its entries journaled a series of thirty-six near-weekly meetings, occurring over the course of five months, between a woman training as a social worker and a single-mother of two struggling with "misery and illness".[2] The social worker was practicing at the Demonstration Center for the Assistance of the Family, functioning in the working-class Bucharest neighborhood Tei (Linden Trees). The single mother lived in the neighborhood.

The report describes how, in November 1929, the social worker visited the home of Marioara Ionescu for the first time. The social worker had been alerted to Ionescu's situation by the Tei parish priest. In the one-room rented house, the young woman found the consumptive single mother, her two toddler children and a young niece. Orphaned, the niece had traveled from the countryside to the capital city to join her aunt's household. The family was indeed found to be in a very precarious situation. The mother owed money to the doctor, the landlord and the greengrocer. Of great concern to Ionescu were lapses in lease payments towards the local Singer subsidiary, covering the price of two sewing machines. The machines were essential to the woman's source of income. On them, at home, Marioara Ionescu and the thirteen-year-old niece produced leather parts used in shoe-making. The woman had learned to make shoe parts from her

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[1] "Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualized assistance]," *Asistența Socială - Buletinul Școalei Superioare de Asistență Socială "Principesa Ileana"* 1, no. 2 (1930).

[2] "Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualized assistance]."

common-law husband, with whom she had previously worked side by side. The abusive man had left the family, establishing a new household at a known address in the same neighborhood, but refused to support his children. The report noted that, when not too ill to accept orders, Ionescu earned between 150 and 500 Lei weekly.

In the case file, the social worker recorded that before her first visit, the family had managed to access small benefits from several sources. They had received small amounts of money from the Association of the Romanian Clergy and free medical assistance for the children through the "Principele Mircea" (Prince Mircea) association. Also, Bucharest City Hall, through one of its dispensaries, was helping Ionescu with a monthly aid of 200 Lei towards her children's food. (Ten liters of milk could be bought for 140 Lei at the time.) Furthermore, Marioara Ionescu had made use of her status as an insured person to request other small aids to which she was entitled. The report noted that the woman held a four-year-old membership in one of the state-recognized labour corporations in Bucharest, "with full rights". This translated into occasional aid from the president of the corporation, as she was labeled a "luckless labourer" (an operational category within that organization).

The journal article accompanying the sample reports explained that through subsequent home calls at the Ionescu's, the social worker endeavored to apply a program of "constructive assistance" meant to restore this "dependent family" to a state of self-reliance. Such terminology and intervention principles were part of the approach to social assistance taught by a Johns Hopkins University-educated researcher named Veturia Mănuilă.[3] With the support of local social

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[3] Veturia Mănuilă, "Asistenţa individualizată și tehnica ei [Individualized assistance and its technique]," *Asistenţa Socială - Buletinul Şcoalei Superioare de Asistenţă Socială "Principesa Ileana"* 1, no. 2 (1930): 5–52.

reformers, freshly returned from the USA, Mănuilă[4] had set up the municipality-subsidized Demonstration Center for the Assistance of the Family in Bucharest in 1929.[5]

In practice, judging by the report, the major "constructive assistance" contribution of the social worker in-training was to help Marioara Ionescu access additional forms of private and public assistance. Thus, the social worker provided, from the public funds which the city had enabled the Demonstration Center to distribute, another 400 Lei on top of what Marioara had already mustered. Also, the social worker contacted the local office of the Singer firm, helping reschedule Ionescu's debt repayment towards the lease of the machines, even obtaining guarantees that the two machines would not be confiscated soon. Furthermore, the craftsmen corporation could be convinced to grant Ionescu an additional "needy members" pension of 500 Lei per week.

In addition, the report described how the social worker helped improve the quality of life in the Ionescu household by securing healthcare and aid in-kind. The social worker contacted several doctors and hospitals, taking in turn all members of the family for medical consultations and treatments at various clinics. She approached a Mrs. Vasilescu, apparently a private person, unconnected to a specific charity, who organized better clothing for the children, bedding and other

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[4] Veturia Mănuilă (1896-1986).Graduated from medical studies in Budapest and Cluj, becoming familiar with American social work through self-funded courses at Johns Hopkins university (1925-1926). Upon her return from the USA, in 1929, she founded the Superior School of Social Assistance "Princess Ileana" and the Demonstration Center for the Assistance of the Family in Tei neighborhood. She was influenced by Mary Richmond's vision of "scientific philanthropy" and constructive social assistance. Married to statistcian Sabin Mănuilă, they were both associated with the National Peasant Party and the Romanian Social Institute. In 1941, during Marshal Antonescu's Nazi-allied dictatorship, she became a member of the technical council of the Council for the Patronage of Social Work (led by Maria Antonescu). In 1944, together with her husband, Veturia Mănuilă emigrated to the United States, working in the field of immigrants' integration for the rest of her life. Maria Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen [The Eugenicist movement and gender roles]," in *Patriarhat și emancipare în istoria gândirii politice românești*, ed. Maria Bucur and Mihaela Miroiu (Bucharest: Polirom, 2002), 129–31; Emilia Plosceanu, "The Rockefeller Foundation in Romania: For a Crossed History of Social Reform and Science," Research Report, Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports Online (New York: Rockefeller Archives, 2008), http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/pdf/plosceanu.pdf.

[5] Veturia Mănuilă, "Organizarea Centrului de Demonstrație pentru Asistența Familiei [The Organization of the Center for the Assistance of the Family]," *Asistența Socială - Buletinul Școalei Superioare de Asistență Socială "Principesa Ileana"* 1, no. 2 (1930): 53–62.

necessary household items and staples. In November, the assistant facilitated the Ionescu's access to the fire wood sold cheaply by the Social Assistance Service. (The Service was a Bucharest City Hall office whose duties had been expanded a few years before at the insistence of a cohort of "coopted councilwomen" and then reformed by Veturia Mănuilă and her "elected councilwomen" collaborators.)

Otherwise, the assistant visited several times a week. In her report, she described showing Ionescu how to clean her house, educate her children, budget income to pay off debt, and eventually hire another apprentice girl to open a proper home-based workshop. The economic state of the family and the health of the children was judged to be improving over the course of the five months of visits. However, the report noted that the young mother's tuberculosis advanced. By March 1930, when the entries in the published report stop, the social worker had facilitated a place in a sanatorium for Ionescu. The children would be left with Ionescu's sister until the mother's return.

How plausible was this account of intrepid welfare provision? How accurate this published sample's description of the mix of insurance, voluntary organizations, municipality-subsidized social workers and institutions assisting a single mother? How meaningful would such help have been in the broader economic and political context of the 1920s and 1930s? Or, what remained of the 1929 maze of benefits and associations theoretically accessible to a woman dealing with poverty once the effects of the Great Depression fully hit agrarian, export-dependent Romania? And what were the longer-term causes and effects of such small-scale social assistance programs?

Very little in the existing historiography on interwar Romania helps elucidate these and other, related, questions concerning urban welfare provision in the country's cities. The most frequently quoted studies in the historiography of the interwar period converge on cultural and

intellectual history themes and approaches. Collectively, they construct interwar Romania as a key Eastern European case for the "modernity paradigm".[6]

A term coined by Dennis Sweeney, "the modernity paradigm" refers to a historical interpretation scheme which focuses on the rise of dispersed biopolitical rationalities and the rise of a "welfare outlook" as defining feature of modernity.[7] These key studies were produced in the past twenty-five years, usually in English. Published during Eastern Europe's anticommunist "break" with its state socialist past and on the background of post-Cold War challenges to leftist historical narratives, most of these studies display reluctance about engaging with themes and tools in fields that have tackled the history of welfare states from critical standpoints, among which social history or labour history.[8]

Existing studies on post-WWI Romania highlight how, after the conflict, elites believed that two kinds of needs demanded urgent solving, both at state-scale: economic catch-up development and nation-state building. Focusing especially on intellectuals' grand visions for social change, this literature discusses debates on modernization[9], the creation and operation of centralizing cultural politics[10], the appeal of eugenicist thought [11] or more recently, the reception of social reform ideas in Romania and the transnational entanglements such circulations

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[6] Dennis Sweeney, "Reconsidering the Modernity Paradigm: Reform Movements, the Social and the State in Wilhelmine Germany∗," *Social History* 31, no. 4 (2006): 405–434; Dennis Sweeney, "'Modernity' and the Making of Social Order in Twentieth-Century Europe," *Contemporary European History* 23, no. 02 (Mai 2014): 209–224, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777314000137.

[7] Stephen Kotkin, "Modern Times: The Soviet Union and the Interwar Conjuncture," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 2, no. 1 (2008): 111–164.

[8] On the evolution of social history since the 1940s, see Christoph Conrad, "Social History," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 1st ed. (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001), 309–12. In a mild description of a very abrupt, strident change at least in Eastern Europe, Conrad mentions that "the breakdown of actually existing socialism in 1989/1990 and the resulting political and economic transformation led to reflection on the basics of politics and economics."

[9] Keith Hitchins, *Romania, 1866-1947* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[10] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (Cornell University Press, 2000).

[11] Maria Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002).

produced.[12] The role of welfare politics in shaping gender and class relations, rather than ethnicity, is missing a comprehensive account. Similarly, there has been very little engagement with the history of every-day life, oral history projects and certain recently-published monographs notwithstanding.[13]

A second category of relevant studies are histories of women's organizing and activism for emancipation since the nineteenth century in various provinces in the Kingdom of Romania. These are crucial contributions for developing an understanding of urban welfare practices since they highlight the strong entanglement between middle class women's political activism (be it contemporarily identified as "feminist" or otherwise) and philanthropic welfare provision.[14] At the same time, because these studies conceptualize organized women as foremost, activist outsiders to government and governance, they leave underexplored certain women's considerable influence as members of local elites. Neither do they look at some of these organizations' consistent cooperation and coordination with state agencies during the period. When ideological

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[12] Emilia Plosceanu, "L'Internationalisation des sciences et techniques réformatrices. Les Savants roumains et la fondation Rockefeller (1918-1940) [The Internationalization of reform sciences and techniques. Romanian scholars and the Rockefeller foundation (1918-1940)]," *New Europe College Yearbook*, 2008 2007, 319–43; Plosceanu, "The Rockefeller Foundation in Romania: For a Crossed History of Social Reform and Science"; Emilia Plosceanu, "Coopération en milieu rural, économie nationale et sciences sociales en Roumanie [Cooperation in the rural environment, national economy and social sciences in Romania]," *Les Études Sociales*, no. 2 (2016): 179–207.

[13] Zoltán Rostás and Theodora-Eliza Văcărescu, *Cealaltă jumătate a istoriei: Femei povestind [The Other half of history: Women narrating]* (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2008); Roland Clark, *Sfântă tinereţe legionară - Activismul fascist în România interbelică [Holy legionary youth. Fascist activism in interwar Romania]* (Bucuresti: Polirom, 2015); Ștefann Ionescu, *Jewish Resistance to 'Romanianization', 1940-44* (London: Springer, 2015).

[14] To mention only a few of the studies in this vein: Elena Georgescu and Titu Georgescu, *Mişcarea democratică şi revoluţionară a femeilor din România [The Democratic and revolutionary movement of women in Romania].* (Craiova: Editura Scrisului Românesc, 1975); Paraschiva Câncea, *Mişcarea pentru emanciparea femeii în România [The Movement for woman's emancipation in Romania]* (Bucharest: Editura Politică, 1976); Ghizela Cosma, *Femeile şi politica în România: evoluţia dreptului de vot în perioada interbelică [Women and politics in Romania: the evolution of the franchise in the interwar]* (Cluj-Napoca: Pres Universitară Clujeană, 2002); Ghizela Cosma, Enikő Magyari-Vincze, and Ovidiu Pecican, *Prezenţe feminine: studii despre femei în România* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundaţiei DESIRE, 2002); Andreea Dimitriu, "Le féminisme roumain et ses affinités avec le féminisme français (1918-1940) [Romanian feminism and its affinities with French feminism (1918-1940)]" (PhD Thesis, Angers, Université d'Angers, 2011); Alin Ciupală, *Bătălia lor- Femile din România în Primul Război Mondial [Their Battle- Women in Romania in the First World War]* (Bucharest: Polirom, 2017); Ștefania Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului românesc: Studiu şi antologie de text [From the history of Romanian feminism: Study and text anthology]* (Bucharest: Polirom, 2006); Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen [The Eugenicist movement and gender roles]."

commitments other than feminism are considered, nationalism and nationalizing (bio)politics appear as the only significant currents significantly shaping feminist rhethoric, alliances and practices. Otherwise, when this women's history historiographical body discusses women's organizations as welfare providers, it inevitably presents these associations as innovators. Generally, this body of work casts aside the possibility that these actors may have used innovation to conserve privilege or as part of short-sighted political or social gambits.[15]

Studies on the evolution of social legislation in Romania represent a fourth cluster of studies relevant for understanding urban welfare provision. However, often, these studies on legislation replicate the masculinist bias in certain strands of welfare literature:their narratives only include social insurance and labor protection legislation geared towards male workers in long-term, formalized, industrial employment.[16] When these studies do consider so-called "non-contributory" welfare schemes, whose historical beneficiaries have been women, children, the disabled and other persons who fall short of a male wage-worker ideal, the research only pays attention to policy edification, and does not trace implementation or unintended effects.[17]

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[15] Roxana Cheșchebec, "Nationalism, Feminism and Social Work in Interwar Romania: The Activities of Princess Alexandrina Cantacuzino," in *History of Social Work in Europe (1900–1960)*, ed. Sabine Hering and Berteke Waaldijk (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2003), 58-59.

[16] Ilie Marinescu, *Politica socială interbelică în România: relațiile dintre muncă și capital [Interwar social policy in Romania: labour-capital relations]* (București: Editura Tehnică, 1995); Sergiu Delcea, "The Welfare-State as a Means of Nation-Building in Interwar Romania, 1930-1938" (Central European University, 2014), http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2014/delcea_sergiu.pdf; Delcea Sergiu, "Pro-Urban Welfare in Agricultural Countries? Nationalism and Welfare State Creation in Central and Eastern Europe: Hungary and Romania Compared" (Weast Workshop, Prague, 2016), http://www.weast2016prague.cz/pdf/delcea-sergiu.pdf; Victor Rizescu, "Corporatism in the Romanian Tradition: Top-down and Bottom-up Lineages.," *Sphere of Politics/Sfera Politicii*, 2017; Victor Rizescu, "Începuturile statului bunăstării pe filiera românească: Scurtă retrospectivă a etapelor unei reconceptualizări [The beginnings of the welfare state in the Romanian lineage: Brief retrospective of the stages to a reconceptualization]," *Studia Politica; Romanian Political Science Review* 18, no. 1 (2018): 35–56.

[17] Silviu Hariton, "Asumarea politicilor sociale de către stat în România. Cazul invalizilor, orfanilor și văduvelor de război (IOVR) după Primul Război Mondial [The creation of social policies by the state in Romania. The case of invalids, orphans and war widows (IOVR) after the First World War]," *Archiva Moldaviae*, no. Supplement 1 (2014): 115–40; Lucian Dărămuș, "Prostitutie feminina si heterosexualitate in Romania interbelica [Feminine prostitution and heterosexuality in interwar Romania]," in *Familia în România -O incursiune diacronică pluridisciplinară*, ed. Anca Dohotariu (Bucharest: Editura Universității București, 2017), 91–119.

Urban histories of interwar Romania represent a fifth cluster of relevant, domestic-context studies. Urban historians who write about interwar Bucharest occasionally shed light on policies employed by cities in Romania to deal with visible poverty and need (for instance control and criminalization of prostitution). Unfortunately, they too often do so in an impressionistic, even prurient manner.[18] Even the most carefully researched of urban histories tend to focus on urban planning and planners or the urban as experienced by the narrow social stratum of elites. Certainly, works forming this prolific and commercially successful historical genre in Romania, do occasionally uncover spatial practices which generated or entrenched inequality in the city.[19] But more nuanced research into how non-dominant categories and groups lived in the city is necessary.

The shortcomings of the current local historiography impose an extensive process of conceptual framework building and historiographical review of foundational studies dealing with gender and welfare in urban settings. An accessible and expectable launching point for developing a better understanding of gendered welfare provision in Romania is offered by the considerable and sophisticated literature on the (gendered) history of welfare states in Western Europe and North America.[20] But both the celebrated, foundational, studies or even the newer, more globally-

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[18] Some of the most popular among the problematic titles are Adrian Majuru, *Bucureştii mahalalelor, sau periferia ca mod de existenţă [The Bucharest of the slums or the periphery as a way of life]* (Bucureşti: Compania, 2003); Adrian Majuru, *Prostituţia: Între cuceritori şi plătitori [Prostitution: Between the conquerors and the payers]* (Bucharesr': Paralela 45, 2007); Adrian Majuru, *Bucureşti: povestea unei geografii umane [Bucharest: The story of a human geography]* (Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român, 2007).

[19] Raluca Maria Popa, *Restructuring and Envisioning Bucharest: The Socialist Project in the Context of Romanian Planning for a Capital a Fast Changing City and an Inherited Urban Space 1852-1989*, CEU History Department PhD Theses 2004/8 (Budapest: Central European University, 2004); Ioana Pârvulescu, *Întoarcere în Bucureştiul interbelic [Return to interwar Bucharest]* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2003); Zoltán Rostás, ed., *Între proiecţii urbanistice şi sărăcie letargică. Bucureştiul arhitecţilor, sociologilor şi al medicilor [Between urbanistic projections and lethargic poverty. The Bucharest of architects, sociologists and medics]* (Bucharest: Ed. Vremea, 2016); Bogdan Suditu, *Bucureştiul în locuinţe şi locuitori. De la începuturi până mai ieri [Bucharest by dwellings and inhabitants. From its beginnings until almost yesterday.]* (Bucharest: Compania, 2016).

[20] Landmark contributions in this vast literature include Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s - 1950s* (Routledge, 1991); Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers* (Cambridge Univ Press, 1992); Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (Routledge, 1993); Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1993); Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women : Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present*, 3rd ed.

minded, studies on gender and welfare are still centered on these western contexts. They cannot fully account for the scale of lacking resources, geopolitical constraint, and the specificities of restructuring gender relations in post World War I Central and Eastern Europe.

Crucially, the statist focus of many of these foundational analyses of gender and welfare makes it difficult to understand gender and welfare in a context such as that of Eastern Europe, where interwar social spending and social policy innovation were more heavily constrained by lack of funds. As Lynne Haney has pointed out, key contributions in the "crowded area" of the feminist historiography of state formation emphasize the role of women social reformers in the creation and application of welfare policies since the nineteenth century, the historical impact of gender on distributive outcomes and welfare policy divergence between industrialized states.[21]

In the past decade, the historiography of gender and welfare in Europe and the USA has been enriched especially by contributions insisting on the multi-layered character of welfare provision, the role of local welfare institutions and practices in making material or challenging gendered welfare regimes, and the links between global social reformism and imperialism.[22] Such studies' entreaty for scholars to consider local contingency and global complicities with colonialism when assessing the origin and impact of welfare policies in the first half of the

(London: Routledge, 2017); Linda Gordon, *Pitied but Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935* (Free Press New York, 1994); Gwendolyn Mink, *The Wages of Motherhood: Inequality in the Welfare State, 1917-1942* (Cornell University Press, 1996).

[21] Lynne A. Haney, "Engendering the Welfare State. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 4 (1998): 756. Haney offers a comprehensive review of scholarship on gender and welfare published in the 1990s.

[22] Kristen Stromberg Childers, "The Evolution of the Welfare State: Social Rights and the Nationalization of Welfare in France, 1880-1947," 2006; Margaret D Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (U of Nebraska Press, 2009); S. Jay Kleinberg, *Widows and Orphans First: The Family Economy and Social Welfare Policy, 1880-1939* (University of Illinois Press, 2010); Dorit Geva, "Not Just Maternalism: Marriage and Fatherhood in American Welfare Policy," *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 18, no. 1 (2011): 24–51; Marian Van der Klein et al., *Maternalism Reconsidered: Motherhood, Welfare and Social Policy in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 20 (Berghahn Books, 2012); Marisa Chappell, "Protecting Soldiers and Mothers Twenty-Five Years Later: Theda Skocpol's Legacy and American Welfare State Historiography, 1992–2017," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 17, no. 3 (2018): 546–573.

twentieth century is most welcome. However, even such studies have little insight into local welfare provision under conditions of a state's inability to provide welfare despite declared ambitions to do so or the impact of imperialism for social reform in economically dependent but sovereign states, as was the context for the Eastern Central European states emerging after the post-WWI break-up of the three empires previously dominating the region.

Insufficient understanding of welfare provision in the Romanian capital during the first half of the twentieth century has consequences beyond limiting the interpretation of sources dealing with social issues, including case files such as Marioara Ionescu's. Not knowing enough about urban welfare provision in an agrarian semi-peripheral polity has broad public stakes and eventually no less influential scholarly stakes. In a broad sense, insufficient understanding means we continue having a truncated image of global gendered patternings of labour relations and reproduce misunderstanding about the causes of persistent intra-European inequality.

In a narrower sense, without a clear understanding of the (mal)functioning of programs meant to make up for the consequences of free market disfunctions in the European semi-periphery, it becomes difficult to understand the full effects of need-related policies on class and gender inequality in Eastern Europe.[23] Without an understanding of what the "welfare state" (its various layers, transnational connections and malfunctions included) was before 1944, it is also hardly possible to assess the continuities and changes effected by the state-socialist modernization project, so much of which relied on the expansion of social citizenship and investment in a certain kind of social programs.[24] And, without understanding the effect of welfare policies and provision

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[23] Attila Melegh, "Between Global and Local Hierarchies: Population Management in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," *Demográfia English Edition* 53, no. 5 (2010): 51–77.

[24] John E. Dixon and David Macarov, *Social Welfare in Socialist Countries* (Routledge, 1992); Lynne A. Haney, *Inventing the Needy: Gender and the Politics of Welfare in Hungary* (Univ of California Press, 2002); Alexandra Ghit, "Partisan Potential: Researching Communist Women's Organizations in Eastern Europe," *Aspasia: The International Yearbook of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern European Women's and Gender History* 10 (April 2016).

on households' self-maintenance in an agrarian semi-periphery after the First World War, it is more difficult to aim for "new" global labour histories. As Dorothy Sue Cobble has pointed out, such "new" histories must consider social reproduction work and labour informality as integral to the history of modern work and labour relations.[25] Histories of welfare (and lack of welfare) are themselves histories of social reproduction in specific historical settings and are therefore tied to the history of paid and unpaid labour.

To address these gaps in the existing literature and contribute to undoing some of their implications, this dissertation deals with interconnected social assistance and social research projects initiated by competing or collaborating categories of women welfare activists in interwar Bucharest placed in transnational context. It examines the role of such projects in the management of need and risk by the national government, the municipal administration and households within the city. It portrays women welfare activists as an identifiable, influential, but politically-divided group within a local social reform milieu and their welfare projects as consisting of involvement in advocacy, the push for new local social assistance regulations as councilwomen, the maintenance of educational institutions for orphan girls or certified social workers, and participation in international or local-level surveys. It conceives of such welfare activism not only in relation to the national governments' social insurance policies or as instrumental for local governments' social assistance for uninsured inhabitants. Most importantly, it conceptualizes them as part of a broader range of responses to the problem of households' survival in periods of convulsive economic transformation.

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[25] Dorothy Sue Cobble, "The Promise and Peril of the New Global Labor History," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 82 (October 2012): 99–107; For similar calls, see Alexandra Ghit, "Professionals' and Amateurs' Pasts: A Decolonizing Reading of Post-War Romanian Histories of Gendered Interwar Activism," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire*, no. 25 (2017); Eloisa Betti, "Historicizing Precarious Work: Forty Years of Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities," *International Review of Social History* 63, no. 2 (August 2018): 273–319.

By titling this dissertation "Loving Designs" I reference the enthusiasm for policy design and social reform which underpinned the welfare activism of the most socially influential women in Bucharest. The term also references the "technical" research design process which precedes empirical social research. During a period of rapid institutionalization of the social sciences, procedures and instruments which could symbolize or attest to a welfare activist's expertise on social issues became increasingly important.

At the same time, in welfare activism and its connected social research there developed an emphasis on the importance of "intimacy work"[26] for social-knowledge-making: forging rapport, the handling of sensitive data, modulating one's own reactions as a researcher and closely attending to the expressions of the researched became increasingly pressing topics. As a title, "Loving Designs" gestures towards this significant preoccupation with procedures and daily practices which fostered greater intimacy during the interwar.

Simultaneously, the title references the claims of social reproduction feminists, who argue among others that unpaid or paid social reproduction work on behalf of others can be extracted from women and minorities, as family members and as employees, by appealing to ideologies of love and intimacy.[27] What Dowling terms "love's labour cost" was highly visible in interwar Bucharest, where lower class women did unpaid and paid work in order to ensure their families' survival in increasingly difficult conditions. The welfare activists this dissertation focuses on at times naturalized such circumstances while at other times contributed to their questioning.

The key concepts underpinning this dissertation are drawn from the work of gender historians which break with the statist focus of much literature on gender and welfare. Thus, I rely

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[26] Eileen Boris and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, "Introduction," in *Intimate Labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 1–12.
[27] Emma Dowling, "Love's Labour's Cost: The Political Economy of Intimacy," Verso Books, February 13, 2016, http://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2499-love-s-labour-s-cost-the-political-economy-of-intimacy.

on Jane Lewis's account of gender and welfare to conceive of welfare provision as a gendered mixed economy, in which state and voluntary, paid and unpaid work shaped the self-maintenance of various social categories.[28] In line with feminist theories of social reproduction, I consider reproductive labor to consist of "the array of activities and relationships involved in maintaining people both on a daily basis and intergenerationally."[29] However, drawing on Susan Zimmermann's work on welfare provision and repression in Austria-Hungary, I consider welfare provision as only one type of response to social need and risk, and point out how repression of visible poverty and ignorance of need were also significant responses in Bucharest.[30]

I also draw on the work of Anne Epstein on "feminine expertise" in the early twentieth century as well as on Rhacel Salazar- Parreñas and Eileen Boris conceptualization of "intimacy work" to show that contests over expertise and daily practices of intimacy were crucial to the operation of this mixed economy of welfare.[31] Such practices were as important for providing welfare as they were for repressing and ignoring visible need in Bucharest.[32] I detail these choices and my positioning vis-à-vis other relevant bodies of literature in the first chapter of the dissertation.

To capture the gendered dynamics in contests over expertise in interwar Bucharest, I employ Linda Gordon's "welfare activism" concept. Following Linda Gordon, I use the term "welfare activists" to denote a group of women involved in promoting various social reform causes

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[28] Jane Lewis, "Gender and Welfare in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Gender, Health and Welfare*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2015), 208–11.

[29] Nakano Glenn qted. in Boris and Parreñas, "Introduction," 7.

[30] Susan Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide and Rule: An Integrative, History of Poverty Policy, Social Policy, and Social Reform in Hungary under the Habsburg Monarchy* (Budapest: Central European Univ. Press, 2011).

[31] Anne R. Epstein, "Gender and the rise of the female expert during the Belle Époque," *Histoire@Politique*, no. 14 (June 17, 2011): 84–96; Boris and Parreñas, "Introduction."

[32] Epstein, "Gender and the rise of the female expert during the Belle Époque"; Boris and Parreñas, "Introduction."

and publicly advocating for social change in interwar Romania.[33] I analyze how these welfare activists were divided by different local and international political allegiances. However, I also point out that they were nevertheless part of a coherent, Bucharest-based network. Like the white welfare activists Gordon identified for the USA during the Progressive Era, most of the women welfare activists in the Romanian capital city knew each other, came from similar class, ethnic and religious backgrounds and collaborated frequently (albeit not always enthusiastically).[34] I uncover how, also similarly to Gordon's activists, the welfare and needs-provision-related activism of this network spanned charity, reform politics and case work, even if specialization through professionalization was a highly visible trend after the First World War.[35]

The body of this dissertation is divided into six chapters. In Chapter 1, I position my dissertation within the relevant scholarly literature and historiography in more detail than in this Introduction, focusing especially on contributions in historical sociology, the historiography of gender and welfare, the sociology of knowledge and histories of women's work. I point out how historical sociology studies dealing with interwar Eastern Europe have emphasized the limited implementation of social policies in the region, largely because of significant economic constraint. However, I also review studies that show that in such settings, welfare provided to categories considered non-wage-earning by charitable, philanthropic, mutualist associations could become a significant component administrations' and households' management of need and risk.[36] I highlight how such welfare provision was a gendered enterprise because it was created by

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[33] Linda Gordon, "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890-1945," *The Journal of American History*, 1991, 559–590.
[34] Gordon, 571.
[35] Gordon, 572.
[36] Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide and Rule*, 1–39.

networks of women welfare activists, and had women who did unpaid or paid work in precarious conditions as main recipients.

In Chapter 2, I introduce the political, economic and legal context which encouraged the growth of women's involvement in welfare provision in Bucharest, Romania. I argue that rather than pursuing an overarching "welfare vision", the central state patched mounting gaps in urban welfare provision by delegating social assistance activities to women's associations. I demonstrate that in this context, the new social policies created by the national government excluded most women from coverage. Despite occasional drives towards centralization and regulation of "private initiative" welfare providers, the state subsidized such associations consistently.

In Chapter 3, I introduce the key organizations and protagonists of the network of women welfare activists in Bucharest. I create an entangled and transnational history of the stances and activities of upper-class organized women, left-liberal social scientists, progressive feminists, organized Jewish women and social-democratic and communist women welfare activists. I argue that these social actors were embedded within a broader, male dominated social-reform milieu and identify the strategies and institutions through which women welfare activists competed for recognition as "experts" on social issues. I analyze how struggles for public scientific and political authority led to the construction of particular forms of gendered expertise which linked social knowledge-making and welfare provision.

In Chapter 4, I argue that women welfare activists who became local politicians shaped local social assistance regulations and practices. Building on the previous two chapters' analysis of women welfare activitsts' incorporation into governmental social and assistance policies, and these activists' presence in an ideologically multifaceted social reform milieu, I unpack the nexus between suffrage and policy-oriented feminism, social reformism and municipal politics. In the

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chapter, I reconstruct the operation of Bucharest's system of municipal social assistance (meant to help categories considered "dependent" or not involved in wage work full time). I focus on the rival political figures of Alexandrina Cantacuzino and Calypso Botez, analysing the similarities and differences in how they diagnosed need and devised solutions for dealing with local poverty. I detail how the proposals of some two dozen variously coopted or elected councilwomen (largely polarized into alliances with either Cantacuzino or Botez) affected the functioning of social assistance provided via the City Hall as well as through various women's organizations approved of by City Hall.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I spotlight two knowledge production strategies through which certain welfare activists became involved in shaping the social reproduction of middle class and working-class households in Bucharest. Thus, in Chapter 5, I look at the local production of ignorance about labour conditions in paid household work (domestic service). I place the deregulated character of paid domestic work in Bucharest in a global historical framework. I highlight how the gendered occupation of domestic service saw the intensification of social and administrative control in the 1930s. I point out that domestic service was a key component of the social assistance provided by women's organizations to young women and girls, as they oriented orphan and migrant girls in their charge towards the occupation. Through this work, women welfare activists played a complex part in the shaping of domestic service in Bucharest: they advocated for its professionalization but naturalized it as an occupation for poor women, they provided emergency assistance and shelter from abuse but also contributed to local authorities' control of servants' rural-urban migration. Drawing on an oral history interview, folk poetry and other similarly unexplored sources I reconstruct a history of interwar domestic service in Bucharest from the perspective of servant women.

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Finally, in Chapter 6, I show that unpaid household work and its contribution to social reproduction became a focus for welfare activists in Romania's capital in the 1930s. I discuss several urban social research studies. Undertaken in the city beginning with 1929, they focused on working class women's wage work and the impact on their work on the well-being of their families. I show that on the back of ILO inquiries into women's wage work and care for dependents, filtered through concepts and methods largely borrowed from U.S. American social work, these studies had internally contradictory interpretations regarding the negative effects of women's wage work. I reread the data in these inquiries against their grain, pointing out that most studied women were overworking themselves by combining precarious paid and unpaid work in order to support their families. I summarize my findings and point to research questions and directions the chapters of this dissertaion open up in the Conclusion.

Chapter 1 - Periphery Welfare Provision, Social Expertise-Making and Gendered Intimacy Work: Paradigms, Concepts, and Historiography

. In this chapter, I set the parameters for a fuller explanation of gender and welfare in Romania's capital after the First World War than the one afforded by the dominant "modernity paradigm". I outline the concepts and insights I rely on, drawn especially from marxian historical sociology studies on Eastern Europe, feminist and post-Bourdieuean interventions in the areas of the sociology of knowledge, the historiography of "gender and welfare", and histories of women's work. I argue that, once cross-examined, this literature disproves the conclusions of most scholarship on interwar Romania, and Eastern Europe broadly. Available but somewhat marginalized interpretations underscore that need-related policies in dependent economies in the first half of the twentieth century were under-resourced and disjointed, shaped by aspiring but marginalized women experts, and dependent on highly exploitative work performed by women, mostly for the benefit of families' subsistence. Finally, I outline the "along and against the grain" interpretive strategy guiding my inquiry and discuss the types of sources I included in my analysis. The rest of the dissertation will nuance and expand upon each of these starting points.

1.1 Post-socialist Historiographical Paradigms - the Need for Gendered Social History

In an influential historiographical review essay from 2008, Stephen Kotkin argued that it was possible to capture the features of the decades between the two World Wars by speaking of a global "interwar conjuncture". For Kotkin, the "interwar conjuncture" was defined by the expansion of suffrage and the advent of mass politics; the emergence of new management techniques (most importantly Fordism) and faster communication technologies; heightened tensions between

imperial ambitions and national politics; and particularly, the "turn toward social welfare as worldview and mode of governing."[37]

The "interwar modernity" meta-narrative shaping Kotkin's and many other historians' work since the aughts—indebted to the 1990s wave of Foucauldian literature on governmentality and Gramscian theorizing on domination—currently (pre)dominates in the historiography of Eastern Europe and Russia between the two World Wars. This is the case for English language historiography about Romania produced for (mostly) non-local academic consumption. It is also the case for scholarship published in the Romanian language by local scholars – albeit to a lesser extent. In a post-socialist knowledge production context, such scholarship could integrate Russia and Eastern Europe in a global narrative concerned with the rise of biopolitics. This section deals with the merits and demerits of the currently dominant approach. It lays the groundwork for the construction of an alternative approach for this study, outlined in the sections which follow it.

To its credit, the interwar modernity meta-narrative incorporates themes in gender and women's history, following the growth of the field in the past twenty years. The connection between gender and geopolitics in the Eastern European interwar conjuncture deserves further exploration and critical interrogation. Kotkin's 2008 review essay drew heavily on the rich historiography of the post–World War I transformations in gender relations in Europe or political efforts to shore these up, in order to suggest that women's role in production and social reproduction was central to the geopolitical competition that strongly influenced the domestic politics of the period's most powerful states, and that within this context welfare provision was a key avenue for intervention on gender relations.[38] This insight, masterfully if sporadically

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[37] Stephen Kotkin, "Modern Times: The Soviet Union and the Interwar Conjuncture," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 2, no. 1 (2008): 111–164.

[38] "Whatever the internal political dynamic over female gender roles, geopolitical competition appeared to necessitate the mobilization of the female body for state power, a goal that the dictatorships were able to pursue

developed for the Russian case,[39] remains underexplored in the scholarly literature on Eastern Europe in the first half of the twentieth century.[40]

On the other hand, critics of the modernity paradigm point out that the emphasis on social welfare as "social logics" or as a kind of worldview "obscures the struggle over the very shape of 'the social.'"[41] In Dennis Sweeney's view, the social did not develop out of an inherent logic brought to fruition by bureaucrats- Rather, the so-called "discovery of the social" "involved non-state actors, engaged competing social visions and biopolitical intentions, and brought about varying constellations of welfare states across the rest of Europe during the twentieth century."[42] Sweeney also argues that a stress on modernity disregards modernization and its processes, brushing over (as Kotkin does) the fundamental differences between capitalism's global structures and colonial violence and the Bolshevik's "affirmative action" imperialism.[43]

As suggested above, for the historiography on Romania since the nineteenth century, the post-socialist ascendance of the modernity paradigm generated important revisions of a Cold War historiographical body revolving around bellicose exceptionalism. Yet this body of work on Romania suffers from the shortcomings underscored by critics of the modernity paradigm.

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vigorously, and that presented some difficulties for the democracies-unless they could draw on a large flow of immigrants." Kotkin, 135.

[39] A bright example is Donald A. Filtzer, *A Dream Deferred: New Studies in Russian and Soviet Labour History* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008).

[40] Good monographs on gender and the politics of reproduction in the region are particularly interested in the control of women as potential child-bearers in relation to communist states' population and labor productivism goals. Gail Kligman, *The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Katherine Verdery, "From Parent-State to Family Patriarchs: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Eastern Europe," *East European Politics & Societies* 8, no. 2 (1994): 225–55.

[41] Dennis Sweeney, "'Modernity' and the Making of Social Order in Twentieth-Century Europe," *Contemporary European History* 23, no. 2 (2014): 211.

[42] Sweeney, 211.

[43] "In contrast to the construction of a multi-national and 'anti-colonial' Soviet state, which, according to Terry Martin, offered 'affirmative action' to non-Russian nationalities and relatively uniform government and legal institutions, the British, French, German, Dutch, Italian, and US colonial empires of the twentieth century were what Ann Laura Stoler calls uneven and mobile 'macropolities,' centering on nation-state cores but radiating outward in complex architectures of territorial and non-territorial sovereignty, variegated legal orders given to states of exception, and formal gradations of citizenship and subjecthood." Sweeney, 218.

English-language studies on eugenics and "racial science" in Romania, notably by Maria Bucur and Marius Turda, turned discussions towards disciplinary, biopolitical strategies and their portrayal as cross-border phenomena linked (usually vaguely) to the cultural formations of liberal capitalism in Europe.[44]

This emphasis contributed to deepening the conclusions of several valuable studies on state building in Romania post-1918 and partially problematized tropes of interwar Eastern European backwardness, the penchant for ethnic conflict, and the region's tendency to foster grassroots right-wing movements.

However, as suggested in the introduction, (geo)political, resource-related, and institutional constraints shape post-socialist historical writing on Romania, favoring certain approaches and tropes and withering others, despite their potentially greater explanatory power. In the strongly anticommunist context of post-socialist Romania, structuralist explanations were rejected or avoided. Partly because of this, different post-1990 approaches and historical genres converged towards interpretations which foreground eugenics as ideology or political current, "modernity" as phenomenon, and flux, acceleration, or circulation as defining processes. Focusing on explaining the impact of eugenics on nation- and state-building in interwar Romania, Maria Bucur's pioneering *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania* (2002) emphasizes how

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[44] Maria Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002); Marius Turda and Paul Weindling, *" Blood and Homeland": Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900–1940* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007); Marius Turda, "The Nation as Object: Race, Blood, and Biopolitics in Interwar Romania," *Slavic Review* 66, no. 3 (2007): 413; Marius Turda, "Entangled Traditions of Race: Physical Anthropology in Hungary and Romania, 1900–1940," *Focaal* 2010, no. 58 (2010): 32; Marius Turda, "Social Hygiene and Public Health in Hungary and Romania, 1920–1940," *Das Gesundheitswesen* 68, no. 7 (2006): 138; Marius Turda, "From Craniology to Serology: Racial Anthropology in Interwar Hungary and Romania," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 43, no. 4 (2007): 361–377; Marius Turda, "Focus on Social History of Medicine in Central and Eastern Europe," *Social History of Medicine* 21, no. 2 (2008): 395–401. For a comprehensive review and discussion of conceptualizations of social policy in light of the modernity paradigm, see Ann Shola Orloff, "Social Provision and Regulation: Theories of States, Social Policies and Modernity," in Julia Adams, Elisabeth S. Clemens, and Ann Shola Orloff, eds., *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 190–224.

proponents defied both the "modernizers" and "traditionalists" labels by seeking to construct a "sense of identity filled with the promise of the unknown" and to *mobilize* (rather than preserve) traditions in order to achieve that goal.[45] More telling of the tendency to use a conception of modernity the overarching process of which is mobility, Emilia Plosceanu—to date the most sophisticated scholar dealing systematically with social reformism in Romania—has argued in favor of a "performative interpretation of modernization, in which shared models and various accomplishments are put in relation to one another."[46] For Plosceanu, this interpretative grid is meant to function as a corrective to "the nation-building pattern of interpretation."[47]

As showcased by the work of these two pathbreaking authors, the merits of the modernity approach lie in its leading to the deconstruction of the nation-state as self-contained and of nation-building as the sole significant process in interwar Romania. It also includes women as historical actors and feminism as interwar political current in its narratives. Nevertheless, the modernity interpretation framework downplays the structuring effect of national dynamics or hierarchies in various fields of power, the weight of financial constraints in adopting and adapting social policy models, and vested elite interests in social struggles. It also minimizes the significance of day-to-day social knowledge-making practices and tools (besides fluctuating discourses) in producing social reformism or social policies.[48]

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[45] Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania*, 9–10.

[46] Emilia Plosceanu, "The Rockefeller Foundation in Romania: For A Crossed History of Social Reform and Science," Research Report (Rockefeller Archives, 2008), 10; see also Emilia Plosceanu, "L'internationalisation des sciences et techniques réformatrices: Les savants roumains et la Fondation Rockefeller (1918–1940)," *New Europe College Yearbook*, 2008; Emilia Plosceanu, "Coopération en milieu rural, économie nationale et sciences sociales en Roumanie," *Les Études Sociales*, no. 2 (2016): 179–207.

[47] Plosceanu, "The Rockefeller Foundation in Romania," 10.

[48] For a discussion of "traps" and biases present in the "circulations perspective" adopted widely in international relations, the sociology of knowledge, and transnational history, see Antoine Vauchez, "Le Prisme circulatoire. Retour sur un leitmotiv académique," *Critique internationale* 59, no. 2 (2013): 9–16.

Because the favored themes of the "new social history" practiced in postwar Western Europe were abandoned or ignored in Romania in the course of the post-socialist break with the history produced before 1989, key topics in the history of social policy and welfare provision after the First World War remain under-explored. Among them are "process oriented" themes such as "industrialization, urbanization, secularization, and professionalization" – the defining themes of social history as practiced in postwar Western European academic settings. These processes were referenced when "explaining collective behavior and social relations by linking them to the structures of the economy and society"; during social history's "triumphant expansion" between the 1950s and the 1980s such explanations were loosely oriented by theories of modernization.[49] Theories of modernity emerged out of criticism of these theories of modernization, considered mechanistic and unnuanced.

1.2. Social Policy and World Ordering Crises in the 1920s and 1930s

As a challenge to discussions of "the discovery of the social" which downplay structural factors and under-investigate modernization processes, in this dissertation I examine topics related to the themes of urbanization, professionalization, and industrialization in order to understand the specificities of interwar Bucharest's welfare provision practices. I place these developments in a global context shaped by emerging forms of transnational gender politics and labor (de)regulation. To sketch the big picture within which I place my case study of Bucharest social provision, I draw on Marxian historical sociology. Factors such as economic inequality and international political hierarchies—central to these accounts—can illuminate the variation in social spending levels,

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[49] Christoph Conrad, "Social History," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 1st ed. (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001), 310.

patterns of urbanization, or the scale of the impact of the Great Depression in an agrarian, export-driven economy such as Romania's.

Yet while using these accounts to pin down the broad global dynamics underpinning interwar welfare policy formation and implementation in Bucharest, I also seek to overcome some of their limitations. I use gender as my main category of analysis, recognize that the transfer and circulation of social knowledge practices was central to the professionalization processes I foreground, and I draw on new insights from the history and sociology of women's work as a way to understand the urban labor precarity and informality that characterized interwar Bucharest's labor market and access to social citizenship. In the following sections, I further detail these conceptual and theoretical choices and outline the broad historical narratives in which they are embedded.

Low social spending and labor informality – the Marxian historical sociology perspective.
Consideration of global economic dynamics and structures of inequality as shapers of nation-states' approaches to social need and risk can deepen scholarly understanding of Eastern Europe in the twentieth century. For this dissertation, my review of studies which focus on these factors provided an analytical language and underscored the gap between political ideal or rhetoric and the limited implementation of welfare-related policies in interwar Romania – amply evidenced by documentary sources but fully absent in the existing historiography.

Marxian structuralist accounts of social policy-making in the twentieth century foreground the indebtedness of domestic social politics to geopolitical calculations. This style of interpretation, unpopular after the 1990s, is being re-evaluated as part of the reconstruction of

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global history as genre.[50] Scholarship in this vein emphasized economic dependence as producing heavy constraints on various polities' space of action concerning social policy. Critical political economy approaches to the creation of welfare states (partially applicable to welfare states' precursors) stressed the inherently contradictory and thus ambivalent (coercive but also life sustaining) character of state social policy in capitalist systems, as well as the importance of global economic competition in their emergence.[51] Recent works on world ordering processes stress that globalization is characterized by dialectics of fixity and flow, nationalization, and multilateralization that governed domestic and international politics after World War I.[52] In this setting, welfare provision in Eastern Europe (and elsewhere) was not only part of nation building, as some scholars of social policy in Romania have suggested.[53] Rather, it was also heavily involved in governments' modulation of state sovereignty in order to "portal globalization" (i.e., to simultaneously enable and control the circulation of people, goods, and ideas across borders).[54]

"Social regulation" (understood as appeasement of social tensions through increased social spending) is a key theme and explanatory device in Marxian historical sociology . Piven and Cloward's much-cited analysis of the distribution of relief and expansion of statutory welfare in

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[50] For a review of the recent return to global history, see Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, "Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization," *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 149–170.

[51] Ian Gough, *The Political Economy of the Welfare State* (London: Macmillan, 1979); Ian Gough, "The Political Economy of the Welfare State Briefly Revisited," *LSE Personal - Prof. Ian Gough* (blog), 2008, http://personal.lse.ac.uk/goughi/PEWS%20revisited%20Greek%20edition.pdf.

[52] Michael Geyer, "Portals of Globalization," in Winfried Eberhard and Christian Lübke, eds., *The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2010), 517–18. Between the late 1800s and the late 1940s, "the elements of a new world order, merging British principles of free trade and multilateral settlement with a corporatist emphasis upon production and capital concentration, took shape in the linkage between American economic nationalism and the restoration of a liberal world economy." Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, "Regimes of World Order: Global Integration and the Production of Difference in Twentieth-Century World History," in Jerry H. Bentley et al., eds., *Interactions. Transregional Perspectives on World History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 223.

[53] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Sergiu Delcea, "The Welfare-State as a Means of Nation-Building in Interwar Romania, 1930–1938," MA thesis, Central European University, 2014.

[54] Geyer, "Portals of Globalization."

the United States during the Great Depression and after argued that in the 1930s, welfare programs were expanded in order to quell social unrest. Piven and Cloward also show, however, that social spending contracted once social tensions declined.[55] They explain that after 1935, the federal and local governments pushed "able-bodied" White men and all African Americans into low-paid wage labor by enforcing welfare eligibility criteria related to disability, morality or residency.[56] Similarly, Charles Maier's account of interwar France, Germany, and Italy argues that the defense of bourgeois hegemony and economic power entailed a corporatist compromise, definable (in Kathleen Canning's formulation) as "a new form of governance, one that conjoined state actors, industrialists, and union representatives in a new enterprise of fostering productivity, stabilizing capitalism, and moderating social claims upon expanding welfare claims."[57] For Maier, the progressive transfer of authority from deliberative parliamentary settings to bureaucratized interest groups and state institutions was rooted in the promise of experts and technical knowledge to create order and thus defuse social tensions.

At the same time, historical sociology studies can help formulate explanations for Eastern European cases only up to a certain point. Discussions of state social policies which stress their disorder- and labor-regulating functions are of limited help for interpreting European semi-periphery case studies precisely because of small levels of interwar social spending[58] and weak, sector-fragmented corporatism, with strong (system-defining) variants institutionalized only briefly.[59] Furthermore, the parsimonious force of Marxian historical sociology explanations often

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[55] Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

[56] Piven and Cloward, *Regulating the Poor*

[57] Kathleen Canning, "Order/Disorder/Reordering: Rereading Charles Maier's *Recasting Bourgeois Europe*," *Contemporanea* 16, no. 3 (2013): 453.

[58] Johannes Jager, Gerhard Melinz, and Susan Zimmermann, *Sozialpolitik in der Peripherie: Entwicklungsmuster und Wandel in Lateinamerika, Afrika, Asien und Osteuropa* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2001).

[59] Antonio Costa Pinto, "Corporatism and 'Organic Representation'in European Dictatorships," in Antonio Costa Pinto, ed., *Corporatism and Fascism: The Corporatist Wave in Europe* (London: Routledge, 2017), 22.

sacrifices nuance and the inclusion of non-institutionalized policy actors (with the exception of organized labor), social provision for "dependents" through non-contributory schemes, and the very international influences and circulations foregrounded by modernity scholars.

The few existing regionally-generalizing historical narratives of social policy in interwar Eastern Europe describe the pre-1929 period on the world's peripheries and especially in Eastern Europe as marked by the industrialized "Core's" orientation towards capital accumulation via liberalized trade.[60] According to the authors of one study from this category, this accumulation trend led to certain regions becoming (further) peripheralized, especially through further incorporation in global capitalist markets, as suppliers of agricultural commodities and occasionally as sites of investments during moments of slump in the core of the capitalist world system.[61] These dynamics constrained available courses of action on social policy in such peripheralized areas. Jäger, Meliz and Zimmermann argue that:

> Colonialism, forms of imperial domination, as well as the […] global, liberal trade regime, […] the gold standard and relatively free circulation of capital were reflected in far-reaching constraints on action possibilities in the economic and social realm [for periphery countries]. This led, by comparison to the Core, to quite fragmentary and especially from the middle of the 1920s quite stagnant social policy developments.[62]

Their account points to fragmentation and stagnation after a period of initial enthusiasm, developments linked to global scale processes. Furthermore, they argue that whereas social policy in "core countries" was publicly defended as device of social integration and stabilization, in peripheralized areas the tendency was to see social policy as simply adding to the costs of production. Consequently, most funds were destined not for social transfers but for social projects with very clear relevance for the organization of production, such as public schooling.[63]

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[60] Jäger, Melinz, and Zimmermann, *Sozialpolitik in der Peripherie*.
[61] Jäger, Melinz, and Zimmermann, 15.
[62] Jäger, Melinz, and Zimmermann.
[63] Jäger, Melinz, and Zimmermann, 18.

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Similar discussions of social policy (usually defined to include only the so-called "contributory" or "universal" schemes, such as social insurance) in Eastern Europe point to their reactionary functions and conservative ideological underpinnings. Attila Melegh shows that many Eastern European states pursued conservative-demographic, nationalist goals as a way of challenging global hierarchies without restructuring local hierarchies.[64] He concludes that as a result, local social policies in several Eastern European states were repressive and ideologically either conservative or fascist. In the region, such repressive social policies were responses to the social problems of displaced peasants.They were also reactions to post–World War I changes in a what Melegh terms a "fragile geopolitical status quo", one which led to the use of biopolitical discourses in the making of claims for territorial revision in international fora.[65]

Social policies in Eastern Europe were underdeveloped due to lukewarm political commitment combined with lack of funds. Jäger, Melinz, and Zimmermann point out that cycles of state social policy expansion on paper had unconvincing concretescopes. They show that in the 1920s, a combination of a feeling of threat from the Russian revolution, labor militancy, and the promotion of social policy convergence through the ILO led to the creation of a broad range of social policies in the region.[66] However, adaptation of social policies during this decade was often discursive, with few funds available for investments. In the 1930s, certain Eastern European states created social security systems. The benefits were limited and only reached well-positioned or qualified employees from industries considered as strategic, unless industrialization had occurred (as in Bohemia) already in the late nineteenth century, producing a critical mass of organized workers.

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[64] Attila Melegh, "Between Global and Local Hierarchies: Population Management in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," *Demográfia* 53, no. 5 (2010): 65.

[65] Melegh, 60–65.

[66] Jäger, Melinz, and Zimmermann, *Sozialpolitik in der Peripherie*.

Certainly, in the same period, states in the region encouraged the development of wage relations (proletarianziation) through various policy measures.[67] Yet the stratum of people employed only or mainly in industrial work remained low; even then, they worked in small manufacturing establishments rather than on large industrial shop floors. Badly regulated, precarious and informal wage labor defined the proletarian experience in interwar Eastern Europe.

The Romanian case fits this broad pattern, as detailed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Welfare provision depended on gendered work - a historicized Social Reproduction Feminism perspective.

Labour informality in agrarian and industrializing economies was widespread. Much of this labour was "feminized" – largely performed by women, often in casualized settings. The frequency and profoundly gendered character of such labour in interwar semi-periphery settings demand an account of social policy development during the period which takes such work into account. Informalized work (be it paid or unpaid, within households or outside them) is crucial for household survival exactly when "monetized income" and "other forms of support (social services, welfare transfers) decline."[68] In contexts such as interwar Bucharest, where economic crises generated male unemployment while relief was limited and so uneven as to not be a reliable resource, informalized women's work kept households afloat.

Besides covering for gaps in state expenses, women's casualized labor allows welfare resources to be directed towards the reproduction of male wage workers. Silvia Federici has pointed out that "women have been the shock absorbers of economic globalization, having had to compensate with their work for the deteriorating economic conditions produced by the

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[67]Jäger, Melinz, and Zimmermann, 17.
[68] V. Spike Peterson, "Rethinking Theory: Inequalities, Informalization and Feminist Quandaries," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 1 (2012): 16.

liberalization of the world economy and the states' […] disinvestment in the reproduction of the workforce."[69] Yet it could be argued further, that women's unapid or paid but casualized and deskilled work not only absorbed the shocks of retrenchment but to an extent, enabled social policy expansion. In the context of interwar Bucharest, as Chapter 2 and 6 will show, women's work essentially subsidized whatever expansion of contributory social policy the state enacted for the benefit of male industrial workers.

In the broader context of the 1930s, women's socially reproductive labor not only defrayed loss of income and reduced social spending, but also functioned to support the expansion of welfare provision during the interwar period, when and where Keynesian measures were finally introduced. For instance, Mariarosa Dalla Costa argues that the American New Deal was a turning point in the integration of women's household work in capitalist production through an overemphasis on the efficiency of household work and the affective quality of social reproduction in working class families, meant to bolster men's access to new types of social rights.[70] In an Eastern European setting, this integration happened under far more exploitative circumstances – as the rest of the thesis will illuminate especially with reference to the case of Bucharest and women working there.

Gender played a part not only in the functioning of social policy, but also in the process of making social policy. The elaboration or local adaptation of needs-related policies was a gendered process. According to Linda Gordon, by the beginning of the twentieth century, men and women social reformers in the United States were part of gendered networks of experts, which shaped

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[69] Silvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle* (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), 108.
[70] Mariarosa Dalla Costa, *Family, Welfare, and the State* (Brooklyn,: Common Notions, 2015).

different parts of the emerging welfare state.[71] Women social reformers consulted on issues related to so-called "non-contributory" programs, whereas male reformers from the same progressive circles shaped male-centric schemes, such as unemployment and accident insurance, in accordance with their own "welfare visions."[72] Although this "two-tracking" of state welfare provision was destabilized by the 1930s, with the ILO looking into creating social policy instruments which would recognize and provide for "women's familial responsibilities,"[73] the gendering of expertise on the social had profound effects on needs-related policy construction in various settings. As I shall show in this dissertation, this was largely due to the circulation of knowledge-making practices among a trans-Atlantic network of experts.

In addition, the types of private or semi-public organizations aiding the needy in addition to, as a substitute for, or alternative to state-organized assistance were overwhelmingly run by women already since the end of the nineteenth century.[74] For the American context, Linda Gordon

[71] Linda Gordon, "Social Insurance and Public Assistance: The Influence of Gender in Welfare Thought in the United States, 1890-1935," *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 1 (1992): 19–54.

[72] Linda Gordon, "Social Insurance and Public Assistance: The Influence of Gender in Welfare Thought in the United States, 1890–1935," *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 1 (1992): 19–54.

[73] Susan Zimmermann, "Equality of Women's Economic Status? A Major Bone of Contention in the International Gender Politics Emerging During the Interwar Period," *The International History Review* 41, no. 1 (2019): 18. See also Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 135–40; Joya Misra, "Women as Agents in Welfare State Development: A Cross-National Analysis of Family Allowance Adoption," *Socio-Economic Review* 1, no. 2 (2003): 185–214.

[74] The literature on women as social reformers, welfare activists, and welfare providers is voluminous, for the European and North American context. Key titles and review articles include Linda Gordon, ed., *Women, the State, and Welfare* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012); Valerie Fildes, Lara Marks, and Hilary Marland, eds., *Women and Children First: International Maternal and Infant Welfare, 1870–1945* (London: Routledge, 2013); Gisela Bock and Patricia Thane, *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s* (London: Routledge, 2012); Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar, eds., *Women and Social Reform in Modern India: A Reader* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century US History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Jane Lewis, "Gender and Welfare in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Anne Digby and John Stewart, eds., *Gender, Health and Welfare* (London: Routledge, 2015), 218–238; Lynne A. Haney, "Engendering the Welfare State. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 4 (1998): 748–767; Maria DiCenzo and Alexis Motuz, "Politicizing the Home: Welfare Feminism and the Feminist Press in Interwar Britain," *Women: A Cultural Review* 27, no. 4 (2016): 378–96; Rima D. Apple and Joyce Coleman, "'As Members of the Social Whole': A History of Social Reform as a Focus of Home

has used the term "women welfare activists" to describe the women coming from diverse social backgrounds, who between 1890 and 1945, as members of philanthropic groups, social movements, or as professionals; within formal, non-formal, and informal settings; and through a variety of practices, advocated for broader public concern with questions of social need or pushed for the expansion of specific social policies.[75] The term captures the way in which women's welfare activism was, by the interwar, a world of its own—a field within which certified and lay women experts cooperated and struggled around issues concerning the politics and policies of social need and vulnerability. In this dissertation, I use "women welfare activists" as a general term for women preoccupied with social reform and welfare provision. Within this category, ethnicity, class, ideology, educational attainment, transnational affiliation, contextual policy positionings, or short-term loyalties produced significant divisions. Not least, as Linda Gordon and Mimi Abramovitz point out, the regulation through welfare provisions is enacted in profoundly gendered ways.[76]

Urban (public and private) social assistance was significant in (semi) peripheries – a global welfare history perspective.

The narrative of deficient, regressive social policy in the region can be nuanced by paying attention to the social assistance (or otherwise non-contributory relief) component of social policy. The social science scholarship on welfare states tends to associate social policy with employment-

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Economics, 1895–1940," *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal* 32, no. 2 (2003): 104–126. Recently, the literature on gender and welfare in Central and Eastern Europe before World War II has also seen growth. For the most recent examples, see, for instance, Fabio Giomi and Stefano Petrungaro, "Voluntary Associations, State, and Gender in Interwar Yugoslavia: An Introduction," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 26, no. 1 (2019): 1–18; Morgane Labbé, "De la philanthropie à la protection sociale en Europe Centrale et du Sud-Est (fin du XIXe siècle - entre-deux-guerres)," *Revue d'histoire de La Protection Sociale* 11, no. 1 (2018): 13–22.
[75] Linda Gordon, "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890–1945," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 2 (1991): 559–590.
[76] Linda Gordon, "What Does Welfare Regulate?," *Social Research* 55, no. 4 (1988): 609–630; Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2017).

related benefits - a tendency rooted in what V. Spike-Peterson has branded the "masculinist" and "positivist" heritage in research on global inequality[77]. However, such programs actually existed, particularly in the interwar period, on a continuum of more-or-less expansive publicly recognized methods of addressing need and poverty. This continuum included, besides social insurance and other contributory schemes, social reform initiatives and public and private social assistance.[78] Also, these eclectic measures for dealing with need were coupled with repression and ignorance of need.[79]

So-called "non-statutory assistance schemes" were particularly important for dealing with need and perceived social issues during periods of accelerated urbanization. Yet in 1942, the International Labour Office defined social assistance as "a service or scheme which provides benefits to persons of small means granted as of rights in amounts sufficient to meet minimum standards of need and financed from taxation."[80] This definition's emphasis on the formalization and public financing of these schemes downplays the rooting of what was by then "public social assistance" in poverty policy. "Poverty policy" is made up of all schemes addressing dire need, whether funded, recognized or endorsed by government authorities or not. Twentieth century publicly funded or publicly-endorsed social assistance took over some of the traditional clients of poverty policy. Historically, European poverty policy was frequently repressive, highly diverse, and fragmented.[81] The ILO's statist postwar definition also obscures the significant contribution to

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[77] Peterson, "Rethinking Theory."

[78] As proposed by Susan Zimmermann, this "integrative perspective" on "needs-related policy" highlights that "social reform itself was, alongside poverty policy and social policy (i.e., labor protection and social insurance), only one of the three large policy areas contemporarily considered destined to deal with social need and social risk." Susan Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide, and Rule: An Integrative History of Poverty Policy, Social Policy, and Social Reform in Hungary under the Habsburg Monarchy* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 1.

[79] Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide and Rule*.

[80] International Labour Office, *Approaches to Social Security* (Montreal: ILO, 1942), 84, quoted in James Midgley, "Poor Law Principles and Social Assistance in the Third World: A Study of the Perpetuation of Colonial Welfare," *International Social Work* 27, no. 1 (1984): 19.

[81] Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide, and Rule*.

public schemes made by private actors and institutions up until that point. From the eighteenth century on, philanthropic, charitable, mutual assistance, or social reform associations were some of the types of organizations involved in both religiously and secularly motivated forms of charity and provision for the poor, dealing with both "indoor relief" (running institutions addressing various categories of need) and "outdoor relief" (providing aid to people in other settings, such as people's homes).

Case studies on semi-periphery agrarian states underscore the historical importance of such non-statutory (i.e., not fully legislated on or formalized) schemes of public assistance. Research on late nineteenth century Hungary and twentieth century Argentina suggest that such private involvement (often subsidized by the state) was highly significant in dealing with poverty and need exactly in those circumstances where state funds were limited.[82] According to Donna Guy, in the early 1950s, the celebrated Peronist welfare state was built precisely around the interwar social policies "that [had] offered a disjointed but rather effective edifice comprised of national subsidies to philanthropic groups."[83] As I argue especially in Chapters 2 and 3, the sheer effectiveness of the disjointed philanthropic initiatives sustained by women and subsidized by the state in interwar Bucharest is difficult to assess. Nevertheless, similarly to Buenos Aires, within the Romanian capital city, so-called "private initiative" associations provided a degree of coverage and raised public awareness about working-class urban poverty. These associations' and their promoters' involvement affected poverty relief (in positive and negative, inclusionary and exclusionary ways) to an extent comparable to the coverage of other, even less developed branches of social policy in the country, such as contributory social insurance.

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[82] Zimmermann, 11; Donna J. Guy, *Women Build the Welfare State: Performing Charity and Creating Rights in Argentina, 1880–1955* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 6.
[83] Guy, *Women Build the Welfare State*, 6.

In the broader European context, what were the main features of modern assistance for the needy before the 1940s? In the (many) areas of the world influenced by English Benthamist Liberalism, from the middle of the nineteenth century, poverty policy was designed to "deter the needy from seeking welfare and coercing them to maintain themselves through their own efforts."[84] Such minimalism often merged with Christian principles of charity or other ideological tenets, depending on local political cultures.

Among the early poverty policy practices, associated with (but not exclusive to) English Poor Laws, that circulated globally and proved durable were: the incarceration of the neediest and the disabled, insistence on any existing relatives assuming responsibility for someone devoid of means, devolution of responsibility to individual local governments, practices of expulsion to (usually rural) localities of origin in order to reduce social spending in large cities, punishments for vagrancy, and various morality-related criteria.[85] In the twentieth century, eligibility criteria such as proof of absolute destitution (termed a "pauperism certificate [certificat de paupertate]" in Bucharest), evidence of inability to work, of dependent children or single-parenthood, as well as more insidious respectability related criteria were increasingly frequent.

At the same time, the end of the nineteenth century also saw the emergence of various reformist currents pushing for less harsh conceptions of poverty, within Europe and beyond. Among others, the rise of labor politics and "the concern for facts and rationalization mixed up with a counteracting moral sensibility"[86] led to changes in practices of welfare provision, especially

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[84] Midgley, "Poor Law Principles," 21.
[85] Midgley., 20–25; Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide, and Rule*, 7–12.
[86] Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales, and Katherine K. Sklar, *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 11.

as social action became linked to social investigation, which tended to interpret poverty as both moral predicament and macroeconomic phenomenon.[87]

By the 1920s, the types of aid provided as part of public or private assistance to those helped outside institutions in Europe and beyond included: monetary benefits (usually modest), food parcels or clothing, aid towards the payment of rents or children's schooling, coverage of medical costs, and "means tested old age pensions."[88] As I will show in the following chapters, all these types of aid were granted to those deemed needy in Bucharest during the interwar, with firewood (essentially an in-kind winter-time heating aid) most systematically offered among these. Frequently, benefits were granted on a temporary basis. And, by the middle of the 1930s, benefits were accompanied by caseworkers who provided advice. Or, absent social assistants or home visitors, aid went hand in hand with other practices of reforming the poor.[89]

Besides the disciplinary, reform-focused tactics incorporated in social assistance in the twentieth century, elements of older, repression-focused "poverty policy", typical of the first half of the nineteenth century, were maintained. Susan Zimmermann argues that poverty policy in late nineteenth century Hungary was characterized not only by state or philanthropic interventionism but also by more brutal practices than in the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy. The criminalization of poverty (through the punishment of vagrancy and prostitution, or the use of expulsion to a poor person's domicile locality), the willful ignoring or downplaying of poverty, and great unevenness among cities in the interpretation of statutory assistance rules, generating administrative arbitrariness were applied in Budapest to a degree no longer practiced in Vienna. As such, in Hungary (the poorer kingdom of dualist Austria-Hungary) "local variation

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[87] Bulmer, Bales and Sklar, 17–19.
[88] Midgley, "Poor Law Principles," 24.
[89] Midgley, 25.

notwithstanding, low levels of public provision, ignorance of need, and a focus on 'doing away' with and criminalizing the visible signs of neediness seem to have prevailed everywhere."[90] At different points in time, as the following chapters clarify, practices addressing need in interwar Bucharest exhibited similar features.

To gather together the points made above and turn them into an interpretative frame for interwar Bucharest: need-related policies and practices should not be conceived as significantly transformed by modernist knowledge transfers and circulation, but rather as changing in response to political pressure and economic constraint. A composite image of welfare provision in Eastern Europe which can adequately steer or nuance interpretation of social policy (defined here as including all contributory and non-contributory programs, public as well as private [whether publicly subsidized or not], responding to publicly-constructed notions of "need") as functioning in the specific case of interwar Bucharest must therefore include: the wavering political commitment to and limited implementation of contributory schemes, visible in low coverage and small levels of public spending; the co-existence of innovative, ambitious schemes with older poverty policy practices (including criminalization of the poor and use of police to deal with poverty); the important role played by local, civil society welfare providers (involving mostly women) and their receipt of state subsidies; the co-existence of a tendency to assume public responsibility for certain forms of need with a trend to ignore, downplay, redefine, or simply remove other forms of need from sight; and the frequently temporary, in kind nature of public assistance aid, conditioned by inability to work or the existence of dependent children.

In the following two sections, I add additional layers to the interpretation frame outlined above, first by reviewing historiographical contributions focusing on the gendered politics of social

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[90] Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide, and Rule*, 5.

expertise (emphasizing its municipal and transnational features). In order to create a conceptual frame which can illuminate how women were incorporated into social policy in Bucharest in the 1920s and the 1930s, in I then review studies on the patterning of women's paid and unpaid work in Europe and North America, focusing on the feminization of subsistence work during economic crises. The production and circulation of knowledge and the economics of women's work represent the main dynamic forces (or otherwise, this dissertation's key explanatory elements) for the politics of need in interwar Bucharest.

1.3. Transnational Expertise and Urban Social Knowledge-Making Practices

The construction of "the social" as a domain and the production of knowledge linked to this domain were profoundly gendered. Studies in the sociology of professions underscore that the authority to name and intervene upon social problems depends on the recognition of peers and formal processes of credentialing.[91] Bourdieu's take on the sociology of knowledge explains that within more or less autonomous fields of cultural production, hierarchically ordered positions are struggled over between agents in dominant and subordinate positions, in order to conserve the rules of the field or transform them.[92] According to Eyal and Buchholz, particular intellectual fields are therefore "relatively autonomous arenas of struggle which give rise to field-specific yet internally (differing) affiliations, alliances, and oppositions," characterized by a "dynamic of competition for recognition among peers."[93] Historians of women in the professions have shown how, especially within sociology and social research, these dynamics of competition, as well as the twentieth

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[91] Gil Eyal, "For a Sociology of Expertise: The Social Origins of the Autism Epidemic," *American Journal of Sociology* 118, no. 4 (2013): 870.

[92] Charles Camic, "Bourdieu's Two Sociologies of Knowledge," in Phillip S. Gorski, ed., *Bourdieu and Historical Analysis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 186.

[93] Gil Eyal and Larissa Buchholz, "From the Sociology of Intellectuals to the Sociology of Interventions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010): 124.

century institutionalization and increasing political influence of sociology spelled the exclusion of women, despite women's initial prominence and pioneering role in researching the social.[94]

For the Romanian case, Theodora-Eliza Văcărescu's work has brought to the surface identical patterns to those spotlighted by feminist historians of the social sciences writing on American and British contexts. Văcărescu argues that the institutionalization of interwar sociology rested on the marginalization and exclusion from academic positions of women social researchers.[95] Similarly, Maria Bucur has pointed out that institutionalized philosophy in Romania also functioned with gender as principle of division and hierarchization.[96]

In this dissertation, I build upon Văcărescu's and Bucur's work to show that the marginalization of social investigators Veturia Mănuilă, Xenia Costa-Foru or Sanda Golopenția from positions in Romanian universities led to their gathering as teachers and researchers at the Superior School of Social Assistance (SSAS). The School was a higher-education social work institution founded in 1929 (with courses beginning in earnest in Bucharest in 1930). I argue that marginalization created a gendered focus on urban social investigation—as the domain of lesser interest, urban sociology was assigned to women, while male sociologists in Romania built their

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[94] Patricia Madoo Lengermann and Gillian Niebrugge, *The Women Founders: Sociology and Social Theory 1830–1930: A Text/Reader* (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2006), 1–21; Michael Seltzer and Marit Haldar, "The Other Chicago School: A Sociological Tradition Expropriated and Erased," *Nordic Social Work Research* 5, no. 1 (2015): 25–41; Jennifer Platt, "'Acting as a Switchboard': Mrs. Ethel Sturges Dummer's Role in Sociology," *The American Sociologist* 23, no. 3 (1992): 23–36.

[95] Theodora-Eliza Văcărescu, "Coopter et écarter. Les femmes dans la recherche sociologique et l'intervention sociale dans la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres," *Les Études Sociales*, nos. 1–2 (2011): 109–142.

[96] "The philosopher Alice Voinescu (1885–1961) trained at the Sorbonne and then Oxford. Though Voinescu's credentials surpassed those of many of her male colleagues, she never received a position at any of Romania's prestigious universities. Instead, relegated to a second-rate post at the Bucharest Conservatory, where there were no majors in philosophy, she taught history, theater, and aesthetics rather than philosophy." Maria Bucur and Mihaela Miroiu, *Birth of Democratic Citizenship: Women and Power in Modern Romania* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 28.

reputation and accumulated prestige through involvement in large-scale, rural ethnographic research on the "true social question" in the country, the condition of the peasantry.[97]

More recently, the sociology of knowledge has expanded beyond the "problematic of [experts'] allegiances," towards a focus on social knowledge-making practices, based on the assumption that "experts and expertise are not reducible to one another and require two distinct, though combinable modes of analysis."[98] Such a sociology of social knowledge-making practices entails inquiry into the genres, modalities, and discursive forms practiced by different cultural producers as part of their public interventions. It conceives of expertise less as an output than as a property of "a whole network that needs to be put into motion for a statement to hold up, circulate, and produce effects."[99] In this vein, according to Nikolas Rose, expertise can be defined as "a particular kind of *authority*, characteristically deployed around *problems*, exercising a certain *diagnostic* gaze, grounded in a claim to *truth*, asserting technical *efficacy*, and avowing *humane* ethical virtues."[100] Similarly, historian of social policy Bénédicte Zimmermann proposes a method of understanding the "constitution of categories of public action" (a process which includes but is not limited to the historical construction of social policies) that entails an analysis of: the definitional activities through which new social problems emerge; the work of political translation

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[97] Numerous studies have been devoted to the beginning of sociology in Romania, its institutionalization, and key male figures and their contemporary allegiances, methods, and theories. The most significant volumes on the topic include Zoltán Rostás, *O istorie orală a Școlii Sociologice de la București* [An Oral history of the Bucharest Sociological School] (Bucharest: Editura Printech, 2001); Zoltán Rostás, *Sala luminoasă: Primii monografişti ai Școlii gustiene* [The luminous room: The first monographists of the Gustian School] (Bucharest: Paideia, 2003); Zoltán Rostás, *Parcurs întrerupt: Discipoli din anii '30 ai Școlii gustiene* [Interrupted path: Disciples of the Gustian School in the 1930s] (Bucharest: Paideia, 2006); Antonio Momoc, *Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice: Școala gustiană între carlism şi legionarism* [The political traps of interwar sociology: The Gustian school between Carlism and legionarism] (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2012).

[98] Eyal and Buchholz, "From the Sociology of Intellectuals to the Sociology of Interventions," 117; Eyal, "For a Sociology of Expertise," 870.

[99] Eyal and Buchholz, "From the Sociology of Intellectuals to the Sociology of Interventions," 127, 129.

[100] Nikolas Rose, "Engineering the Human Soul: Analyzing Psychological Expertise," *Science in Context* 5, no. 2 (1992): 356.

which shapes their adoption by public powers; and the cognitive and administrative techniques which "produce a generality after starting from a collection of singular cases."[101]

In this dissertation, I take up Rose and Zimmermann's implicit methodological propositions by looking at how networks of women experts contributed through their involvement in welfare politics to the constitution of categories of public and civic action revolving around working class women's productive and reproductive household work.

Experts' interventions are mediated by the agentic effects produced by instruments such as "material devices, accounting tools, […] formulas."[102] In fact, statistical sorting procedures – for instance - create categories, to such an extent, Wobbe and Renard reveal, that "the establishment of the occupational statistics itself poses a structural turning point for the gendered coding of home and work around 1900."[103] Yet Camic, Gross and Lamont underscore that in social science-making such "taken-for-granted routines", tools and formulas, as well as "open sets of non-regularized actions", refer not only to traditional intellectual practices such as reading, writing, debating, or statistical coding—as traditional approaches in the sociology of knowledge implied via their focus on academics. They also entail other, sensuous, quotidian, social practices. These everyday practices, albeit underinvestigated, shape knowledge making to a great extent too.[104]

As mentioned before, the current state of the art in the sociology of knowledge recognizes that social knowledge-making is constituted or mediated by specific, seemingly mundane practices occurring in locations other than university halls or offices. This turn toward knowledge-making

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[101] Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Eléments pour une socio-histoire des catégories de l'action publique," in Pascale Laborier and Danny Trom, eds., *Historicités de l'action publique* (Paris: PUF, 2003), 241–58.

[102] Charles Camic, Neil Gross, and Michèle Lamont, "The Study of Social Knowledge-Making," in Charles Camic, Neil Gross, and Michèle Lamont, eds., *Social Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 3; Eyal and Buchholz, "From the Sociology of Intellectuals to the Sociology of Interventions," 130.

[103] Theresa Wobbe and Léa Renard, "The Category of 'Family Workers' in International Labour Organization Statistics (1930s–1980s): A Contribution to the Study of Globalized Gendered Boundaries between Household and Market," *Journal of Global History* 12, no. 3 (2017): 341.

[104] Camic, Gross, and Lamont, "The Study of Social Knowledge-Making," 9.

beyond universities and laboratories enabled greater scholarly attention to the production of authoritative social knowledge by professionals working outside the academy. The field is increasingly interested in mechanisms for the construction of "lay expertise."[105]

The reification of the social knowledge-making practices associated with professional intellectuals is glaring in the hefty historiography of "debates on development" in interwar Romania. By positing an agonistic character to what were only rarely immediately polemical interventions, this historiographical genre passes a most classical style of intellectual history for a social history of intellectuals, modernization etc. Older and newer contributions discuss select public intellectuals' views on overcoming economic underdevelopment or dependency, usually through side-by-side discussions of book-length writings, with little interest for these volumes' social conditions of production or contemporary reception.[106]

There exists a significant link between the consecration of a certain kind of gendered social knowledge-making practices and the creation of welfare states.Linda Gordon contrasts the writings of US-based social work and respectively social insurance advocates:

> [Social workers] used narrative and cited cases far more often than the social insurance advocates did. Their stories were sometimes sentimental, and their audiences were different: social insurance advocates were more often writing academic texts or reports, while social workers were addressing the general public, hoping to move their listeners and readers and thereby persuade them.[…]Social insurance writing usually addressed incidences of illness, injury or death, costs of various systems, administrative arrangements, or the impact of insurance on economic incentives. These choices of topic

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[105] Eyal and Buchholz, "From the Sociology of Intellectuals to the Sociology of Interventions," 129; Camic, Gross, and Lamont, "The Study of Social Knowledge-Making," 5; Steven Epstein, "The Construction of Lay Expertise: AIDS Activism and the Forging of Credibility in the Reform of Clinical Trials," *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 20, no. 4 (1995): 408–437.

[106] Kenneth Jowitt, *Social Change in Romania, 1860–1940: A Debate on Development in a European Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Daniel Chirot, "Ideology, Reality, and Competing Models of Development in Eastern Europe Between the Two World Wars," *East European Politics and Societies* 3, no. 3 (1989): 378–411; Keith Hitchins, *Romania, 1866–1947* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Manuela Boatcă, "Peripheral Solutions to Peripheral Development: The Case of Early 20th Century Romania," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 11, no. 1 (2005): 3–26; Victor Rizescu, *Ideology, Nation, and Modernization: Romanian Developments in Theoretical Frameworks* (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2013); Ion Matei Costinescu, "Interwar Romania and the Greening of the Iron Cage: The Biopolitics of Dimitrie Gusti, Virgil Madgearu, Mihail Manoilescu, and Ștefan Zeletin," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 24, no. 1 (2018): 151–187.

> grew in part from the goal of persuading politicians and scholars of a new method of distribution of provision, while the social workers were defending a traditional form of aid.[107]

Notably, here, Gordon points out that social knowledge-making practices gained a gendered dimension during the set-up of the American welfare state. She emphasizes that different ways of producing knowledge and of performing expertise characterized the men- respectively the women-dominated insurance and social assistance programs created during the New Deal.

In this dissertation I build on Bénédicte Zimmermann's and Linda Gordon's insights on the gendering and marginalization of practices that are in fact central to social knowledge-making. I will show how in interwar Bucharest social knowledge makers do much of their thinking through intensely sensuous practices: walking through muddy streets, filling in social assistance casework sheets, measuring and weighing children, listening to people's accounts of their situations, reacting to petitions describing need. This itinerant, aural, and olfactive quality of thinking and its link to social intervention influenced how women social researchers theorized the social and social research, through an emphasis on intimacy and intimacy work. I will also point out how this type of work was used against women social researchers, who - because of the labor-intensive and applied nature of this work – could be   dismissed as "diligent data collectors."

A historical perspective underscores that individuals' and social movements' need to attain scientific credibility when working outside institutions recognized as legitimate is—particularly with regard to knowledge on social issues—a twentieth century phenomenon. This dissertation supports the claim that the interwar period was marked by the efforts of previously credible "lay

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[107] Gordon, "Social Insurance and Public Assistance," 30–31.

experts" (such as non-credentialed women social investigators and social reformers) to have their authority recognized and valued politically.[108]

Interwar municipalism, social politics and expertise.

By the end of the First World War, the social sciences had largely stabilized their key concerns and techniques.[109] At the same time, "social scientists" did not yet belong to a discipline or profession. They were part of the knowledges which in Daniel Horn's definition "identified the social domain as their object. These included not only anthropology and sociology, but also demography and urbanism, and such hybrid fields as social hygiene and social medicine, the goals of which were to diagnose, cure, and prevent diseases that threatened the 'social body.'"[110] In Horn's account, at this point the social sciences could claim to be part of the discourses widely accepted as authoritative—termed by Mitchell Dean "veridical discourses."[111] In Europe, the interwar was also the moment when relatively new techniques, such as "censuses, principles of urban planning, models of public housing, social work techniques" advocated by municipalists were seriously taken up by administrators.[112]

Pierre-Yves Saunier points out how in that historical conjuncture the urban and processes at the urban scale became unusually important for the debate on "the European world order" and the meaning of universalism.[113] Stephane van Damme argues that "the regime of knowledge of

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[108] Pat Thane, "Visions of Gender in the Making of the British Welfare State: The Case of Women in the British Labour Party and Social Policy, 1906–1945," in Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, eds., *Maternity and Gender Policies*, 93–118.
[109] David G. Horn, *Social Bodies: Science, Reproduction, and Italian Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 7.
[110] Horn, 6.
[111] Mitchell Dean, *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a Genealogy of Liberal Governance* (London: Routledge, 1991), 216.
[112] Horn, 8.
[113] Saunier, 512.

expertise became dependent on institutions of urban power" and on capital cities as scenes for the production of norms, as veritable "tribunals of knowledge" due to the multiplication of affairs and polemics which enabled "central scientific institutions to judge and define good science."[114] Having appeared in the eighteenth century, the link between (capital) cities and knowledge production gained an additional, transnational dimension after the First World War, through the circulation of expert knowledges in what Saunier termed "the transnational municipal moment."[115]

After the First World War, three political currents were particularly influential in constructing a city-centric point of view in international politics. Socialists, those subscribing to the epoch's brand of political technocratism ("the reform current") and American democratic liberals ("the progressives") turned "the municipal" into a protean notion. In their views, "the municipal" easily fused politics, science, and social assistance. Interwar municipalism thus comprised "not only municipalities as such but also the idea of 'the municipal' as a field of research—the population, policies, and administrative methods to be found in municipalities."[116] These transnationally-oriented municipal currents added to the ideological diversity already shaping urban social reform in different countries. For example, socialists, feminists, and Christian democrats were active reformers in major cities in both Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany.[117]

Some of these currents changed labels or declined after the Second World War. The "reform" and "progressives" were the most notable virtual disappearances, folded into Western

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[114] Stephane Van Damme, "Expertise in Capital Cities," in Christelle Rabier, ed., *Fields of Expertise: A Comparative History of Expert Procedures in Paris and London,1600 to Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), xv–xvi.

[115] Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Taking up the Bet on Connections: A Municipal Contribution," *Contemporary European History* 11, no. 4 (2002): 516.

[116] Saunier.

[117] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50; Dennis Sweeney, "Reconsidering the Modernity Paradigm: Reform Movements, the Social, and the State in Wilhelmine Germany," *Social History* 31, no. 4 (2006): 405–434.

postwar technocratism or sidelined by Cold War polarization. They are now often unrecognizable as distinct strands of political thought. This is especially so in historiographies on or from the former "Eastern Block". In that space, the development and history of these reformist currents was decisively interrupted by the switch to regimes where they served as past foes and foils for rapid catch-up development ideologies. It is important to reconstruct the impact of these currents to fully reconstruct the political and social history of the period. In this dissertation, especially in chapters 3, 5 and 6, I uncover the influence of such interwar-specific currents on domestic and international politics in Romania placed in transnational context.

Regardless of experts' internationalist enthusiasm, cities were connected to and constrained by national level politics and policies in important ways. In Europe, in places where a French-style of local administration was adopted (as was the case of Bucharest), municipal administrations had seemingly less autonomy and were more highly politicized than in many German or English cities, which had strong traditions of urban self-government.[118] On the other hand, bureaucrats in Europe had considerable space of action within the limits created by national statutes and guidelines. Local bureaucrats contributed to shaping these limits and national policies, with municipal practices and institutions frequently becoming national ones. Sometimes, municipal administrations recognized and sought to deal with social problems that national-level administrations could not and did not want to see, among which rapid urbanization or rising unemployment.[119] Chapters 2 and 4 recreate the functioning of the municipal welfare bureaucracy in Bucharest, thus addressing a significant gap in the urban historiography of Romania as well as in the history of women's activism and professionalization after the First World War.

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[118] Michèle Dagenais, I. E. Maver, and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *Municipal Services and Employees in the Modern City: New Historical Approaches* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 3.

[119] Zimmermann, "Eléments pour une socio-histoire des catégories de l'action publique," 84.

In the twentieth century, the tensions between expertise and democratization increased within city administrations, as the social and technical sciences gained prestige and suffrage was expanded.[120] In this dissertation, I detail how in this context, women involved in social knowledge-making in municipal settings (be it as long-time charity workers, social reformers, local politicians, or a first generation of university-educated professionals) became both pressed and drawn into asserting their legitimacy as experts on social issues and towards formalizing their knowledge.

The historiography of gender and social reform discusses several types of strategies pursued by women seeking to gain public authority. Four among these strategies were of key importance: 1) the claiming of authoritative knowledge about experiences specific to women; 2) claiming the legitimacy to speak authoritatively about women as a social group, but especially about working class women as a sub-group; 3) invoking the recognition received in international fora to gain power in domestic politics, and vice-versa; 4) invoking a long tradition of women's involvement in charity in urban settings so as to be allowed to play new roles in the changed social policy landscape of post-1918.

With regard to the first strategy, Anne Epstein argues that between 1900 and 1918, France saw the emergence of "feminine/womanly expertise"—a claim to authority accessible to socially active women, who could now become recognized as non-academic authorities on all issues relating to women and "the feminine life cycle," as well as childcare.[121] By 1910, feminism as political current and the "woman question" had become part of the topics associated with such "feminine expertise."[122] Epstein explains that the consecration of "feminine expertise" was made

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[120] Dagenais, Maver, and Saunier, *Municipal Services and Employees in the Modern City*, 5.

[121] Epstein defines the initial areas of "feminine expertise" as "being female and the female life course (including maternity and childbirth); educating children, caring for the family, and managing a household, the traditional social and civic functions of the Republican mother; and female vocations such as teaching, social work, nursing, moral reform, and philanthropy." Anne R. Epstein, "Gender and the Rise of the Female Expert during the Belle Époque," *Histoire@Politique*, no. 14 (2011): 84.

[122] Epstein, 84.

possible by the increasing weight of professional and scientific credentials, globally, coupled with the growing preoccupation of post-Dreyfus Affair liberal intellectuals in France for women's issues, gender relations, and social welfare. [123]

Secondly, in the same 1900-1920 period, women who were involved in social investigation and social reform movements could also assert themselves as experts by designating about whom they could or should speak authoritatively. In a pioneering essay on the production of "women" as category of social action linked to feminism as political movement in the British context, Denise Riley argued that after the First World War, "this new production of 'the social' offered a magnificent occasion for the rehabilitation of [the declining political category] 'women.' In its very founding conceptions, [the social] was feminised; in its detail, it provided the chances for some women to enter upon the work of restoring other, more damaged, women to a newly conceived sphere of grace."[124] In her reading, the growing public interest for social issues writ large neutralized feminist political claims; social research on women was, in Britain, a way to keep gendered categories visible and legitimate, partly by reconfiguring how progressive women related to class. Consequently, in Riley's interpretation,

> "The working-class woman" is a strange hybrid. How she stood in relation to both feminism and concepts of class became more obscure as sociology and social policy after the First World War became differently concentrated upon her. [...] "Working-class women" entered the [post 1918] housing debates not only as somewhat tarnished domestic angels, but also as the points where "society" could best endeavor to meet the threatening and threatened class in its intimate form.[125]

This interpretation by Riley recreates the arc of transition from women's lay expertise to formalized social sciences. Significantly, the author links this shift in knowledge production

[123] Epstein, 85.
[124] Denise Riley, *"Am I That Name?": Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1988), 48.
[125] Riley, 57.

categories to the trajectory of British feminism after the gaining of partial suffrage. And most importantly, Riley ties the transformation (or reinvention) of a certain type of feminist militancy to the production of knowledge about working class families – "the threatening and threatened class in its intimate form". In the chapters that follow, I reconstruct a similar trajectory for the political (re)alignments of feminists and a generation of professioanlising middle-class, privileged women in Romania. They too benefitted from changes brought about by international feminist activism. However, throughout, I will also be pointing to the differences engendered by a different regional context – among others.

Thirdly, expertise could be translated between municipal, national and transnational scales. Women seeking public recognition availed themselves of such conversion strategies. In the French case, "feminine expertise" manufactured at home became a form of social capital once international congresses and publications on social issues began to multiply at the end of the nineteenth century, constructing the space of transnational social reform.[126] After the creation of large organizations that consecrated social reform questions as matters of international security and peace, "feminine expertise" constituted bona fide professional expertise, despite bringing practitioners a lesser type of prestige because of its feminized character and not always academically credentialed practitioners.

Fourthly, some women could ask to be heard on social issues by invoking a history of municipal social involvement. Discussing the case of welfare provision in Buenos Aires, Donna Guy argues that the interwar period was one of transition, from the dominance of women's and religious charities in urban social reform towards the heightened authority on social welfare issues

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[126] Epstein, "Gender and the Rise of the Female Expert"; Kathryn Kish Sklar, Anja Schüler, and Susan Strasser, eds., *Social Justice Feminists in the United States and Germany: A Dialogue in Documents, 1885–1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

of women who were credentialed professionals, bureaucrats, or recognized internationally as activists on social issues.[127] Because both formally qualified and non-formally experienced women involved in social reform and welfare provision were marginalized in the fields of politics and among cultural producers, they often (but not always) struggled with each other in order to gain entry. I unpack these conflicts in the body of this dissertation and trace their significance for social policy-making in Bucharest.

1.4. Patterns of Women's Work: Paid, Unpaid, Productive, and Socially Reproductive Labor and the Complications of Intimacy

Social research on women's work as part of expert-status construction.

Interwar women researchers' interlinked social research and welfare provision practices focused on understanding changes in patterns of women's employment outside the home. This relatively progressive focus built on, at that time, a century of alarmed social reform preoccupation for the issue of women's work outside the home. With increasing frequency since the nineteenth century, public discourse and scholarly research portrayed familial intimacy and women's paid work in a tense relation.[128] In the 1830s, such alarmed discourses culturally enabled industrial employers continued low spending on benefits. Thus, according to Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, "by incorporating views about women's supposedly natural, exclusively reproductive role into economic arrangements, [industrial period] employers made those roles seem inevitable, leaving it to individual families to solve the (social) problem of reproduction and childcare."[129] However,

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[127] Guy, *Women Build the Welfare State*.

[128] Joan Wallach Scott, "'L'ouvrière, Mot Impie, Sordide': Women Workers in the Discourse of French Political Economy, 1840–1860," in Patrick Joyce, ed., *The Historical Meanings of Work* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 119–42; Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 126–69.

[129] Louise A Tilly and Joan Wallach Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (London: Routledge, 1987), 8.

by the 1860s, alarmist metaphoric representations equating "factory women" with misery and sexual debauchery were replaced with a conceptual vocabulary increasingly reliant on the "act of observation" and the "complexity of concrete details," while still participating in a gendered moralizing discourse.[130]

But in many settings, it was not until the 1930s that authoritative researchers did complex surveys on women's employment and working women's living conditions. For instance, until the 1930s, statistics of women's employment that discussed several variables were hard to come by. Certainly, numbers on women's basic employment patterns in France and England existed since the 1850s.[131] Yet in 1931, Madeleine Thibert, the woman who would become a lead investigator of the International Labour Office, working through the Correspondence Committee on Women's Work, complained in a personal letter that: "There has been so little research on the organization of work and related issues in [France] that I really can't think of any qualified public figure to suggest, while in Germany 10 or 15 names come to mind immediately."[132] I show in this dissertation that solid research on women's work outside the home in Romania emerged and quickly multiplied as part of such transnational dynamics from the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century on. The clearest circulation channels were between Romania and Germany, Geneva (as the seat of the ILO and the League of Nations) and the United States of America (and experiments in community-based welfare provision there), respectively.

Once international organizations such as the ILO encouraged the process of corroborating small-scale data (through the collection of statistics from multiple settings and attempting

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[130] Wallach Scott, "'L'ouvrière, Mot Impie, Sordide,'" 141.
[131] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 68.
[132] Quoted in Françoise Thébaud, "Difficult Inroads, Unexpected Results: The Correspondence Committee on Women's Work in the 1930s," in Eileen Boris, Dorothea Hoehtker, and Susan Zimmerman, eds., *Women's ILO: Transnational Networks, Global Labour Standards, and Gender Equity, 1919 to Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 95.

international comparison), the association of women's waged work with questions of intimacy, its quality, quantity, and (re)production within the heterosexual family/household economy also increased. Differences in the timing of investigations on women's work were tied to country and regional variation in women's visibility in the formal labor force and the type of wage labor they engaged in.

Modern patterns of women's work.

What were the early international studies on women's work likely to find out? A composite picture of women's patterns of involvement in paid and unpaid, productive and socially reproductive work, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Global North has in its foreground the persistence of elements of the pre-industrial or otherwise agrarian household economy in urban industrializing settings. According to Tilly and Scott, "the family wage economy which had characterized the family organization of propertyless people in the past became an increasingly common form of family organization among the working classes."[133] This entailed a gendered division of labor between wage earning outside the home (historically coded as male, but increasingly portrayed as of the 1880s as exclusively so) and socially-reproductive and productive labor occurring within the home—increasingly the sole province of adult women, especially once childcare became a need within a specific household.

Like pre-industrial household economies, the family wage economy of industrializing urban settings relied on women's home-based income generating activities. However, the increasingly stark association between wage-earning and work, between work and a workplace separated from the family household, finally between wage earning and industrial rhythms turned

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[133] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 63.

women's household work invisible.[134] Contemporary discourses on women's household work as constituting "care" rather than labor sealed the obscuration of gendered income-generating activities within the working class home.[135] So much so,Boris and Lewis show, that even if "in 1920, [in the USA] one quarter to one third of married women labored at home with the aid of their children, taking in laundry, keeping boarders, or manufacturing garments," such work "lacked the recognition as real work and served as the epitome of exploitative labor in a maturing industrial economy."[136] I explore this phenomenon for the case of Bucharest especially in Chapter 5, building it into my argument about the role of informal labor in insuring working class families' survival, and social investigators' role in configuring and reconfiguring this issue as a matter of concern.

The socially reproductive "care work" women did within households was less invisible to policy makers. Social reformers and investigators in the 1920s and 1930s were concerned about the well-being of children, the hygiene of homes, and increasingly the atmosphere of intimacy within families. Certainly, such caring work performed by working class women was itself a form of providing for the family.[137] Women who worked primarily within homes carried a heavy "intimacy work" load in addition to house work and income generation, as they also ensured the perpetuation of affective bonds within families, relations with kin and neighbors (essential to families' survival), and managed children's participation in the labor force. They also negotiated and justified the allocation within the household of a portion of men's wages.[138]

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[134] Eileen Boris and Carolyn Herbst Lewis, "Caregiving and Wage-Earning: A Historical Perspective on Work and Family," in *The Work and Family Handbook: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives and Approaches*, 2006, 79–80.
[135] Boris and Lewis, 79.
[136] Boris and Lewis., 81.
[137] Boris and Lewis., 79. Boris and Lewis's point here references Julie A. Nelson's proposition that economics ought to be the study of provisioning, rather than the study of choice/allocation. Julie A. Nelson, "The Study of Choice or the Study of Provisioning? Gender and the Definition of Economics," in Marianne A Ferber and Julie A. Nelson, eds., *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 23–36.
[138] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 144.

Many women social reformers became preoccupied with care work partly out of a recognition that it was integral to the survival of families which depended on wages. However, by the 1920s, the caring aspect of women's household work became emphasized in discourses on the social in a particular manner, with many voices again strongly pitting women's wage work outside the home against the successful reproduction of working-class families, all the while veiling the various wage-earning activities taking place within family homes. Boris and Lewis explain that:

> While the "typical" female wage worker at the turn of the twentieth century [in the US] was young, White, and single, the number of employed married women doubled between 1900 and 1930. In order to reconcile this increase with the male breadwinner/female caregiver model, many reformers and policymakers asserted that women worked only "as a final defense against destitution." Women's wage labor became evidence of failed masculinity.[139]

Similar attitudes to women's wage work outside the home shaped the teaching of social work in Bucharest and social knowledge production about women's employment and economic contribution. At the same time, on the ground attitudes varied; many social investigators conceded that women did not have an alternative to wage work and sought to work within that reality. I explore this aspect especially in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

The interwar spread of so-called "contributory" social protection schemes institutionalized the association of work with wages, and of women with home-based labor. For instance, Georgina Hickey points out that the New Deal "favored welfare work for men as family breadwinners, direct assistance for mothers, and work relief for women only when the gendered wage economy dictated."[140] Similar developments occurred in Western Europe.[141] At the same time, the male

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[139] Boris and Lewis, "Caregiving and Wage-Earning," 81.
[140] Georgina Hickey, *Hope and Danger in the New South City: Working-Class Women and Urban Development in Atlanta, 1890–1940* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 13; quoted in Boris and Lewis, "Caregiving and Wage-Earning," 82.
[141] Lynne Haney and Lisa Pollard, "In a Family Way: Theorizing State and Familial Relations," in Lynne Haney and Lisa Pollard, eds., *Families of a New World: Gender, Politics, and State Development in Global Context* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1–16.

breadwinner salary existed more in the domain of political projection, and rarely in workers'

pockets. This was very much the case of interwar Bucharest, were both men's and women's labor

was informalized and precarious—features of wage labor in agrarian economies which intensified

after 1929. While welfare work for men was unavailable and unemployed men (and their families)

were bought one-way train tickets and expelled from the city (see Chapter 4), some mothers could

claim direct assistance through the small-scale public or private schemes run by women. As in the

case of Marioara Ionescu and her children, discussed in the Introduction, relief often came hand in

hand with these families becoming involved in social knowledge-making (see Chapter 5).

In the composite image of urban women's work in the first half of the twentieth century

constructed in this section, young, unmarried women's work, particularly in domestic service,

must represent another focus point. Especially in fluctuating agrarian economies, daughters' work

as domestic servants in cities was crucial for the survival of peasant household economies. Tilly

and Scott point out that in nineteenth century France and Britain, daughters would be sent to work

as live-in domestic servants for several years before marriage, whereas it was not unusual for a

family's sons to remain in the countryside, employed as agricultural laborers.[142] According to Tilly

and Scott,

> Parents sent their daughters into service because such jobs were plentiful. The expanding
> middle class populations of cities created more demand for household servants. No special
> skills were required of young girls. They performed a variety of household tasks, ranging
> from cleaning and caring for children to general assistance in family shops or businesses.
> […] In addition, service offered a relatively secure form of migration for a girl. Having a
> place to live and food and clothing eased the adjustment of a rural girl to city life.[143]

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[142] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 108.
[143] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*.

Similar patterns existed in Hungary and were maintained in twentieth century Britain.[144] At the same time, the deregulated, unprotected character of such work and potential for abuse present in live-in labor came under growing (but by no mean widespread) international scrutiny in the 1920s. It was taken up by women and men involved in social research and welfare provision in various settings to different degrees.[145] Women social researchers in Romania, similarly to counterparts elsewhere, showed relatively little interest for labor conditions in domestic service. On the other hand, domestic service remained an important element in caring for young women through private or public assistance organizations in Bucharest as elsewhere: poor and orphaned girls were frequently oriented towards the occupation. I detail this conjuncture and its effects on labor relations in Chapter 5.

Social reproduction feminists point out that domestic service makes a complex contribution to the maintenance of capitalist social relations. Using a Marxist and Phenomenological Sociology framework, Jacklyn Cock showed how maids contribute to the reproduction of labor power by ensuring employers' physical maintenance (through childcare, house cleaning, cooking, shopping, sewing, and mending) and psychological maintenance ("tension absorption through promotion of cordial family relations," socialization of children, and historically, consensual or non-consensual sexual relations). They are also involved in reproducing relations of production through "ideological maintenance," ensured through "language, skills, and socialization into class, race,

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[144] Gábor Gyáni, "A Chapter of the Social History of Hungarian Women Female Domestic Servants on the Labor Market, Budapest (1890–1940)," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32, nos. 3–4 (1986): 365–91; Selina Todd, "Poverty and Aspiration: Young Women's Entry to Employment in Inter-War England," *Twentieth Century British History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 119–142.

[145] Eileen Boris and Jennifer N. Fish, "Decent Work for Domestics: Feminist Organizing, Worker Empowerment, and the ILO," in Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger, eds., *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*(Leiden: Brill, 2015), 530–52; Kirsten Scheiwe and Lucia Artner, "International Networking in the Interwar Years: Gertrud Hanna, Alice Salomon, and Erna Magnus," in Boris, Hoehtker, and Zimmerman, eds. *Women's ILO*, 75–96.

and gender relations."[146] The multiple and complex expectations placed on what is a deskilled, low-paid position exposed the Black South African maids Cock interviewed to "the ultra-exploitation of domestic workers."[147]

Shireen Ally argues that domestic service is implicated in creating "the affects of domination."[12] In the first place, the daily practices of intimacy involved in this kind of labor, the adaptability consistently expected from the worker, the access to secrets and intimate information as well as the tactility of the occupation make domestic servants "intimacy workers," in Boris and Salazar-Parreñas's definition, and suggest an intensified experience of alienation due to the consistent demands placed on workers' emotions and social attachments. But in addition to this, in Ally's reading of domestic work through the work of Mbembe, Stoler, and Foucault, domestic service's social intimacy, sensoriality, and physical proximity constitutes it into a "dirty [type of intimate] work" which requires the master's "political disinfection" through abusive behavior. In her view, this feature makes domestic service a "contradictory cauldron of affect" in which distrust, fear, "compassion," and "love" between employer and employee coexist.[148] For Ally, this "simultaneity of intimate care and destructive violence that delineates the psychic field of domination," implicated in colonial and other forms of subjectivation, constitute the servant as a "figure deeply and historically implicated in psychic affect."[149] Whereas in Chapter 5, dealing with domestic service, I focus on understanding especially the politics of exploitation involved in domestic service in Bucharest, I consider the affects of domination as essential for this process and occasionally gesture towards their presence.

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[146] Jacklyn Cock, *Maids & Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980), 8.
[147] Jacklyn Cock, *Maids & Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation* (Ravan Press, 1980), 6.
[148] Shireen Ally, "Domestics, 'Dirty Work,' and the Affects of Domination," *South African Review of Sociology* 42, no. 2 (2011): 2–5.
[149] Ally, 2.

1.5. Methods and Sources

As much as possible, this dissertation seeks to do justice to two complementary impulses: a deconstructive one, rooted in critical theory's critique of modernity, and a constructive one, deferent to social history and women's history practitioners' propositions that the excavation and analysis of subaltern groups' and individuals' experiences is necessary if history is to be democratized and decolonized. To echo Ann Laura Stoler's terms, this entails a hermeneutical strategy of going both along the grain of sources—in order to understand how power operated through and in their production—and against the grain, with an eye towards gaining information about socially subordinate groups which might help in understanding subaltern experiences.[150]

Social history's "against the grain" reading strategies implicitly legitimize historical documents as at least partially veridical, able to reflect through *and* despite their discursive embedding and categorization practices something about the material reality of people who produced very few accounts of their experiences that were archived. "Along the grain" reading tactics presuppose, according to Stoler, "attending to the competing logics of those who ruled and the fissures and frictions within their ranks."[151]

In this dissertation I sought to read "along the grain" differently from Stoler. Rather than referring to biopolitical strategies and de-territorialized political rationalities, I focus on actors' competing logics and conflicts by drawing on Bourdieusian explanations, as outlined in Section 1.3. above. When collecting sources this approach meant identifying and understanding the

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[150] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[151] Ann Laura Stoler, "Matters of Intimacy as Matters of State: A Response," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 895.

conditions of cultural production for as broad as practical an array of archival documents and publications belonging to the space of social reform in Bucharest. Among the archival collections in Romania I included are those of the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Protection (MMSOS), the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women (SONFR), the personal fonds of Alexandrina Cantacuzino and Sabin Mănuilă, a small microfilmed collection of documents pertaining to interwar communist and social democratic women's organizations active in Bucharest, and the few records of Bucharest City Hall (particularly those for Sector IV Green). These fonds are held by the Central Romanian National Archives and the Bucharest Municipal Service of the National Archives. I explored the scattered documents in the *Saint Georges* document collection of the Romanian National Library. The collection holds the donated personal papers and memorabilia of many key women players in the Romanian feminist and social reform movement. I also used the holdings of the little-known (at this point) archive of the Center for the Study of the History of Jews in Romania (CSIER).

Besides revealing local dynamics and enabling me to reconstruct welfare and research initiatives operating in Bucharest, these archival fonds helped in tracing how these actors participated in the transnational space of social reform formed in the interwar. In reading these documents I looked carefully for international contacts and cross-border circulation. I added to the transnational dimension of my study by using the documents available in several digital archives, among which the extensive Women and Social Movements International (WASI) and the Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs online collections.

Furthermore, I read both "along and against the grain" by tracing the construction of categories and subjects of public action through social knowledge-making practices employed by women who were credentialed experts or claimed to have developed forms of lay expertise about

urbanization, industrialization, and women's issues. I do so by adding to archival documents a wide array of published sources, among which scientific journals, wide-circulation daily newspapers weeklies, as well as official publications of the Romanian Parliament, various ministries, and the Bucharest municipality and police prefecture. I was able to reconstruct sequences of events or unearth hitherto unknown angles to known events by performing keyword searches through near-complete digital collections of various Romanian newspapers and journals. I applied basic quantitative methods to results produced by searches in these databases in order to gauge the public visibility of certain issues based on the number of results searches returned. For instance, I could assess the extent to which domestic servants were punished with court-ordered fines by counting mentions of servants in *Monitorul Oficial* over the course of fifteen yeas (as detailed in Chapter 5).

The chapters that follow look primarily at the construction and evolution of women's paid and unpaid household work as social issue, focusing on welfare provision (particularly social assistance) in Bucharest. They trace the production of discursive and practical links between gender, intimacy, and work through practices tied to welfare provision. Because of this, I focus on sources produced by social reformers, such as scientific journal articles, reports towards international organizations and associations, surveys, questionnaires, casework files, statistical charts, and monographs. In addition, the construction of social issues by reformers is manifest in sources with less claim to scientific legitimacy but often significant public or private influence: letters, newspapers opinion pieces, and programmatic contributions in specialized journals. These inevitably privilege the points of views of elites.

At the same time, compared to other types of sources on social issues (such as the interwar volumes discussing underdevelopment mentioned above), such sources are un-prestigious. In

privileging them, I follow Stoler's entreaty to look carefully at archives of social reform and their politics: "because imagining what might be was as important as knowing what was, [social reform projects'] archives of the visionary and expectant should rivet our attention."[152]

In my research strategy I also incorporated the attention to struggle and resistance present in the work of decolonial scholars unearthing the effects of and making visible attempts at countering or disrupting the practices imposed by dominant groups. Thus, in collecting archival documents, I focused on finding documents which enable a glimpse into how people who voluntarily or involuntarily encountered social reformers as welfare clients, neighborhood sceptics, and petitioners reacted. I used petitions, statements transcribed verbatim, interviews and poems by working-class girls and women living in Bucharest as much as possible in constructing the arguments in each of the chapters that follow. Nevertheless, in this dissertation, their voices are faint compared to those of the reformers. I read "against the grain" by critically assessing and using especially survey data and preserved case files to offer different interpretations of social issues than those circulating contemporaneously.

The intention of incorporating the Bucharest case study into an emerging global narrative on welfare, inequality, and social reproduction is reflected in the structure of the majority of the chapters that follow: I proceed by looking at transnational developments, I move on to national and municipal actors' positionings in Romania, I focus on the quotidian social knowledge practices that emerged from these contexts, and finally I seek to counter or deconstruct their discursive effects, by reinterpreting data or examining counter-evidence or alternative narratives.

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[152] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 20.

Chapter 2 - National Government and "Private Initiative" in Romania's Constrained Politics of Welfare

In 1935, Ilfov county (i.e. Bucharest and its environs) spent 33.93 Lei per capita for social assistance, with 26.04 of these spent by "private initiative" institutions or associations.[153] Two years earlier, per capita spending in Ilfov on "sanitary care"[154] had been 30.7 Lei.[155] Even after accounting for inflation and significant reductions in social assistance budgets and subsidies at the peak of the economic crisis,[156] funds available in the capital city for assistance to categories considered to be "dependent"[157] (non-wage-earning) rivaled and perhaps surpassed those spent on prevention and treatment of the infectious and malnutrition diseases responsible for Romania's very low life expectancy indicator. In this chapter I explain how and why, recognized by national legislation and mostly subsidized by the central government, women-run organizations were the most consistently significant category of welfare providers in interwar Bucharest.

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[153] Ministerul Economiei Nationale, Institutul Central de Statisticã, *Instituţiunile de asistenţă socialã şi de ocrotire: rezultatele recensãmântului institutiunilor de asistenţă socialã şi de ocrotire din 1 ianuarie 1936 [The social assistance and protection institutions: the results of the census of institutions for social assistance and protection from 1 January 1936]* (Bucharest: Edtura Institutului Central de Statistica, 1938), 41.

[154] In Banu's usage, "sanitary care (scopuri sanitare)" was a budget category that did not overlap with healthcare provided in hospitals. However, because it refered to the treatment and prevention of extremely frequent "social maladies", including tuberculosis, syphilis and pelagra, it may have overlapped with preventative and out-patient healthcare provided in smaller clinics or by visiting doctors, nurses etc. While not entirely a measure of healtchare spending per capita, "sanitary care" spending is the best available proxy for per capita healthcare budgets. George Banu, *Sănătatea poporului român [The Health of the Romanian People]* (Bucharest: Monitorul Oficial şi Imprimeriile Statului, 1935).

[155] Banu, 402.

[156] "Bugetul pe 1931 al Ministerului Sănătăţii și Ocrotirilor Sociale [The 1931 buget of the Ministry of Health and Social Protection]," *Revista de Igienă Socială*, 1931, 65–71.

[157] The term "dependent" was used beginning with the 1930s to denote similar categories (women, children, the disabled, the elderly) as in the US case. Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon, "A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the US Welfare State," *Signs* 19, no. 2 (1994): 309–336.

I proceed by pointing out in the first section, contra the modernity paradigm, that due to party ideological, economic and geopolitical factors, enthusiasm for a modernist "welfare outlook" among governing Romanian politicians was superficial and welfare spending a low priority, particularly during the Great Depression. In the second section, I show that the large-scale welfare policies the central state did create were very limited and exclusionary, both in terms of ethnicity (as Delcea has argued)[158] but most significantly along gendered lines. I thus analyze coverage levels and implementation issues for health insurance, maternity benefits and war widows' pensions.

Inherent gendering of the major welfare policies, as well as historical precedent and the dynamics of social capital accumulation in Bucharest, enabled women's "private initiative" associations in the capital city to carve out a significant place for themselves in welfare provision. In the third section I point out how government support repeatedly (even if occasionally reluctantly) confirmed this role.

The municipal character of Bucharest and in a sense, the way people could live in the city, emerged from the fitful interactions of national, local, public and private administration created by a multiscalar politics of subsidies and the central governments comfort in legislating on fairly narrow urban issues (such as rent and housing). The fourth section looks at the question of habitation and habitability in Bucharest in relation to such incohesive management of social need.

The final section outlines the legal developments which enabled women welfare activists to eventually become part of the higher levels of the local administration in Bucharest by building on their "private intiative" activities.

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[158] Delcea, "The Welfare-State as a Means of Nation-Building in Interwar Romania, 1930-1938"; Sergiu, "Pro-Urban Welfare in Agricultural Countries?"

2.1. Never Quite the Right Time: Governing Politicians' Stances on Welfare

Alms-giving and social reform were significant components of (upper) middle class sociability in Bucharest before and especially after the First World War. Most people involved in politics in interwar Bucharest supported philanthropic initiatives. Despite publicized complaints about charities' unsystematic assistance work, between 1918 and 1929, the number of "private initiative" associations in the capital city skyrocketed.[159] By contrast, the politicians meaningfully interested in issues of social insurance and labour protection were (at least initially) a policy wonk-ish minority. Certainly, Western European social protection and cooperation schemes created a lot of curiosity among Bucharest politicians, but they garnered few champions.

Nevertheless, in the 1920s, the social insurance and labour protection strands of social policy carried weight in Parliament. This was largely because Paris peacemakers turned social policy into a foreign policy issue by including the Constitution of the ILO into the Versailles Peace Treaty. Consequently, Romanian governments did make social insurance and labour regulation a key concern, especially until the middle of the 1930s. Because of this, the functioning of welfare provision through privately-initiated but state-subsidized organizations – demoted (but only somewhat) to "second track" of welfare by the new context – became linked to national governments' actions on social insurance and labour protection. How did the three main political regimes in interwar Romania approach the matter of social legislation and social spending?

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[159] Ministerul Economiei Nationale, Institutul Central de Statisticã, *Instituţiunile de asistenţă socialã şi de ocrotire : rezultatele recensãmântului institutiunilor de asistenţă socialã şi de ocrotire din 1 ianuarie 1936 [The social assistance and protection institutions: the results of the census of Institutions for social assistance and protection from 1 January 1936]*, 33.

A first round of National Liberal Party governments (1921-1928).

The period between 1921 and 1928 was dominated by the National Liberal Party and its governments. Constitutional monarch King Ferdinand left parliamentary politics in the hands of the NLP and the Brătianu family which led the party. With the 1925 self-imposed exile of prince Carol, and the 1927 death of Ferdinand, the Liberals ruled unchecked until 1928.[160] It has been customary to argue that Romanian interwar liberalism was a "sham" because the NLP was economically protectionist rather than laissez-faire.[161] Key evidence to support this assertion is that the party's most important economic policy was "nostrification"- the transfer into the hands of Romanian capitalists of foreign-owned industrial assets in the country, especially via favorable loans to entrepreneurs who were Romanian (preferably ethnically besides citizenship-wise) and a customs policy which punished imports.[162]

Yet although apparently departing from the tenets of classical liberalism, the NLP's social policies were not progressive. As Melegh has pointed out, similarly to neighbors in the region, Romanian elites aimed to preserve local hierarchies while challenging global ones.[163] (See Section 1.2.) This political outlook did not have a socially redistributive component nor was there a

[160] Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947), vol. al II-lea (Ferdinand I) [The History of Romanians during the four kings (1866-1947), vol. II (Ferdinand I)]* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).
[161] Kenneth Jowitt, *Social Change in Romania, 1860-1940: A Debate on Development in a European Nation* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 1978); Angela Harre, "The Concept of Progress: The Fraught Relation between Liberalism and State Intervention," in *Key Concepts of Romanian History: Alternative Approaches to Socio-Political Languages*, ed. Victor Neumann and Armin Heinen (Budapest: CEU Press, 2013), 153.
[162] One of the most often cited iterations of the "sham liberalism" interpretation in Jowitt, *Social Change in Romania, 1860-1940*. For a recent version of the "sham liberalism" thesis, see Harre, "The Concept of Progress: The Fraught Relation between Liberalism and State Intervention". A succint discussion of Liberal economic policy and "nostrification" in Thomas David, *Nationalisme économique et industrialisation: l'expérience des pays d'Europe de l'Est (1789-1939) [Economic nationalism and industrialization: the Experience of Eastern European countries]*, 24 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2009), 176–86. David argues the ethnic component was especially visible in the NLP's efforts to squeeze-and-buy out assets owned by ethnic Hungarians and Germans based in the more densely industrialized formerly Austro-Hungarian province of Transylvania.
[163] Melegh, "Between Global and Local Hierarchies."

genuine intent to make concessions to the working class being expanded through the NLP's focus on industrialization.

Although averse to concessions to left-wing demands, successive Liberal governments nevertheless professed "special solicitude" towards the International Labour Organization.[164] Officially, government representatives argued that liberalism had changed, and that new liberal conceptions were exemplified by new international labour regulations. This was meant to justify some of the enthusiasm with which by 1930, "of 62 decisions (28 convention projects and 34 recommendations) approved in Geneva, we ratified 28 (16 convention projects and 12 recommendations)."[165] Also, it was pointed out that Romania embraced labour policy diffusion during the 1920s, with landmark national laws on employment offices and labour exchanges, Sunday rest, labour inspection or the regulation of women's and minor's labour "directly inspired by Geneva decisions".[166]

At first sight, National Liberal Party (NLP) governments' rush to adopt and adapt insurance and labour protection policies supports a modernist interpretation. Arguably, a new biopolitical consciousness, strongly linking state interest to population welfare, shaped politics in Europe and

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[164] During the 1919 Paris peace negotiations, Romania successfully built part of its case for extensive territorial claims by positioning itself as a reliable buffer against Bolshevik Russia. Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (London: Random House, 2002), 94–95. Repressive labour legislation in the early 1920s,significant limits placed on trade unionism through a 1924 law, and monitoring and surveillance of left-wing organizing (particularly in Basserabia) suggest the National Liberals and their allies made good on their committments. Repressive labour legislation in the early 1920s, significant limits placed on trade unionism through a 1924 law, and monitoring and surveillance of left-wing organizing (particularly in Basserabia) suggest that the National Liberals and their allies made good on their Paris negotiations commitments. Katherine Verdery, "Notes on a Century of Surveillance," *Journal of Romanian Studies* 1, no. 1 (April 2019): 35–52; Alexandru Duvăz, "Expose de motifs. La Protection du travail des mineurs et des femmes. La reglementation de la duree de travail. [Statement of reasons. The protection of the labor of minors and women. The Regulation of the duration of the work day]," 1927, Fond 1038-MMSOS. Oficiul pentru Studii Sociale si Relatii Internationale (1870-1949), File 233/1927, p. 63, ANIC.

[165] Ioan Setlacec, "Din activitatea Ministerului Muncii în raport cu Biuroul Internațional al Muncii din Geneva [From the activity of the Labour Ministry in relation to the International Labour Office in Geneva]," in *Zece ani de politică socială în România 1920-1930* (Bucharest: Ministerul Muncii și Ocrotirilor Sociale, 1930), 104.

[166] Setlacec, 109.

appealed strongly to elites in post-imperial Central Eastern Europe in the years after 1918. In this context, Romanian Liberals' embrace of ILO policies could be thought of as enthusiastic participation in an ideologically protean current focused on redefining political power through the promotion of interventionism. Alternatively, National Liberal stances on social policy can be linked to an equally modernist interpretations of the interwar as defined by both nationalizing state-building and "cultural catch-up" modernization projects, grand plans expressed in a type of aspirational welfare legislation that was biased towards the segment of the citizenry the nationalizing state considered most "desirable", i.e. public sector professionals and ethnically Romanian private sector employees living in urban environments.[167]

However, closer inspection of National Liberal Party politicians' statements reveals that insurance policies and labour protection laws were regarded by NLP governments with the limited enthusiasm critical modernization interpretations suggest. Any commitment to major social policy changes stemmed from (an often reluctant) adherence to the principles of the Versailles treaties system guaranteeing Romania's post-1918 borders. In 1930, in an official Ministry of Labour publication, state secretary Ioan Setlacec argued that after a period of enthusiasm for international labour conventions, small states such as Romania were becoming more reserved towards such instruments. They were ratifying ILO conventions and recommendations less quickly than in the early 1920s and even considered denunciation of already adopted ones.[168] This was because

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[167] In supporting the thesis of the "pro-urban interwar welfare state", Delcea amplifies blindspots originating in the historical monographs on interwar Romania he relies on. Rooted in the social sciences literature on welfare state building (minus the highly-relevant literature on gender and welfare) and the historiography of interwar nation-building in Romania, Delcea's analysis is marred by over-reliance on a limited number of late-1930s published sources which strongly skew the argument towards nationalizing welfare policies, wage-work-related contributory schemes and political rhetoric rather than implementation. Delcea, "The Welfare-State as a Means of Nation-Building in Interwar Romania, 1930-1938"; Sergiu, "Pro-Urban Welfare in Agricultural Countries?"

[168] Setlacec, "Din activitatea Ministerului Muncii în raport cu Biuroul Internațional al Muncii din Geneva [From the activity of the Labour Ministry in relation to the International Labour Office in Geneva]," 107.

conventions such as C001 (limiting work hours in industry to eight per day and forty-eight per week) were creating competitive disadvantage for small industrializing states.[169]

Yet Setlacec also pointed out that ILO conventions were international commitments and to disregard them would entail the foreign policy misstep of "disregarding the moral value of international accords". He noted wistfully that: "Only a modification of the Washington convention would allow changes to our legislation; but this path is difficult to walk and as proof we have all the recent attempts within the international conferences, supported or even instigated by great industrial states, but without result."[170] Of course, Setlacec ignored that the eight-hour workday Romania haphazardly enacted in 1928 after being taken to task in the 1927 ILC plenum contained such loopholes that a fine would have been quite a feat for labour inspectors confronting an acquisitive employer.[171]

The attitude of this Liberal government representative was shaped by employers' attitudes, themselves no doubt emboldened by the governments' embrace of industrialization. Romanian employers mounted an unusually great resistance towards attempts at changing rapports between

[169] International Labour Organization, "Convention Limiting the Hours of Work in Industrial Undertakings to Eight in the Day and Forty-Eight in the Week," C001 - Hours of Work (Industry) Convention § (1919), https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C001; Ioan Setlacec, "Legislația socială posterioară înființărei Ministerului Muncii [Social legislationa posterior to the creation of the Ministry of Labor]," in *Zece ani de politică socială în România 1920-1930* (Bucharest: Ministerul Muncii și Ocrotirilor Sociale, 1930), 84.

[170] Setlacec, "Legislația socială posterioară înființărei Ministerului Muncii [Social legislationa posterior to the creation of the Ministry of Labor]," 84.

[171] Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru ocrotirea muncii minorilor și femeilor și durata muncii [Law for the protection of minors' and womens' road and for the duration of the work day]," *Buletinul Muncii* 9, no. 1–3 (1929): 105. Potential exceptions included: seasonal work, work in teams, works considered urgent, workdays longer than eight hour when the work week stayed within a total of forty-eight, as well as other case-by-case exceptions. The law specifically excluded domestic workers, and those in "positions of responsibility or with supervisory roles". Romania was criticized in the 1928 ILC. Setlacec found the public monitoring procedure instituted by Art. 408 of the Versailles Treaty "not exactly comfortable for government representatives" and an additional reason for state's reserve towards new Conventions. International Labour Organization, "Record of Proceedings [of the] International Labour Conference." (Geneva: International Labor Organization, 1928), http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/P/09616/09616%281928-11%29.pdf; Setlacec, "Din activitatea Ministerului Muncii în raport cu Biuroul Internațional al Muncii din Geneva [From the activity of the Labour Ministry in relation to the International Labour Office in Geneva]," 109.

labor and capital, even when the requests came from ILO, an organization which facillitated their

access on Western European markets. In Sandrine Kott's description:

> In 1930, a representative of the General Union of Romanian Employers disparaged Adrien
> Tixier and the ILO in the following terms: "A Geneva official was sent to lecture us and
> deemed the minimum percentage paid by Romanian employers inadequate (8 per cent,
> compared to the 15 per cent paid by the Serbs). When one employer timidly objected that
> raising the contribution rate would risk provoking unemployment, Mr. Tixier, a true
> disciple of Marx, replied ,unemployment is unemployment and social insurance is social
> insurance.' There's the Geneva mentality for you!" [172]

The stance of Romanian employers appears as aggressive and ideologically rigid, by regional

standards and even if agrarian and industrializing economies in general sought exceptions and

waivers from standards created in the ILO.

In this context, through their stances, Romanian bureaucrats in the 1920s mediated between

state interest in securing borders and local capital's push for deregulation. Such acts of "portalling

globalization" generated interesting local translations of the interventionist liberalism flourishing

internationally.[173] Thus, oppositely to the actual claims of the left liberalism in vogue at the time

in Europe, Ministry of Labour secretary Setlacec argued that the "sovereign right to strike"

belonged to "the old theory of liberalism and individualism" and the celebration of the "freedom

to work without hinderances and without limits" typical for that doctrine. On the other hand, the

"modern social conception" mandated that "freedoms are and must be limited to the extent that the

superior and general interest of the state, or the public require it."[174] Within this framework, Liberal

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[172] Sandrine Kott, "Constructing a European Social Model: The Fight for Social Insurance in the Interwar Period,"
*ILO Histories. Essays on the International Labour Organization and Its Impact on the World During the Twentieth
Century. Bern: Peter Lang*, 2010, 191.
[173] Michael Geyer, "Portals of Globalization," in *The Plurality of Europe. Identities and Spaces.* (Leipzig: Leipziger
Univ.-Verl., 2010), 509–20.
[174] Setlacec, "Legislația socială posterioară înființării Ministerului Muncii [Social legislationa posterior to the
creation of the Ministry of Labor]," 76.

governments could carry on the anti-communist politics, repression of organized labour and the hassling of other factions on the political left begun in the 1910s and reprised after the war.[175]

National Peasantist Party governments.

The National Peasantist Party (NPP) was a center-left group created in 1926 through the fusion of the regional centrist Romanian National Party from Transylvania and the more radical agrarianist Peasants Party, functioning in the Old Kingdom. The new NPP concluded electoral alliances with conservatives and social-democrats, among others, as part of an intense opposition campaign against the Liberals. However, after running on a progressive platform "to end the misery of the population", in both national and local elections of 1928-1930, the NPP governed in an austere manner in the years that followed (1928-1931; 1932-1933).[176] This sprung from the National Peasantists' contretemps embrace of "an open door" trade and customs policy and currency liberalization (in early 1929).[177] Foreign-capital-friendly industrial and commercial policy, combined with the crash of global grain prices, ensured the failure of the Romanian domestic economy in the context of the Great Depression.

In 1929, the NPP government contracted sovereign loans from the Banque de France, granted in exchange for the a commitment to keeping balanced the state budget.[178] These

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[175] Const.-Titel Petrescu, *Socialismul în România 1835 - 6 septembrie 1940 [Socialism in Romania 1835- 6 September 1940]* (Bucharest: Biblioteca Socialistă, 1945), 315, 407.

[176] Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria Partidului Național Țărănesc [History of the National Peasant Party]*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedica, 1994); Simion Cutișteanu and Gheorghe I Ioniță, *Electoratul din România în anii interbelici: mișcarea muncitorească și democratică în viața electorală din România interbelică [The electorate of Romania during the interwar years: the workers' and democratic movement in the electoral life of interwar Romania]* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1981).

[177] Dietmar Müller, *Agrarpopulismus in Rumänien. Programmatik und Regierungspraxis der Bauernpartei und der Nationalbäuerlichen Partei Rumäniens in der Zwischenkriegszeit [Agrarian populism in Romania. Program and Government Practices of the Peasantist and National Peasantist Party of Romania between the Two World Wars]*, vol. 1, Rumänien-Studien (St. Augustin: Gardez! Verlag, 2001), 124–29.

[178] Dominique Torre and Elise Tosi, "Charles Rist and the French Missions in Romania 1929-1933. Why the 'Money Doctors' Failed?," in *Economic and Financial Stability in Southeast Europe in a Historical and*

"monetary stabilization" loans were accompanied by the Rist technical mission --one of several "Money Doctor" delegations in Eastern Europe at the time- dispatched by the French bank to provide assistance to the Romanian National Bank.[179] The "Charles Rist mission" recommended public sector downsizing as one of the main measures to be taken by the government.[180] In Cornel Ban's recent assessment of this interwar situation: "Romania was, practically, in Greece's situation from 2010, with the French central bank playing the part of the IMF."[181]

An exchange between Charles Rist and Mihai Popovici, Romanian Finance Minister, underscores how sovereign-debt-related conditions and monitoring constrained government plans for spending on public works or relief aid. Rist recorded sarcastically that:

> Yesterday 9 am, Popovitchi visited me. He had a lot of plans in his head: loans and expenses, loans for the hungry, loan for the forty thousand Macedonians that have been quartered among Bulgarians of Dobrudja, in the same houses and who are naturally fighting with them. Loan to buy greatcoats to the soldiers, for raising a Mint; use of the funds of the Great Loan to enlarge the Universities of Bucharest and Jassy Cluj.[182]

The Romanian governments' lack of financial orthodoxy exasperated the French monetary stabilization team. [183] Yet what Rist interpreted as incompetence, lack of foresight or even a type of magical thinking about money can also be read as a by-then desperate scramble for funds which would enable the state to engage in minimal social policy-making, following a realization that basic survival (food, winter coats) for entire social categories and urgent situations (botched population relocations) were beyond budgetary reach.

Comparative Perspective (Conference Proceedings of the 4th Meeting of the South-Eastern European Monetary History Network), 2009, 91–106.

[179] The mission was considered a failure. Romania rescheduled payments in 1933 and officially defaulted on the loan in 1941. Rist complained that the stabilization loan was not used for its intended, monetary policy, purposes but rather to service existing arrears. Torre and Tosi, 7, 11.

[180] Torre and Tosi, 5.

[181] Cornel Ban, *Dependență și dezvoltare. Economia politică a capitalismului românesc [Dependency and Development. The Political Economy of Romanian Capitalism]* (Bucharest: Tact, 2014), 36.

[182] "Papiers Charles Rist [Charles Rist Papers]," March 1929, Archives de la Banque de France qted. in; Torre and Tosi, "Charles Rist and the French Missions in Romania 1929-1933.," 8.

[183] Torre and Tosi, "Charles Rist and the French Missions in Romania 1929-1933.," 10.

National-Peasantist governments' austerity resulted in quick loss of income for state employees, especially those working in urban environments. Harsh and publicly very visible "sacrifice curbs [cuts]" were dutifully applied as part of the government's monetary stabilization programs. Three successive rounds of cuts (in January 1931, January 1932 and January 1933) reduced the salaries of all public employees by 50%. In addition, public sector pensions were decreased by 33% in 1932. In July of the same year, women employed in the civil service whose husbands worked were let go. According to Bogdan Bucur, whereas multiple countries had made public sector cuts between 1931 and 1934, the salaries of state employees were nowhere as drastically cut as in the Romanian case.[184] In Bucharest, judging by the number of civil servants employed in 1929, personnel and salary cuts affected around 7000 civil servants and a similar number of teachers, who were also paid directly from the state budget at the time.[185] By May 1932, 40,000 teachers across Romania had not received salaries for the previous six months.[186]

Unemployment and loss of income among all other categories of workers during this period is less well documented. In fact, the national government engaged in early and sustained denial of unemployment as issue in an agrarian country imagined to be inhabited overwhelmingly by subsistence farmers. The typical preamble of most articles discussing unemployment in state supported publications in the early 1930s referred to the fact that lack of jobs had never been a genuine issue in the country, and that the phenomenon had become recently acute due to global developments.[187] However, nationally, 300,000 persons in urban and industrialized areas had been

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[184] Bogdan Bucur, "Budgetary Austerity Measures Taken by Romania during the Great Recession of 1929-1933 and Reflected in the Specialized Press of the Time," *Revista Româna de Jurnalism și Comunicare* 6, no. 3 (2011): 35–36.

[185] Bucur, 38.

[186] Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947), vol. al III-lea (Carol al II-lea) [The History of Romanians during the four kings (1866-1947), vol. III (Carol II)]* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedica, 2004), 126.

[187] In the beginning of a study on unemployment relief published in the governments' Labour Bulletin, social researcher Veturia Mănuilă argued that"Although it was never an acute issue in our country, unemployment became

laid off. Articles published after 1945 pointed out that another 300, 000 persons were let go from among the agrarian proletariat or were working in the private sector on reduced schedules and/or docked pay.[188] Small scale social surveys from 1930s Bucharest confirm the tendency towards the de-regularization of employment during and after the crisis.[189]

The progressive deterioration of Bucharest workers' situation since the beginning of the world crisis in 1929 was described by Veturia Mănuilă, head of the Superior School for Social Assistance (see Sections 3.3. and 4.2.), tasked by the city council with organizing unemployment relief in one of Bucharest's districts, in 1932:

> The economic crisis and lack of jobs have sensibly reduced the living standards of all the laboring classes. Among approximatively 60% of our unemployed [assisted in Sector I Yellow] we could verify the gradual reduction of their earnings in the last 5-6 years. In 1925-26-28, a skilled worker had an average a wage of 5000-7000 lei per month. In 1930-31 monthly earnings have decreased to 3500-4000 lei, but most are on the 3000 lei limit. Fixed salaries have been reduced by 50% over three years. At the same time, rents have constantly remained at the same level.[190]

a current issue as the international economic crisis deepened.As our country is overwhelmingly agrarian, 80% of the population was employed in work in the countryside. The rest of the population number in all 3.600.000 souls, about 828.000 heads of families. Evidently, this number is much too low for all the non-agricultural occupations in the country, such that under normal conditions, it was not even possible to speak in Romania about unemployment. (...) However, the economic crisis determined a contraction of activity in the various commercial and industrial enterprises, and this reduction created a state of lack of work, which took both officialdom and public opinion by surprise; a social phenomenon that is highly familiar abroad has produced here such confusion that a significant part of public opinion does not recognize the existence of unemployment in Romania." Veturia Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor în sectorul I al Municipiului București [Principles in the organization of help for the unemployed in Sector I of the City of Bucharest]," *Buletinul Muncii, Cooperatiei și Asigurarilor Sociale* 12, no. 10–12 (12 1932): 437; This assessment was contradicted by a government publication which argued that unemployment was felt in Romania as early as 1927, when public works tied to post-war reconstruction ended. Written in 1930, at the height of Banque de France influence, the piece recognized that the government could not afford to become involved in public works, but that it had concluded a workers' exchange treaty with France (itself hit by unemployment). Coherent with the general government tendency of downplaying unemployment, even this more clear-eyed piece ended on the hopeful note that: "It must be mentioned that lack of employment in Romania present itself as something unnatural and passing.Both the density of the population and the development stage of our industry, which has so many still unexploited natural resources,confirms this." C Stănescu, "Piața muncii [The Labor market]," in *Zece ani de protecție socială în România* (Bucharest: Ministerul Muncii, Sănătății și Ocrotirilor Sociale, 1930), 198.

[188] Teodor Necșa, "Date privind situația clasei muncitoare în perioada crizei economice 1929-1933 [Data on the situation of the working class during the economic crisis 1929-1933]," *Studii- Revista de Istorie* 9, no. 1 (1956): 108.

[189] Gheorghe Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation de la femme ouvriere en Roumanie [Studies concerning the situation of the working woman in Romania]," *Revista pentru Igienă Socială*, 1937, 351–89.

[190] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor," 444.

In the countryside, already low living standards plummeted. In party programs and during their first round in government (1928-1930), National Peasantists promised to support small and middling peasants, especially by encouraging the creation of rural cooperatives to help modernize the small plot subsistence agriculture engaged in by peasant households.[191] These ambitious plans were an ill fit for the actual circumstances of the Romanian peasantry and considering the other economic (monetary and fiscal) policies of the government.

In 1928, many peasants were already deep in debt to the state and private lenders. The 1921 agrarian reform had expropriated estates and distributed them as small plots (around five hectares) to 1.4 million peasants.[192] Formerly landless peasants, now propertied, became taxpayers. They were also paying the state back for two-thirds of the total amount paid in bonds to landlords whose estates had been expropriated for the reform.[193] In 1929, peasants were permitted to sell the land received in the agrarian reform. As holdings of five hectares and under could not cover the food needed in the average peasant household, owners incurred high-interest debts (generally used to cover basic household consumption, tools, seeds) or sold their plots.

In 1930, following an unfavorable Rist report spotlighting inefficient tax collection, the government "ordered that [peasants' unpaid taxes] be recovered 'at all costs', so the tax collector and the gendarme resorted to all kinds of pressures, including the auction sale of household items " during that year.[194] The measure was dramatic considering that peasants' homes were already

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[191] Economist Virgil Madgearu, the architect of the NPP rural development platform, believed the Romanian peasantry had not yet been incorporated into world markets and considered the peasant household, based on the free labour of family members, economically self-sustaining and suited to peasants' individualistic mentality. Rural cooperatives were meant to intermediate for Romanian small scale agriculture's integration into world markets by ensuring peasant households would not be affected by the process. Hitchins, *Romania, 1866-1947*, 323.
[192] Hitchins, 348.
[193] Hitchins, 348.
[194] Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947), vol. al III-lea (Carol al II-lea) [The History of Romanians during the four kings (1866-1947), vol. III (Carol II)]*, 112.

generally sparsely furnished and more than half of Romanian peasants had no cows or other animals that could be confiscated.[195]

Despite belated government measures and some failed attempts at banning speculative lending, halving the land tax (1932) and attempting a rescheduling ("conversion") of agricultural debt, the crisis re-created a large group of landless, seasonally-mobile agricultural workers.[196] Or, peasants with too little land hired themselves and family members as agricultural laborers on larger holdings. This is how a 1937 questionnaire on women's work prepared for the ILO could report that the single largest category of paid women workers in Romania were the 4.181.000 employed in agricultural work, as "family auxiliaries".[197] Such circumstances also pushed some peasant families to migrate in poor conditions to cities, Bucharest foremost among these (partly because the Old Kingdom region where the capital was located was worst affected by peasant debt).[198] Likely, as in other placed in Europe at the time, it also determined the rural-urban migration of greater numbers of girls and young women, in search of domestic service or occasional employment in cities.

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[195] Hitchins, *Romania, 1866-1947*, 342.

[196] Hitchins, 340, 353, 354.

[197] Calypso Botez, "Răspunsul dat de Calypso C. Botez la chestionarul Biroului Internațional al Muncii referitor la condițiile de muncă ale femeilor în România [The reply given by Calypso C. Botez to the questionnaire of the International Labor Office concerning labor conditions for women in Romania]," in *Din Istoria Feminismului Românesc*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Polirom, 1937), 298. The second largest category of workers were the comparatively tiny 141.000 employed in industry. On the late 1930s attempts at defining the category of the "paid family worker" category (ILO statistics; collecting nationally produced data on women and children working in family-run establishments or women aiding their husbands profesionally) and the definition of "gainful employment" to also include "secondary occupations" paid in "directly or indirectly, in cash or in kind" (League of Nations economic statistics), see Theresa Wobbe and Léa Renard, "The Category of 'Family Workers' in International Labour Organization Statistics (1930s–1980s): A Contribution to the Study of Globalized Gendered Boundaries between Household and Market," *Journal of Global History* 12, no. 3 (2017): 350–51.

[198] National Statistical Institute director Sabin Mănuilă made a harsh asessment of peasants who "sold everything" in the countryside and moved to Bucharest without means. Sabin Mănuilă, "Importanța Recensământului populației pentru asistența socială [The Importance of the population census for social assistance]," *Asistența Socială - Buletinul Școalei Superioare de Asistență Socială "Principesa Ileana"* 2, no. 1 (1931): 111–17.

Carol II's growing authority. Seemingly compliant National Liberal governments and personalistic rule.

Prince Carol, unwilling to break-up an affair in 1925, returned from a self-imposed exile in 1930. With the support of key politicians and public personalities, the Prince was crowned King Carol II that year.[199] Notably, the NLP opposed the "restoration".[200] Before returning to rule in Romania, the future king outlined his political principles and vision. According to Ioan Scurtu,

> Economically, he planned [Romania's] gravitating around the financial circles in Geneva, Paris, Bruxelles, London and Berlin. Also, he planned to create a banking institute for agriculture, the reduction of the role of the National Bank of Romania, the revision of the incentives regime for industry. Situating himself on an antiliberal position, aiming to strike the industrial and financial haute bourgeoisie tied to the National Liberal Party, Carol supported [in 1930] the politics of "open doors" and unrestrained collaboration with foreign capitalists. To this end, he considered the concession of economic goods and sectors, such as electricity, tourism, shipping, ports' organizations, silos.[201]

In the first two years after his crowning, Carol II's policy preferences aligned with the priorities of the NPP governments and of a short-lived "government of technicians" he had imposed. For their part, the National Peasantists, recalled to government in 1932, were now electing prime ministers from among their more conservative leaders. During the crisis years, the NPP engaged in suppressing popular protests against austerity and immiseration. This violent tactic culminated in the 1931 bloody crackdown of a railway workers' strike in Bucharest, an event which outraged not only sympathizers of the left wing but also enthusiasts of the extreme right wing. The Iron Guard stood to profit from established parties' repressive turn and seeming impassivity to social demands.[202]

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[199] Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947), vol. al III-lea (Carol al II-lea) [The History of Romanians during the four kings (1866-1947), vol. III (Carol II)]*, 7–70.
[200] Scurtu, 1–32.
[201] Scurtu, 70. Despite instances of nationalist editoralizing and the limits of the biographical approach, Scurtu's three volume series on the history of Romania under the Hohenzollern kings are redeemed by the author's detailed knowledge of modern Romania's political event history and his careful examination of relevant archival material.
[202] Marin C. Stănescu, *Stânga politică din România în anii crizei (1929-1933) [The Political left in Romania in the years of the crisis (1929-1933)]* (Editura Mica Valahie, 2002), 46; Dylan Riley, *The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso Books, 2019), 161.

After 1933, with the ousting of the NPP and return to government of an NLP now professing dedication to the sovereign, Carol II pushed to expand his executive power. The period overlapped with the growing popularity of the fascist Iron Guard, whom the king initially hoped to make into allies and manipulate.[203] As part of this gambit, Carol II tolerated the extreme right, even though Guardists had assassinated the NLP Prime-Minister I.G. Duca, as retaliation for their movement being made illegal.[204]

From 1934 on, urban-oriented labour and social policy took a back seat, replaced by a focus on rural uplift. Carol II's confused attempt at portraying himself as a king willing to improve peasants' circumstance and as patron of culture became visible through Royal House (and state) backing for such measures as the creation of village community centers and state-sponsored social research ("monographic campaigns") in rural areas.[205] This meant that after the middle of the 1930s, there was less urban social policy innovation than had been the case during the NPP's first stint in government. In municipal governance, return to Liberal administration principles and practices and a break with Peasantists' attempts at decentralization or bureaucratization becomes visible (see Section 4.4). Also, a 1936 Administrative Law (M. Of. 569/1936) aimed at reorganizing municipal administration in accordance to Carol II's vision was enacted only in 1938, after the king instated an authoritarian, personal rule regime. The delay suggests that until the "carlist dictatorship (1937-1940)" the National Liberal Party – tamer, returned to power 1934 to 1938 - was skilled at stalling if not at preventing any policies initiated by Carol II that would have affected the party's political clients within bureaucracies.[206]

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[203] Riley, *The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe*, 197.

[204] Clark, *Sfântă tinerețe legionară - Activismul fascist în România interbelică [Holy legionary youth. Fascist activism in interwar Romania]*, 119.

[205] Lucian Boia, *Capcanele istoriei: elita intelectuală românească între 1930 şi 1950 [The traps of history: the Romaian intelectual elite between 1930 and 1950]* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011), 112–57.

[206] Parliament of Romania, "Legea Administrativa [Administration Law]," M. Of. No. 569/ 26 Mar 1936 § (1938), https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/gezdiobvga/legea-administrativa-nr-569-1936?pid=37668677#p-37668677.

Both democratic and authoritarian versions of social and political corporatism were part of public discussions in interwar Romania but there was little in the direction of implementation. The appeal of such ideas has been linked by scholars such as Victor Rizescu to a tradition of guild-and-corporation-based social insurance that had functioned in the Old Kingdom since the late nineteenth century, until 1933.[207] Marioara Ionescu obtained an aid as a "luckless laborer" because such corporations continued to operate as "first instances of social insurance" until 1933 (see Introduction). But in general, corporatist workers' organization functioned badly, covered few and held no political sway. A second, authoritarian, corporatist lineage was created by the publications of economist Mihail Manoilescu. A close associate of King Carol II and then a vocal supporter of the Iron Guard, Manoilescu advocated "authoritarian neomercantilist interventionism".[208] Specifically, he pleaded for autonomous industrial development guided by technocrats working "with clockwork precision", "based on scientific organization principles" within a one-party system.[209]

Significantly, the leadership of the Iron Guard had little interest for Manoilescu's vision of development, describing it as "entirely colourless from a folk point of view".[210] Instead, they held a view of mutualist chauvinistic welfare provision. As conservative, masculinist welfare activists, in the early 1930s, student members of the Guard had built up the organizations' base in the

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[207] Rizescu, "Începuturile statului bunăstării pe filiera românească: Scurtă retrospectivă a etapelor unei reconceptualizări [The beginnings of the welfare state in the Romanian lineage: Brief retrospective of the stages to a reconceptualization]," 54. Rizescu explains that until the uniformization of insurance between newer and older provinces, in 1933, the workers insurance system functioning in the Old Kingdom of Romania relied on craft workers' corporations as first provider of aid. This means that social corporatism elements existed in the Romanian institutional set-up due to labour laws passed in the 1890s and 1910s. These elements were allowed to continue post-1918 until administrative unification and the transformation of the insurance system in accordance with ILO principles could be implemented.

[208] Ban, *Dependență și dezvoltare. Economia politică a capitalismului românesc [Dependency and Development. The Political Economy of Romanian Capitalism]*, 38.

[209] Ban, 38.

[210] Antonio Costa Pinto, "Corporatism and 'Organic Representation' in European Dictatorships," in *Corporatism and Fascism* (Routledge, 2017), 23.

countryside by engaging in volunteer work in rural communities (digging wells, building bridges).[211] In 1941, briefly in government, the leadership of this right-wing organization created the Legionaries Aid welfare organization, distributing clothing and food to select ethnic Romanians, in Bucharest and elsewhere, on the occasion of religious holidays.[212] Rizescu remarks that Manoilescu's postwar impact on Latin American policy-making far outweighed his influence in Romania.[213]

Nevertheless, institutionalized authoritarian corporatism had its moment at the end of the period discussed in this dissertation. In February 1938, Carol II abolished the Constitution and named himself head of state. A plebiscite was held for a corporatist Constitution that year, and at the end of 1938 "a system of guilds (*bresle*) was created to frame professional interests by field of activity or profession, and which was responsible for collective labour contracts."[214] Carol II abdicated in September 1940, following the Second Vienna Arbitration (transfer of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, brokered by the Third Reich). Implemented for about two years, the massive changes in political representation and social citizenship prefigured by the dictatorship's new Constitution, women's franchise or the expansion of social insurance (enacted in 1938) had limited effects.

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[211] Clark, *Sfântă tinereţe legionară - Activismul fascist în România interbelică [Holy legionary youth. Fascist activism in interwar Romania]*, 168–81.

[212] Clark, 238.

[213] Rizescu, "Începuturile statului bunăstării pe filiera românească: Scurtă retrospectivă a etapelor unei reconceptualizări [The beginnings of the welfare state in the Romanian lineage: Brief retrospective of the stages to a reconceptualization]," 37–39; Manoilescu has been recovered as a theorist of dependency. His theories on protectionist industrialization influenced post-war policy-making Brazil, especially. For Manoilescu's impact, see Joseph LeRoy Love, *Crafting the Third World: Theorizing Underdevelopment in Rumania and Brazil* (Stanford University Press, 1996); Nikolay Nenovsky and Dominique Torre, "Mihail Manoilescu's International Trade Theories in Retrospect: How and When Emerging Economies Must Be Protected?" (ICER-International Centre for Economic Research, 2013), http://www.icer.it/docs/wp2013/ICERwp09-13.pdf; Nikolay Nenov Nenovsky and Dominique Torre, "Productivity-Based Protectionism: A Marxian Reconstruction of Mihail Manoilescu's Theory," *Journal of Economic Issues* 49, no. 3 (July 3, 2015): 772–86.

[214] Pinto, "Corporatism and 'Organic Representation' in European Dictatorships," 22.

All in all, Romanian statesmen were initially unwilling and then very much unable to steer the priorities of domestic politics towards social rights. National Liberal Party governments' 1920s expansion of employment-related social entitlements (termed by Linda Gordon the "first track" of welfare) was a way of minimally keeping up with international commitments. The progressive platform of the 1929 National Peasantist government was undermined by the crisis and the NPPs own authoritarian turn by 1932, with social spending explicitly prohibited as part of internationally agreed austerity packages. From the middle of the 1930s, national government-led social policy developments stagnated. In Romania, this was partly because the NLP could stall on the implementation of Carol II's vision of social rights expansion and bureaucratic rationalization in a politically authoritarian framework. This turn of events resembled those in the rest of the region, as pointed out by Marxian accounts of interwar social policy in periphery settings. (See Section 1.2.)

In this context, practices which appeared older and familiar to male politicians, such as state-subsidized philanthropy, developed at a separate pace, maintaining their practices and established groups of beneficiaries – women, children and the elderly. In fact, "private initiative" organizations became an increasingly significant (if disregarded) provider of welfare in urban settings. The next sections outline how implementation shortcomings, austerity and discriminative features made women's associations into significant, state-backed welfare providers within major cities, and especially in Bucharest.

2.2. Limited, Disadvantaging for Women, Heterogeneous: National-level Social Policies in Urban Context

What were the main features and most glaring shortcomings of social policies adopted under ILO influence in the 1920s and adapted to local constraints through the process of administrative unification and cost-cutting underway in the 1930s? In practice, in urban settings, all components of contributory social insurance offered limited protection against social vulnerability for those insured and their families, while leaving most wage workers outside their scope. Widow's pensions were affected by the same kind of problems, but recipients had to deal with bureaucrats' discriminatory attitudes more frequently.

Limited coverage.

Categories of risk covered by mandatory insurance in the 1920s and 1930s included: disease, maternity, death, invalidity due to illness and (solely for public employees) old-age.[215] The 1933 Romanian Law for the Unification of Insurance (M. Of. 83/Apr 1933) (which created uniformity in insurance among older and newer provinces of the country) included into compulsory insurance

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[215] Until 1933, "first track" policies functioned on the basis of laws passed in the different now-Romanian provinces by their respective governments before the First World War. For instance, the more industrialized region of Transylvania governed insurance through Hungarian Law XIX from 1907, amended -significantly- in 1919 to mandatorily cover all agricultural workers (a massive expansion of the numbers of those now technically insured). The Old Kingdom (and hence Bucharest) applied until 1933 the 1912 "'Nenitescu' Law for the organization of crafts, credit and workers' insurance"; it insured disease, maternity, death, invalidity due to illness and old-age. In 1932, Transylvanian agricultural workers' coverage was revoked by the central, Bucharest government. Finally, in 1933, a Law for the Unification of Social Insurance was passed. Its supporters in government and parliament argued that although the economic crisis did not allow an expansion of insured categories, administrative simplification was going to translate into broader access and small increases in the levels of benefits for all those covered. The risks insured in the 1933 Law were the same as in the 1912 Nenitescu Law, but due to ILO commitments servants and home workers (whether self-employed or not) also became included. Neither unemployment nor old-age pensions for non-public employees were provided for under the new legislation. Whereas legislators admitted that both widows and orphans would have to become fully insured in a more prosperous future, agricultural workers received no mention and became (to be clear, purposefully) "locked out" of the emergent 'welfare state'. Senate of Romania, "Senatul: Ședința dela 17 Martie 1933 [Senate: Session of 17 March 1933]," *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 34 (April 7, 1933): 1100, 1116; Delcea, "The Welfare-State as a Means of Nation-Building in Interwar Romania, 1930-1938," 30.

for illness, maternity, death, accident and invalidity categories of workers that were previously uninsured in the Old Kingdom, such as craftsmen whose crafts occurred in clients' homes.[216] (As a result, self-employed persons carrying out a recognized trade in clients' homes became assimilated to entrepreneurs, while domestic servants were implicitly demoted to a position of low-skill non-artisan home-based workers.)[217]

Because insurance unification was both an opportunity of meeting ILO standards and an occasion for the cost-cutting made necessary by the Depression, precarious or "low-skill" workers, in effect most of the workforce in agrarian Romania, were excluded both explicitly or due to the cultivation of implementation vices. Thus, "employees of agricultural enterprises" were exempted from insurance, ostensibly due to the protestation of medics' associations who feared being overwhelmed by rural patients in city hospitals.[218] As discussed in Chapter 5 in detail, domestic servants were also excluded from insurance until 1938, even though Romania had ratified the 1928 the 1928 ILO Convention Concerning Sickness Insurance for Workers in Industry and Commerce and Domestic (C024) Servants which included servants into health insurance.[219]

The concrete numbers of insured persons were very low throughout the entire period discussed here: in 1933-34, insurance covered 600,000 persons, whereas in 1936 - 1937, 900,000 persons were insured[220], i.e. between 3% and 4.5% of the country's population at the time. The

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[216] Parliament of Romania, "Legea pentru unificarea asigurârilor sociale [Law for the unification of social insurance]," M. Of. 83 / 8 Apr 1933 § (1933).

[217] MMSOS, *Dare de seama asupra activitâții Casei Centrale a Asigurărilor Sociale pe anii 1912-1934 [Report on the activity of the Central House of Social Insurance for 1912-1934]* (Bucharest: Imprimeria Națională, 1935), 59; Parliament of Romania, "Senatul: Ședința de vineri 17 martie 1933 [Senate meeting of Friday 17 March 1933]," *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 34 (April 7, 1934): 1148.

[218] MMSOS, *Dare de seama asupra activitâții Casei Centrale a Asigurărilor Sociale pe anii 1912-1934 [Report on the activity of the Central House of Social Insurance for 1912-1934]*, 59.

[219] International Labour Organization, "Convention Concerning Sickness Insurance for Workers in Industry and Commerce and Domestic Servants," C024 § (1928), http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C024.

[220] Asociația Științifică pentru Enciclopedia României, *Enciclopedia României [The Encyclopedia of Romania]*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1938), 549–51.

statistic of professions in 1930 Bucharest, as published in the 1938 *Encyclopedia of Romania*, gives an approximate sense of the extent and quality of insurance coverage in the city: in a population of 570,880, 28% of the active population worked in industry, 24.9% in domestic service, 19.3% in the civil service, 9.1% in commerce and credit, while another 19% were employed in "other professions".[221] Considering that insurance for industrial workers malfunctioned in practice and that until 1938, domestic workers in Bucharest were not insured, the proportion of those benefitting from healthcare, occasional aid in cash and old-age pensions even within the perimeter of the capital city was for most of the interwar period, limited. Likely, the proportion was not much higher than the 20% which designated the segment of persons employed in the public sector. The insurance of public employees was covered from budgetary contributions; consequently, collections of contributions was achieved consistently.(For those employed in the private sector, employers were required to purchase insurance stamps. Ministry of Labour publications noted that lapses in payment were frequent.)

From the start, the type of benefits which accrued with formal employment were created with full-time male workers in mind and included women only under disadvantageous or discriminatory conditions. In the first place, the rule that a certain uninterrupted period of contributions (usually twenty-six weeks) were necessary to access benefits put women, who often worked seasonally and usually in less formalized settings than men, at a disadvantage. Furthermore, most employed women worked as servants in private homes, where lapses in contributions and overall deregulation of the profession left the majority under-protected. Certainly, all working class waged workers labored in unsupervised, harsh conditions, but the

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[221] Andrei Pippidi, "Biografii paralele [Parallel biographies]," in *Chipurile oraşului: Istorii de viaţă în Bucureşti: secolul XX [The city's faces: life histories in Bucharest: the 20th century]*, ed. Zoltán Rostás (Iasi: Polirom, 2002), 8.

small improvements insurance could bring reached most women even less than it reached most men.

From the little existing scholarship on the topic, it is clear that social insurance policies in interwar Romania were ungenerous, intrinsically gendered, had a clear urban bias and (more or less) meaningfully protected only public employees.[222] Due to its bias for the urban and the public sector, Delcea argues that the "Romanian welfare state" was by no means a centralized cluster of redistributive policies but rather, an "inequality-entrenching welfare state"[223]. But it could be argued that the restricted scope of the coverage made this bureaucratic framework less a "welfare state" and more a collection of experiments in the field of social policy, and in that sense entirely similar to the various "initiatives" and "projects" of the seemingly less-centralized women's organizations.

Maternity benefits.

The small scale of Romania's health and social insurance programs and lapses in implementation are abundantly evident in relation to care for recent mothers. Technically, insured employed women were covered for maternity along the lines of the 1919 ILO Maternity Protection Convention (C003) through the 1928 Law for the Protection of Minors' and Women's Work (M.Of. 85/13 Apr 1928).[224] This meant that in Romania, women working in industrial and commercial enterprises were entitled to maximum six weeks of leave before child birth and a

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[222] Delcea, "The Welfare-State as a Means of Nation-Building in Interwar Romania, 1930-1938."For the discussion of the international context in which this minmalism was ocurring, refer back to Chapter 2, Section 2.2.5.
[223] Delcea, 69.
[224] International Labour Organization, "Convention Concerning the Employment of Women before and after Childbirth," C003 § (1921),
https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C003; Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru ocrotirea muncii minorilor și femeilor și durata muncii [Law for the protection of minors' and women's work and for the duration of the work day]," M. Of. No. 85/ 13 Apr 1928 § (1928).

mandatory six weeks of leave afterwards, for a full total of twelve weeks of leave, during which they could not be laid off by employers and benefitted from "an indemnity for her and her child's maintenance, as well as free medical care under the conditions established through the law on health insurance" (Art. 31).[225] However, eligibility for parts of this indemnity was not automatic. Access to benefits connected to maternity was conditional; employed women had to have contributed to insurance for a minimum of twenty-six weeks in the year before childbirth.[226]

The numbers of those insured for maternity was expanded in 1933, with the passing of a new general insurance law which included all servants and other categories of "homeworkers". As mentioned, the nursing wives of men insured were also covered. However, from 1933 on, only the wives of those men who had been insured for a longer period could avail themselves of this right. An insured man's wife could be co-insured and benefit from maternity healthcare if her legal husband had contributed for at least fifty-two weeks in the previous two years.[227] This placed the high number of women in common law marriages, usually the most precarious ones, entirely outside coverage. The same category of insured men could receive, "when the financial situation of the [Insurance] House allows it, an amount of money for the wife and baby".[228] The condition of uninterrupted unemployment penalized most blue-collar workers, especially in times of economic crisis when stable employment was hard to come by. Furthermore, an aid in money which could be received by a nursing mother was conditioned by her submitting to a doctor's advice on child-rearing, a measure considered to be in the woman's own interest.

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[225] Parliament of Romania, Lege pentru ocrotirea muncii minorilor și femeilor și durata muncii [Law for the protection of minors' and women's work and for the duration of the work day].
[226] Parliament of Romania, "Senatul: Ședința dela 17 martie 1933 [Senate: Session of 17 March 1933]," 1126.
[227] Parliament of Romania, 1187.
[228] Parliament of Romania, 1127.

Overall, the advantages of the formal existence of maternity insurance in Romania seem to have been minimal. Financial benefits associated with maternity leave received higher allocations in 1933, but the inapplication of all "protective" labour laws in Romania radiated onto working women's entitlements to components of the social insurance system. A 1938 report by social-democratic women in Romania stated tersely that: "The employers do not respect the law which provides that women shall be paid their wages six weeks before, and six weeks after confinement. It is much simpler to give them the sack."[229] Similarly, a report submitted to the ILO Correspondence Committee on Women's Work by a liberal progressive group of women described the same situation: "In the great enterprises women receive maternity leave. In the smaller enterprises, they show pregnant women the door, other women are employed in their place."[230]

Means-testing and non-transferable benefits.

Means-testing applied for some social insurance entitlements, such as the inheritance of a deceased person's invalidity or old-age pension by their legally recognized dependents. The 1933 Law for the Unification of Social Insurance provided that: "The legitimate wife or husband of a pensioner has the right to 50% of the deceased person's pension, when it is ascertained that she or he is unable to work and when the state of poverty is proven through a pauperity act (orig. 'act de paupertate') issued by the habilitated financial administration." Minor children could benefit from a third of the pension of a deceased person if they could prove pauperism through the same type of document, attesting their lack of income and property and that they were devoid of means.[231]

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[229] "Letter from Roumania," 1937, W 34 I.I. Correspondence Committee on Women's Work. Correspondence with Experts-Romania, ff. 225-226, International Labour Organization Archives. Courtesy Prof. Susan Zimmermann.
[230] Calypso Botez, "Reponse au questionnaire du BIT sur les conditions de travail des femmes [Reply to the ILO questionnaire on women's labour conditions]," in *Din Istoria Feminismului Românesc 1929-1948*, ed. Ștefania Mihăilescu, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Polirom, 1937), 301.
[231] Senate of Romania, "Senatul: Ședința dela 17 Martie 1933 [Senate: Session of 17 March 1933]," 1187.

Also, beginning with 1933, morality-related criteria could be applied to deprive insured persons of benefits. According to an amendment introduced by Parliament to the original project presented by the government:

> The insured person who provoked their injury, purposefully or through serious oversight, by taking part in fights, or commission of a crime, or if the disease is owed to alcoholism, will not have the right to financial compensation [during illness]. If it will be proved that the family was being supported through the labour of the insured person, in the cases specified in the previous two paragraphs, it will be possible to grant to the family up to 50 percent of the legal compensations and only within the limits of the family's needs.[232]

The amendment created a large loophole in workmen's accident insurance, guaranteeing that only those workers and families considered well-behaved from a work discipline, personal morality and habits, or political convictions would have their needs recognized by the state in case of accident. The persistence of means-testing procedures such as pauperism certificates points to the convenient incorporation of the instruments which defined minimalist poverty policy in Western Europe into the austerity policy-making of the NPP in 1933.[233] (See Section 1.2)

Limited health care.

The state-backed system for interwar healthcare provision has been described as a "heterogeneous".[234] In Bucharest, hospitals were maintained from the state budget. Specifically, in 1921, the state took over the public interest foundation which administered the city's major

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[232] Parliament of Romania, 1184.

[233] James Midgley, "Poor Law Principles and Social Assistance in the Third World: A Study of the Perpetuation of Colonial Welfare," *International Social Work* 27, no. 1 (January 1, 1984): 21, https://doi.org/10.1177/002087288402700105; On the traditions of philanthropy in Valachia (later Kingdom of Romania), see Ligia Livadă -Cadeschi, *De la milă la filantropie. Instituţii de asistare a săracilor din Ţara Româneasca şi Moldova în secolul al XVIII-lea [From mercy to philathropy. Institutions for the assistance of the poor in Valachia and Moldova in the 18th century]* (Bucharest: Nemira, 2001); "Săracii din Ţările Române la începuturile timpurilor moderne [The poor in the Romanian Lands at the start of the modern period]," in *Sărăcie şi asistenţă socială în spaţiul românesc sec. 18-20* (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2002), 11–60, http://www.nec.ro/data/pdfs/publications/relink/saracie-si-asistenta-sociala/Saracie_si_asistenta_sociala.pdf.

[234] B Duţescu and N Marcu, "Medicina în perioada dintre cele două războaie mondiale [The Medical sciences in the period between the two world wars]," in *Istoria medicinii româneşti*, ed. VL Bologa et al. (Bucharest: Editura Medicală, 1972), 302.

hospitals since the nineteenth century (the Eforia [Foundation] of Civil Hospitals) and redistributed its considerable landholdings in that year's agrarian reform. (Due to the Eforia's loss of income, hospitalization in Bucharest state institutions could no longer be free of charge for the neediest persons, as they seem to have been since the 1840s.)[235] The system of workers' social insurance covered professionals and skilled workers. As mentioned, these were a minority, even in the capital city. In addition, nationally, there were smaller associations and religious organizations which provided healthcare services and maintained hospitals or sanatoria.[236]

Just how limited access to healthcare was is made clear by pregnant women's difficulties in benefitting from any kind of medical assistance during this period, even in Bucharest, even when insured. Between 1931 and 1937, nationally, only 15% of births occurred in hospitals, 4% outside hospitals but with medical assistance, whereas more than half of women gave birth at home, at best assisted by midwives. (By the late 1930s, Romania's European-high maternal mortality rate was a truth established through statistical data, referenced nationally and internationally.) In 1932, a sanitary inquiry into one of Bucharest's districts noted that most births occurred at home, while in 72% of cases prenatal supervision had been inexistent.[237] By 1936, Dr. L. Mavromati, director of the Center of Maternal Assistance functioning within Bucharest's Central Insurance House, described that the Center employed two doctors and fifteen midwives, working in ten dispensaries throughout the city.[238] Due to the lack of a maternity house run by the

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[235] Arhivele Nationale Istorice Centrale, "Inventar. Eforia Spitalelor Civile. Centrala (1890-1948) [Finding Guide. The Eforia of Civil Hospitals. Central Office." (Bucharest: ANIC, 2009), 1, http://arhivelenationale.ro/site/download/inventare/Eforia-Spitalelor-Civile.-Centrala.-1890-1948.-Inv.-3430.pdf.

[236] Duțescu and Marcu, "Medicina în perioada dintre cele două războaie mondiale," 307.

[237] Ștefania Negrescu, "Date și concluzii din ancheta internațională asupra cauzelor mortalității infantile la copiii născuți vii, între 0-1 an, precum și asupra mortalității în circumscripția medicală X (periferică) din București pe anul 1931 [Data and conclusions from the international inquiry into the causes of infantile mortality among children born alive, 0-1 years of age, as well as mortality in X (peripheral) district of Bucharest for the year 1931]," *Revista de Igienă Socială* 2, no. 3 (1932): 279–90.

[238] He described that before his reorganization of the Center's functioning, "a midwife assigned to home births would be told 'you are a homebirth midwife in dispensary X'; fullstop. How she will function, how she will orient herself, how she will procure the medication and emergency instruments, no detail, no guidance concerning these

Insurance House, Mavromati encouraged home births by the well-prepared midwives working in the ten dispensaries, accompanied by improved pre-natal and post-natal supervision.[239]

In slashing the Ministry of Health's funding, the budgetary austerity of the 1930s enhanced the heterogeneity of the healthcare system. The expansive 1930 Sanitary and Protection Law (M.Of. 236/14 Jul 1930) created by the NPP government used the principle of decentralization to in part, mask spending cuts.[240] Thus, decentralization of the sanitary system meant that hospital budgets were to be administered by hospital managers.[241] At the same time, decentralization meant a strong encouragement from the government for health institutions to secure their own revenues beyond the state budget.[242] In Bucharest's Eforia hospitals, the application of this principle led to the eventual forging of a partnership with the Superior School of Social Assistance (SSAS), a private but state-subsidized higher-education institution training women in social work.

In 1938, before the participants to National Congress of Social Assistance, sociologist and social worker Xenia Costa-Foru explained the functioning of the "general social services" and the "special social services" functioning alongside various hospitals and clinics in Bucharest. Created in 1930 by the Superior School of Social Assistance (SSAS), mostly as a way of providing practical training for students, "the hospital social service" aimed to assist sick persons with "social matters", collaborate closely with all those involved in the care of a patient, and conduct research on "matters of social dependence" created or aggravated by disease. Costa-Foru reported that

issues." L Mavromati, "Asistența Maternă la Casa de Asigurări București [Maternal assistance at Bucharest's Insurace House]," *Revista de Igienă Socială* 6, no. 3 (March 1936): 175.

[239] Supposing that in a city population of 500000 persons, 100000 were women of child-bearing age, one of the fifteen Bucharest midwifes then had in her charge-in one way or another- the whopping (conservatively-estimated) number of 6500 persons.

[240] Parliament of Romania, "Legea Sanitară și de Ocrotire [Sanitary and Protection Law]," M. Of. 236 / 14 Jul 1930 § (1930).

[241] Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*, 198.

[242] Duțescu and Marcu, "Medicina în perioada dintre cele două războaie mondiale," 302.

between 1930 and 1936, the assistants had created 10938 patient fiches for only one of the four

Bucharest major hospitals where assistants were present. [243]

However, the most important function of the SSAS's Hospital Social Services and the

feature which made them tolerated components and then essential parts of hospitals'

administrations, were assistants' investigations of patients' ability to pay for healthcare. Because

of the crisis and possibly due to the formalization of healthcare provision through the 1933 law,

healthcare was now offered free of charge only under increasingly stringent conditions.

The innovative social knowledge-making practices used by SSAS to assess the situation of

families requesting outdoor social assistance became very important in the bureaucratic

management of decentralization. Costa-Foru explained that:

> The social assistants' special training in what regards economic investigations, have made
> it so – as I have previously explained- that the Direction of the Eforia requested their help
> for: easing the hospitalization of needy sick persons; the selection of cases that needed to
> be treated free of charge; and the distribution of expenses to those habilitated to cover them.
> This attribution had the great advantage of bringing the service closer to the administration
> of the hospital through a quotidian and efficient collaboration, which has already made it
> so that for now in this regard, the social service is integrated to the organization of the
> hospital.[…] Through this most intimate contact, the assistant had the occasion to see
> almost all dependent sick persons committed to the hospitals of the Eforia.[244]

The mention of the "most intimate contact" that facilitated social workers' assessments of need

highlights how the intimacy work involved in social work became central to both the state's

management of need and patients negotiating (with) their social vulnerability access to social

benefits.

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[243] Also, over the course of five years (1933 to 1938), volunteer assistants for the general social services had
rendered the following services to patients: 777 job placements "with families" or establishments, 1669
transportation of sick persons in the city and the rest of the country, 4891 "correspondence services", 8523
"connections to other assistance organs", 1311 commitments to institutions, "material aid" for 7497 persons and
"incidental assistance services" for 4564 persons. Xenia Costa-Foru, "Serviciile sociale generale și serviciile sociale
speciale pe lângă diferite spitale și clinici [The general social services and the special social services functioning
alongside different hospitals and clinics]," *Asistența Socială - Buletinul Asociației pentru Progresul Asistenței
Sociale* 7, no. 2 (1938): 129–37.
[244] Costa-Foru, 135.

The Hospital Social Service's coordinator complained that these inquiries into possibilities of payment took up most of the assistants' time, leaving little for the preventative and research work the Superior School had actually set out to do:

> These administrative inquiries have meant an overwhelming number which exceeded the powers of the assistants who were working in the Service-as we have to realize that for almost all of these inquiries it is necessary to: a) perform an initial collection of all the data existing with the hospital's administration; b) the consultation of the medical charts; c) a meeting with the applicant for gratuity during which some of the rubrics of the standard chart are filled in and the items requiring further research are established; d) an investigation made at the home of the patient; sometime with the neighbors or his landlord, or the institution where he works. To these if we add the fact that sometimes these persons cannot be found from the first attempt and that most live in periphery neighborhoods, some on hardly-walkable streets and with messy house numbering; - that some addresses are purposefully lied about; and that you are not always received with good will and helped in your research, we can easily make an idea about the difficult work and the time that was required for each of the inquiries mentioned above.[245]

Costa-Foru's clarification of the minutiae of social investigation to establish entitlement further underscores the intimacy work features of the SSAS's activities within public hospitals and beyond them. They also show the detail in which need was meant to be investigated in order to benefit from healthcare and the opposition of applicants to what was perceived to be an intrusion.

In reality, these investigations were far less detailed than Costa-Foru suggested in her congress speech. Filled in investigation fiches and daily tables with such inquiries' results, some of which were preserved in the archives of the Eforia of the Civil Hospitals (coordinated by the Ministry of Health), show that more than half of the patients surveyed were recommended for exemptions by the assistant and had their exemptions approved by hospital management. Usually, the social worker filled in only parts of the standard questionnaire. Occasionally, she added several words about the situation. On one such table, created on Christmas Day 1936, it is stated that "9 sick people came in, [inquiries for] 7 people were submitted today", with another ten patients

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[245] Costa-Foru, 136.

having undergone "ulterior inquiries", the latter of which the manager decided not to consider admissible, leaving a note to that effect on the margins of the sheet to the attention of the social assistant who had conducted the home investigations.[246]

Recanted commitment: War widows' pensions.

Globally, social provision for widows is a topic with a sophisticated historiography, acknowledged to be foundational for the intersection of welfare history and women's history. For the context of the USA, Theda Skocpol influentially argued in 1992 that a post-Civil War system of pensions for widowed mothers lay at the root of the particular, yet precocious and fairly extensive US "maternalist"(as opposed to what she considers the "paternalist", insurance-centric, European) welfare state, made possible by women welfare activists uniquely positioned within the social and institutional constraints of the American political system.[247]

In the years that followed, Skocpol's overly optimistic take on the role of middle class women as welfare activists in shaping the exceptionalism of the US welfare state was contradicted or nuanced by several landmark gender history studies which showed that entitlements for widowed or single women functioned within a racialized, exclusionary logic and that most "maternalists", like "paternalistic" men, placed the ideal of the white male-breadwinner model at the core of their welfare vision, thus discouraging women's employment even in those (white, working class) families where the potentially family-waged man had died.[248]

One of the more recent American studies on the topic, SJ Kleinberg's "Widows and Orphans First", focuses on the implementation of various welfare measures dealing with widows

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[246] Marcela Lucaciu, "Anchetă socială bolnavi internați în Spitalul Colțea [Social investigation with in-patients at Colțea Hospitalî," December 25, 1936, Fond 3430 Eforia Spitalelor Civile (1890-1948), File 20/1937, f. 20, ANIC.
[247] Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*.
[248] For a review of the critical historiography that developed in dialogue with Skocpol's work, see Chappell, "Protecting Soldiers And Mothers Twenty-Five Years Later."

and orphans in three different US cities.[249] Kleinberg argues - practically contra Skocpol's "structured policy approach" - that as late as the 1930s, US social policies dealing with widows and orphans were fundamentally local affairs shaped by local economic needs and elites' situated perceptions of widowed women's negotiations of their family economies, with race a key determinant in the levels of spending for public social assistance in various cities.[250]

For Romania, the central governments' 1920 set-up of pensions and protection measures for war invalids, widows and orphans has been considered a paradigmatic moment in the evolution of state welfare provision. Thus, in one of the few comprehensive recent analyses of the topic, Silviu Hariton shows that discussions about the creation of pensions and other financial facilities for war invalids, widows and orphans constituted the first major occasion for politicians to debate questions concerning central state involvement in social policy, public duty and citizen entitlement.[251] In 1920, during parliamentary discussions about the creation of the National Office for War Invalids, Widows and Orphans (Oficiul National IOVR), politicians who supported the initiative expressed a minimalistic view of state intervention. The tropes of the assisted work-shy and the welfare scrounger were at the core of this vision. In this context, MPs supporting the initiative were careful to distinguish IOVR benefits from both "charity", "mercy", "philanthropy" and from the industrial accident insurance instituted in 1912 (and which could have potentially covered invalid men, as economist Virgil Madgearu pointed out in Parliament). They insisted that these benefits were reparations the state paid to soldiers – therefore allowing, Hariton suggests, for these facilities to potentially amount to more than the stingy disbursements enabled by other social

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[249] Kleinberg, *Widows and Orphans First*.
[250] Kleinberg.
[251] Hariton, "Asumarea politicilor sociale."

protection laws in operation. Political figures emphasized that the guiding principle of the new Office was "assistance through work".[252]

The principle of "assistance through work" applied to war widows more than it ever concerned war invalids. The 1920 Law for the Creation of the National Office of War Invalids, Orphans and Widows (M. Of. 119/ 2 Sept. 1921) stated that the Office was meant to focus on the reeducation and professional reintegration of invalids, the protection of war orphans, and the assistance of war widows.[253] The latter category were to be assisted "in their homes" or through the "creation of institutions, for those who are absolutely unable to work".[254] In general, widowed women, like invalids, were expected to become employed, with the state committing to facilitating their gainful activities (through training, and reserving state monopoly concessions for these categories). The invalids and widows who refused IOVR protection and supervision and were found begging, would lose "their right to protection".

However, in the case of war widows and orphans, lawmakers allowed not only productivist notions but also the male-breadwinner ideal to shape policy. General Răşcanu, one of the initiators of these measures, argued that the level of orphans' and widows' pensions had to compensate for "the loss of those who insured their existence, and [they] therefore also have the right from the State to a pension which would assure an existence equivalent to the one the head of the family would have ensured, had he lived."[255] Patriarch Miron Cristea- an influential member of the clergy, insisted on the occasion that widows had to be allowed to keep their pensions even after remarriage, in order to prevent the further growth of postwar common law cohabitation.[256] (As I

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[252] Hariton, 129.

[253] Parliament of Romania, "Legea pentru înfiinţarea Oficiului Naţional al invalizilor, orfanilor şi văduvelor de război [Law for the creation of the National Office for war invalids, orphans and widows]," M. Of. 119/ 2 Sept. 1921 § (1921).

[254] Hariton, "Asumarea politicilor sociale," 130.

[255] Quoted in Hariton, 131.

[256] Hariton, 134.

shall point out, patriarch Cristea's stance was a direct result of lobbying by widowed women who had joined the feminist League for the Rights and Duties of Women [LDDFR].)

The case of the IOVR is also emblematic for the evolving attitudes towards the specific private-public welfare mix developing in Romania and its gendered features. Initially, in 1920, the IOVR (subordinate to the still-existing Ministry of War) incorporated the various private organizations through which high society women (mostly) had aided orphans, widows and invalids. They were included in the operation of the bureaucracy under the official title of "delegated protection organs"[257]. Widows had their dedicated IOV-delegated national society administering their benefits, an organization called the Society for War Widows. After 1929, these various organizations had their attributions and subsidies restricted by the Ministry of Labour, while in July 1934 "all the associations federated to the IOV National Office were dissolved and their activities reunited in the IOV National Eforias (Eforiile Naționale IOV), whose patrimony was taken over by the state in 1935."[258]

Anecdotal evidence concerning the implementation of the widows'pensions program suggest that despite the initial legislative commitments underscored in Hariton's article, war widows were frequently deprived of their pension rights and facilities and marginalized within the IOVR system. For example, in 1922, during Labour Minister Mârzescu's speech at the Bucharest Congress of the Society of War Widows, several women stood up demanding equal pensions with invalids and the promised free school tuition for their children.[259] The same year, more than three

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[257] Hariton, 129.
[258] Hariton, 137.
[259] V.C., "Congresul văduvelor de război [The War widow's congress]," *Dimineața*, June 1922.

hundred women from Tutova county signed an open letter written by lawyer Lucia Teodorescu and published in the center-left *Dimineața* newspaper.[260]

Through its short- and long-term effects, Lucia Teodorescu's 1921 letter is a significant document for the history of suffrage feminism in Romania. It sheds light on the occasionally broad appeal of feminist rhetoric in the early 1920s and enables a better understanding of key, middle class suffragists responses to lower class women's social demands. The letter riled against the government and the women employed by the IOVR. It called on the feminists in the League for the Rights and Duties of Women (See Sections 3.3. and 4.1.) – advocating for suffrage at the time - to become involved in representing the 300,000 war widows and 500,000 orphans in Romania, as part of their feminist fight. The letter exhorted: "The feminists are called upon to defend [the widows'] holy cause, being through this gesture in agreement with the ideal of feminism."[261]

The letter is striking through its poignant condemnation of social injustice on the intertwined grounds of gender and class. Decrying gender injustice, the signatories called for women's enfranchisement so that politicians would be forced to grant them equal pensions to those of invalid men on electoral grounds. Thus, the letter stated that the widows were committed to fighting alongside "the feminists" for suffrage, since "as was proven through the augmenting of the pension only for invalids and not for widowed women too, that invalids managed, because of politicians' need of votes, while the widows remained with a pension half as large, as they had no electoral importance." Riling against class injustice, the signatories argued that the "hundreds of thousands" of peasant widows "were left to chance, as they cannot speak nor write" and as the IOV office only catered to the needs of "several thousand widows of superior officers". The

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[260] "Congresul văduvelor de război [The War widows' congress]," *Universul*, June 15, 1922; "Un apel al văduvelor de război [An appeal from the war widows]," *Dimineața*, February 20, 1922.
[261] "Un apel al văduvelor de război [An appeal from the war widows]."

signatories suggested that the system of delegated welfare societies turned the IOV into "employment offices for matrons married to superior officers and retired generals". Emphatically, the Tutova widows asked for the return of the land lots granted to widows in the agrarian reform but taken away a year later, despite the provisions of the 1920 IOVR law.[262]

In other articles and interventions that year, the same group of widowed women declared, strategically, that "the State was not at fault" but that various persons the IOVR employed were committing abuses. They revealed that peasant women had been thrown out of the IOV delegated Society for War Widows in Tutova county for non-payment of dues, so that many could not receive their pensions. They also exposedthat Jewish women were turned away and told "there barely was enough for the Romanians" even though -the group argued- those women's husbands had not been spared conscription for having been Jews.[263](Later, in the 1930s, widows' pensions were paid irregularly, leading to demonstrations and protests in Bucharest and in other locales.)

In 1923, Eugenia de Reuss Ianculescu reported to IWSA's Ninth Congress, held in Rome, that of a total of six thousand members in the League for the Rights and Duties of Romanian

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[262] Lucia Teodorescu's letter is worth quoting at length: "In the name of four thousand widows in Tutova county we ask 'The League for Women's Rights and Duties' to defend the moral and material interests of 300.000 (three hundred thousand) war widows with at least 500.000 (five hundred thousand) orphans. Because an only too small section several thousand widows take advantage of all the favors, (...) they being the wives of superior officers (...) and the other hundreds of thousands left to chance, as they are unable to either speak or write, the feminists are called upon to defend their holy cause, being through this gesture in agreement with the ideal of feminism. As was proved through the augmentation of the pension only for invalids, and not for widowed women too, that invalids managed, through the need for votes politicians have, and the widow remained with a pension half as large, as they had no electoral importance, we will be asking with more conviction the right to vote for women, so we may defend our interests like men do. (...) Romania brags about having granted land to war widows. The previous government granted them the land and now the current government took away the widows' land, while in the IOV law it still stands, in bold letters, 'The Granting of property to war widows'. We request that there be no more parading at the expense of the martyrs of the country- the heroes taken to war unprepared especially in Dobruja. We demand the equaling of war widows with invalids in all entitlements. For equal sacrifices, equal rights. We demand the closing down of the Societies of war widows and the IOV which have become employment offices for matrons married to superior officers and retired generals (...) We demand the disappearance of begging and an increase in the pension." "Un apel al văduvelor de război [An appeal from the war widows]."

[263] "Cum sunt tratate văduvele de război - O scrisoare interesantă [How the war widows are being treated- an interesting letter]," *Dimineața*, April 8, 1922.

Women, four thousand were peasant war widows from Tutova county.[264] De Reuss Ianculescu reported that Lucia Teodorescu, by then president of the LDDFR branch in Bârlad (seat of Tutova county at the time), and her lawyer husband, had drafted a bill that would have allowed war widows to keep half of their pensions in case of remarriage. The bill was successfully adopted, after winning support from various members of Parliament and religious leaders such as Archbishop Miron Cristea (who feared the spread of common law cohabitation if war widows were to lose their pensions).[265] Notably, the better-connected, Bucharest-based women in LDDFR only served as a conduit for the demands of autonomously-organizing women. In the years that followed the Tutova widows' letters, despite the sizable membership of peasant women demanding less discriminatory social policies, the LDDFR does not seem to have been swayed towards lobbying the national government on welfare issues – a turn the majority of its six thousand members would have condoned.

As the brief discussion above highlights, war widowhood, the gendering of entitlements through post-war state-wide welfare arrangements, and by extension, the use of gender in statecraft, in twentieth century Romania is a theme that must be explored fully in a separate project. It is also a theme that- through its statist features- winds its way in and out of the focus of this dissertation. Nevertheless, war widows in Bucharest appear in the rest of this dissertation's text or had contact with the bodies discussed here frequently: as enfranchised women beginning with 1929, as single women who had to seek industrial or domestic service employment, as elderly women whose entitlement to a pension was being investigated by municipal social assistants in the 1930s, as among the lower-class women who interested feminists and women academics

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[264] Eugenia de Reuss Jancoulesco, "Reports from Auxiliaries. Roumania.," in *Report of Ninth Congress, Rome, Italy, May 12th to 19th, 1923* (Dresden, Saxony: B. G. Teubner, 1923), 207–8, https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C1631885.
[265] de Reuss Jancoulesco, 207–8.

theorizing social assistance. Whereas from the point of view of welfare legislation these women constituted a clear category, in the municipalism-oriented set-up of this thesis they usually appear as one among the several categories of women overrepresented among the Bucharest wage working women that so preoccupied the persons involved in welfare provision in the city.

2.3. Subsidies, Laws, Rules, Grand Plans: Government Frameworks for Social Assistance Provision

Romanian politicians working in Bucharest-based central government institutions in the 1920s were part of the post-WWI local "worlds of private charity" and likely aware of the history of philanthropy in the capital and the other major cities of Greater Romania. At the same time, they were involved in a process of state-building that entailed the moderation and incorporation of largely ILO-driven contributory social policies into the existing framework for dealing with needs. In the 1930s, external financial conditioning pushed for the scaling back of the state's involvement in welfare provision, whereas later, the growing influence of authoritarian ideas about state interventionism provoked a reassessment of the role of private-public cooperation. How did the central state drive the transition from a largely private and locality-specific system of addressing needs to a set-up in which "the state"," the commune" (or "the municipality"), "the county" and "private initiative" played simultaneous roles? What kind of welfare provision layers were created and how were they supposed to interact?

The National Liberal approach to private initiative welfare provision: Delegation and subsidies for regulated charities.

Between 1921 and 1929, the official goals of the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Protection's (MMSOS) Social Assistance Direction were to "organize, lead and supervise all

actions related to mandatory social assistance."[266] The Direction's Director, popular writer and

social reformer Eugen Botez, explained that the office he led strove to "develop and support private

initiative" rather than create new state-owned and state-administered institutions or programs.[267]

Meant to be a key office of the 1921-founded MMSOS, the Social Assistance Direction

collected its own revenues, published the *Calendar of Social Assistance* almanac and received

considerable press attention. It was authorized to gather its own revenues by taxing concert ticket

sale and the purchase of luxury items [cheltuieli somptuarii], by requiring those involved in such

transactions to acquire the special fiscal stamp issued by the Direction.[268]

In the Direction's definition, "mandatory assistance" entailed indoor and outdoor

assistance to those "in a physical, moral or material state of inferiority" who "could not support

themselves through their own efforts".[269] Within this definition, poor mothers and children,

widows, the disabled and the elderly were categories of special interest. Assistance could also be

provided to "the valid indigents", i.e. those capable of work who needed support in finding

employment.[270]

The goal of developing and supporting the private initiative was achieved through the

subsidies distributed by the Social Assistance Direction. In 1921 the Direction conditioned the

receipt of state funding upon subsidy-requesting associations' becoming juridically-recognized

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[266] Eugen Botez, "Asistența Socială [Social Assistance]," in *Zece ani de politică socială în România (1920-1930)* (Bucuresti: Ministerul Muncii, Sănătății și Ocrotirilor Sociale, 1930), 249.

[267] Botez, 250.

[268] Botez, 250.

[269] This category included "poor new mothers and infant children", "poor and orphaned children, foundlings, the disabled, the morally-abandoned vagrants and those children whose poor parents are unable to work", the poor disabled and invalids, "the poor wounded, convalescents, and the ill", widowers and old people who can no longer work, the blind and the deaf-mute, the abnormal and the feeble." Botez, 229.

[270] In fact, the Social Assistance Direction within the Ministry of Labour energetically took it upon itself(rather than leaving the task to private charities)to "combat and repress those who refuse work" and engage in begging and vagrancy instead. (The law saw vagrants rounded up by police and interned into work colonies; it was only abolished in 1936.)

entities with registered statutes and their undergoing yearly financial audit.[271]

The distribution of subsidies to women's organizations clearly had a political component. During the 1920s, two societies, the Asociația "Principele Mircea" (Prince Mircea Association) and the Housewives' Circles Association (ACG) received funds for rural and urban social assistance projects, among which a sanitary caravan travelling through villages in several Old Kingdom counties.[272] Both the Prince Mircea Association and the Housewives Circles' were founded and led by women from the intimate circle of Queen Marie. During the years of National Liberal domination (1920 to 1928), the two organizations received earmarked government subsidies averaging 4,000,000 Lei per year. Another one hundred and twenty charitable societies, most of them active in Bucharest, shared between themselves remaining budgets of between 9,000,000 and 14,000,000 Lei.[273]

The Direction of Social Assistance was a direct welfare provider itself. Through the Direction, the national government financed through direct transfers thirty-six "assistance institutions of national importance". These "indoor assistance" establishments included schools for the hearing- and visually-impaired, several correctional schools, eight work colonies, and

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[271] One of the first initiatives of the Ministry of Labour was to regulate charities,particularly those charities that solicited donations. The new regulations mandated the registration of private initiative social assistance societies, the drawing up of statutes and regular reporting of activities, incomes and expenses. At the time, around the year 1923, public commentators saluted the public body's drive, commenting with some malice that private relief "had become a kind of lucrative industry, a pastime and often an opportunity for self-promotion for certain members of the 'high life'" ; journalists considered the control initiative's growing success a sign that "state social assistance" (alternatively, "official social assistance") had surpassed "obstacles" placed by the "old organizations-who perhaps because of their sins or their abuses- did not look upon the new [social assistance] initiative of the state with kind eyes". "Constituirea, autorizarea și funcționarea institutelor de binefacere [The constitution, organization and functioning of benefaction institutes]," *Calendarul Asistenței Sociale* 3 (1923): 46–47; "Statute Tip Pentru Societatile de Binefacere [Standard Statutes for Benefaction Societies]," *Calendarul Asistentei Sociale*, 1923, 126–31; "Instrucțiuni pentru aplicarea legei privitoare la reglementarea și controlul apelurilor la contribuția benevolă a publicului [Guidelines for the application of the law concerning the regulation and control of appeals to the voluntary contributions of the public]," *Calendarul Asistenței Sociale*, 1924, 33–41; "Asistența socială de stat [State social assistance]," *Universul*, April 2, 1922; Margareta Manoliu, "Asistența Socială Oficială [The Official Social Assistance]," *Universul*, January 17, 1923.

[272] Botez, "Asistența Socială [Social Assistance]," 233.

[273] Botez, 233.

several public dispensaries. Another ten institutions were co-administered, in cooperation with private organizations.[274] Also, the Social Assistance Direction was the main government office tasked with applying the 1921 Law for the Curbing of Vagrancy and Begging and for the Protection of Children (Law 2908/ 4 Jul 1921).[275] Implemented with zeal in the first half of the 1920s, the law entailed not only the rounding up of beggars and vagrants from the main cities in Romania (primarily from Bucharest) but also the creation and maintenance of correctional "work colonies". (See Section 4.3)

At the same time, the central government required local governments to fund and administer several types of institutions. In the decade after the First World War, communes were required to create "bureaus for the triage, job placement and in-home relief [asistența la domiciliu] of the poor", "dispensaries for nursing children", public baths, "bureaus for the triage of beggars and vagrants", "provisional shelters and food kitchens for the poor".[276] (Partly because the national government imposed it and partly because it already had a history of doing so, during the 1920s, the Bucharest City Hall supported from its own revenues several "indoor assistance" institutions. Among them were the "Radu Vodă" Orphanage for Girls and several schools for apprentices. It also organized and funded the required triage bureau for vagrants and beggars.[277])

In 1927, the Labour Ministry's Social Assistance Direction lost its budgetary autonomy and as a result, much of its revenues. That year, the Finance Ministry was named the sole entity legally permitted to collect the taxes which financed state social assistance programs. As the Finance Ministry collected less money for the Direction of Social Assistance than the latter had

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[274] "România- Serviciile Sociale 1933- Asistența Socială [Romania-Social Services 1933- Social Assistance]," 1934, MMSOS-Oficiul pentru Studii Sociale, file 79/1934, Vol. 2, ff. 74-80, ANIC Bucharest.

[275] Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru înfranarea vagabondajului şi cerşetoriei şi pentru protecţiunea copiilor [Law for the curbing of vagrancy and beggining and for the protection of children]," Pub. L. No. 2908 (1921).

[276] Botez 1930, 231.

[277] Ion Zaplachta, "Cersetorii si vagabonzii capitalei [The beggars and vagrants of the capital]," *Calendarul Asistenţei Sociale*, 1924.

gathered for itself, the Direction lost part of its budget. Furthermore, on several occasions, the Finance Ministry abusively redirected funds earmarked for the Social Assistance Directions to other causes, such as the office for invalids (I.O.V), war heroes' graves, or the schools for apprentices the central government ran. This occurred even though none of these other social issues were formally coordinated by the Social Assistance Direction.[278] In 1930, by then former director Botez was very explicit about obstruction from other central government bodies.

A year later, the ability of the Social Assistance Direction to fund and monitor private initiative social assistance, while also serving as a direct welfare provider, decreased further. During that year, the National Liberal government was dealing with monetary instability and an increasingly strong opposition. In this context, according to Eugen Botez, the national government's social assistance body had to deal with additional cuts:

> The critical situation in which the Assistance found itself [in 1928] only became worse as the cost of living became higher and instead of expanding, the Assistance had to limit its activity. It decreases and cuts aids and subsidies for charitable organizations, it halts the construction of institutions and even shutters part of the existing ones, so that it could sustain the remainder.[279]

This second round of cuts, occurring soon after the 1927 reduction of revenues, managed to derail a post-WWI-combat vision of social policy-making for various categories of "dependents" as having to occur at the level of the national government. Notably, this contraction of central state social assistance provision and policy-making did not yet occur on the backdrop of deep economic crisis. Rather, NLP priorities shifted away from social policy expansion likely due to mismanagement, the mounting costs of administrative unification and foreign policy repositioning. The National Liberal Party lost national elections in November of 1928 so that the the NLP's long-

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[278] Botez, "Asistența Socială [Social Assistance]," 251–52.
[279] Botez, 252.

term intentions regarding the Direction of Social Assistance within the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Protection cannot be ascertained.

National Peasantist governments: municipal social assistance expansion, control over private assistance.

By late 1929, a new government and the Great Depression combined to shape the definition and scope of public vs. private initiative social assistance to a far greater extent than the Social Assistance Direction ever had when managed by Eugen Botez. The tensions of this new set up, in which a willingness to extend state power (to the detriment of civic and charitable organizations) crossed a drive to cut costs, were most strongly felt in the capital city.

Under the new NPP government, the Ministry of Labour's Social Assistance Direction became the Social Assistance Service. Eugen Botez commented bitterly that this was the culmination of a longer trend: "The Social Assistance Direction, which had been conceived in a grand spirit as a great autonomous house with juridical personality, for social aid, with certain revenues, ends up through successive transformations as a simple and rigid Ministry office".[280] None too pleased about the NLP budget cuts in the late 1920s, Botez was even more upset by the NPP's enthusiasm for downsizing.

The National Peasantists wanted to rationalize and decentralize the administration. In mass opposition rallies organized throughout 1928, the NPP identified the corruption and nepotism of successive National Liberal governments as causes for growing social inequality, egregious bureaucratic mismanagement and the under-allocation of funds for the Transylvanian province.

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[280] Botez, 252.

This diagnostic was appealing to ethnic Romanian intellectuals in Transylvania.[281] In the first NPP government, the health, labor and social protection portfolios were staffed by reform-minded professionals from this region.[282] The most influential among them, Dr. Iuliu Moldovan, served briefly as General Director in the Ministry of Health. Moldovan was an epidemiologist with a strong interest in eugenics, preventative medicine and technocratic government.[283] In 1930, Moldovan spearheaded a major reform of health, sanitary and social assistance policies.

The so-called "Moldovan Law" was one of the key acts passed by the eugenicist Health Minister of the first NPP government. The voluminous, detailed legal document actually bore the official title of the "Sanitary and Protection Law" (M. Of. 236/14 Jul 1930). It was rooted in two principles: decentralization (budgetary and administrative) and the primacy of certified experts' authority (doctors especially, but also statisticians and social assistants) over other categories of persons involved in welfare provision.[284] Maria Bucur suggests that the most striking feature of the Moldovan Law was its "combin[ing] a system of centralized decision-making by a group of elite

[281] Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*, 30.
[282] Iuliu Moldovan (1882-1966). Hygienist, epidemiologist. Specialized in epidemiology and prevention, through studies at Vienna Medical School and the Institute for Pathological Anatomy in Prague. Physician with the Austro-Hungarian Army until 1918. Between December 1918 and April 1920, General Secretary for Social Welfare in the Guidance Council, a transitional body governing the Transylvanian province. Founder and Director of Institute of Hygiene and Social Hygiene in Cluj (1919-1940). General Director in the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Protection (14 Nov. 1929-7 Jun. 1930). According to Bucur, through his membership in the first NPP government, Moldovan became "the most important Romanian promoter or a new science-based nationalist discourse." Bucur, 26, 26–31.
[283] According to Bucur, "the alliance between eugenicists and the NPP was somewhat inconsistent with their respective guiding principles, for the Peasantists aimed to represent the rural constituency as individual voters within a democratic parliamentary system, while eugenicists sought to protect collective interests in a corporate setting. It is likely that both groups saw this as a somewhat pragmatic alliance." Bucur, 30.
[284] The five hundred seventy-two articles of the Law detailed employment requirements and attributions for most positions within the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Protection involving sanitary intervention and social assistance. The act focused on preventative medicine, insisting on the combatting of venereal disease. Through the creation of an autonomous Regie of the Sanitary and Protection Fund, the Law intended to safeguard a budget meant to cover healthcare costs for the very poor. Parliament of Romania, Legea Sanitară și de Ocrotire [Sanitary and Protection Law]. In the version that was enacted, the Law also switched the regime of sex work from regulationist to abolitionist (through the banning of brothels). However, Lucian Dărămuș points out that the measure was tacked onto the Law during debates, likely at the separate insistences of hygienist doctors, clergy and feminists. Dărămuș, "Prostitutie feminina si heterosexualitate," 109–14.

technocrats – doctors – with a decentralized system of implementing these policies. […] The law empowered local technical officials at the expense of the central administrative bureaucracy, while allowing the technocratic elite at the top of the ministerial hierarchy to retain control over long term policies."[285] The provisions of the law certainly aimed toward this.

The new legal framework devolved most social assistance tasks from the national level to the municipal. Consequently, the ministry level Social Assistance Direction was replaced with the Service of Social Assistance, a strictly technical and supervisory body. The law now stated that the "Social assistance of individuals and families incapable of supporting themselves, and obliged to appeal to public support, falls to the communes, in collaboration with the private societies for social assistance" (Art.466).

In Bucharest, "a central welfare office" (Art. 90), staffed by social workers certified at the (yet-to-open) Superior School of Social Assistance, was tasked with most of the management and provision of social assistance within the city (Ars. 136-148).[286] The "section for national welfare" within this locally operating welfare office was charged with "guiding and coordinating the official activity of private societies dealing with mothers, children, youth…" (Art.143). This municipal central welfare office was to be led by a (woman) social assistant (Art. 139), recruited from among the graduates of the Superior School of Social Assistance "Princess Ileana" (Art. 219).

Under the title of the Service of the Central Bureau, such a central protection office was in fact already in operation in Bucharest in 1930. The "Service of the Central Bureau" was created in 1929, through a municipal "Regulation for Public Assistance in the Municipality of Bucharest with

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[285] Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*, 198–99.
[286] Parliament of Romania, Legea Sanitară și de Ocrotire [Sanitary and Protection Law].

Sections on Different Sectors".[287] With the passing of the 1930 Sanitary and Protection Law, the four Social Assistance Offices operating in each Bucharest sector (i.e., district) before 1929,became subordinate to this central protection office. (See Sections 3.3. and 3.4.)

The 1930 Sanitary and Protection Law placed charitable associations under additional ministerial technical control and more stringent financial supervision. It required all charitable societies [societățile de binefacere] to submit revised statutes for ministerial approval within the year; the match between these charities' goals and the objectives in the new law was to be scrutinized (Art. 470). Also, the budgets of all societies that received government subsidies had to be approved by the Ministry and their state subsidies were capped to 20% of the funds a society managed to raise itself (Art. 468). Furthermore, charities were encouraged to centralize, by first creating federations around their specific domains of involvement, with the federations in their turn building up to a union (Art. 471). A kind of intended coordination body for all charities, it was only such a union that could propose and organize the collection of private donations, nationally. And of course, societies' local welfare provision was to be guided and coordinated by city of county-level Central Welfare Offices. As allies of Dr. Moldovan, the faculty of the Superior of Social Assistance, publishers of a specialized social work journal, appreciated the initiative as "the replacement of the unsystematic philanthropic gift with the new method of social assistance, defined as as a method of social economy".[288]

Budget cuts during the economic crisis.

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[287] Primăria Municipiului București, "Regulament pentru asistența publică a municipiului București cu secțiuni pe sectoare [Regulation for public assistance in the municipality of Bucharest with sections on the different sectors]" (Bucharest: Bucharest City Hall, 1929).

[288] "Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualized assistance]."

The twist in the state's planned expansion of the municipal social assistance bureaucracy -as a way of controlling private initiative welfare provision - were the massive budget cuts enacted in 1931. That year, the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Protection lost one fifth of its funding. The two largest charitable organizations, as well as new institutions created for the training of certified social assistants lost all their funding.[289] In an analysis of the slashed categories of expenses, a writer for the eugenicist publication *Revista de Igienă Socială* (Social Hygiene Review) blamed the retrenchment on the government's "sacrifice curbs": "In principle, cuts could have been made from anywhere else but from the miserable budget of the Ministry of Health [...] This is a truth lost from sight - whether with ill will or in good faith is of no importance - by the masters of balanced budgets, who slashed at random, left and right."[290]

These budgetary cuts impoverished private and public social assistance organizations in Bucharest when the inhabitants of Bucharest were experiencing the peak of the Great Depression. The Encyclopedia of Romania admitted as much eight years later, stating that:

> Social Assistance was included in the budget of the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Protection, which we all know the hardships it went through (sic) and how many savings it had to make. When it came to such savings, the Social Assistance always came first. Because of the financial crisis the private initiative did not have a better situation in any way. Exactly at the time when it was entitled to greater support from the State Social Assistance, the latter was going through its hardest period.[291]

In 1930, the ministry's Service of Social Assistance had neither funds for direct assistance nor subsidies for private charities. On the background of these massive cuts to the central budget, the legally emboldened Social Assistance Services of the Municipality further gained authority.

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[289] "Bugetul pe 1931 al Ministerului Sănătății."
[290] "Bugetul pe 1931 al Ministerului Sănătății," 67.
[291] Asociaţia Ştiinţifică pentru Enciclopedia României, *Enciclopedia României [The Encyclopedia of Romania]*, 1:524.

However, even if these city and sector bureaus had greater coordination power, they too could not apply many of their coordination initiatives, also because of lack of funds.

For instance, local budgets were meant to cover most or all the costs for indoor assistance institutions considered of "national importance" (large orphanages, schools for the deaf). However, the Direction reported that most cities and towns in Romania could not afford to do so, leaving these "nationally-important" institutions' budgets to be provided by the central government.[292] By 1931, administrators quoted in the press laid the blame for the situation at the door of the central government. Popular NPP mayor Dem. I. Dobrescu complained that the central government effectively confiscated the revenues of most municipalities, leaving most cities in difficult situations when it came to organizing relief or providing longer term social assistance.[293]

The lack of central government money enabled a broader space of action for public, municipality-level welfare providers. Yet local welfare offices' greater autonomy with fewer funds placed them in a bind. The tension was soon solved by joining the central government in ignoring growing levels of need and immiseration. In this context, from 1931 on, Bucharest's NPP-reformed Social Assistance Services went along with the central government policy of turning a blind eye to the increasingly pressing issues of urban unemployment and rural-urban migration. At this point, authorities chose to deal mostly with white collar loss of work (and social status) through small scale, experimental relief programs and research designed to help unemployed clerks and (to a lesser extent) skilled workers.[294] (See Section 4.4.)

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[292] "România- Serviciile Sociale 1933- Asistența Socială [Romania-Social Services 1933- Social Assistance]."

[293] D. Dbr, "Congresul Uniunii Orașelor din România -Primarii orașelor cer ca statul să restituie fondul comunal pe care-l înstrăinează [The Congress of the Union of Cities in Romania- City mayors request that the state return the commune fond they are alienating]," *Adeverul*, January 27, 1931.

[294] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor."

The context permitted private welfare organizations to continue to function. Such organizations could probably supply knowhow and a volunteer labor force of women charity workers at a time of great need for welfare provision and lack of funds for welfare professionals. By 1935, when the worst of the crisis had washed over Eastern Europe, there was little left of the 1930 central government's skepticism towards private institutions or the devolution of budgetary allocation to municipalities and counties. As Table 1 (below) reveals, in 1935, the central government was the main source of funding for the private initiative in most major cities in Romania, but especially in Bucharest.

Table 1 - Subsidies granted by national government, communes (municipalities) and counties to private institutions in 1935 (self-reported, in Romanian Lei)

County (County Seat)	Grand total of subsidies		State		Commune		County		Without subsidies	Unspecified subs.
	Amount	No. receiving institutions	Amount	No. receiving institutions	Amount	No. receiving institutions	Amount	No receiving institutions		
Ilfov (Bucharest)	23,624,227	35	21,580,527	20	2,016,700	7	27,000	3	95	0
Iași (Iași)	23,062,720	15	21,674,206	7	1,363,014	10	25,500	6	5	0
Cluj (Cluj)	2,241,566	7	1,262,266	1	970,300	4	9000	1	5	2
Timiș (Timișoara)	3,126,781	15	2,678,000	2	381,721	16	67,060	4	22	5

Source: Ministerul Economiei Naționale, Institutul Central de Statistică. Instituțiunile de asistență socială și de ocrotire : Rezultatele recensământului instituțiunilor de asistență socială și de ocrotire din 1 Ianuarie 1936 [The Social assistance and protection institutions: The Results of the 1 January 1936 census of institutions for social assistance]. Bucharest: Edtura Institutului Central de Statistica, 1938, Table 24, pp. 50-51. Select information.

The main change brought by the NPP governments and its technocratic doctors was the identification of a certain type of social assistance providers and their practices as experts. As the following chapters will show, this group of experts and the SSAS institution where they were concentrated remained at the heart of welfare policy-making for the next decade.

2.4. An Unaddressed Housing Question

Bucharest housing was a municipal issue that was addressed, when at all, by the national government and even then, only in part. The national government became involved especially in issues of rent speculation and rent control in the capital city and directed policy-making only towards a certain category of tenants.

From the early 1920s, both tenants and landlords in Bucharest mobilized in Leagues which sought to influence pending government legislation on "the rent problem". The "problem" was caused by an insufficient housing stock, postwar rent speculation in the context of massive currency devaluations, all on the backdrop of intensified migration into the capital city. Consequently, between 1919 and 1930, the government passed eight different decrees concerning rents. These were meant to combat price hikes while seeking to not hurt landlords' and builders' interests.[295] The most vocal, well-organized tenants were civil servants and army employees. As public employees, they came to benefit (to a degree) from rent control measures. All other categories of tenants paid free market prices.[296]

Like most cities in the Balkans, interwar Bucharest dealt with significant low-income rural-urban migration. Before the First World War, Bucharest had an official population of 378, 867 persons. By 1927 it had grown to 472,035, jumping to 569,855 persons in the 1930s and reaching 992,536 persons in 1941. (The 1927 hike can be attributed to the inclusion of suburban neighborhoods into the formal perimeter of the capital city through a new administrative law.)[297]

[295]N.M. Demetrescu, "Politica construcțiilor și regimul închirierilor [The Building policies and tenancy regimes]," in *Zece ani de protectie sociala in România* (Bucharest: Ministerul Muncii, Sănătății și Ocrotirilor Sociale, 1930), 165–66.

[296]Gheorghe Neculcea, "Cronica Economico-Financiară - Dreptatea Legei Chiriilor [The Economic Financial Chronicle- The Justice of the Rent Law]," *Societatea de Mâine*, April 15, 1928.

[297]Luana Irina Stoica, "La Banlieue bucarestoise de l'entre deux-guerres. Mahalaua topos et réalité sociale [The Bucharest suburbia between the Two World Wars. The Mahala between topos and social reality]," *New Europe College Yearbook*, no. 01 (1997): 388.

In the 1920s, migration brought into the city an official number of 91,666 persons, while by 1941,

353,496 persons living in Bucharest (including war refugees) had been born elsewhere. The

densities this movement of people created was, by 1941, of 117 inhabitants per hectare (as opposed

to 61 inhabitants per hectare before the First World War).[298] The near-doubling of the populating

between 1927 and 1941 speaks to the long-term effects of the Great Depression in the countryside:

whereas work in the city picked up somewhat after the middle of the 1930s, it became increasingly

hard to make a life in the countryside in the decade before the Second World War. The newcomers

to the city lived in bad conditions even if in green surroundings. Yet their housing was not a matter

of great public concern.

Beginning with 1925, the City of Bucharest was administered through four Sectors

(districts) which divided the capital radially: Sector I Yellow, Sector II Black, Sector III Blue and

Sector IV Green. Sectors had a degree of autonomy but coordinated their activities and were

accountable to a General City Hall, led by a General Mayor, elected through direct vote. Sector

Halls were led by community councils, who elected a sector mayor and sector vice-mayor. Sector

councilors were elected through direct vote. The mayor and up to nine members of the council

"form[ed] a permanent representative body, which takes care of the budget, the setting up of the

electoral lists, inspections of the communal institutions".[299] Sector and General Municipal Councils

met at least once a month or whenever the mayor considered it necessary to convoke them.[300] (See

Fig. 1)

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[298]Stoica, 389.

[299] Joseph S. Roucek, *Contemporary Roumania and Her Problems*, 2nd ed., The Eastern Europe Collection (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1932), 239.

[300] I opted for an anglicized version of the Romanian term rather than the less awkward "district" or "borough" after consulting with other researchers and translators working with Romanian sources. There was an agreement that "sector" captures better the radial division of the city. Also, the term underscores the replication of center-periphery spatial dynamics within districts of interwar Bucharest. N.d.

Figure 1 - Plan of the city of Bucharest, showing the four sectors, clockwise from Sector I to Sector IV (1936).

PLANUL MUNICIPIULUI BUCUREŞTI
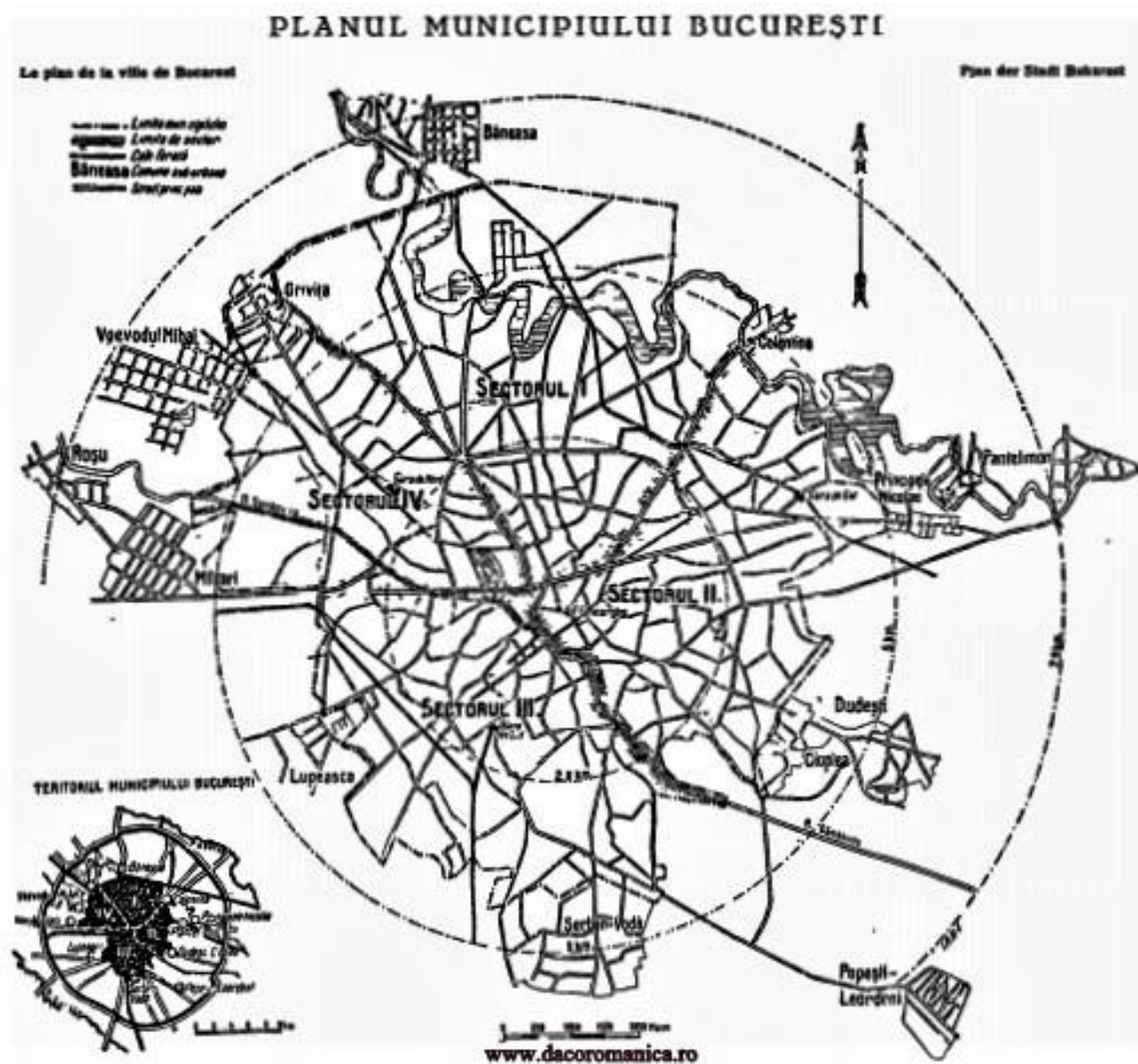
Source: Primăria Municipiului Bucureşti. Anuarul statistic al oraşului Bucureşti 1931-1936 [Statistical yearbook of the city of Bucharest 1931-1936]. Serviciul Municipal de Statistică, 1937, plate 1.

In the General City Hall and in Sector Halls, as well as in informal public fora, discussions about the need to improve the aspect and functionality of Bucharest abounded.[301] However, relatively little of this preoccupation was directed towards the problem of housing conditions for the inhabitants who were not public employees or at least, for the most recently arrived to the capital. Arguably, the lack of serious preoccupation for the housing question as an issue of "slum" conditions during the interwar was partly due to the fact that, for the standards of the period, Bucharest's "mahalale" (popular neighborhoods) were greener and less densely-built than the working class tenement areas of more industrialized cities, albeit materially poorer.[302] Although the city became increasingly densely-populated, it appears that relatively few blue-collar or low-ranking white-collar workers lived in inner-city tenements like those in the nineteenth century London slums whose issues have come to define the literature on working class housing.[303] Thus, whereas British cities were clearing slums during the interwar in order to systematize cities and improve living conditions, "slum clearance" programs were not consciously carried out by the Bucharest municipal authorities until the 1970s, when old landfills were covered up and turned into parks to be surrounded by newly-built modernist neighborhoods.[304]

Problems such as overcrowding, and lack of sanitation did shape social policy and welfare activism in the city but indirectly. In 1930, of 1381 houses built in the city, 61% were cob (earth-

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[301] Popa, *Restructuring and Envisioning Bucharest*.

[302] An alternative interpretation is that "slums" constituted a preoccupation in England and to a certain extent in Germany, despite the fact that they, by Daunton's calculations, actually had lower overcrowding issues and better public housing programs than the rest of Europe, including France and Italy. Martin J. Daunton, *Housing the Workers: A Comparative History, 1850-1914* (London: Leicester University Press, 1990); Andrew Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940* (Manchester University Press, 1985).

[303] Daunton, *Housing the Workers*.

[304] On the occassion, the poor and racialized inhabitants of the areas, some living off of scrap collecting, were brutally resettled in the countryside or in counties judged by authorities to have lower proportions of Roma people. Irina Bancescu and Daniela Calciu, "On Changes in the Dwelling Conditions of Romanian Roma under Communism," in *Reading the Architecture of the Underprivileged Classes*, ed. Assoc Prof Nnamdi Elleh (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), 291.

and-wood) houses, with an average of 2.4 rooms per building.[305] These mostly appeared in suburban city areas with underdeveloped infrastructure.[306] At the same time, the undeveloped infrastructure and the low standard of living determined the expansion of suburban and near-suburban village-like neighborhoods. There, tenants – usually the recent immigrants from the countryside - lived in small houses, produced their own food by tending to gardens, fowl or occasionally livestock, and made up for the lack of infrastructure by digging private or community wells, creating dirt roads and landfills.

The issue of living conditions made its way in the social studies conducted in the city. For instance, Dr. Ștefania Negrescu's 1932 League of Nations-commissioned study on infant mortality in Bucharest attributed the high rates of infant deaths owed to respiratory infections and digestive problems occurring in a "marginal district" of Bucharest especially to the the "poor sanitary state" of dwellings.[307] Although, as Chapter 6 of this dissertation notes, these conditions were mostly blamed on women's insufficient intimate work, the earth houses "without windows", with improvised latrines, and the difficulty of accessing fresh drinking water mentioned in the Negrescu study made headlines in the Bucharest press[308] and locally-initiated the "infant mortality" indicator which would come to define Romania's development stage in the following decades.[309]

At the same time, "the social question" as problem of habitation and habitability articulated by politicized actors in Bucharest became strongly localized, with the *Tei* [Linden Trees] working-

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[305]Stoica, "La Banlieue bucarestoise de l'entre deux-guerres. Mahalaua topos et réalité sociale [The Bucharest suburbia between the Two World Wars. The Mahala between topos and social reality]," 384.

[306]For instance, in 1935, out of 158.043 buildings in Bucharest, 97.697 (60%) were not connected to the electricity grid. The sewage system was even less developed, with mud or billowing road dust emblematic for much of the city during most seasons. Stoica, 385.

[307]Negrescu, "Date și concluzii din ancheta internațională asupra cauzelor mortalității infantile."

[308]"Mizeria lucie din capitală - O anchetă a Societății Națiunilor într-o circumscripție din București [The Splendid poverty of the capital - A League of Nations investigation in a Bucharest sanitary district[," *Adeverul*, May 27, 1932.

[309]On infant mortality indictators and governance, see Lorna Weir, *Pregnancy, Risk and Biopolitics: On the Threshold of the Living Subject* (Routledge, 2006), chap. 2 "A genealogy of Perinatal Mortality".

class neighborhood, a so-called "mahala" (meaning slum, but also neighborhood), becoming metonymic of the entire city. This projection of Tei conditions onto the rest of the city was owed to the functioning therein of the Demonstration Center for the Assistance of the Family, created as a quasi-settlement house by the American-style Superior School for Social Assistance (see Chapter 6). Although it is not entirely clear why this specific neighborhood was chosen, its location in the politically-convenient and relatively central Sector I Yellow of the city, together with its suitable-for-demonstration majority-Romanian ethnic composition in a decidedly multiethnic city, must have played a part. As sociologist Xenia Costa-Foru's description of the investigations undertaken by the volunteers in the hospital sanitary service revealed (see Section 2.2.), the city's poor infrastructure and its skeptical recent inhabitants had a great impact on social workers and social work. They shaped not only on the way social workers conceived of the challenges of their profession but also on the local welfare activism and provision– aspects fully fleshed out in Chapter 3.

2.5. Legal Frameworks for Women's Involvement in Bucharest Municipal Politics (1919-1938)

For several years after WWI, municipal administration in Bucharest functioned based on temporary regulations and through provisional, government-nominated local commissions (instead of elected local councils); these appointments usually lasted for one year.[310] Within this

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[310]These provisional post WWI commissions were considered necessary until the creation of modern local administration laws to fully replace the administrative laws previously governing the city; these had changed little since the 1864 laws created by a new, Romanian-designated ruler replaced the Russian-instituted Organic Regulations of 1834-1835. Asociația Științifică pentru Enciclopedia României, *Enciclopedia României [The Encyclopedia of Romania]*, 1:305–6; See also Primăria Orașului București, *Dare de seama asupra activității administrative a Comisiunei Interimare pe exercițiul 1 aprilie-31 decembrie 1923 [Report on the administrative activity of the Provisional Commission for the mandate 1 April -31 December 1923]* (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice "Tiparul Românesc," 1924). As regulations for Bucharest were also part of a larger administrative unification between the several entities now constituting "Greater Romania", the process advanced slowly, resulting

provisional set-up, a 1919 Decree-Law (no. 2037) allowed for women involved in "charity or public assistance work" to be nominated to provisional municipal councils in Romania, on condition that they were of at least twenty-one years of age.[311] This was a victory for middle class women activists who had lobbied Parliament for suffrage. Left-wing commentators complained – rightfully- that the provisional councils were a way to keep labour candidates out of city councils during a period of strikers and other workers' actions, in the early 1920s. I will be referring to the category of unelected, nominated councilwomen as "designated councilors" or "coopted councilors"; these are translations of the terms "consiliere desemnate" and "consiliere cooptate", used by the press and the women's movement to refer to the women appointed to Bucharest sector councils.

A 1925 Law for Administrative Unification (Mon. Of. 128/1925), regulating local administration in the whole country, ended the provisional phase for city councils. The law also further formalized and regulated the presence of designated councilwomen in sector councils.[312] The Law mandated the cooptation of women in local councils, allowing for a maximum of seven councilwomen in all cities over 250,000 inhabitants, with the number decreasing proportionally with the population of a town.

The clause on councilwomen's inclusion was reaffirmed in a 1926 Law for Commune Administration in the City of Bucharest (Mon. Of. 31/1926), passed by the Liberal (NLP)

in multiple provisional commissions. ; Leaders of the left opposition argued that these commissions were meant to prevent a Bucharest victory of labour-friendly parties and individuals. Simion Cutișteanu and Gheorghe I. Ioniță, *Electoratul din Romania în anii interbelici [The Electorate in Romania during the interwar years]* (Cluj Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1981).

[311]Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 59.

[312]Parliament of Romania, "Legea Pentru Unificarea Administrativa [Law for Administrative Unification]," Approved through Royal Decree No. 1972, Mon. Of No. 128 of 14 June 1925, with modifications on 22 december 1925. § (1925).

government.[313] The act enabled Bucharest's existing, historical districts to become "sectors"-autonomous legal entities which could (theoretically) collect their own revenues and divide their budgets independently, while still under the supervision of a General City Hall.[314] Consequently, a first cohort of seven women were co-opted in the General City Council of Bucharest. The cohort of councilwomen coopted on the basis of this 1926 Law for Commune Administration was made up of women who had strong ties with either the Orhodox National Society of Romanian Women (SONFR) or the National Liberal Party. The SONFR president, Alecsandrina Cantacuzino, gained her first appointment to the City Council at this point. Cantacuzino would become a key welfare activist in the city. (See Section 3.1.) In a second round of cooptations, between 1927 and 1929, there were thirteen women coopted councilors (including several women continuing from the initial, 1926, cohort). These thirteen women were assigned to one of the four newly autonomous sectors and their Sector City Halls. All remained associated either with the SONFR or the NLP. (See Table 2)

In 1929, all local administrations were re-reformed during the first National-Peasantist government.[315] Through the new legislation, educated women and all war widows gained the right

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[313]Acording to the 1925 Law for Administrative Unification, Art.10, cities which had over 300,000 inhabitants could pass a special law for their administration, observing the principles of the Administrative Unification Law. Parliament of Romania; Parliament of Romania, "Legea pentru Organizarea Administratiunii Comunale a Orasului Bucuresti [Law for Commune Administration in the City of Bucharest]," Pub. L. No. M. Of. No. 31/ 7 Feb 1926 (1926).

[314]Bucharest sectors councils had around twenty-five (strictly twenty, as of 1936) local councilors. Of these, in 1927 for instance, as mandated by the 1926 Law, 12 were elected, 7 were de jure (automatic) members due to their supervisory positions within the administration, 2 were coopted councilors and 4 were auxiliary (reserve) members [membri supleanti]. By 1932, regulations mandated that three-fifths of councilors were elected, while two-fifths had to be nominated based on certain criteria. Technically, throughout the period, mandates lasted for six years and partial elections were meant to be organized every three years for the replacement of half of the number of councilors. Temporary local councils and the postponement of election dates were used to disrupt opponents' electoral campaigns or to wait out moments of central government crisis. Between 1918 and 1944, four rounds of local elections were organized in Bucharest, mostly taking place in the months of February: in 1926, 1930, 1934 and 1937. Asociaţia Ştiinţifică Pentru Enciclopedia României, *Enciclopedia Romaniei [The Encyclopedia of Romania]*, 1:309–10.

[315]Parliament of Romania, "Legea pentru Organizarea Administraţiunii Locale [Law for the Organization of Local Administration]," Pub. L. No. M. Of. 167/ 3 Aug. 1929, Approved through Royal Decree 2717, Mon. Of. No. 170 of

to vote and be elected in municipal and commune councils.[316] Following the 1929 round of nationwide administrative reform, an August 1929 Law for the Organization of the Municipality of Bucharest (Mon. Of 202/1929) for governing the capital city was issued.[317] Its National Peasantist proponents argued that it was guided by the principles of local autonomy and administrative efficiency; political opponents of the NPP considered it unrealistic and cumbersome.

After the 1929 Administrative Law began to be applied, the overall number of councilwomen in Bucharest, elected now on party lists rather than nominated, decreased. Following the 1930 municipal elections, there were seven councilwomen serving in the four districts (down from thirteen between 1927 and 1929). It was speculated at the time that this was because only about 3000 of the 15.000 enfranchised women in Bucharest had actually registered to vote. Nevertheless, this is the moment when feminist suffragist women who had joined the NPP in order to run on the party's list became councilwomen, alongside women from the 1926 cohort.

Calypso Botez was one of four prominent women's suffrage activists who served as councilwomen beginning with 1930. The other NPP councilwomen were: Ortansa Satmary, Margareta Ghelmegeanu, and Ella Negruzzi. (See Table 2 and Section 3.3.). The dynamics

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3 August 1929 (1929), https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/gezdiobuge/legea-nr-167-1929-pentru-organizarea-administratiunii-locale.

[316]More specifically, the categories of women that could elect and be elected in the local administration were: graduates of secondary education, civil servants, war widows, women decorated for their war-time activity, women who at the time of the law's entrance into force served as leaders of cultural, assistance or philanthropic organizations. Cosma, Femeile și politica în România; According to information from Elena Meissner's archives, feminists had also argued for the enfranchisement of business women and those who were decorated, deported or infected due to their wartime work (e.g. nurses), but these categories were not accepted by Parliament. Camelia Popescu, "Lupta pentru dreptul de vot feminin în România interbelică [The struggle for the feminine vote in interwar Romania]," Historia.ro, 2013, https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/lupta-pentru-dreptul-de-vot-feminin-in-romania-interbelica.The article's author builds her text around correspondence from feminist Elena Meissner's personal archives.

[317] Parliament of Romania, "Lege Pentru Organizarea Administratiunii Municipiului Bucuresi [Law for the Organization of the Administration of the Bucharest Municipality]," Pub. L. No. M. Of. No 202/ 11 Sept 1929 (1929).

between the old cohort of councilwomen, coming from the aristocracy and charity work, and the new cohort, associated with the progressive wing of the NPP, will be fleshed out in the chapters that follow (especially in Chapter 4).

After the fall of the first National Peasantist government (in 1931), its social and women-friendly policies were weakened. A slew of regulations and ordinances created between 1932 and 1936 cancelled most of the changes instituted by the 1929 Administrative Law.[318] By 1934, there were still several women serving in Bucharest's general or sectoral councils, but they were increasingly dogged by corruption accusations and had lost much of their influence.

Finally, a different Administrative Law (no.569), proposed in March 1936 but enacted only in 1938, granted far more power to the King and allowed the royal authority to dissolve elected local councils.[319] In practice, however, between 1936 and 1938 essential parts of the 1929 regulations were rolled back not by the king's decrees but by decisions taken within Sector

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[318]The period's practically mandatory alignment of Bucharest local politics to parliamentary politics is visible in the match between the political party affiliation of the city's General Mayor and that of the head of the government. As mayors were chosen by members of the local council, the political color of Bucharest administration was decisive for the city's administrative priorities. Between 1914 and late 1928, the majority of council members and therefore the general mayor were members of the National Liberal Party. However, in the 1926 elections, Peasantists allied with social-democrats and conservatives (The Socialist Unitarist Bloc) won six council seats in Bucharest, by obtaining one fifth of enfranchised men's votes, pointing to the more politically complex landscape in 1920s Bucharest than that usually showcased by electoral results. From 1929 to 1934, the General Mayor was affiliated with the National Peasant Party, his election a result of successful organizing by a coalition of progressive opposition parties against the dominant Liberals. The period 1934-1937 saw the return of a Liberal general mayor, one subordinate to royal authority. In 1938 the Capital had two short-lived right-wing mayors. A roster of army generals, essentially designated by the Royal House, served as general mayors of Bucharest between September 1938 and June 1948. For fiscal, security and social peace reasons, political control over Bucharest was a matter of concern for national politicians and governments and not only for those with municipal political ambitions. Therefore, in a country where election rigging was practically built into the state's constitutional design, the results of local elections in Bucharest closely mirrored the outcomes of parliamentary elections in the 1920s and by the 1930s, testified to the increase of royal authority and far right organizing over all aspects of political life.The expected rigging of elections by whatever party the King designated to form the government and organize the election process for Parliament is a feature of interwar Romania's "original democracy" the topic's historiography notes often. Cutișteanu and Ioniță, *Electoratul din Romania în anii interbelici [The Electorate in Romania during the interwar years]*, 75; Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 56–57; Hitchins, *Romania, 1866-1947*.
[319]Legislative Assembly, "Legea Administrativa [Administrative Law]," 569/1936 § (1938), https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/gezdiobvga/legea-administrativa-nr-569-1936.

Councils. These decisions brought rules for the operation of the city administration close to what they had been in 1925.[320]

At this point, in the middle of the 1930s, the councilwomen became largely absent from the city's administration. Some of the women involved forged other avenues of involvement, such as professional associations, or joined the proscribed antifascist movement (see Section 3.3. and 3.4.). The 1938 Encyclopedia of Romania, published under the auspices of Carol II personalistic rule, systematically downplayed the social assistance activities of feminists and women welfare activists in Bucharest, spotlighting only the two associations which had direct connections with the Royal House.[321]

Although women became fully enfranchised through the 1938 Constitution, the entire political system was reorganized on authoritarian corporatist bases, fundamentally changing the rules of the game for women who had been involved in municipal politics. At the same time, the social assistance institutions and regulations that these three cohorts of coopted and elected councilwomen created, fought for and fought over enjoyed a degree of continuity. While the women politicians were no longer visible in public life by 1942, the social work experts who ran some of these institutions transferred their know-how to wartime welfare provision, for instance via the Council for the Patronage of Social Works in the Hitler-allied Antonescu regime (see Section 3.2).

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[320]Asociaţia Ştiinţifică pentru Enciclopedia României, *Enciclopedia României [The Encyclopedia of Romania]*, 1:309–10.soc

[321]In the chapter dedicated to presenting "Social Assistance in Romania", the "Pricipele Mircea" and "Housewives Circles" associations were described as "two assistance organizations of overwhelming importance placed under the high protection of H.R. Queen Maria. (...) 'Principele Mircea' was created by Mrs. Lia V Bratianu [from the Liberal Party-leading Bratianu family]; the second, 'The Housewives Circles' by Mrs. Lahovary [the Queen's personal secretary]." Asociaţia Ştiinţifică pentru Enciclopedia României, 1:524.

All in all, in this chapter I have argued that the central government spent comparabale amounts of money on welfare schemes mostly benefitting male wage-workers in long-term employment and on the social assistance provided in urban settings mostly by women's organizations, especially to women and children. I pointed out that this configuration was created on the one hand, by limited enthusiasm and financial capacity for the proper unfolding of contributory social policy, despite professed international commitments to the contrary. On the other hand, it was encouraged by the history, social importance and political weight of philanthropy in the city. I have shown that despite technocratic challenges to the alliance between central governments and welfare providing associations, the "welfare mix" to be encountered in the city of Bucharest was one in which state-subsidized, hardly-monitored associations played a key role.

Chapter 3 - Women Welfare Activists in Bucharest. Organized Women's Forms of Expertise in the Struggle for Public Authority

Women's organizations became key welfare providers after the First World War. Who were the organizations and persons who gained such influence? Through what means? And how did their influence change over time? In this chapter, I identify the key organizations and protagonists in a loose network of women welfare activists which formed in the 1920s in Bucharest. A part of this network gained in influence until the early 1940s. I focus on the most authoritative figures of the organized upper-middle class ethnic Romanian women, left-liberal social scientists, progressive feminists, organized Jewish women and left-wing militants. I reconstitute their connections and trace allegiances by considering the type of welfare activities these groups were concerned with in Bucharest, their affiliations to social actors (persons, institutions, groups) in Romania and abroad, interactions with each other and relations with the more powerful male social reformers in Bucharest. I also consider the causes, stances and actions through which women welfare activists distinguished themselves in the field of social reform, and the degree of recognition groups' protagonists received in the broader network of persons interested and invested in social issues in Bucharest.

I portray the network of women welfare activists in Bucharest as embedded in a broader social reform milieu, with the Romanian Social Institute as one of its hubs. The "women's movement" in interwar Romania and the women's welfare activism network overlapped significantly in the 1920s, but the match decreased as professionalized women became more influential, from the middle of the 1930s on. Jewish, social-democratic and communist women

were also among the welfare activists in Bucharest, but they were less prominent and not as tightly connected to the women who formed the core of this network. This core revolved around the Section for Feminine Studies of the ISR. Leftist women were critical about most of the initiatives of the more establishment-oriented women's organizations, but organized as antifascists with the more progressive among mainstream activists in the late 1930s. Jewish women appear to have participated in this network of welfare activists cautiously as Jewish women and frequently as persons with hyphenated identities (Romanian-Jewish).

I argue that in their struggle for peer recognition and against marginalization in spaces dominated by men, members of the women's network portrayed their expertise in multiple ways, but always seeking to account for their gender and turn it into an advantage. Drawing on Anne Epstein's work on the emergence of "womanly expertise" in Belle Epoque France, I show how, depending on their allegiances and resources, women welfare activists in Bucharest constructed themselves as either "feminine experts" or "feminist experts", as either lay experts on "the woman question" or as formally certified social research professionals who happened to be working in domains usually associated with women practitioners (see also Section 1.3.) I show that at least in the first decade after WWI, such positionings were successful in creating a specific knowledge-production space," feminine studies".

The women I spotlight here do not make up the entirety of the network and do not represent all its nodes. For example, a growing number of women physicians and journalists also participated in the production of "the social" and within the "social" of the domain of "feminine studies" (as some of the women in the network termed their preoccupations).[322] Yet the ones placed center stage

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[322] Evident in, for instance, Sanda Ionescu Al, "Avortul și asistența femeii muncitoare : teza pentru doctoratul în medicină și chirurgie [Abortion and the assistance of the working woman: thesis for doctorate in medicine and surgery]" (PhD Dissertation, Bucharest, University of Bucharest, 1935); Mina Goldenberg, "Protecția femeii muncitoare : studiu social și medico-legal : teză pentru doctorat în medicină și chirurgie [The Protection of the

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here are linked by a common interest in empirical social research, developed at the local intersection of transnational women's movements and the institutionalization of the social sciences during a period of increased public visibility for women as social group.

3.1. Upper-Class Women and Their Organizations

As discussed in the previous chapter, philanthropic women's organizations such as the ones under the patronage of women from the Romanian Royal House, received considerable subsidies from the central government, beginning with the 1920s. Organizations founded immediately after the war, such as the "Prince Mircea" Society for the Protection of Children in Romania, running urban and rural infants' dispensaries, and the Association of Housewives Circles (ACG), also running dispensaries and promoting women's handicrafts and the development of home industry,[323] were well-regarded among cultural producers and the broader public. The leadership of these organizations was associated with the constitutional monarchy and could secure funding for the associations' activities. (The "Prince Mircea" benefitted from the close involvement of Queen Marie of Romania while the ACG was led by Simona Lahovary, the queen's lady in waiting.)[324] (See Section 2.3.) Yet neither of these organizations' key members sought independent or publicly-visible influence on welfare issues in Bucharest.

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working woman: social and medico-legal study: thesis for doctorate in medicine and surgery]" (PhD Dissertation, Bucharest, University of Bucharest, 1937).

[323] Asociatia Cercurilor de Gospodine, *Darea de seamă a activității Comitetului Central și filialelor sale de la 1920-1937 [Report on the activity of the Central Committee and its local chapters from 1920-1937]* (Bucharest: Tipografia Curtii Regale F. Gobl Fii, 1938).

[324] Maria Mihăilescu, "Societatea 'Principele Mircea' ["Prince Mircea" Society]," *Cronica Vrancei* 11, no. 3 (2011): 177–86; Asociatia Cercurilor de Gospodine, *Darea de seamă a activității Comitetului Central și filialelor sale de la 1920-1937 [Report on the activity of the Central Committee and its local chapters from 1920-1937]*; Ciupală, *Bătălia lor- Femile din România în Primul Război Mondial [Their Battle- Women in Romania in the First World War]*, 206.

The Orthodox National Society of Romanian Women (SONFR) and its long-term president, "Princess" Alexandrina Cantacuzino,[325] present a more intriguing model of upper-class involvement with urban social policies. It demonstrates a philanthropist woman's transformation of her claims to authority on social issues over the course of the 1920s and 1930s. Cantacuzino became one of the most influential women welfare activists in Bucharest. Whereas the influence of the ACG waned with the exclusion of Queen Marie from public life after the 1930 crowning of her son, Carol II,[326] Cantacuzino was an aristocrat who navigated the increasingly professionalized (i.e., middle class) milieu of social reform with both aggressiveness and skill, until the late 1930s.

The Orthodox National Society was founded in 1910 as a philanthropic women's organization. It had strong confessional features but was not subordinate to the Church. It was created by a group of upper-middle class women (assisted by Orthodox priests) in Bucharest. The goal of the Society was "the development of the culture and education of Romanian children from a religious and national point of view as required by the patriotic interest."[327] The dual, patriotic

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[325] Alexandrina Cantacuzino (1876-1944). "One of the most important leaders of the Romanian women's movement; President of the SONFR (1918-1938); Vice-President (from 1921) of the CNFR and its only President from 1930; co-founder of the Little Entente of Women (1923-1929); member of the official delegation of Romania to the League of Nations (1929-1936); Vice-President of the ICW (1925-1936) and convenor of the ICW Art Committee (from 1936); President of the Romanian feminist organizations Solidaritatea (Solidarity) (from 1925) and of the Gruparea Femeilor Romane (GFR, Association of Romanian Women) (from 1929)" Francisca De Haan, Krasimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms in Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe: 19th and 20th Centuries* (Central European University Press, 2006), 89. More specifically, within the League of Nations, Cantacuzino was appointed to the influential Child Welfare Committee (1934); Advisory Committee on Social Questions (1937, 1938, 1939). (Inofrmation courtesy of Prof. Susan Zimmermann).In 1939, placed under house arrest due to her son's connections to the Romanian fascist Iron Guard movement. In a letter written to a confidante during this period,she defended her politics as "nationalist and liberal". Released that year, between 1940 and 1943, Cantacuzino resumed her public activities. Roxana Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation," (PhD Dissertation, Budapest, Central European University, 2005), 74–75.

[326] Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947), vol. al III-lea (Carol al II-lea) [The History of Romanians during the four kings (1866-1947), vol. III (Carol II)]*, 95, 251.

[327] SONFR Statutes qted. in Anermari Monica Negru, "Dimensiunea ortodoxă a Societății Ortodoxe Naționale a Femeilor Române [The Orthodox dimension of the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women]," *Revista de Lingvistică și Cultură Românească*, no. 19 (2016), https://limbaromana.org/revista/dimensiunea-ortodox%C4%83-a-societ%C4%83%C8%9Bii-ortodoxe-na%C8%9Bionale-a-femeilor-romane/#_edn1.

and religious set-up, was a feature of women's involvement in philanthropic societies in all territories with significant Romanian-speaking populations since the end of the nineteenth century.[328] For example, the link with the Church was present in Transylvanian Romanian women's nationalist organizing and may have inspired the SONFR. However, this connection was also part of an older tradition of conceiving of charity as a simultaneously political and religious duty of Christian Orthodox (noble) elites.[329]

At its 1910 founding, the SONFR aimed to reach its moral-educational goal "through conferences on religious, historical, national literature and hygiene topics; through the creation of kindergartens, schools and boarding schools - other than those belonging to the State and placed under the immediate supervision of the Society; by creating courses for adults; through detailed inquiries into the moral and material state of orthodox villagers and their religious instruction, with reports towards the central committee of the Society on the religious and moral state of the believers; by awakening within them religious and patriotic feelings; by organizing parties for school children during Sundays and other holidays; by collecting information on the causes for which children are sent to foreign institutes; through collections of money."[330]

The connection of the SONFR to the Romanian Orthodox Church was strongest before the First World War. The Society had a confessional character because it admitted only members who

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[328] Oana Sînziana Păltineanu, "Calling the Nation. Romanian Nationalism in a Local Context: Brasov during the Dual Monarchy" (PhD Dissertation, Budapest, Central European University, 2012); Susan Zimmermann et al., "Women and Social Movements in the Habsburg Empire" (Alexandria, VA: Women and Social Movements in Modern Empires, 2018), Alexander Street database, https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C3890891.
[329] As Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi points out, this was a conception of alms-giving rooted in the political organization of eighteenth century Valachia, where the domn (prince, king) exerted significant authority over the Orthodox Church and could order the Church to distribute "mercies" to impoverished respectable persons in cities as well as strongly encourage donations from local elites to the court's Cutia Milelor (Collection Box of Mercies) as part of their duty as enlightened Christians.By giving "mercy" publicly, sometimes conspicuously, elites demonstrated that they were both god-fearing, familiar with the principles of Western Enlightenment and loyal to a domn (himself subordinate to the Ottoman Porte). Officially-endorsed Valachian alms-giving practices had long term impacts, with the institution of the Cutia Milelor in existence until the 1830s. "Săracii din Țările Române," 25, 38, 42.
[330] Negru, "Dimensiunea ortodoxă a SONFR."

were Orthodox Christians and the Archbishops of the Orthodox Church served as honorary presidents of the Society. The link to the Church was also expressed through the use of "parish committees" as basic organizational units (chapters) in Bucharest. These parish committees were organized around the parishes of the Church; these usually covered part of a larger neighborhood or even an entire mahala. The members of SONFR parish committees were "all priests and educators from the parish, a local lady serving as president, while the parish priest served as vice-president".[331] According to the 1911 Statutes of the Society, these committees were supposed to recruit members and collect their dues and donations, investigate "the moral and material state" of believers from the parish and report on it to the central committee of the Society, and publicize the activities of the Society. There were thirty-seven parish committees in Bucharest before the First World War in addition to Society chapters in several other major cities in the Romanian Kingdom. Until 1918, the parish committees organized libraries, festivals, concerts and maintained kindergartens in their respective neighborhoods, while their investigative function seems to have been limited to identifying those parish children who would benefit most from childcare, or free meals.[332]

After the First World War, the Society's welfare activism shifted from parish-based organizing to the creation or administration of large education and assistance institutions for girls (especially). These institutions were controlled by the central committee of the SONFR; the committee was composed exclusively of women. Parish committees continued to exist, but they did not see great expansion. By 1929, there were only two more parish committees (thirty-nine) in Bucharest than there had been before WWI.[333] In fact, the SONFR's leaders began running large

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[331] Negru.
[332] Negru.
[333] Negru.

institutions during the wartime occupation of Bucharest by the German army: they organized a surgical hospital in the city, housed war prisoners and dealt with several other relief activities which were taken over by the Red Cross once the latter started operating in Romania.[334]

In 1919-1920, the SONFR became the main welfare collaborator of public authorities in Bucharest, largely due to the prestige accumulated by leaders for their wartime work in the city. In 1919, the Society was tasked with the distribution of a 200,000 Lei donation from Queen Marie of Romania to all orphans in the capital city while in 1924 the Society agreed to take charge of the distribution of occasional relief in the city.[335] Beginning with 1919, the SONFR also administered the publicly-funded "Radu Vodă" Orphanage (housing and educating gifted girls up to secondary-schooling) and the publicly-endowed "Sfânta Ecaterina" Crèche for abandoned infants. (See Section 5.3.) By 1932, the Society had opened fourteen boarding schools or schools without board [externate] throughout the country, eight kindergartens in Bucharest and nineteen in the rest of the country.[336] It benefited from funding from donations, from its widowed president's considerable fortune and from public subsidies whose full amounts it refused to disclose.[337]

The shift from a pre-WWI charitable, strongly-religious, outlook to larger-scale philanthropy which became incorporated into public municipal welfare provision was driven by

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[334] Ștefania Mihăilescu, ed., "Activitatea feminină. Societatea Ortodoxă Națională a Femeilor Române (1919) [The Feminine Activity. The National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women (1919)]," in *Din Istoria feminismului românesc: antologie de texte 1838-1929* (Bucharest: Polirom, 2002), 200–203.

[335] Societatea Ortodoxă Națională a Femeilor Române, 1918, SONFR 1910-1948, Fond 1035, File 23/1918, ANIC Bucharest; Societatea Ortodoxă Națională a Femeilor Române, 1924, SONFR 1910-1948, Fond 1035, File 43/1923-1925, f. 115, ANIC Bucharest.

[336] Societatea Ortodoxă Națională a Femeilor Române, 1932, SONFR 1910-1948, Fond 1035, File 27/1918-1933, ff. 1-3, ANIC Bucharest.

[337] The SONFR was the most notable absent society from the detailed census of "private initiative" associations organized in 1935 by the Superior School of Social Assistance under the aegis of the National Statistical Institute. The census-makers required associations to fill in detailed questionnaires about their activities and income. Ministerul Economiei Nationale, Institutul Central de Statisticã, *Instituțiunile de asistență socialã și de ocrotire : rezultatele recensãmântului institutiunilor de asistență socialã și de ocrotire din 1 ianuarie 1936 [The social assistance and protection institutions: the results of the census of Institutions for social assistance and protection from 1 January 1936].*

the long-time "general president" of the Society, Alexandrina Cantacuzino (née Pallady) (1876-1944). The Cantacuzinos hailed from an old boyar (pre-Hohenzollern-monarchy aristocrats) family who were wealthy landowners and influential Conservative Party politicians at the turn of the twentieth century.[338] "Princess" Alexandrina Cantacuzino's husband had been mayor of Bucharest before WWI. He, Grigore Gheorghe Cantacuzino (1872-1930), claimed the Byzantine-lineage title of "Prince" but was more often identified as son of 1900s Conservative Prime-Minister Gheorghe Grigore "the Nabob" Cantacuzino. After the First World War and agrarian reform, the Conservative Party lost power and prestige, but Alexandrina Canatcuzino still enjoyed access to prominent politicians and owned significant private wealth, advantages which facilitated her social work in Romania and travels abroad.

Cantacuzino justified her involvement in social reform in Romania and abroad by referring to her noble lineage and then using her title to gain influence within international fora. For instance, in articles published in the 1920s in Romanian newspapers, Cantacuzino defended the role of the Romanian boyars and the beneficial role of aristocrats in Europe, in general, in fostering countries' progress, penning texts with titles such as "In defense of the aristocracy" and "The Boyars during wars".[339] In the mid-1920s, like Queen Marie[340] during the 1919 Paris peace negotiations,[341]

[338] Cheşchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation," 360.
[339] Alexandrina Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezeze ani de munca socială și culturală - discursuri, conferințe, articole, scrisori [Fifteen years of social and cultural work - Speeches, conferences, articles, letters].* (Bucharest: Tipografia Românească, 1928), 256–58, 283–84.
[340] Queen Marie of Romania (1875-1938). Born in England as Marie Alexandra Victoria of Saxa-Coburg and Gotha, she was the second queen of Romania, after the 1914 crowning of her spouse, Ferdinand I (1865-1927). She became known to Romanian and international public opinion through her involvement (along with other women from her close circles) as a nurse in campaign hospitals on the Romanian front. After the war, and especially after Ferdinand's death, her popularity in Romania oscilated.After 1932, she was pushed out of public life by her son, king Carol II. Hanna Pakula's well-reviewed 1984 biography of the Queen consecrated her internationally as "the last romantic". Hannah Pakula, *The Last Romantic: A Biography of Queen Marie of Romania* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984). On Queen Marie's wartime involvement see Ciupală, *Bătălia lor- Femile din România în Primul Război Mondial [Their Battle- Women in Romania in the First World War]*, 194–327.
[341] MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*, 133, 487.

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Cantacuzino forged a diplomatic role for herself. Styling herself as "Princess Cantacuzino" abroad, she founded the regional organization Little Entente of Women (1923-1929) and successfully struggled to be elected vice-president of the International Council of Women (1925-1936). Both initiatives were meant to support her nationalist agenda, helping her intentions to combat in international fora the "negative propaganda" coming from Romania's WWI-vanquished neighbors and complaints by ethnic minority women in Romania.[342] The Byzantine title secured Cantacuzino a brief private meeting with First Lady Coolidge (along with the only other "titled" woman in her ICW group at the White House, ICW President Lady Aberdeen).[343]

While making use of the accumulated credibility of an aristocratic title in order to make herself heard on social issues, Cantacuzino also sought to portray herself as a "feminine expert" on certain kinds of social issues.[344] (See Section 1.3.) This rather middle-class strategy of claiming authority on the basis of knowledge accessible specifically to a woman social reformer had been successfully pursued by Cantacuzino's French ally (and occasional transcontinental travel companion), Ghénia Avril de Sainte Croix.[345] In Epstein's tracing of the process by which women turned their specialized knowledge into authority in the French context at the turn of the twentieth century:

> Republican politics and the enhanced public value of "the feminine" enabled well-connected professional women to expand their expertise into public authority. As sought-after collaborators, they drew on their new-found expertise in feminism and the feminine to gain access to various civic forums, influence political agendas, shape public discourse on the "woman question," or publicize the specific political goals of organizations like the Conseil National des Femmes Françaises and the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes or of other, non-feminist, reformist associations. Moreover, the authority these

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[342] Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*, 196; Cheşchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation," sec. IV. 2.5.
[343] Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*, 180.
[344] Epstein, "Gender and the rise of the female expert during the Belle Époque," 84.
[345] Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*, 317; Dimitriu, "Le féminisme roumain et ses affinités avec le féminisme français (1918-1940) [Romanian feminism and its affinities with French feminism (1918-1940)]," 146–48.

women experts possessed could not be acquired by their male counterparts: it was gender specific.[346]

Unlike the professional women Epstein discusses, as an "independently-wealthy" aristocrat Cantacuzino was not conditioned by wage work and therefore did not have a specific profession or formal qualifications. At a time when such credentials conditioned public authority to a growing extent, Cantacuzino sought to legitimize herself with recourse to the knowledge accumulated empirically, thus constructing for herself the claim to a form of "lay expertise". In her activities after the First World War, Cantacuzino built on her experience as an organizer of welfare provision and used her connections in Bucharest high society. From around 1925 until the late 1930, Cantacuzino attempted to convert the influence she had abroad to influence among social reformers in Romania and vice versa.

Internationally, her bid for recognition as prominent member of the women's movement and social reformer was generally successful. She enjoyed international visibility as ICW vice-presidenct and close contacts to women's organizations (including meetings with women's movement leaders in Serbia, the US, Canada, France, Egypt or Palestine).[347] These connections might be one reason for which Cantacuzino was repeatedly endorsed by Romanian governments as Romanian representative in the League of Nations' Child Welfare Committee (1934) and the Advisory Committee on Social Questions (1937, 1938, 1939), committees whose participants were often drawn from the transnational women's movement.[348]

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[346] Epstein, "Gender and the rise of the female expert during the Belle Époque," 95.

[347] Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*, 170–97, 204–19.

[348] Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation," sec. IV.1.2., 240. Alexandrina Cantacuzino, "Societe des Nations. Comite de la Protection de L'Enface. Protection de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse contre les consequences de la crise economique et du chomage. Rapport presente par la Deleguee du Gouvernement roumain [League of Nations. Committee for Child Protectiion. Protection of Children and Youth against the consequences of the economic crisis and unemployment]," April 12, 1934, Fond 1830- Cantacuzino Familial, File 188/1933, ff.115-118, ANIC.

In Bucharest, Cantacuzino was a protagonist of local politics, portraying herself and being perceived by male politicians as a "lay expert" on issues such as child protection, abolition of prostitution, public social assistance and women's emancipation.[349] Through the SONFR and the CNFR [National Council of Romanian Women] federation of women's organizations (which she presided over), Cantacuzino was directly involved in the administration of local welfare institutions after WWI. Also, Cantacuzino served as coopted councilwoman (1926-1929) and then ran for public office in 1930 on the platform of the Group of Romanian Women, a women-only party-like (de facto) group which claimed to be apolitical (but progressively revealed a right-wing corporatist orientation). (See Section 4.1.)

From the middle of the 1920s, Cantacuzino participated in international congresses on municipal administration, reporting in Bucharest on the newest developments in fields such as "administrative sciences". For instance, in her 1927 speech at the General Assembly of the Romanian section of the transnational Union of Cities she reported on her participation (alongside spouses Calypso and Corneliu Botez) at the Congress for Administrative Sciences, held in Paris, pleading for communities' fiscal autonomy and sharing the innovations in tax-collecting introduced in Rome, through an Address-printing Machine which helped keep track of inhabitants' tax payments. Attendees at the Romanian Congress of Cities' Union thanked her for "her work of many years on this untilled land that is the municipality" and built much of their discussions around her extensive report on international developments.[350] As a councilwoman, she presented reports

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[349] "Darea de seamă asupra desbaterilor Adunărei generale a Uniunei Orașelor ținută la Constanța în zilele de 9 și 10 octombrie, 1927 [Report on the debates of the General Assembly of the Union of Cities held in Constanta on 9 and 10 October, 1927]," *Monitorul Uniunei Orașelor*, no. 11–12 (12 1927).
[350] "Darea de seamă asupra desbaterilor," 12.

to the General Mayor and fellow councilmen on advances in public social assistance in the cities of various countries she visited.[351]

After participating in the 1925 Washington congress of the ICW, Cantacuzino and fellow-SONFR member Ecaterina Cerkez visited North America: Toronto and Ottawa, the US capital, the state of Virginia, Romanian communities in Ohio, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles.[352] In a public lecture she gave upon her return, Cantacuzino declared that she had returned "more orthodox, more Romanian than when I had left."[353] However, she argued she had also returned convinced of what she considered to be a specifically American vision of "the social", rationalized and labour-intensive.

Cantacuzino also returned from her North American trip with a strengthened fascination for scientific research and discovery, the application of scientific methods to social reform, and generally the "scientization of the social"[354]. Already in a 1924 speech, her preferred examples of women whose worth had been brought out by companionate marriages, opposites of the "doll woman", were Marie Curie -"admirable companion of the great savant [Pierre Curie] and jewel of French science" and the Pasteur spouses, working side-by-side in laboratory research while Madam Pasteur remained "the most sensitive of mothers".[355] On the same 1924 occasion, she described the eventual triumph of the international feminist movement in the language of

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[351] Alexandrina Cantacuzino, "Ante-Proiect Pentru Organizarea Asistentei Publice a Comunei [Ante-Project for the Organization of the Commune's Public Assistance]," late 1926, Fond 1830- Cantacuzino Familial, File 86/1926-1929, ff. 37-40., Arhivele Nationale Istorice Centrale Bucharest; Alexandrina Cantacuzino, "Ante-proect pt Casa de Ocrotire [Project proposal for the Protection Home]," undated (circa 1927, Fond 1830- Cantacuzino Familial, File 103/1927, ff.28-29., ANIC Bucharest.
[352] Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*.
[353] Cantacuzino, 187.
[354] Benjamin Ziemann et al., "Introduction: The Scientization of the Social in Comparative Perspective," in *Engineering Society* (Springer, 2012), 1–40.
[355] Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*, 165.

cosmology: "Had you been in Rome, at the great Congress of the Alliance for Suffrage, you too would have felt that the universe's eternal transformation cannot be chained."[356]

Greatly impressed by the use of production graphs by Canadian MPs in their deliberations, as discovered at the 1925 World Fair in Canada, during a 1926 speech in Bucharest advocating for women's participation in administration, Cantacuzino distributed copies of graphs [*tablouri*] indicating the link between child mortality and the rate of national development to members of the audience.[357] The materials were meant to persuade that women had a particular preoccupation for and knowledge of child protection issues, and should therefore "be called to public life". By 1930, charts were used to help the public in Romania visualize policy data frequently, but in 1926 handing out copies of graphs in order to persuade was a new political technology. In a plea for the value of expertise which once again made religion and science concord, she continued her 1926 speech by arguing that: "Politics is the holiest of sciences, as she is the support of the harmonious development of any state and through her peoples fulfill their destiny, so that not everyone can improvise themselves into a politician overnight."[358]

However, in Romania, Cantacuzino's questionable aristocratic title, what was deemed to be international overexposure, lack of formal credentials in the professionalizing social sciences, sentimental nationalism and abrasive style gained her few long-term allies among other women welfare activists. In 1925, together with collaborators Catherine Cerkez and Zoe Râmniceanu, from the SONFR, Cantacuzino had presented a "Programme Proposal for the Romanian Social Institute's new Section of Feminine Studies (SSF)".[359] The mission the SONFR leaders proposed for the SSF was the "scientific research of the feminine soul both within the country and

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[356] Cantacuzino, 165.
[357] Cantacuzino, 137.
[358] Cantacuzino, 137.
[359] Cantacuzino, 112.

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internationally" through the collection of books, statistics, studies. The Section was also to study woman's role in the preservation of Romanian traditions and the nation's "ethnic being".[360] But it was feminist Calypso Botez, from the suffragist Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Women (AECPFR), who was designated the President of the SSF, a position Botez occupied until 1937. Under Botez's coordination, the stated goals of the Section veered away from the references to an "ethnic being" and "female soul", towards the language of the social sciences. Despite the lack of success in shaping the Section for Feminine Studies, Cantacuzino remained involved in the SSF after 1925, even as relation between herself and many of the other members soured. (See Section 4.2.) For example, in 1932, Cantacuzino lectured on "the economic depression and the transformation of society".[361]

One-time allies of Catacuzino accused her of slander and claiming abroad merits for feminist successes in Romania that were not hers.[362] Worse, left-wing women saw Cantacuzino as a thinly veiled chauvinist whose internationalism was hypocritical. In a March 1932 article criticizing feminist amendments to a bill which would have expanded women's political rights,[363] social-democrat Eugenia Deleanu[364] took aim especially at Cantacuzino when criticizing "Romanian ladies" who proposed suffrage with qualifications and were nationalists in Romania and internationalists abroad:

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[360] Cantacuzino, 112.

[361] "Știri de pretutindeni [News from everywhere]," *Asistenţa Socială - Buletinul Şcoalei Superioare de Asistenţă Socială "Principesa Ileana"* 3, no. 2 (1931): 16.

[362] Cheşchebec details the stages of this schismastic conflict and its international reverberations, including eventual invovlement by ICW leaders in the situation. Cheşchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation," sec. IV.1.3., 246-248.

[363] Cosma, *Femeile şi politica în România*, 122.

[364] Eugenia Deleanu – Rădăceanu (Jenny Rădăceanu) (1905-1974). Publicist. Member of the Social Democratic Party, editor of the Buletinul Femeii Muncitoare/ the Bulletin of the Working Woman (published between 1931 and 1934, ocassionally with Hungarian and German language versions), part of the leading committee of the Union of Working Women/ Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare- an organization which brought together social democratic Women's Circles. Eugenia Deleanu-Rădăceanu, "Mişcarea femeilor socialiste [The Socialist women's movement]," *Calendarul Muncii*, 1931.

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Curious demands, curious exposition of reasons, which reflect however the true retrograde mentality of "Romanian ladies", who travel to Geneva with chests of petitions for disarmament - falsified petitions – the same upper-class ladies [*cucoane*] who when back in the country engage in the most ludicrous [*deşănţată*] warmongering and chauvinistic propaganda. Abroad, at disarmament conference and in various feminist congresses, they make the most resounding pacifist and democratic declarations while at home they miss no opportunity to manifest their conservative and chauvinistic conceptions. [...] When the whole world speaks of disarmament and brotherhood among people, when women's entrance into politics is expected to bring a considerable contribution to this peace ideal, our feminists prove themselves to be more reactionary and conservative than their brothers, husbands and fathers from the bourgeois political parties, who at least for show sometimes play the part of democrats and pacifists.[365]

Although not naming Cantacuzino, Deleanu's assertions fit best with the SONFR president's advocacy of limited suffrage for women, international activities and intensive congress participation in the 1930s.[366] As Cheşchebec lays out, in the 1930s Cantacuzino was critical of international disarmament initiatives, considering them threats to the Romanian state's post 1919 status quo. (Other feminist organizations in Romania, among which the AECPFR, expressed support for pacifist initiatives.) Cantacuzino initially refused to support a WILPF-initiated women's petition to be presented at the 1932 World Disarmament Conference, but then "the national council led by Cantacuzino did participate with 30,000 signatures at the peace petition

[365] Eugenia Deleanu, "Drept de vot pentru toate femeile dar... nu pentru toate [Voting rights for all women...but not for all of them]" (Newspaper cutout, March 1932), MMSOS-Oficiul pentru Studii Sociale, file 294/1932, ANIC Bucharest.

[366] The fake petitions mentioned refer to signatures collected for the WILPF Disarmament Petition (eventually signed by around six million women), meant to be presented to the 1932 Geneva World Disarmament Conference. Ethnic Romanian women do not seem to have had a great engagement with the WILPF, with the Transylvania-based Lotte Binder, Chairman of the Free Saxon Women's Committee serving as correspondent for Roumania at least in 1926. However, in 1932, Ekaterina Karavelova, president of the Bulgarian WILPF section visited Bucharest, helping establish the Romanian-Bulgarian Association. Joshua Adams, "Women Take on the World Disarmament Conference - Women's International League for Peace & Freedom 1932-1934," Website of research project, Arming All Sides, June 2014, https://armingallsides.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Women-take-on-the-world-disarmament-conference-with-footnotes.pdf; WILPF, *Report of the Fifth Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Dublin, July 8 to 15, 1926* (Geneva, Geneva Canton: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) Records, 1915- (Reel 141.2), Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1926), https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C1523091; Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe, *Women Activists between War and Peace: Europe, 1918-1923* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 88.

and Alexandrina Cantacuzino did attend at the conference".[367] Deleanu's article captures the duality of Cantacuzino's public rhetoric, its mixing of equal doses of nationalist, conservative elements with internationalist, reform-oriented ideas. Also, the social-democrat's piece points to the ties between prominent "Romanian ladies" and male politicians from "bourgeois parties" while hinting at existing differences between these closely-connected actors on issues such as pacifism and disarmament (even if such differences were superficial).

Cantacuzino's stances on labour as gendered social issue retained elements of the less-than-progressive class politics also visible in her advocacy of suffrage for women conditioned by income or educational qualifications. However, Cantacuzino's and close collaborators' attitudes towards women's paid and unpaid work were also shaped by participation in transnational reform movements. As a councilwoman (1926-1934), Cantacuzino proposed reforms to social assistance criteria that were conservative in their emphasis on wage labour as instrument of reforming persons considered pauper and assorted categories of "fallen women". (See Section 4.2.)

Importantly, this conservatism was not only the manifestation of what Deleanu believed to be Cantacuzino's homegrown retrograde views on gender and class. It was coherent with views held by abolitionist women encountered through transnational networks, such as those made up of persons and organizations which would later participate in various League of Nations advisory committees on human trafficking and other social questions. Certain members in these international networks prioritized precarious wage work's reformatory and morality-protective potential over concerns about labour conditions. (See Section 5.1.)

Nevertheless, international contacts also pushed the politics of the group of women around the SONFR in more progressive directions on the issue of women's wage work. Cantacuzino's

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[367] Cheşchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation," 469-473.

close collaborator, the younger Ecaterina/Catherine Cerkez (1910?-1970?) argued in 1929 that women's wage work was necessary and beneficial for families and the greater good. (See Section 6.2.) This stance was most likely influenced by debates and discussions occurring within the Little Entente of Women, in whose 1926 meeting the Czechoslovakian delegates Plaminkova and Purkynova emphasized women's right to work, the right to maternity leave and equal wages to those of men.[368]

On issues closely connected to gender and social reproduction, Cantacuzino was as idiosyncratic as on questions concerning paid labour, with her international engagements imprinting atypical features to her otherwise conservative stances. In a 1926 lecture for a Romanian audience concerning her participation in "the Conference of the Little Entente of Women (LEW) held in Athens between 6-13 December 1925", Cantacuzino explained that the LEW's resolution concerning women's economic status and work stated that: "the work woman does in her household must be considered a profession and therefore cherished as an income brought in the home, alongside her dowry and her salary, if the latter two exist. This housewife profession grants her the right to a share of her husband's income, for her personal needs."[369] This argument does not seem to have been present in Romanian women's publications or resolutions and has not been noted in the numerous anthologies and organizational histories dedicated to feminist or women's organizations in interwar Romania, the SONFR in particular.

Cantacuzino repeated the wages for housework demand and its arguments in a 1938 document linked to a switch to a corporate model of representation endorsed by authoritarian king Carol II.[370] She argued that housewives had to be allowed to stand for Senate and other legislative

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[368] Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*, 204–5.
[369] Cantacuzino, 205.
[370] Alexandrina Cantacuzino, "Femeile gospodine și drepturile [Housewives and their rights]," May 1938, Fond 1830 - Cantacuzino Familial, File 346, f. 97, ANIC Bucharest.

bodies since "in various countries it has been recognized that the housewife by doing in the home a very useful work which makes it impossible for her to earn her living, such work must be repaid and the husband forced to deposit in the Savings House an agreed-upon amount, with a minimum set by law, thus ensuring her old age and the possibility to seek treatment when she is ill."[371] However, in a classed twist to this demand, Cantacuzino insisted that her plea on behalf of housewives was certainly not one arguing for housewives' potential claim to the status of transversal social category, worthy of corporate representation in legislative bodies: "Of course, it will not be allowed for all mothers to have the right to be elected, as this is not about the voting rights [newly] recognized for all citizens of both sexes aged at least 30, it only refers to Senate candidacies."

The proposal's phrasing suggests it was meant to redress a classed loss of status of upper-class women (most of whom did not do wage work) in relation to women from all other social categories (a significant number of which did wage work by 1938 due to increasing economic demands, a trend Catherina Cerkez identified already in 1929). The document was written in the context of the 1938 corporatist Constitution, through which wage-earning women had theoretically made-up for a lot of previous exclusions from political and social citizenship: having become voters, they were also eligible to occupy leadership positions in the various, politically-influential, professional corporations created in 1938, and due to the expansion of social insurance to cover even precarious wage workers, had formal access to more social entitlements than before. Cantacuzino argued that: "As the role of housewives becomes assimilated to that of the working women [muncitoarelor], it is not possible that they should be in inferiority, considering that they dedicate all their living forces to the greatest mission woman has: strengthening the home and

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[371] Cantacuzino.

educating the new generation."[372] The Romanian term "muncitoare" denotes all women workers but connotes here wage work and especially blue-collar work. (In polite society, a white-collar working woman was usually called a "funcționară" (clerk) to mark her middle-class difference from working-class women, "muncitoare", doing lower status wage work.) The mention of declining comparative advantage of housewives who could dedicate their energy to their homes and children's education strengthens the classed character of the group on behalf of which Cantacuzino was advocating. Furthermore, despite discussing the need for policies which would ensure independent incomes for women doing unpaid work for their families, the document only asked for qualified persons among housewives to be allowed to stand for Senate. The Princess repeatedly affirmed her belief that an electoral mechanism or formula could be devised to ensure the correct representation of only adequate housewives to run for Senate. Cantacuzino's apparent advocacy for the economic worth of unpaid housework is better read as a rather self-serving proposal revealing her political ambitions. The argument drew on the period's problematization of housework, including within the Little Entente of Women organization which Cantacuzino had founded, but Cantacuzino subordinated this cause to her interests.

All in all, upper-class women in Bucharest and their traditions of philanthropy facilitated by access to figures with political or religious authority found a kind of champion in Alexandrina Cantacuzino and the constellation of organizations the Princess formed around herself. Using her money, contacts, title and growing knowledge about the functioning of international organizations, Cantacuzino worked to preserve some of the social authority lodged in an aristocratic model of women's social involvement. However, she also sought to transform it, so that it could function better within environments increasingly dominated by middle-class professionals and a scientized

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[372] Cantacuzino.

conception of social issues. Successful internationally, and for a time effective in Romania, Cantacuzino and her close collaborators were perceived as "lay experts" on certain aspects of the woman question and the social question. Certainly visible, they were not always influential, partly because their idiosyncratic politics made it difficult to keep allies among women welfare activists in Bucharest.

3.2. Left-Liberal Social Scientists

Several progressive women interested in social issues in Bucharest were part of the Romanian Social Institute, the main interwar forum for social reformers. As the next section will detail, initially, dominant figures within the ISR welcomed these women's vision and the "feminist expertise" on social issues they brought. However, as the ISR became synonymous with the Sociology Seminar at the University of Bucharest and visible contributions to its rural research "campaigns" transformed into conduits for careers in academic institutions, junior male colleagues marginalized unestablished women researchers as part of their own bids for recognition and advancement – an aspect Theodora Eliza Văcărescu's work explores. In this section, I build on Văcărescu's research but pursue the constructive effects, or at least gendered professional adaptations, resulting from such marginalization. I show how some of the women marginalized in rural research became part of alternative fora (the Section for Feminine Studies) and institutions (the Superior School of Social Assistance). These alternative social reform nuclei remained within the orbit of the ISR but focused on issues associated with women's experiences and on urban settings. Consequently, ISR women with formal credentials as social researchers joined lay "feminine experts" and "feminist experts" in a Section for Feminine Studies, dedicated to producing and promoting qualitative and quantitative inquiry which dealt with the urban

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environment. In effect, actors who were marginalized on account or through their gender contributed to the development of a parallel, urban, tradition of investigation in Romanian social research, one which has so far been ignored.

Rural research in a male-dominated local node of transnational social reform.

The social reform milieu in Bucharest was anchored by the Romanian Social Institute (ISR). Founded in 1921 by scholars trained in new, institutionalizing domains such as sociology and economy, in Germany and France, the ISR was inspired by the left-liberal model of the Germany-based Verein für Sozialpolitik (Association for Social Politics). According to Dietmar Müller, although unacknowledged by the founders of the Romanian Social Institute in the anti-German context of post-WWI Romania, the Institute was heavily influenced by the German Association.[373] Both the president (Dimitrie Gusti)[374] and the secretary (Virgil Madgearu) of the Romanian Social

[373] Dietmar Müller, "Instituționalizarea cunoașterii științelor sociale în perioada interbelică: Institutul Social Român și Asociația de Politică Socială (Verein für Sozialpolitik) [The Institutionalization of social scientific knowledge in the interwar: the Romanian Social Institute and the Association for Social Politics (Verein für Sozialpolitik)]," Cooperativa Gusti, January 20, 2014, https://www.cooperativag.ro/institutionalizarea-cunoasterii-stiintelor-sociale-perioada-interbelica-institutul-social-roman-si-asociatia-de-politica-sociala/.
[374] Dimitrie Gusti (1880-1955). Founder and president of the Romanian Social Institute. PhD in Sociology from Leipzig University, Germany in the early 1900s. Second Phd in France, after studying with Durkheim. In 1919, in Iași, Gusti initiated the Association for Social Science and Reform. In 1921, the Association moved from Iași to Bucharest. Between 1921 and 1929, the Romanian Social Institute was a space for intellectual debates, lectures and policy initiatives. It published the journal Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială (The Archive for Science and Social Reform). Also in 1921, Gusti founded the Sociology Seminar at the University of Bucharest. Beginning with 1925, the students of the Seminar would go on summer-long "monographic campaigns" in designated villages of Romania, as part of Gusti's plan to document extensively every village and city in Romania. In the 1930s, through ministerial posts and personal connections, Gusti and, implicitly, the ISR began an incresingly close association with authoritarian king Carol II. Between 1930 and 1933, Gusti served as Minister of Education. In 1934 he was appointed director of the Royal Cultural Foundations. In 1939 he succeeded in instituting the Social Service program, which made mandatory a course of summer practice for university students modeled on the activities of the earlier monographic teams. Antonio Momoc, Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice: scoala gustiana între carlism si legionarism. Antonio Momoc, *Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice: scoala gustiana între carlism si legionarism [The political traps of interwar sociology: the Gustian school between carlism and legionarism]* (Bucuresti: Curtea Veche, 2012); On Gusti's studies in Germany, see also Imre Pászka, "Dimitrie Gusti About the University Professors of the Wilhelmian Era," *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai-Sociologia* 54, no. 2 (2009): 179–206.

Institute had been doctoral students of the left-liberal German economist Karl Bücher, one of the founders of the Verein.[375]

The ISR aimed to function as a para-academic institution which could popularize social reform as a political goal, connect – through the languages of the "social question"- Romanian progressive to like-minded persons abroad, and popularize (and eventually institutionalize) the new social science disciplines. Thus, the goals of the ISR were:

> A) To investigate (alt. research, inquire into) the problems of the social sciences [*să cerceteze problemele ştiinţelor sociale*] and especially those concerning Romania's social state;
> B) To make, relying on scholarly study, necessary practical proposals for the achievement of the work of social reform in Romania;
> C) To place at the disposal of its members and all those interested in social questions (alt. social issues) [*chestiunile sociale*], the documentary means concerning these issues;
> D) To contribute to the spread of social knowledge (alt. social information) [*cunoştinţelor sociale*].[376]

The jargon of the social was not entirely new in Romania. Socialists as well as medical professionals pushing for "modern social conceptions" in urban administrations had employed it since the late nineteenth century.[377] Yet the way in which the ISR was linking research, social reform, and dissemination of information on "social knowledge" to a broader public was

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[375] "Left liberalism" refers to a form of welfare-friendly liberalism adopted by influential economists and political theorists by the turn of the twentieth century in Germany. As explained by Tornhill, "The liberal tradition in Germany contains conceptual and historical traits which distinguish it from the individualistic premises of liberal politics. [...] German liberalism did not seamlessly absorb the classical-liberal (private-legal) proclamation of freedom of contract- or, freedom from the state- as the foundation of political liberty. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German liberalism retained a belief in state-executive as the co-ordinator of the public good. Similarly, traditional German liberalism, both left and right, was strongly marked by its sympathetic approach to welfare-policies. The Verein fuer Sozialpolitik [...] was an important forum for liberal debate in the Kaiserreich." Chris Thornhill, *Political Theory in Modern Germany: An Introduction* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Polity Press, 2000), 20; On the "twilight of laissez-faire" under the impact of the left-liberal German critique of economic liberalism mounted by "Kathedersozialisten" associated with the Verein, a critique which then travelled to American new Departments of Economics, Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Belknap Press, 1998), 76–112.

[376] Romanian Social Institute, *Institutul Social Roman 1921-1926* (Bucharest: Cultura Nationala, 1926), 6.

[377] Petrescu, *Socialismul în România 1835 - 6 septembrie 1940 [Socialism in Romania 1835- 6 September 1940]*; Constantin Bărbulescu, "Physicians from Romania at the International Medical Congresses and Conferences during the Past Decade of the XIXth Century and the First Years of the XXth Century," *Clujul Medical* 85, no. 1 (2012): 116–120.

innovative. In doing this, the ISR participated in the broader "reform current" in Europe, a tendency whose pace picked up after the First World War.[378] The Institute favored the construction of claims to expertise by encouraging a process of specialization and disciplinary boundary-making. It was organized into sections, with a section "created as soon as there exist a number of members of the same specialization who can work together."[379] The initial sections of the ISR were: agrarian, financial, commercial, industrial, legal, administrative, politics, social hygiene and demographics, cultural, political and social theory. Sections that were added later were those dealing with bibliography, foreign politics, sociology and feminine studies.[380]

In organization, methods, political agenda, in its role as platform for professional affirmation and as conduit to academics' securing institutional and personal material resources the ISR resembled the Verein to a striking extent. In Daniel T. Rodgers' description of the German Association:

> Of all the institutions Schmoller dominated, the Verein für Sozialpolitik was the most important. […] Like Schmoller, the Verein played its cards with both skill and caution. […] In its search for means, the Verein tacked with time and occasions. For the first several years the annual meetings consisted of forums designed to bring the views of employers, professors, and journalists to bear on the 'most urgent phases of the social question'. […] A more enduring mode of influence came through its monographic investigations. By the late 1880s, following an agenda set by the Verein's governing circle of academic economists, the association had become a factory of social fact-finding and was cautiously and professionally building the empirical rationale for the socially active state […]. The Verein's most successful sphere, however, was permeation of the debate among the higher, policy-making state officials.[381]

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[378] Christian Topalov, ed., *Laboratoires du nouveau siècle. (La nébuleuse réformatrice et ses réseaux en France, 1880-1914) [Laboratories of the new century. The reform nebula and its networks in France, 1880-1914.]* (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 1999); Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Taking up the Bet on Connections: A Municipal Contribution," *Contemporary European History* 11, no. 4 (2002): 507–527; Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Sketches from the Urban Internationale, 1910–50: Voluntary Associations, International Institutions and US Philanthropic Foundations," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25, no. 2 (2001): 380–403; Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Les régimes circulatoires du domaine social 1800-1940: Projets et ingénierie de la convergence et de la différence [Circulatory regimes of the social domain 1800-1940: Projects and engineering of convergence and difference]," *Genèses*, no. 2 (2008): 4–25.

[379] Romanian Social Institute, *Institutul Social Roman 1921-1926*, 7.

[380] Romanian Social Institute, 7.

[381] Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 93.

Similarly, the RSI had a celebrated "main visionary" who "tacked with time and occasion", in the person of founder and president Dimitrie Gusti. Also, like the Verein, the Institute hosted policy-makers, politicians, journalists and foreign dignitaries for discussions and lectures. In the 1920s, ministers of all parties and leading politicians of most ideological hues (including extreme right) lectured at the ISR.[382] Between 1923 and 1926, ILO director Albert Thomas and various other representatives of the League of Nations also spoke at the Institute.[383] In the 1930s, the ISR or its members were the main Bucharest-based beneficiaries of funds provided by the Rockefeller Foundation.[384]

The ISR's strategy of hearing all (or at least, most) sides on issues of social politics,[385] by organizing meetings and publications proved successful. For instance, a 1926 ISR yearbook noted that:

> So many members of the Institute have participated as members of Parliament in the discussion of different bills, in a spirit which - although colored by the political ideology or the momentary interest of their own party - was no less telling of the discipline and concern with the scientific Association originating the bill. Many times, these bills had been discussed in detail in previous meetings of the Institute, as pressing matters of the times, and the [Institute] member, switching to his role as MP, had in this way the perspective of so many specialists, who could guide him.[386]

The statement illuminates the traffic between the space of politics and the emerging space of social science occurring in this early period of the ISR. According to Emilia Plosceanu, during the ISR's first decade of functioning, founder Dimitrie Gusti aimed for an "interstitial [political] position"

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[382] Antonio Momoc, "Tehnici de comunicare și PR politic în Școala lui Dimitrie Gusti. Carol al II-lea, „regele ţăranilor şi al tineretului" [Communication and political PR techniques in Dimitrie Gusti's School. Carol IInd, 'king of the peasants and young people']," *Sociologie Românească* 10, no. 02 (2012): 86.

[383] Romanian Social Institute, *Institutul Social Roman 1921-1926*, 15.

[384] Plosceanu, "L'Internationalisation des sciences et techniques réformatrices. Les Savants roumains et la fondation Rockefeller (1918-1940) [The Internationalization of reform sciences and techniques. Romanian scholars and the Rockefeller foundation (1918-1940)]."

[385] Antonio Momoc and others, "Radical and Moderate Political Groups in the Sociology School of Bucharest," *Revista de Ştiinţe Politice. Revue Des Sciences Politiques*, no. 21–22 (2009): 21–24.

[386] Romanian Social Institute, *Institutul Social Roman 1921-1926*, 13.

for himself, from where he could serve as mediator between specialists and members of government.[387] At this point, the Institute, gathered together promising but still mostly young, untenured academics and aspiring (as well as established politicians). Members showed openness to new ideas and types of members. This is how feminist women like Calypso Botez, whose role within the ISR will be detailed in the next section, became an important member of this innovation-oriented circle.

In Antonio Momoc's view, this "interstitial" positioning of the ISR was abandoned in the 1930s. Momoc argues that Gusti and the ISR abandoned an initial culture of multivocal political debate and the aim of shaping a "technocratic-nationalist bureaucratic elite", in favor of a less technocratic, more clearly nationalist discourse (in step with the general trend in Romania). This entailed ISR members supporting Carol II's ambition of constructing what Momoc terms a "social monarchy" and an image of the monarch as "king of the peasants".[388] The thesis of the ISR's deliberative character becoming tainted by association with Carol II and through pursuit of narrower economic or professional interest than in the 1920s waxes over the many commonalities between the social reform vision of the ISR and that of the increasingly authoritarian king. For example, shortly before being crowned, in 1930, prince Carol had written about his interest for administration by experts; the corporatism the king embraced in the end of the 1930s was a system of governance fully compatible and even beneficial for those with technocratic aspirations.[389] (See Section 2.1.)

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[387] Plosceanu, "L'Internationalisation des sciences et techniques réformatrices. Les Savants roumains et la fondation Rockefeller (1918-1940) [The Internationalization of reform sciences and techniques. Romanian scholars and the Rockefeller foundation (1918-1940)]," 322.

[388] Momoc, *Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice*, 335–36.

[389] Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947), vol. al II-lea (Ferdinand I) [The History of Romanians during the four kings (1866-1947), vol. II (Ferdinand I)]*; Pinto, "Corporatism and 'Organic Representation'in European Dictatorships."

In any case, the Institute placed itself at the center of discussions about social politics in Romania throughout the interwar. The link between politics and social science expertise was beneficial not also for politicians but also for the less established male academics involved with the Institute. Key members used the Institute, among others, as a springboard for academic careers and research funding. In the 1930s, Dimitrie Gusti, a by-then recognized and celebrated public intellectual, served variously as NPP Minister of Instruction, Cults and the Arts (1932-1933), head of the Autonomous House of Monopolies, president of the Office of Social Cooperatives, and from 1934, as director of the Royal Cultural Foundations, an institution closely patronized by Carol II.[390] Other leading members of the ISR also became government ministers (economist Madgearu, most notably, in various NPP governments) or developed their existing connections with government parties in order to found major institutions (statistician Sabin Mănuilă, linked to the NPP became first director of the new Central Statistical Institute). From the middle of the 1930s, younger members of the ISR were employed at the Royal Cultural Foundations, in transitional posts before appointments as professors at the University of Bucharest (Anton Golopenția, Henri H. Stahl).[391]

At the intersection of leading ISR members' existing research preoccupations and the priorities of the first (still politically pluralist) period of Carol II's rule, in the 1930s the "peasant question" became institutionalized as the social question in Romania. This was most visible in the push for the expansion and state-backing of "monographic campaigns", the ISR's emblematic social research-and-reform method.[392] Thus, in 1925, as part of its research-oriented mission, the

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[390] Dinu Țenovici et al., *Dimitrie Gusti: cronologia vietii si operei: 1880-1955: biobibliografie adnotata [Dimitrie Gusti: chronology of life and works: 1880-1955; annotated biobibliography]* (Bucharest: Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Carol I", 2014).
[391] Momoc, "Tehnici de comunicare și PR politic în Școala lui Dimitrie Gusti. Carol al II-lea, „regele țăranilor și al tineretului" [Communication and political PR techniques in Dimitrie Gusti's School. Carol IInd, 'king of the peasants and young people']," 86.
[392] Raluca Mușat has pointed out that in Gusti's vision, "sociologia cogitans" (focused on theoretical issues) needed to be doubled by a "sociologia militans" (involvement in social reform). Raluca Mușat, "'To Cure, Uplift and

ISR and the Sociology Seminar at the University of Bucharest (both initiated by Gusti) began conducting summer-long "monographic campaigns" focusing on a specific village. Such "campaigns" involved tens of social researchers and their equipment spending weeks recording "all spiritual forms", "political forms", "biological factors", "psychological factors", "historical factors" of a village chosen as representative for a certain historical region of the country.[393] Intellectually, these rural "monographic campaigns" had roots as much in Anglo-American urban survey research as I would argue, in the conservationist ethnography practiced in the Habsburg Empire as governance tool and subsequently institutionalized in the German-speaking space.[394]

The focus on "the peasant question" was justified in overwhelmingly agrarian and rural Romania. However, this research focus became linked to political and institutional priorities that transcended politicians' and reformers' shared goal of working towards social reform. In the late 1930s, Carol II backed the rural monographic campaigns because they could lure young urban students away from the fascist Iron Guard's own village work camps and foster a "culture of consent" and loyalty to the throne in the country side. Pragmatically, Gusti saw knowledge production about villages as the best way to respond to the state's need for creating cohesion and social integration in a young state.[395] Raluca Mușat considers the expanded campaigns' aims to both modernize villages and preserve them untainted as emblematic of a political project that

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Ennoble the Village': Militant Sociology in the Romanian Countryside, 1934–1938," *East European Politics & Societies*, December 23, 2012.

[393] "1. All spiritual forms: religion, arts, popular science and and philosophy; 2. All juridical forms: the laws and juridical customs and transgressions of these laws; 3. All political forms: local forms of organization, political parties, political views; 4. The geographical factors: climate, landscape, fauna and flora; 5. The biological factors: racial traits, social illnesses, diet and hygiene; 6. Psychological factors: customs, mentalities, social habits, psychological endowment; 7.Historical factors: local traditions, documents, and remnants of old forms of social." Emanuela Grama, "Creating 'the Science of the Nation': Politics of Class, Labor and Gender of the Social Service Program, 1930s Romania," 2006, 16.

[394] . On ethnography and its link to administration and politics in the Habsburg empire, see Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts ; London, England: Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press, 2016), chap. 6.

[395] Mușat, "'To Cure, Uplift and Ennoble the Village.'"

aimed to control the pace of change and preserve existing existing hierarchies and power structures.[396]

The monographic method was not initially destined only for research in rural areas. As outlined by Dimitrie Gusti and collaborator Henri H. Stahl, "the monographic method" entailed "the thorough and detailed research of as many of the social units as possible, such as villages, towns, companies, counties, ethnic regions, and finally the nation."[397] According to Şerban Văetişi, in the late 1930s, researchers from Bucharest and Timișoara, associated with the ISR, began developing a focus on the urban environment.[398]

Nevertheless, rural research became the priority of the ISR and the main descriptor for the Bucharest Sociology Seminar.[399] Once begun, the "village campaigns" happened every year between 1925 and 1931. In 1934, when Gusti became head of the Royal Cultural Foundations, the "monographic campaigns" were scaled up and reorganized towards greater emphasis on rural uplift (besides research).[400] The continuity of the rural "campaigns", the volume of publications that emerged from the research, and the codification of male protagonists' research experience during such exercises into social research methodology books have led to the post-1945 (and

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[396] As Raluca Musat and Emanuela Grama have shown, the technologies enlisted towards these social regulation goals were essentially directed towards changing subjectivities by shaping emotions and promoting new codes of conduct. For instance, male students were supposed to help peasants with seasonal labour before focusing on enquettes, in order to develop a sense of cross-class brotherhood in the process. According to Grama, in the Social Service, the notion that labour was something that a young person owed to the state was instilled by strongly linking it with male fraternity and nostalgic attachment to the villages where one did research. Muşat; Grama, "Creating 'the Science of the Nation': Politics of Class, Labor and Gender of the Social Service Program, 1930s Romania."

[397] Grama, "Creating 'the Science of the Nation': Politics of Class, Labor and Gender of the Social Service Program, 1930s Romania."

[398] Şerban Văetişi, "O revizitare a oraşului interbelic: teme urbane la sociologii gustieni [A revisiting of the interwar city: urban themes among Gustian sociologists]," *Sociologie Românească*, no. 1–2 (2014): 74–91.

[399] Philip E. Mosely, "The Sociological School of Dimitrie Gusti," *The Sociological Review* 28, no. 2 (1936): 149–65; Joseph S Roucek, "Sociology in Roumania," *American Sociological Review* 3, no. 1 (1938): 54–62.

[400] Muşat, "'To Cure, Uplift and Ennoble the Village.'"

especially post-socialist) canonization of the so-called "Gusti School" as school of rural sociology.[401]

In the context of the growing importance of rural social research, women undergraduate students and junior women social researchers nevertheless oriented themselves towards urban themes. They did so because of the exclusion and discrimination encountered while working alongside dominant ISR researchers in rural monographs. Theodora-Eliza Văcărescu argues that women associated with the ISR were coopted and then pushed aside from rural research work through strategies of marginalizing women typical for the transition from a new field to a prestigious field - as was the case of sociology at the time in Romania.[402] The author shows how key male figures in the School contemporarily and retrospectively minimized junior women's contributions. Skillfully, Văcărescu identifies how oral history interviews with ISR sociologists, conducted during the 1980s, were permeated by the trope of the "good girls" [fete cuminți] who participated in rural campaigns as data collectors despite a visible lack of vocation for social research.[403]

According to leading monographist Henri H. Stahl, speaking informally in an oral history interview:

> It was not an excursion. […] Yet [the women students] had ambition, wanted to do something. They were given something to do. They could be used to do certain surveys, certain routine works. But they were useless, since not one had vision. It is genuinely difficult for people to be creatures of the social sciences! It is not for everyone. Many women tried, but they did not manage. Most of the women students who had something

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[401] Zoltán. Rostás, *Sala luminoasă: primii monografişti ai Şcolii gustiene [The Luminous room: the first monographists of the Gusti School]* (Bucureşti: Paideia, 2003); Zoltán. Rostás, *O istorie orală a Şcolii Sociologice de la Bucureşti [An Oral history of the Bucharest Gustian Sociological School]* (Bucureşti: Editura Printech, 2001); Ilie Bădescu, Ozana Cucu-Oancea, and Gheorghe Şişeştean, *Tratat de sociologie rurală [Treatise on rural sociology]* (Bucharest: Editura Mica Valahie, 2011).

[402] Theodora-Eliza Văcărescu, "Coopter et écarter. Les Femmes dans la recherche sociologique et l'intervention sociale dans la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres [Coopt and distance. Women in sociological research and social intervention in interwar Romania]," *Les Etudes Sociales*, no. 1 (2011): 109–142.

[403] Văcărescu, 136.

going on upstairs escaped from sociology towards something else. Many of them became highschool teachers.[404]

Many of the junior women who were "given something to do" were university students in fields such as literature or training as social workers in a specific social work institution with links to the ISR. Stahl's verdict of female students' lack of vision can be read as not merely the unduly severe assessment expressed in the language of a "man of his time" but as aggressively misogynistic.

This bias becomes visible especially when considering the case of Rodica Luția. In Stahl's 1980s description of Luția who, as a young woman participated in the Cornova village research campaign, "Rodica Luția was formed in the social assistance school. Very smart, Luția were an old Bukovina family. Married Mircea Manolescu. Still alive. Very smart girl. But then she gave up this job and transformed herself into a textiles engineer."[405] Although „a smart girl" (in fact, a chess master after 1945, close in age to Stahl), for the historical sociologist, Luția was among those who gave up the research profession for the more vulgar, thorougly socialist, occupation of a textiles' engineer. In fact, Luția's 1936 research on women's work in the Bukovina city of Cernăuți (now Chernivtsi, Ukraine), created and published in the context of the alternative research institutions and practices constructed by ISR-associated professionalized women, is a source on women's work in interwar Romania unmatched in quality and originality due to its nuanced Marxian interpretation of detailed survey data and case files.[406] (See Chapter 6.) Considering that in Luția's case neither lack of skill nor lack of vocation were a problem, her choice to not pursue

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[404] Zoltán Rostás and Henri H. Stahl, *Monografia ca Utopie: Interviuri Cu Henri H. Stahl (1985-1987) [Monograph as Utopia: Interviews with Henri H. Stahl (1985-1987)]* (Paideia, 2000), 249 quoted in ; Văcărescu, "Coopter et écarter," 134.

[405] Zoltán. Rostás, "'Psihologia omului cu condei' - Interviu cu H. H. Stahl din 'Monografia ca utopie' ["The psychology of the man with the quill" - Interview with Henri H. Stahl from 'Monograph as utopia']," *Cooperativa G* (blog), February 9, 2015, http://www.cooperativag.ro/psihologia-omului-cu-condei/.

[406] Rodica Luția, "Raportul dintre problemele de muncă și problemele de dependența familiei [The connection between work problems and family dependence issues]," *Buletinul Muncii, Cooperatiei și Asigurărilor Sociale* 16, no. 2 (1936): 666–72.

the academic careers male researchers of similar caliber chose must be linked (at least in part) to pervasive patterns of discrimination within sociology as institutionalizing discipline.

Marginalization affected even the handful of women already professionalized as researchers at the time when rural monographic campaigns were taking place. According to Văcărescu, anthropologist Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția's[407] work on women's magical practices was appropriated by a colleague, who in a loud argument told her she needed to switch her topic to something more "feminine", such as philosophy or linguistics. In personal letters from 1930, Ștefania Cristescu expressed frustration and mentioned she had worked on magical practices for several months and had already drafted a report for that year's campaign in the village of Runcu. Cristescu ended up writing a parallel report on magical practices, which was not published with the other materials from the Runcu campaign. (See also Section 5.4.) She published her manuscript as an independent volume, in 1944, when it received an award from the Romanian academy.[408] Similarly, sociologist Xenia Costa-Foru, working on families (and using especially women as informants), published little during the 1930s, most notably a paper on the topic of families, co-authored with Henri H. Stahl.[409] In 1945, Costa-Foru - Andreescu published her interesting methodology volume on "The Monographic research of the family", based on notes from the 1930s rural campaigns, mentioning in the book's introduction that the manuscript had actually been finalized in 1932.[410]

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[407] Stefania Cristescu-Golopentia (1908-1978) focused on women's magical practices in rural households. Cristescu gathered materials especially in the village of Dragus,in 1929, and went on to study with Marcel Mauss, under whose supervision she obtained a doctorate at the Sorbonne. After 1945, following her husband's arrest and imprisonment, Cristescu- still in Romania- taught Romanian literature and published academically in the field of comparative linguistics. Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția, *Credințe și rituari magice [Magical beliefs and rituals]* (București: Institutul de științe sociale al României (Impr. națională), 1944).

[408] Văcărescu, "Coopter et écarter," 136; Cristescu-Golopenția, *Credințe și rituari magice*.

[409] Xenia Costa-Foru and Henri H. Stahl, "Caracterul devălmaș al familiei Nerejene [The disorganized character of the family in Nerej village]," *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială* 10, no. 3–4 (1933): 447–62.

[410] Xenia Costa-Foru, *Cercetarea monografică a familiei- Contribuție metodologică [The Monographic research of the family - methodological contribution]*, Biblioteca de Sociologie, Etica și Politică 10 (Bucharest: Fundația Regele Mihai I, 1945).

Recognition through women-dominated alternative fora and institutions.

As Romanian "sociology" was becoming focused on the rural "social question" and (intentionally or unintentionally) left so little room for women researchers, the field of urban social reform and its associated knowledge production came to be defined by women who specialized in social work and social assistance. Already a hub for women's philanthropy, interwar Bucharest became the main site for discourses and practices addressing gendered questions of social politics and social need, constructed by women who created, for themselves and other women, different pathways to professionalization in social research and politics after being excluded from the career trajectories open to men of similar backgrounds. These different pathways also built on women's inclusion in the alternative, transnational social research-and-reform networks where women's social knowledge-making work was more visible. The women social researchers who faced marginalization within rural monographic research, most notably Xenia Costa-Foru, but also many of the younger women students who participated in rural campaigns, were welcomed in two Bucharest-based settings associated with the ISR. These two interlocked nuclei of research and discussion on gendered social issues had a durable influence on welfare provision and social research in Bucharest, as the following chapters will highlight.

It must be pointed out that the ISR mirrored the Verein für Sozialpolitik even in its structured exclusion of women. According to Rodgers, American women social reformers traveling to Germany in the 1890s and encountering the Kathedersozialisten of the Verein could not be integrated in academic and social life in the same way their male compatriots could be. As a result, women's networks drew far less on German models, as the latter were forged in connection with higher education institutions. Rather, women developed their networks and

knowledge-making practices more strongly in relation to the British settlement movement, the transnational women's suffrage movement and women's international conferences.[411] I claim that a similar pattern of collaboration between social reformers, feminists and para-academic women-dominated institutions appeared in Bucharest, functioning in relation to the ISR but developing on the basis of different aims and ideas than the "Gusti school" of rural-research-focused sociology.

The Section for Feminine Studies of the ISR and the Superior School of Social Assistance were the two settings (or institutions) that were part of the ISR network of social actors which enabled the defining of the problematics of urban social reform by women doing social research in Bucharest. The Section for Feminine Studies was created in 1925, by a group of feminists. (See Section 3.3.) It was headed by progressive feminist Calypso Botez. Botez would become municipal councilor in the city's Sector I Yellow in 1930, on an NPP ticket. (See Chapter 4). The Superior School of Social Assistance was founded in 1929, by social worker Veturia Mănuilă, who was encouraged to pursue this idea by Dimitrie Gusti and members of the Christian Association of Romanian Women, following a presentation Mănuilă held at the Section for Feminine Studies, in front of a large audience of ISR members.[412]

At its founding, the goals of the Section for Feminine Studies were to use the methods of the monograph and the "experimental method of enquette" in order to study:

> Especially the problems related to children and women, considered in the social environment in which their lives and productive activities develop, as well as the social policy problems connected to the situation woman faces in relation to the needs of today's life, the ways in which woman participates in this life and faced with the new conceptions on the State.[413]

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[411] Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 94.

[412] Veturia Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]," in *L'assistance sociale en Roumanie* (Bucharest: Imprimeria Națională, 1938), 8.

[413] Calypso Botez, "Dare de seamă a Secției de Studii Feminine [Report of the Section for Feminine Studies]," *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială* 6, no. 3–4 (1927): 525.

As the previous section has mentioned and as the following sections will detail, this formulation's emphasis on "the social environment" and social policy issues reflected the vision for feminine studies of only a certain segment of the feminist movement in Romania. Yet despite growing political divisions and mounting animus among women who had initially collaborated to push for suffrage in the 1920s, the SSF remined an important forum for feminists of all stripes and its proceedings familiar to most women interested in social reform in Bucharest, until the end of the 1930s.

During more than a decade of regular activity, the members of the Section produced or hosted lectures or presentations of research reports on topics which reflected on changes in women's status and economic circumstances in Romania and abroad. Thus, in 1925, the Section discussed the "situation of children - their biological and physiological inheritance", the child's mentality within the Romanian "harmonic and disharmonic family", children's education, legal status and economic situation in Romania. In 1926, members of the Section met to consider "woman's evolution (where are we women headed?)", women's civil status in Romania, "women's classification from the point of view of the social economy" (whether professionally prepared or unprepared), women's preparation for the roles of wife and mother. In 1927, the Section discussed the problem of prostitution - causes and ways of restricting it, whether prostitution was a necessity, the experience of Anglo-Saxon countries, old ways of dealing with prostitution (police control, control of "immoral locales", "the trade in live flesh") and new ways of approaching the phenomenon ("the prohibition of immoral locales", "medical treatment, psychology", "reformatory schools, technical preparation", "women's police").[414] In 1929, teacher Catherine Cerkez (with ties to Cantacuzino) presented her report titled "Woman's work and its

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[414] Botez, 526.

consequences for family and society".[415] In 1932, the Section scheduled lectures concerning the effects of the Great Depression on women. Sociologist Veturia Mănuilă spoke on "the economic depression and the family", Ms. Cerkez discussed "the economic depression and the professional woman", Alexandrina Cantacuzino lectured on "the economic depression and the transformation of society", Calypso Botez spoke on "the economic depression and social assistance", philosopher Alice Voinescu discussed "the influence of the economic depression on the feminine psychology" and lawyer Ella Negruzzi spoke on the "economic depression and leisure".[416] Finally, between 1932 and 1937, the Section hosted presentations of the results of the extensive social inquiries conducted by the all-women students of the Superior School for Social Assistance. The discussion of at least some of these issues (most notably the approach to "prostitution") were influenced by developments in transnational women's organizations. Through the meetings of the SSF, the prominent member of the women's movement were engaging in the "work of political translation" which enabled the transformation of these transnational issues into local categories of public action.[417] The circulation of these issues within the cross-border network of reformers and beyond enabled the strengthening of these various' types of women experts' claims to expertise, and by extension their claims to public authority over social issues. (See Section 1.3.)

Rather than being published in the *Archive for Science and Social Reform* - the journal of the ISR, or primarily in the *Social Assistance* journal of the SSAS, the texts of the research reports presented at the SSF beginning with 1932 (including Rodica Luția's piece on women's work in Cernăuți) were sent by SSF president Calypso Botez to the publishers of the official bulletin of the

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[415] Catherine Cerkez, "Munca femeii si consecintele ei pentru familie si societate [Woman's work and its consequences for family and society]," in *Din Istoria feminismului românesc [From the History of Romanian feminism]* (Bucharest, 1929), 340–53.

[416] "Știri de pretutindeni [News from everywhere]."

[417] Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Eléments Pour Une Socio-Histoire Des Catégories de l'action Publique," in *Historicités de l'action Publique*, 2003, 241.

Romanian Ministry of Labour, the *Buletin of Labour, Cooperation and Social Insurance*.[418] The studies appeared regularly in the Bulletin, integrally and accompanied by graphs and tables, and could reach a national audience of persons involved in policy-making, considering the distribution of the Bulletin to all major public institutions in the country. Unfortunately, what was gained in immediate visibility was lost in historiographical visibility, as the connection between these studies or their common institutional origin has not been noticed (or considered) in previous research.[419]

The second key setting enabling women's domination of urban social research was the semi-private Superior School for Social Assistance (SSAS). The School's students were the main collectors and interpreters of the data on reports on women and children discussed during the sessions of the Section for Feminine Studies. The School was a private institution subsidized by the state, and accredited as a higher-education, undergraduate level school, not connected to the University of Bucharest. Owing to Mănuilă's strong ties with leaders of the National Peasantist Party, the School received ministerial support and finally opened its gates in 1930. It admitted a maximum of fourteen students yearly, for a study course of three years. The final year of study was dedicated to research tutorials and social work practice at the Demonstration Center for Family Assistance opened in Tei neighborhood, already in 1929. The "Copy of case file for individualized assistance", describing the intervention in Marioara Ionescu's household, supplied as a model case file to the mostly SSAS student readers of the *Social Assistance* journal, was likely initially produced by one of the SSAS students training at this Demonstration Center. (The case file may have been lightly edited or embellished to increase its pedagogical value). (See Introduction and

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[418] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor"; Luția, "Raportul dintre problemele de muncă și problemele de dependența familiei [The connection between work problems and family dependence issues]"; Natașa Popoviciu, "Munca femeii și repercusiunile ei asupra familiei [Woman's work and its repercussions for the family]," *Buletinul Muncii, Cooperației și Asigurărilor Sociale*, 1935, 653–63.

[419] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor"; Popoviciu, "Munca femeii și repercusiunile ei asupra familiei [Woman's work and its repercussions for the family]"; Luția, "Raportul dintre problemele de muncă și problemele de dependența familiei [The connection between work problems and family dependence issues]."

Figure 3)The School employed several men associated with the Bucharest Sociological Seminary as well as women who had no other academic positions or had previously occupied university posts below their qualifications.[420]

The curriculum of the SSAS had a strong American Progressive lineage. This was because Veturia Mănuilă became familiar with the new practice of "scientific social work" while living in the USA, between 1925 and 1926. Statistician Sabin Mănuilă was one among several "Rockefeller men" sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation in the 1920s. In the two years spent in the USA, Sabin Mănuilă studied at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, in the School of Public Health and Hygiene and the School of Social Economics. His partner, Veturia Mănuilă, registered as a self-funded student in the School of Social Economics at the same university.[421] The couple already had a strong interest in social reform. In Romania, they were members of the Transylvanian ASTRA society, an organization which by the 1920s focused on research and uplift in the region's villages. The ASTRA association had been founded by Romanian nationalists to promote ethnic cultural uplift during the Dualist Monarchy.

In Baltimore, Veturia Mănuilă encountered the ideas of welfare activist Mary Richmond and the activities of the Charity Organization Society (COS) Richmond had founded. Richmond had worked in the Baltimore COS and been influenced by professors teaching at the Johns Hopkins

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[420] Among them, sociologists Xenia Costa-Foru and Henri H Stahl, philosopher Alice Voinescu, statistician (and husband of Veturia Mănuilă) Sabin Mănuilă and a number of other men who held positions in the Ministry of Labour and associated bodies. These teachers provided a certain ideological diversity to the subjects taught, with Voinescu interested in psychonalaysis and Bergsonian vitalism, Costa-Foru in Straussian structuralism, Stahl drawing on marxian historical sociology to reflect on capitalist societies while Sabin Mănuilă was a dedicated quantitativist influenced by the eugenicist ideas of his mentor, Iuliu Moldovan. Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]."

[421] Sabin Mănuilă, "Sabin Mănuilă to Relatives in Romania.," Personal correspondence, 1925, Fond 614 - Sabin Mănuilă Personal, Box 1, File 136, ff. 31-32, ANIC.

School of Medicine.[422] According to Donna Franklin's summary of the purposes and operation of the COS:

> The Charity Organization Society emerged from a concern for making almsgiving scientific, efficient and preventative. For the COS, poverty was to be cured not by the distribution of relief but by the personal rehabilitation of the poor. The guiding philosophy was that pauperism could be eliminated through investigating and studying the character of those seeking help and by educating and developing the poor. Case conferences and "friendly visiting" made vivid the problems, the needs for, and the responsibilities of rehabilitation.[423]

Although also influenced by the Chicago-based "settlement movement", Veturia Mănuilă advocated the application of the COS model in Romania upon her moving to Bucharest, in 1928. Richmond's preoccupation with "dependency", pauperism and scientific welfare provision permeated Veturia Mănuilă's essays and social research. (See Section 6.2.)

Later, a close collaborator of Veturia Mănuilă strengthened the connection between Romanian and American social work. Thus, in the middle of the 1930s, sociologist Xenia Costa-Foru pursued a course in social work at the University of Chicago, also as a Rockefeller Foundation fellow.[424] In 1935, Costa-Foru became the director of the SSAS.

Mănuilă and the SSAS had a strong impact on welfare provision in Bucharest, as the following chapters (especially Chapters 4 and 6) will detail. Similarly to the COS and the new "Schools for Social Work" at the University of Chicago and Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, the Romanian Superior School for Social Assistance defined "social work" as a "scientific" form of welfare provision. Scientific social assistance was supposed to combine "individualized social assistance" with the survey-based urban social research which could be used

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[422] Donna L Franklin, "Mary Richmond and Jane Addams: From Moral Certainty to Rational Inquiry in Social Work Practice," *Social Service Review* 60, no. 4 (1986): 504–525.
[423] Franklin, 508.
[424] Plosceanu, "L'Internationalisation des sciences et techniques réformatrices. Les Savants roumains et la fondation Rockefeller (1918-1940) [The Internationalization of reform sciences and techniques. Romanian scholars and the Rockefeller foundation (1918-1940)]," 330.

to create judicious urban policy proposals. Also, the SSAS (like the COS) defined "scientific social work" by opposition to the non-systematic work of philanthropy rooted in the principles of Christian mercy.[425] The SSAS also defined social knowledge-making by distinguishing it from statistics, placing emphasis on the intimacy work implicated in social knowledge-making. (See Section 4.2.)

Maria Bucur has included the SSAS among the educational institutions influenced by the eugenicist movement in Romania, and considers Veturia Mănuilă as a promoter of women's public involvement only in "feminine occupations", such as social work.[426] According to Bucur, Mănuilă aimed to "construct a eugenic curriculum for social work education".[427] As I shall show in later chapters of this dissertation (and especially in Chapter 6), the SSAS was not in the service of the "biopolitical vision" of the eugenicist movement, despite the close personal and institutional ties between Mănuilă, her husband, and their mentor and political backer, eugenicist doctor Iuliu Moldovan. Whereas Mănuilă's stances drew on several social reform currents, and changed in time, the research of the SSAS and the materials published in its journal, *Social Assistance - Bulletin of the Superior School of Social Assistance "Princess Ileana"* (1931-1939), were most influenced by the broader, transnational transnational social reform current formed in the late nineteenth century and flourishing in the interwar as "the Leagues' phenomenon" (i.e., the so-called "reform current") (see Section 1.3.).[428] Furthermore, at the SSF or within the SSAS,

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[425] The difficulty of working with associations who practiced assistance in a "completely empirical way" was a frequent theme in SSAS leader's writings. Xenia Costa-Foru, "Colaborarea în asistență [Collaborations in social assistance]," *Asistența Socială - Buletinul Școalei Superioare de Asistență Socială "Principesa Ileana"* 2, no. 1 (1931): 15–29; Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]."

[426] Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen [The Eugenicist movement and gender roles]."

[427] Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*, 175–76.

[428] Olivier Dard and Nathalie Sévilla, *Le phénomène ligueur en Europe et aux Amériques* (Centre régional universitaire lorrain d'histoire, 2011).

Mănuilă's students dealt with many of the topics that were increasingly pressing to feminists within the International Alliance of Women or (to a lesser extent) the International Council of Women, among which women's work and child protection. These policy discussions among transnational feminists may have drawn occasionally on the time's popular vocabulary of eugenics,[429] but did not share Romanian eugenicists overarching ethnicity-focused diagnoses nor (unsurprisingly) their distrust of feminism or downright anti-feminist attitude.

The SSAS stayed open throughout the 1930s, despite the increasingly complicated collaboration between the School and municipal authorities. (See Section 4.4.) After 1937 and a marked slide to the right in Romanian politics and public discourse, Mănuilă's writings increasingly included eugenicist tropes (like "degeneration") but there is no evidence to suggest Mănuilă abandoned the idea that social circumstances, the immediate environment and individual character (rather than biological heritage or ethnic characteristic) were the causes of a person's loss of autonomy. In this sense it is notable that, in 1939, Mănuilă argued that "pauperism" was not an unchanging condition resulting from dependence on social aid but was a symptom of broader environmental causes: "Pauperism expresses a pathologic status quo and cannot be considered a cause of social dependence. In the social realm, pauperism is a symptom comparable to the fever in medicine. Fever is not a disease, it is always an effect produced by a disease, the same as pauperism in social life."[430] Rather than an assertion in favor of the biologizing language of Romanian eugenics, the statement is best interpreted as a positioning against the period's

[429] Ann Taylor Allen, "Feminism and Eugenics in Germany and Britain, 1900-1940: A Comparative Perspective," *German Studies Review* 23, no. 3 (2000): 477–505.

[430] Veturia Mănuilă, "Pauperismul și criza familială într-un cartier mărginaș al Bucureștilor (Tei) [Pauperism and familial crisis in a peripheral Bucharest neighborhood (Tei)]," ed. Zoltán Rostás, vol. Între proiecții urbanistice și sărăcie letargică. Bucureștiul arhitecților, sociologilor și al medicilor, antologie (Bucharest: Editura Vremea, 1939), http://www.cooperativag.ro/veturia-Mănuilă-despre-pauperism-si-criza-familiei-in-bucurestiul-interbelic/.

inceasingly influential German "racial science" which considered extreme poverty the mark of the distinctive "asocial [asozial]" biotype.[431]

Like many (perhaps most) of the Romanian intellectuals that had embraced left liberalism as the key to science-based governance in the 1920s, Veturia Mănuilă (and her spouse)[432] turned, step-by-step, towards the right wing movements and parties which increasingly dominated politics and administration. In 1941, Veturia Mănuilă and Xenia Costa-Foru were appointed to the Technical Committee of the Council for the Patronage of Social Works (*Consiliul de Patronaj al Operelor Sociale*). The Council, led by Maria Antonescu and Veturia Goga (wife of extreme right wing anti-semitic prime minister Octavian Goga), was tasked with supervising private and public assistance organizations. According to Bucur, the Council "would become the most important government welfare institution during the war".[433]

Although neither Mănuilă nor Costa-Foru were fascists, or even eugenicists, they participated in the Holocaust in Romania. (See also Section 3.4.) According to Bucur,

> The Patronage Council was funded in great part by money that came from the Jewish population, money that was legally or illegally, but certainly coercively, obtained through the Central Office of Romanian Jews. At the same time, the Patronage Council limited its activities to ethnic Romanians, even when members of the Red Cross made desperate appeals to its rich coffers during the typhoid fever epidemic in Transnistria.[434]

Furthermore, as Ștefan Ionescu's carefully-documented monograph shows, the Council encouraged and facilitated the confiscation of Jewish-owned and Jewish-rented buildings, in the framework of anti-Semitic "racial laws", by social assistance organizations.[435] The Association of

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[431] Mănuilă; Gisela Bock, "Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany: Motherhood, Compulsory Sterilization, and the State," *Signs* 8, no. 3 (1983): 418.

[432] Before 1941, Sabin Mănuilă had argued against racist interpretations in demography studies. That year Sabin Mănuilă penned an article supporting "race hygiene"and the eugenic sterilization of Roma people. Marius Turda, *The History of East-Central European Eugenics, 1900-1945: Sources and Commentaries* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 292.

[433] Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*, 215.

[434] Bucur, 216.

[435] Ionescu, *Jewish Resistance to 'Romanianization', 1940-44*, 93; 106.

Housewives' Circles (ACG) (Section 3.1.) was an important (and very demanding) beneficiary of such a confiscated building.

In his memoirs concerning the 1940-1941 period of the "National Legionary State", during which the fascist Guard of the Archangel Michael governed together with Marshal Ion Antonescu, Guard leader Horia Sima described Veturia Mănuilă as an intimate friend of the inexperienced Maria Antonescu:

> The latter [Mănuilă] was taken in the Council as an 'expert', on account of some sort of socio-economic studies she had allegedly done in the United States. In reality, Mrs Mănuilă, like her husband Sabin Mănuilă, were in the employment of the English. Veturia Goga, first violin of English espionage in Romania, introduced Mrs. Mănuilă close to the General under this label, so she could collect and transmit the information all the better.[436]

Of most interest here are not the accusations of espionage coming from the leader of a governing far-right movement in an Axis-allied country at war. Rather, the fragment underscores the need for future research into why and how the methods and approaches pioneered by Mănuilă (her "some sort of socio-economic studies") became part of racist welfare provision in Romania during the Second World War. In the context of this dissertation's focus on how women social researchers built their authority during the 1920s and 1930s, Sima's opinions confirm that by the 1940s, these strategies were successful, with SSAS leaders achieving recognition and institutional support – albeit in reprehensible circumstances.

To sum up, key left-liberal women who were professionalized as social researchers through formal qualification in disciplines such as anthropology, sociology or social work developed alternative fora and practices of social research, focused on the urban environment and women's experiences. Their claims to public authority built as much on the (minor) recognition of their

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[436] Horia Sima, *Era Libertaţii - Statul Naţional-Legionar [The Era of Freedom- The National Legionary State]* (Timisora: Gordian, 1995), https://archive.org/stream/CollectionOfWorksByHoriaSima/EraLibertatii-StatulNational-legionarVol.1_djvu.txt.

formal credentials within the broader Bucharest milieu of social reformers as on the support of the network of women welfare activists who were not formally credentialed researchers. Their influence peaked in the early 1940s, enabling these welfare activists to implement violently exclusionary forms of social policy and control during the Second World War.

3.3. Progressive Feminists

Two organizations active in interwar Bucharest fit a "progressive feminist" label: the League for the Rights and Duties of Women (LDDFR; approx. 1913-1938) and the Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women (AECPFR; 1917-1938). LDDFR and AECPFR were the main local affiliates of the International Alliance for Women's Suffrage/International Alliance for Women (IWSA/IAW). (See Section 2.2.) Both associations were loose configurations, mostly visible through leaders such as Eugenia de Reuss-Ianculescu (1865-1938), Calypso Botez (1880-1938?) or Ella Negruzzi (1876-1948).

Existing studies describe these organizations and their leaders as preoccupied especially with suffrage and legal equality and as only marginally involved in welfare activism.[437] The historiographical lack of visibility for the involvement of these leaders of the Romanian women's movement with issues such as women's work or public assistance after the First World War might be due to the unavailability of relevant archives, the fact that they published and travelled less (compared to Cantacuzino and Mănuilă) and did not occupy positions in international organizations (making them less present in records produced outside Romania).

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[437] Cosma, *Femeile şi politica în România*; Cheşchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation,."

However, closer examination of these women's activities after the middle of the 1920s, and their positionings vis-à-vis other cultural producers in the field of social reform, reveals at least two figures who converted their women's movement leadership into influence among those preoccupied with social issues in Bucharest. Leaders Calypso Botez and Ella Negruzzi were part of the broad group which had initiated the Romanian Social Institute in Iași, before the end of the war. In the 1920s, their authority on several issues affecting women, gained through activism for women's civil and political rights, was recognized within the ISR and through the press, disseminated to a wider public. In Anne Epstein's terms, Botez and Negruzzi were coopted as "feminist experts" in the period's foremost forum for public intellectuals.[438]

In this subsection I argue that by building on the social capital obtained as pioneering professional women early after WWI, Botez and Negruzzi shaped the politics and policies of welfare in Bucharest. I show how Botez facilitated social research on women's living and working conditions in the city and drove changes in local social assistance practices, while in the middle of the 1930s, Negruzzi became a one of the leaders of the small anti-fascist movement in Romania. I point out how these actions were undertaken in dialogue with older and newer transnational women's and mixed-gender networks and contributed to defining need and welfare provision in Bucharest.

According to Roxana Cheșchebec, the oldest among the larger progressive women's organizations, the League for the Rights and Duties of Women (LDDFR), conducted a sustained suffragist campaign from its founding in 1913 until the 1938 death of its president, Eugenia de Reuss-Ianculescu. Consequently, the LDDFR devoted less energy to other issues affecting women

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[438] Epstein, "Gender and the rise of the female expert during the Belle Époque," 91.

in urbanizing areas but did not complete disregard them either.[439] Before and after the First World War, the League's lobbying strategy for women's suffrage was to gain political elites' support by developing a network of influential male sympathizers (whom the organization sometimes rewarded with honorary leadership positions), and through public meetings, lectures, manifestos, petitions to Parliament and lobbying visits leaders paid to various politicians in office. Initially close with National Liberal politicians, the LDDFR and Reuss-Ianculescu were later more strongly associated with the National Peasantist Party.

In fact, the LDDFR had been involved in welfare provision before the First World War, maintaining canteens for women workers and clerks in Bucharest and supporting a school for adult literacy.[440] Also, Reuss-Ianculescu briefly administered the City Hall's "Radu Vodă" Orphanage. (See Section 4.3.) In the early 1920s the LDDFR did champion legislation on behalf of war widows, following a request for support publicized through an open letter by war widows in Tutova county. (See Section 2.2.) However, the earlier preoccupation with welfare institutions and welfare provision was less visible in the 1930s.

The second larger progressive organization, the Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women (AECPFR), seems to have been even more focused on suffrage at the expense of other issues than the LDDFR, especially when its actions are deduced from statutes and better-known public statements. The formal goals of the AECPFR were "to fight for the full civil and political emancipation of the Romanian woman, and prepare her for the exercise of political rights and public office (alt. public duties) [funcții publice]".[441] In the 1920s, the AECPFR claimed in public to be mostly a "society of ideas and propaganda", a label meant to

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[439] Cheşchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation," 58-63.
[440] Cheşchebec, 63.
[441] Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 19.

"differentiate the organization from traditional philanthropic women's association", with AECPFR members insisting that agitation for suffrage was more important than other activities for the benefit of women.[442]

Beyond advocating for women's political participation, the AECPFR did not have a unified vision concerning the forms such participation and the holding of public office would take. The AECPFR's long-time president, Elena Meissner (1867-1940), based in the Eastern Romanian city of Iași, argued that women were not supposed to join political parties.[443] However, closer to Bucharest, stances were different. Prominent members Ella Negruzzi and Calypso Botez supported women's participation in politics as members of the existing, men-dominated political parties. The AECPFR's branch in the capital city was led by lawyer Ella Negruzzi (alongside journalist Izabela Sadoveanu [1870-1941]). Teacher Calypso Botez (technically) headed the branch in Galați, a city situated midway between Bucharest and Chișinău, the current capital of the Republic of Moldova.[444] (Negruzzi, Sadoveanu and Botez lived in Bucharest.) In 1930, Negruzzi and Botez joined the National Peasantist Party and ran for Bucharest City Council on the NPP's ticket. (See Section 4.1. and Table 2)

Despite openly claiming a quasi-exclusive focus on obtaining voting rights for women, the AECPFR members did have a strong interest in broad social issues, and engaged in practices of social knowledge-making which contributed to the transformation of certain members into "lay experts" on key women's issues. In 1919, the Association initiated a circle for "feminist studies", dedicated to lectures and meetings on topics of interest related to feminism. In 1924, the organization re-initiated the study group, in Iași, calling it now the Circle for Feminine Studies,

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[442] Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s): Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation," , 65.
[443] Cheșchebec, 63, 559.
[444] Cheșchebec, 67.

meant to deal with issues of interest to "all women".[445] These practices, started in the Association's first decate of existence, were institutionalized and expanded once key members moved to Bucharest.

Despite the strong initial focus on suffrage, fifteen years after its founding, the AECPFR narrated itself as an organization whose activism had always been permeated by social justice issues. In 1935, in an article reviewing the history of women's organizing in the previous three decades, AECPFR leader Isabela Sadoveanu explained that the political direction of the most important organizations for women's emancipation in Romania had been strongly influenced by their adherence to the principles of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IAW). She considered the AECPFR to be the best example of the IAW's positive influence:

> Most of all, the Association [AECPFR] has maintained the strongest connection with the international committees and commissions of the Alliance for suffrage. I have mentioned above that the Alliance for suffrage is the true international forum of feminism and a true school for its members. This is because it alone, for the many decades it has been in existence, has imposed to the affiliated groups <u>the obligation to adopt</u>, after having studied through treatises and brochures made available for everyone, a program of social demands, besides political demands. Matters such as the protection of mothers and children, the same morality standard following the highest ethical ideals of the time for both sexes, etc., etc., have currently become banal, but only after, for 17 years, the [AECPFR] 'Associaton' has been studying them in congresses and has lived them, doing the very first experiments, without subsidies, without any help, other than the one of the *Dimineaţa* newspaper, which for three years provided us, obligation-free, with a 'Woman's Page' for propaganda.[446]

Sadoveanu's article makes clear the continued focus on "social demands, besides political demands" within the AECPFR. It also underscores the efforts (and partial success) of members in making gendered social issues visible in the public sphere in Romania, over the course of seventeen years, pointing out that "currently banal" issues such as "the protection of mothers and children (…) etc. etc." required more than a decade of study, practice and experimentation.

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[445] Cheşchebec, 70.

[446] Izabela Sadoveanu, "Cu prilejul unui congres feminin [On the occasion of a feminine congress]," *Adeverul*, March 12, 1935.

Also, from Sadoveanu's description, it becomes clear that transnational ties to the IAW facilitated a process of learning and specialization among feminists in Romania. In referring to the IAW as the sole organization which had pushed affiliated associations to adopt a program of social demands alongside political demands, the journalist and literary critic was likely referring to the "Programme of Women's Rights" which transcended suffrage, embraced by the IAW after the First World War.[447] According to Leila Rupp, the IAW's broad program included "suffrage, abolition of slavery, married women's nationality rights, married women's property rights, rights of parenthood, widows' pensions, rights of illegitimate children, education, employment opportunity, equal pay, the right of married women to work, a single higher moral standard, and the suppression of traffic in women".[448]

The stances adopted in Romania by the AECPFR under the influence of the IAW, "the sole organization", were being implicitly contrasted by Sadoveanu with the approaches of the ICW and especially, its main representative in Romania (Cantacuzino). The latter transnational organization was generally reluctant to adopt strong stances, whether on suffrage, married women's nationality or protective legislation so as not to alienate more conservative members.[449] Cantacuzino, as we have seen, adopted inconsistent stances, hewing closest to the policies supported by the French National Council of Women.

AECPFR leaders helped promote IAW stances and their Association's locally-devised positions among influential local audiences in Bucharest. They could do so because Ella Negruzzi and especially, Calypso Botez, enjoyed a particular type of temporary, insecure recognition as

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[447] Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 132.
[448] Rupp, 132.
[449] Rupp, 136, 140.

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pioneering professional women (in domains other than the institutionalized social sciences) who were feminists. Epstein argues that in 1900s France,

> The endorsement of prominent intellectual and political figures in the organizations that invited women to participate in their debates enhanced the women's public profiles and drew attention to their ideas. With the political importance of gender issues on the rise, the women's own "feminine" or "feminist" expertise, conveyed through their identification with specific causes, associations, or publications, made them sought after collaborators for groups keen to display their openness to discussion of gender injustice.[450]

Similar dynamics existed in the early 1920s in Romania, in the context of debates about a new Constitution, suffrage victories for women in several European countries and in North America, and a wave of social reform enthusiasm in Romania. As in the French situation described by Epstein, the women from the AECPFR, although primarily active within their own organizations, became sought-after collaborators of new mixed-sex organizations, particularly the Romanian Social Institute. In their turn, feminists in Bucharest benefitted from the endorsement of men who founded the ISR. These men were a group of professionals perceived to be at the cutting edge of developments in social and "administrative sciences".

Certainly, this does not mean these leading women, and especially their collaborators, were not marginalized through the discriminative mechanisms that also marginalized women social researchers in the ISR or formal academic institutions (see Section 3.2.). However, the trend toward welcoming key feminists in the ISR does highlight that in the 1920s intellectual elites manifested interest (or at least what Veturia Mănuilă later termed "a spectator's ironic interest")[451] towards feminism and relative openness towards women's inclusion in new types of public fora. It is this broadly favorable attitude towards feminism which was sought to be reversed in the 1930s, with eugenicists such as doctors Iuliu Moldovan and Gheorghe Banu among the leading voices

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[450] Epstein, "Gender and the rise of the female expert during the Belle Époque," 91.
[451] Mănuilă, "Asistența individualizată," 51.

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criticizing feminism for promoting "a form of individualism which stood against women's eugenic destiny".[452] Of course, 1920s conferences and publications of the Romanian Social Institute did not discuss the "woman question" as an issue of gender injustice but treated it as a social problem whose effects (rather than profound causes) needed to be addressed, a moderate discourse which suggests that there were implicit limits to the feminist viewpoints the ISR would support.

Botez gained the attention and respect of intellectuals in Romania especially because of her publishing (or co-authoring with her lawyer husband, Corneliu Botez), in the years after the war, legal commentary articles on the demands of the Romanian women's movement and their implications for the law. In addition, Botez had a public profile as one among several main organizers of a series of large meetings and petitions for women's suffrage, between 1918 and 1920. (See Section 4.1.) In 1919, the Botez spouses published "The Problem of Romanian women's rights: social-political and juridical examination".[453] In 1920, Calypso Botez wrote "The Problem of Romanian feminism: a systematization of its elements" for the journal of the ISR, the *Archive for Social Reform*.[454] Two years later, the feminist discussed "Women's rights in the forthcoming Constitution" and in 1924, the Botez couple released a short treatise on "Legal documents between spouses".[455] These well-timed, strategic interventions in the overlapping fields

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[452] Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen [The Eugenicist movement and gender roles]," 112; Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation."

[453] Calypso Botez and Corneliu Botez, *Problema drepturilor femeii române : examen social-politic și juridic [The problem of the Romanian woman's rights: social-political and juridical examination]*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Socec, 1919).

[454] Calypso Botez, "Problema feminismului. O sistematizare a elementelor lui [The problem of feminism. A systematization of its elements]," *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială* 2, no. 1 (1920).

[455] Calypso Botez, "Drepturile femeii în Constituția viitoare [Women's rights in the forthcoming Constitution]," *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială* 2 (1922); Calypso Botez and Corneliu Botez, "Actele juridice intre soti [Legal documents between spouses]," in *Drepturile femeii in viitorul cod civil: Studii, comunicari si propuneri in vederea reformei. [Woman's rights in the forthcoming civil code: Studies, lectures and proposals towards reform]. Edited by Consiliul National al Femeilor Romane. Legislative commission.* (Bucharest: Tipografia "Curierul Judiciar," 1924), 159–68.

of law and social reform are likely the contributions which prompted Isabela Sadoveanu to call Botez the foremost "theoretician of Romanian feminism" in her 1935 overview article.[456]

Political skill, the authority conferred by association with legal scholarship and scholars,[457] support from other local feminists and perhaps the aspirational image projected by a scholarly woman in a companionate marriage with an equally progressive and admired lawyer, made Botez the most influential woman in the male-dominated ISR during the early 1920s. In 1925, Calypso Botez became the head of the ISR's new Section for Feminine Studies.[458] (See Section 3.2.)

By functioning as a study group, the ISR's Section for Feminine Studies conferred prestige upon an existing practice within the AECPFR and officialized the "woman question" as a topic of research and public intellectual preoccupation in post-WWI Romania. As mentioned in the first section, the "appointment" of Calypso Botez and her long-term tenure represented a victory of a more progressive, empirically-oriented, somewhat less nationalistic approach to gendered social issues than the one proposed by Cantacuzino and her allies. It also meant that "feminist expertise" had (at least temporarily) prevailed within the Bucharest-based milieu over the "feminine expertise" Cantacuzino invoked in order to claim authority on social issues.

From the middle of the 1920s, Botez focused increasingly on issues at the intersection of gender and labour. The AECPFR leader concentrated on what she conceived to be women's novel experiences in paid labour and women's capacity to access jobs in new sectors (commerce, bureaucracy). In 1928, while briefly serving as co-president of the National Women's Council – a federation of women's association dominated by Cantacuzino in the 1930s – she stated that:

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[456] Sadoveanu, "Cu prilejul unui congres feminin [On the occasion of a feminine congress]."
[457] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Force of Law: Toward a Sociology of the Juridical Field," *Hastings Law Journal* 38, no. 5 (1986): 805–13.
[458] Botez, "Dare de seamă a Secției."

The role of the National Council is to guide woman in her new working life. To this end, we found there are many occupational fields where woman can contribute. For example, in farms, offices, shops, and we created a horticultural school with brilliant results.[459]

As can be gleaned from the reference to women's "new working life", at the time, Botez and CNF were preoccupied with new and rapidly-growing forms of women's employment. They displayed less interest towards older forms of urban women's wage work (often home-based) and the issues encountered by the significant number of women in deregulated industrial work or domestic service. Botez encouraged the formalization and skilling of white-collar jobs beginning to be dominated by women (such as secretarial and other clerking professions). Her initiating and opening an affordable School for Secretaries in Bucharest, in 1926, are part of these efforts.[460]

In general, Botez held fast to an ideal of women's self-realization through professional wage work within market economies and was preoccupied with reducing gendered discrimination in these types of employment. While serving as a councilwoman, Botez advocated for the reform of a public educational institution and orphanage for girls so that the school would teach its students practical skills that could be used to open and run self-owned enterprises. This was a solution Botez advocated even while recognizing that many of the pupils would end up in unskilled domestic service. (See Section 5.4.) In 1925, Botez spoke at a state employees' rally against a proposed pensions' law, describing "the plight [calvarul] endured by women civil servants".[461] In 1927, after the laughing refusal of male journalists present at the Bucharest Congress of the Latin Press to include in their motion support for feminism, Botez wrote a strongly-worded letter,

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[459] Fulmen, "Întrunirea feministă dela Fundația Carol [The feminist meeting at the Carol Foundation]," *Adeverul*, January 24, 1928, DigiBuc.

[460] "Inaugurarea cursurilor școalei de secretare [The inauguration of classes at Secretary School]," *Adeverul*, October 5, 1926, DigiBuc; "Sărbătorirea Dnei Calypso Botez [The cellebration of Ms. Calypso Botez]," *Adeverul*, November 19, 1929, DigiBuc.

[461] "Funcționarii și Legea Pensiilor - 'Pensia este un drept nu o favoare' [Civil servants and the Pensions Law - 'Pension is a right not a favor']," *Adeverul*, March 17, 1925.

published on the front page of the *Adeverul* daily.[462] In the letter, she expressed her complete support for the protest telegram the ridiculed "latin women journalists" sent to Congress participants after women journalists' departure from the city.

Gradually, through her activity as President of the Section for Feminine Studies, Botez's interests evolved from militancy for legal change towards considerations about laws' welfare impact on certain categories of women workers. (It should be pointed out that like most members of the IAW, Botez never publicly advocated against gender-neutral labour legislation – one of the period's most divisive issues within women's transnational organizations and a topic the AECPFR would have been familiar from the IAW's journals.)

Even if Botez was preoccupied with gendered welfare issues already in the 1920s, when active in the AECPFR and advocating for white collar women workers, her welfare activism on behalf of women was most poignant in the 1930s. In fact, during that decade, Botez influenced the politics of defining and dealing with need in Bucharest as both president of the SSF and as an elected member of the Bucharest City Council. She did so in the process of supporting professional women's work and public visibility.

As the following chapter will detail, Botez's influence is detectable in the long-term effects of her facilitating the publication in well-regarded journals of social research studies done by women from the SSAS on urban women's poverty. It is also distinguishable in Botez's enabling Veturia Mănuilă and the Superior School of Social Assistance the latter had founded to implement their specific welfare vision in Sector I Yellow. Botez made Mănuilă's work in Bucharest possible by using the political clout she had as newly-elected NPP councilwoman, in 1930. (See Chapter 4)

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[462] Calypso Botez, "După congresul presei latine [Following the congress of the latin press]," *Adeverul*, October 20, 1927, DigiBuc.

Significantly, by 1936, Botez was more familiar with issues affecting women who worked in industry or in agriculture than a decade earlier. This resulted from her involvement with the International Labour Office's Correspondence Committee on Women's Work, beginning with 1932, and her leading role within the ISR's Section for Feminine Studies. In a report for that Committee, Botez pointed out lapses in the implementation of labour protection legislation and gendered wage discrimination, with her contribution devoting relatively little attention to the problems of women civil servants.[463]

Even more than Calypso Botez in the 1920s, lawyer Ella Negruzzi (1876/1880-1948/1949) was the face of activism for women's full access to the liberal professions and other forms of office-based employment. In 1920, Negruzzi became the first woman allowed to practice law in Romania, following a seven-year-long legal and administrative battle reported on in the national and international press.[464] In 1930, alongside other leaders of the AECPFR, she became an NPP councilwoman, serving in Sector II Black. (See Table 2.)

After the NPP became part of the political opposition, Botez but especially Negruzzi were active in mixed-sex professional associations. This was a savvy strategy of involvement, as they (but especially Negruzzi) commanded peers' respect. By the middle of the 1930s, Negruzzi was a formally- and publicly-confirmed practitioner and a representative of a nucleus of working women lawyers. Increasingly, Negruzzi sought to use the recognition she enjoyed to promote greater gender equality within the legal profession, counter growing antisemitic (so-called "numerus clausus") lobbying by lawyers' professional associations and to mobilize public opinion towards

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[463] Botez, "Reponse au questionnaire du BIT."

[464] De Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms in Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe*, 363.

antifascist activism.[465] (Also as part of professional associations, Calypso Botez appears to have intensified her activities on behalf of women civil servants as the Depression's effects lingered into the mid-1930s. In 1934, she is recorded as a speaker in the General Assembly of the Federation of Public Sector Employees.[466])

In 1933, Negruzzi ran for a position in the disciplinary council of the Ilfov Bar (which included Bucharest's law practitioners). Her candidacy and eventual success were celebrated as a victory for all women lawyers. An article reporting on Negruzzi's first, unsuccessful attempt, noted the support of other women lawyers: "Women lawyers, strongly united around Mrs. Negruzzi have decided that before her, not one of them will seek to become part of the council. […] After Mrs. Negruzzi will make her way in, the road will be open and the struggle of the women candidates as well."[467] A year later, lawyer Margareta Ghelmegeanu – like Negruzzi, an NPP councilwoman (1930 and 1932, Sector IV Green) - invoked the precedent set by Mrs. Negruzzi. Ghelmegeanu's support article also suggested the type of challenges women lawyers still faced in Bucharest, as the author argued that women elected in the Disciplinary Council would be able to create a reserve of professional credit for the still unestablished group of women barristers but also that women lawyers would tap into their quotidian (home) management skills when exercising the greater administrative power bestowed by Disciplinary Council membership.[468]

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[465] By 1935, the Association of Romanian Christian Lawyers was pushing for excluding Jewish lawyers from the Bar association which included the city of Bucharest."Micescu invited the [fascist] Legion [of the Archangel Michael] to collaborate with his project of introducing a numerus clausus to the Bar Association of Ilfov County in February 1935." Clark, *Sfântă tinerețe legionară - Activismul fascist în România interbelică [Holy legionary youth. Fascist activism in interwar Romania]*, 106.

[466] "Adunarea generală a Federației Salariaților Publici [General Assembly of the Federation of Public Employees]," *Adeverul*, June 26, 1934.

[467] Paula Neculcea, "În ajunul alegerilor dela barou- Candidatura Dnei Ella Negruzzi [On the eve of the barr elections- the candidacy of Mrs. Ella Negruzzi]," March 26, 1933, DigiBuc.

[468] Margareta Ghelmegeanu, "În ajunul alegerilor dela barou- Cuvântul unei candidate [On the eve of barr elections- the words of a candidate woman]," *Adeverul*, March 18, 1934, DigiBuc.

In 1935, Negruzzi became the primary legal defender of communist Ana Pauker and another eighteen persons, assumed communist sympathizers, in what the national and international press dubbed the "trial of the antifascists".[469] Several social-democratic and left-sympathizing intellectuals (physician C.I. Parhon, social democrat Leon Ghelerter, writer Demostene Botez) publicly expressed their support for Negruzzi's advocacy on behalf of the condemned.[470]

In an article published while acting as legal defender of the antifascists, Negruzzi publicly criticized the borrowed nationalism of the extreme right in Romania and argued that left politics was not necessarily antinational:

> The national idea […] can't be borrowed from other nations out of a petty, imitative spirit, by adopting the theories and even the salute. Our nationalism teachers are more international than the ones suspected of lack of nationalism. […] This is why we believe that even the precepts of Christianity require of us to defend those who are persecuted because of convictions which drive them towards a new social organization, whatever that may be. […] In even the most leftwing countries, the national idea is flourishing- I speak of the land of the soviets, where everyone knows how well they are organized to defend their borders. No less nationalistic are righwing peoples-Italy, Germany. Why should we suspect each other of internationalism when we have such edifying examples [on both sides]? […] Therefore, we should not judge and especially not condemn with a light heart those who are guilty only of intentions based solely in the hope for a better world.[471]

Negruzzi's statement in favor of left-wing worldviews (and not merely for the legal rights of political detainees) is unusually warm for the Romanian public space in the mid-1930s and among

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[469] Nineteen communist antifascists were arrested on unclear charges on July 12, 1935. The charges were later clarified by the military (rather than civilian) tribunal which handled the case to be the receipt of subsidies from international organizations in order to prepare a communist revolution. Receipt of such subsidies was considered a crime against public peace on the basis of the anti-communist, anti-labour 1924 Law for the Repression of New Crimes against Public Order (known as the "Mârzescu Law", after the Interior Minister supporting it, and frequently criticized as extremely broad and harsh in its punishments). The Law was used in 1924 to make the Romanian Communist Party illegal. Dumitru Lăcătușu, "Procesul antifasciștilor de la Craiova [The trial of the antifascists in Craiova]," in *Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului- 20 de ani de activitate (1993-2013). Fenomenul totalitar: realități istorice și abordări istoriografice. Conferința internațională aniversară a INST, București, 26-27 septembrie 2013.*, ed. Corneliu Beldiman, Colecția Dezbateri (Bucharest: INST, 2015), 71–114; Ioan Scurtu, Theodora Stănescu-Stanciu, and Margareta Georgiana Scurtu, eds., *România între anii 1918-1940. Documente și materiale [Romania between the years 1918-1940. Documents and materials]* (Bucharest: Editura Universității București, 2001), 102–3.

[470] Ella Negruzzi, "Pentru amnistie [For amnesty]," *Adeverul*, May 26, 1935, DigiBuc.

[471] Ella Negruzzi, "Discuții - Naționalism [Discussions - Nationalism]," *Adeverul*, November 24, 1935, DigiBuc.

progressive feminists at any point. Negruzzi's support stands out even in the context of the Popular Front alliance concluded between the NPP (Negruzzi's party) and other left-leaning political groups (among which the Plowmen's Front, one of the Socialist Party's splinter groups or the Bloc for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms).

Negruzzi was a more vocal antifascist than most members of the NPP. As her public statements made clear, she sought to promote an intransigent stance towards the right wing within her party, despite limits to her authority. Thus, in 1936, while interviewed on the trial of the antifascists, Negruzzi distinguished her views from those of the Party: "As a disciplined member of the natl.-pes. (sic) party I wouldn't want to commit my party's politics to anything, however I [...] believe we must take France's example: the concentration of all democratic forces towards stopping terrorist movements."[472] By that point, the NPP was a party divided between a left and a right wing. Yet even in the context of this known split, Negruzzi positioned herself in an unusually bold manner – a choice whose full motives require further research.

Ella Negruzzi may have been more outspoken that other NPP members and feminists because of her connection to transnational women's organizations and due to her status as a pioneering woman lawyer, in touch with women who had fought similar battles in other European countries. During the trial of the antifascists, *Adeverul* announced that "Mrs. Ella Negruzzi has received from Mrs. Maria Verrone (sic), lawyer with the Paris Appellate Court, the notification that the following persons have offered to testify in the trial of the antifascists which will begin on February 27."[473] A list of eleven French intellectuals, by then known antifascists, followed the

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[472] Rep, "Procesele antifasciştilor- Declaraţiile dnei Ella Negruzzi [The trials of the antifascists- Mrs' Ella Negruzzi's statements]," *Adeverul*, May 3, 1936, DigiBuc.
[473] Among them, Gabrielle Duchene, Paul Langevin, Madame Langevin, Helene Grosset, Eliane Brault, Andre Malraux, Simone Thery. Petre Pandrea, "Cei 19 de la Văcăreşti [The 19 from Văcăreşti prison]," *Adeverul*, February 26, 1936, DigiBuc.

published announcement.[474] Vérone was a prominent member of the International Council of Women, like Negruzzi a pioneering woman lawyer and unlike most of the ICW, a supporter of sufragette-style militant tactics for attaining suffrage.[475] Such ties made Negruzzi a key link in an emerging international antifascist network of center-left women.[476]

In the year that followed the trial of the antifascists, feminists' antifascist organizing together with clandestinely communist and social-democratic women's groups intensified for a brief period. In February 1936, following an appeal by veterans of the women's movement in Romania (such as 1890s publicist Sofia Nădejde), the AECPFR joined social-democratic women's organization in the Feminine Front.[477] Ella Negruzzi and Isabela Sadoveanu became members of mixed-sex committee organizing the participation of a delegation from Romania to the Universal Peace Congress, to be held that year in Brussels.

Throughout, despite adhering to the Feminine Front, Calypso Botez maintained a careful distance from much too close association with left-wing forces. In a 1936 speech, Botez encouraged young women to reject "the political line of extremism, be it right wing or left wing" and to follow only "the middle road of democracy, as this is the healthy and durable current".[478]

November 1936, when Mussolini made a speech sympathetic to Hungary's advocacy for territorial revisions, constituted a turning point for politically-minded Romanian women and their "popular front" alliances, as most of them were attached to the status quo of "Greater Romania".[479]

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[474] The trial, marred by procedural vices, the presence of legionaires in the courtroom, and anti-semitic attitudes from the bench and the audience, ended up in convictions of up to seven years for all those accused. Lăcătușu, "Procesul antifasciștilor de la Craiova [The trial of the antifascists in Craiova]."

[475] Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 138, 151.

[476] Isabelle Richet, "Marion Cave Rosselli and the Transnational Women's Antifascist Networks," *Journal of Women's History* 24, no. 3 (2012): 117–139.

[477] Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului românesc: Studiu și antologie de text [From the history of Romanian feminism: Study and text anthology]*, 50–51.

[478] Qouted in Mihăilescu, 54.

[479] Mihăilescu, 55.

From 1937, antifascism (in general) could no longer develop in Romania because of heavier censorship, an electoral "non-aggression pact" between the NPP and the extreme-right Totul pentru Țară [Anything for the Country] party and eventually, the installation of Carol II's personal dictatorship (which banned all political organizations).

All in all, progressive feminists, especially those who joined the NPP, were prominent welfare activists. Their focus on women's employment opportunities and professionalization eased their incorporation and visibility within the ISR during the 1920s. From that position they facilitated the research of women professionalized as sociologists and social workers, directing such research towards the investigation of social issues associated with "feminine studies". During the 1930s, as local politicians with clear political affiliations but also as respected members of their professional communities, feminists such as Calypso Botez and especially, Ella Negruzzi sought to enlarge the scope of preoccupation of progressive women by promoting antifascism and collaboration with left-wing women.

3.4. Jewish Organizations

The Bucharest Jewish Community acted as a welfare provider to its members through tens of "private initiative" Jewish organizations. At the same time, in the 1920s and (to a lesser degree in the 1930s), Jewish women and men in the city were increasingly drawn (and also pressured) towards assimilation into the Christian majority. Jewish women welfare activists and the organizations they created in Bucharest functioned in this complex and increasingly tense context. Volens nolens, Jewish women welfare activists had to strive to produce adequate intersections between ethnic-religious belonging, feminist politics and social politics. Furthermore, like other women welfare activists in Bucharest, Jewish women activists functioned at the crossing of local,

national and transnational allegiances and alliances. However, unlike in the cases of other types of welfare activists in the city, in the work of Jewish women welfare activists these multiple allegiances seem to have conflicted more often or to have led to the multiplication of marginalization processes.

Increasingly, Jewish women welfare activists seem to have been pressed to choose between the identities projected through their activism. Thus, by the early 1930s, women welfare activists who were Jewish could be a more visible part within a broader, non-denominational social reform milieu in Bucharest (including by engaging in radical political criticism of its strategies). Or they could increase their involvement as Jewish women on behalf of a community which emphasized ethnic-religious solidarity as most significant defense against growing antisemitic exclusion. In this section I examine these mounting complications especially with reference to the welfare activism of the Association of Jewish Women (AFER) functioning in Bucharest between 1921 and 1947.

According to Camelia Crăciun, the post-Jewish Emancipation period of the interwar saw the emergence of a first generation of Romanian-language Jewish intellectuals. She argues that in these (male) intellectuals' writings, one can detect "a constant integrative position adopted by all, despite their affiliation to [either] rebellious avant-garde or to 'Jewish literature,' aiming at a transformation of the cultural canon in order to include the new reality of multi-cultural Romanian society within its borders."[480]

Like the writers Crăciun discusses, Jewish women participating in Bucharest politics and non-denominational women's organizing also sought to publicly project and negotiate complex identities. A 1930 press article detailing an NPP electoral rally organized after certain categories

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[480] Camelia Crăciun, "Between Marginal Rebels and Mainstream Critics: Jewish Romanian Intellectuals in the Interwar Period" (PhD Dissertation, Budapest, Hungary, Central European University, 2009), 260.

of women gained the municipal vote offers a glimpse into such identity-making processes. The piece described how Dr. Rappaport, a member in the "women's leadership committee in this [NPP] party" addressed her "co-religionists", urging them to vote pragmatically: "As for us, Jewish women, we will have to rise to the occasion, and not stray from the frame of reality, and not commit an error and weigh matters well before casting the vote for which we have fought so long."[481] Although further details about Jewish women's struggle for suffrage in Romania are not available at this point, the speaker's mention of "the vote for which we have fought for so long" highlights a tradition of or at least a consistent preoccupation for suffrage - the issue that coagulated a women's movement in Romania in the immediate postwar period. In addition, the call to realism addressed by Rappaport to "us, Jewish women" was delivered on behalf of the party that had also been chosen by Calypso Botez and Ella Negruzzi as political vehicles for their candidacies for positions in the Bucharest City Council. (See Section 4.1., Table 2)

Significantly, after speaking for and on behalf of Jewish women, Rappaport quickly affirmed her simultaneous cultural belonging to the Christian-dominated political community. After her appeal to the Jewish women present at the rally, the NPP member quoted "a Romanian saying, my ladies: the person blesses the place (lit. the man sanctifies the place)", a proverb whose New Testament overtones were probably meant to signal assimilation into the fold of the Christian majority. Rappaport's perception of a requirement to switch between cultural codes in one breath points to the unease with which women who were not considered "ethnically" or "culturally" Romanian were received into even the more progressive sectors of the then-jubilant post-municipal-suffrage feminist circles in the country. Despite a capacity and willingness to at once address both Jewish women and all progressive women at the rally, Rappoport may have been

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[481] Fulmen, "Întrunirea femenină din sala 'Tomis'- Discursurile. Asistența. [The Feminine meeting in "Tomis" hall - The Speeches. The Public.,'" *Adeverul*, March 4, 1930, DigiBuc.

marginalized within the NPP or chosen to limit her further involvement. Unlike the other women

in the NPP's "women's leadership committee" (Botez, Negruzzi or Ghelmegeanu), Rapaport did

not run for one of the new positions reserved for women in the City Council. Also, her name does

not appear in NPP-related materials after the progressive moment of the 1930 municipal elections.

Robert Levy's biography, *Ana Pauker: The Rise and Fall of a Jewish Communist*, also

provides clues to the complex identities politically-minded women in the Bucharest Jewish

community constructed, before WWI and especially during the interwar period.[482] Anna Pauker

(née Rabinsohn), the most prominent antifascist defended by Negruzzi in 1935, Romania's de

facto communist leader between 1947 and 1952, was described at the height of her influence by

critics or opponents as a woman whose political radicalism had transformed her into a self-

deprecating Jew and pushed her towards assimilation. However, Levy explains that:

> Young Anna Rabinsohn may have been self-denigrating to a greater or lesser degree, but
> if she were, it did not prevent her from continuing to work in and sympathize with the
> Jewish milieu for a considerable time. In addition to teaching Hebrew, she enthusiastically
> collaborated with a group of young affluent Jews who established a hostel for poor Jewish
> children, working incessantly to keep the hostel running for several years after she became
> a socialist. In 1918, she personally took part in defense units protecting Jews against
> progroms then breaking out in Bucharest. And during the first half of the 1920s, while
> firmly entrenched in the Communist movement, she continued to associate with Jewish
> intellectuals, frequenting an innovative Jewish bookstore called Hasefer. Still as with many
> modern Jews, Rabinsohn's loyalties were manifold and contradictory. In addition to her
> political allegiances, her continuing association with the Jewish community went hand in
> hand with an increasing identification with the Romanian people.[483]

As Levy shows here, Pauker's "multiple and contradictory identities" were reflected in her welfare

activism occurring both within the Jewish community and through her membership in the socialist

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[482] For instance, Levy points out that: "In Romania's case, Ana Pauker was one of a small coterie of Jews who joined the Romanian Workers' Social Democratic Party before World War I. In contrast, most Romanian Jews shied from revolutionary politics or joined Zionist movements in response to their increasing marginalization. As the political situation became more and more polarized with fasicm's rise in the 1930s, a growing number of socialist Zionists went over to the Communists; indeed, the Marxist-Zionist HaShomer HaTzair movement became known to some party insiders as the primary training ground for the Romanian Jewish Communists during that decade." Robert Levy, *Ana Pauker: The Rise and Fall of a Jewish Communist* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 2001), 4.
[483] Levy, 31–32.

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and later, communist movement in Romania. Similarly complex identifications were most likely manifest in and enhanced by the goals and activities of a wide array of organizations dedicated to welfare and interventions in "the politics of need" to which Jewish women and men in Bucharest gave their time.

When women participated in welfare activism primarily on behalf of the Jewish community they did so through involvement in a large network of private associations dedicated to welfare provision for the community. The scope and vibrancy of Jewish welfare organizations was (somewhat enviously) recognized by government representatives seeking to reorganize non-Jewish "private initiative" assistance in the country: "In almost all cities, Jewish societies are the best organized ones", concluded Social Assistance Direction chief Eugen Botez in 1930.[484] After the First World War, Bucharest had a diverse and well-organized Jewish community and Jews represented the largest ethnic-religious minority of the city (around 10%, or circa 73,000 people).[485] A 1929 report provided by the institution representing the community, the Bucharest Jewish Community (CEB), listed several tens of welfare, cultural and educational associations functioning under the CEB's supervision and with its support.[486]

In this context, Jewish women's welfare activism in Bucharest was influenced by the priorities of the CEB and the interactions it negotiated with the municipality and the national

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[484] Botez, "Asistența Socială [Social Assistance]," 243.

[485] Liviu Rotman, "Bucharest," in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, July 29, 2010, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Bucharest.

[486] In 1929, in a request for subsidies towards City Hall, the Bucharest Jewish Community (CEB), reported that it maintained the following institutions, all of which "bring such great benefits to the entire population of the Capital, regardless of nationality of religion": seven gymnasia and professional schools (two for girls); six primary schools for boys; three primary schools for girls; three kindergartens; two hospitals; a milk center and dispensary; one elderly asylum; several school canteens; a children's sanatorium in the seaside resort of Techirghiol; the Jewish Public Assistance which undertook distribution of money, firewood, bread and food staples; several religious institutions (kosher butcheries; divorce courts and community counseling). Comunitatea Evreilor București, "Instituțiunile întreținute de comunitate [The institutions maintained by the community]," 1929, File III 207/1940-1941. CEB. Asistența Socială. Corespondență cu Consiliul de Patronaj, f. 155, Centrul pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor în Romania (CSIER).

government. The quality of these interactions fluctuated. Correspondence with Bucharest City Hall in the 1920s shows that NLP-dominated municipal administrations were reluctant to subsidize the community's schools, repeatedly citing budgetary constraints.[487] In response, by 1929, the CEB produced a list of the superior subsidies received by the Jewish Community in fifteen other cities in Romania, suggesting the Community was purposefully underfunded despite the scope of its activities on behalf of a large part of the city's population.[488] Once elected, progressive NPP mayor Dem Dobrescu showed more openness towards the Jewish community's desire to be supported and incorporated in municipal affairs while maintaining some of its autonomy.[489] Consequently, Dobrescu named Sector III Blue councilor Jacob Friedman as City Hall's direct representative in all matters concerning the Jewish community.[490]

Between 1940 and 1944, during the Antonescu regime, the welfare institutions of the CEB faced increasing pressure and abuse.[491] During those years, the Community's autonomy served as justification for state racism. Thus, Christina Brătescu, SSAS associate and "director of technical coordination" in the Council for the Patronage of Social Works, co-signed a 1941 letter announcing the CEB that "the Central Committee has decided to respect the financial independence and freedom of action of minority groups, given that this Council is concentrating its efforts for the

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[487] CEB, "Correspondence," 1930 1923, File II 271/1920-1947. (CEB. Relații cu Primăria. Consilieri comunali. Subvenții și scutiri de taxe acordate institutiilor culturale și de asistență din București și provincie. Munca obligatorie din timpul războiului. Rechiziționări. Orfanii din Transnistria.), ff. 115, 152, 154, 163, 168., CSIER.
[488] CEB, "Subvenţiuni acordate Comunităţilor de către primăriile locale [Subsidies granted to the communities by local mayories]," 1929, File II 271/1920-1947, f. 115, CSIER.
[489] "Letter No 8126A. Dem. I. Dobrescu to Mr. President of the Jewish Community of Bucharest," November 28, 1930, File II 271/1920-1947, f. 38., CSIER.
[490] Dem. I. Dobrescu, "Deciziune Nr. 37261/8034 A/930 [Decision]," 1930, File II 271/1920-1947, f. 139, CSIER.The special delegate was maintained even after the administration reverted to the Liberals in 1934, but thereafter functioned mostly as a way for City Hall to disengage-rather than pay undivided attention- from the Jewish Community's requests. .
[491] Comunitatea Evreilor Bucuresti, "Expunere Rezumativa Asupra Activitatii Sectiei de Asistenta Sociala a Comunitatii Evreilor Din Bucuresti [Summary Report on the Activity of the Section of Social Assistance of the Jewish Community in Bucharest]," 1941, File III 207/1940-1941. CEB. Asistenta Sociala. Corespondenta cu Consiliul de Patronaj, ff. 9-11, CSIER.

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consolidation of works with a purely national character".[492] (See Section 3.2.) The decision may have spared the Jewish community a certain amount of interference but mostly left it prey to wartime deprivation and much worse. In 1940, some of the Community's schools were requisitioned.[493] By 1943 adults from the Jewish community were doing forced labour for City Hall, shoveling snow under written threat of transportation to concentration camps in case of continued lack of enthusiasm for the task, coming from Bucharest's wartime mayor Gen. Ion Rășcanu.[494]

In the context of interwar and wartime Romania, Jewish women's organizations in Bucharest developed a type of welfare activism which responded to the needs of the local Jewish community, transnational organizational developments (particularly Zionism), their complicated embedding in the local women's movement and the social reform milieu and finally, the need to react against advancing fascism. These adaptations are most visible in the welfare activism of the Cultural Association of Jewish Women in Bucharest.

The largest Jewish women's organization in the city was the ACFE/AFER - Asociația Culturală a Femeilor Evree (The Cultural Association of Jewish Women).[495] Founded in 1919, "inspired by the Balfour Declaration", the AFER became affiliated to the Women's International Zionist Organisation (WIZO) in 1921, the year of WIZO's founding.[496] As such, besides a community-welfare orientation, AFER's activities always had an important international

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[492] "Letter No. 32375/ 1941. Dr. P. Vlad and Christina Galitzi to W. Filderman," July 9, 1941, File III 207/1940-1941. CEB. Asistenta Sociala. Corespondenta cu Consiliul de Patronaj, f.8, CSIER.

[493] "Letter. Pascu B. to CEB.," December 11, 1940, File II 271/1920-1947, f. 101, CSIER.

[494] "Letter. Mayor's Office, Bucharest City Hall to Jewish Community Bucharest.," January 31, 1943, File II 271/1920-1947, f. 107, CSIER.

[495] Following Ursutiu's choice, I am using here the "AFER" abbreviation rather than the formal, Romanian language acronym "ACFE". Claudia Ursuțiu, "Pe drumul către modernitate. Câteva considerații privind emanciparea femeii evreice din România [On the road to modernity. Some considerations on the Jewish woman's emancipation in Romania]," in *Noi perspective în istoriografia evreilor în România*, ed. Liviu Rotman, Camelia Crăciun, and Ana-Gabriela Vasiliu (Bucharest: Hasefer, 2010), 74–84.

[496] Fay Grove-Pollak, "Rumania" (Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, Tel-Aviv District: Women's International Zionist Organization, 1970), 248, https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cdocument%7C1647488.

component, not only in the sense of consistent participation in WIZO international Congresses, and related knowledge transfer processes, but also because the Association primarily advocated and fundraised for the creation of a state elsewhere, the Zionist "Erez Israel", the Biblical land and utopian Jewish national state to be restored in Palestine. In fact, in 1946, when deportation survivors and younger members recreated an AFER now depleted of members and financial resources, as members worked themselves to exhaustion to provide basic aid to Jews passing through Romania on their return from camps in Transdniestria, Ukraine or further West in Europe, the organization was proud to report to the WIZO that it refuses to use in its relief work any of the funds deposited years before in a Jaffa bank, destined for the colonization of Palestine. [497]

Beginning with 1931, the AFER published a bi-monthly Romanian-language magazine, *Femeea Evree* [The Jewish Woman], under the boldly secular slogan "A modern world and a modern life demand a modern woman". According to Claudia Ursuțiu, the magazine was as much dedicated to advocating women's independence as it was to discussing the Zionist idea, or teaching women to reproduce Jewish life and Judaism within their families.[498] According to Ursuțiu, the magazine was also very outspoken about women's political participation:

> The Jewish activists sought to persuade their female readership that they needed to make their problems and claims heard by following two ways: 1. Joining organizations capable of defending their rights (civil and political rights, the right to equal pay for equal work, the right to equal education); 2.Women's involvement in the leadership structures of the [Jewish] communities in order to facilitate the achievement of equal status to men's within community institutions.[499]

While clearly focusing on political life within the Community, the AFER was attuned to the broader history of women's organizing in Christian-dominant Romanian communities in

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[497] WIZO, "Rumania" (London, England: Women's International Zionist Organization, 1946), 8, https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cdocument%7C1726391.
[498] Ursuțiu, "Pe drumul către modernitate. Câteva considerații privind emanciparea femeii evreice din România [On the road to modernity. Some considerations on the Jewish woman's emancipation in Romania]," 81.
[499] Ursuțiu, 82.

profound but subtle ways. For instance, locally-shaped feminist aspirations and the broader ideals of a Jewish national state in Palestine intertwined in the large subsidy AFER offered in 1925 to a Miss Bertha Edelstein, living in a Palestine colony. For the 1926 WIZO Yearbook, AFER explained that miss Edelstein had been trained in traditional Romanian handweaving and was now spreading the craft through the network of settlements in Palestine, both due to the practical and economical character of home-woven fabrics and the aesthetic quality of this traditional Romanian peasant home craft.[500] In fostering the handweaving craft, the AFER was tapping into the repertoire of nineteenth century Romanian women's nationalist organizing in Transylvania. (Romanian women's associations in Austro-Hungarian Trasylvania and later women's associations in the Old Kingdom supported the maintenance or revival of handcrafted, woven cloth and promoted it as a sign of a distinctive Romanian ethnic identity in international fora. Indeed, the ACG focused on the matter well into the 1930s. [See Section 3.1.]) In other words, in pursuing nationalist aspirations in Palestine the Romanian section of the WIZO was using (it is unclear with what degree of intentionality) very clear elements of the repertories of nationalist activism employed by ethnic Romanian women in the previous century.[501] Emphatically, I do not interpret this 1925

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[500] According to the report sent for the 1926 WIZO Yearbook by the AFER, "Miss Bertha Edelstein, who belongs to the ACFE due to her status as member and official advocate [Propagandistin], undertook in early 1924 a research trip to Palestine and upon her return, proposed to us to found there [such a handloom clothes weaving] craft which would consider meeting the needs of both the rural and the urban Palestinian population. The very beautiful products of this craft, which is actually specifically Romanian, are well known to us. The handloom, which can be found here in almost all peasant homes, serve both in the production of weavings for linens and work clothing and moderately thick and thick cloth for practical, luxurious laundry and light summer clothing; naturally this means lower production costs than those for factory-made products." The ACFE committee agreed to the proposal and granted Ms. Edelstein the necessary amount of 200 pound sterling to this end. The woman intended to end her mission once the handloom weaving craft had been introduced in all existing Jewish colonies in Palestine at the time. WIZO, *Bericht über die Zeit vom 1. Oktober 1923 bis 31. Juli 1925: Unterbreitet der III. Konferenz der Weltorganisation Zionistischer Frauen [Report on the period between 1st October 1923 and 31st July 1925: Submitted to the third conference of the Women's International Zionist Organization]* (London, England: Women's International Zionist Organization, 1925), 35–36, https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C1647295.

[501] A review of over six hundred carefully-digitalized archival items dealing with nearly the entire space of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, notes that "These documents speak to one theme which in the process of collecting the documents for Habsburg Empire, 1820-1918--somewhat unexpectedly--emerged as a pronounced all-empire feature of the engagement of the activist networks with women's work: their engagement with handicraft and embroidery

occurrence as AFER's collusion with ethnic Romanian nineteenth century nationalism. Rather, I argue there existed a degree of cultural circulation of political grammars and assumptions, suggestive of AFER's partaking, perhaps on a largely discursive level, in the "imagined community" of Romanian feminism, one in which they were not necessarily welcome and whose long-term politics Jewish women had few reasons to trust.[502]

Nationally, AFER had thirty-one local chapters and about five thousand members, making it one of the larger women's organizations in interwar Romania. In Bucharest, the AFER was very involved in maintaining institutions serving members of the Bucharest Jewish Community.[503] Through fundraisers and donations from members, by 1925 the Central Bureau of the Association had accumulated a non-insignificant budget, which it used to subsidize initiatives such as the *Gan Yeladim* kindergartens, the "Știri (News)" general interest newspaper (where the AFER had a regular column), and a newspaper for children.[504] In 1925, the Association reported that it was able to cover two thirds of the funds needed for the functioning of the Gan Yeladim, with only the remaining third provided by the CEB. Until the start of the Second World War, the AFER had opened another eighteen Hebrew kindergartens across the country, several canteens and two

made by women from the different regions and speaking the different languages of the Monarchy." Zimmermann et al., "Women and Social Movements in the Habsburg Empire," 64–65.

[502] Beyond several small instances, it is difficult to establish how comfortably politically-minded Jewish women in Bucharest participated in the feminist social reform milieu. Many Jews assimilated proudly into mainstream Romanian society, changing or modifying surnames. Although many participated in the affairs of the city as citizens with hyphenated identities, Romanian-Jews, most of these people's choices vanish from archives, blending into the activities and eventually the records of the Christian Romanian majority. Other Jews, on the contrary, kept their distance from a political culture which was, at its most benevolent, in the late 1920s, suspicious of them and questioning increasingly loudly their entitlement to full citizenship rights. Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania* Livezeanu's foundational account, reveals the extent of Romanian students' antisemitic organizing in the early 1920s, in cities such as Bucharest, Iasi and Cluj. On exclusion from citizenship in Romanian legal cultures, see Constantin Iordachi, "The Unyielding Boundaries of Citizenship: The Emancipation of 'Non-Citizens' in Romania, 1866–1918," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 8, no. 2 (2001): 157–186.

[503] Grove-Pollak, "Rumania," 248.

[504] WIZO, *Bericht über die Zeit vom 1. Oktober 1923 bis 31. Juli 1925: Unterbreitet der III. Konferenz der Weltorganisation Zionistischer Frauen [Report on the period between 1st October 1923 and 31st July 1925: Submitted to the third conference of the Women's International Zionist Organization]*, 34–37.

"mothercraft training schools".[505] During the war, AFER sought to remain active in Bucharest and beyond, by becoming involved in the Jewish Community's Relief Committee, in 1942, providing aid to orphans from families deported to Transdniestria, running canteens and maintaining the functioning of two connected Bucharest kindergarten, named "Aleph" and "Beth".[506]

Especially through their work as kindergarten managers, AFER became involved in issues of familial social reproduction within the community and contributed to the production of "poverty knowledge" about the poorest persons included in the Jewish community. In 1939, for instance, they assessed the needs of "pauper parents" through home investigations before admitting children to the kindergartens:

> Once the school locale was prepared, in the beginning of the school year there were received, following the social investigations done in their homes, 100 children. The children were definitively enrolled after a triage done by us, both at the moment when the request for enrollment was made, as well as after home inquiries and following the medical examination.[507]

Home investigations had been used by the SSAS and within CEB's welfare provision since the early 1930s, with questionable effects. (See Chapter 6) It is not clear to what extent the practice was developed within the Jewish community or in dialogue with the SSAS, but the 1930s inauguration of the method, at the same time as SSAS attempts at institutionalizing or expanding it, point towards contact between the AFER and the welfare activists of the SSAS and the SSF or at least basic familiarity with each other.

AFER's engagement with issues of women's paid work represented another point of entwinement between Jewish nationalism, other women welfare activists in Bucharest and

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[505] Grove-Pollak, "Rumania," 249.
[506] Grove-Pollak, "Rumania"; CEB and ACFE. Cultural Section, "Gradinita de Copii 'Beth' [Beth Kindergarten]," October 26, 1942, File III 84/1939-1948 (Grădinițele de copii Aleph-Beth ale Asociației Culturale a Femeior Evree. Documente originale, manuscrise), f. 18, CSIER.
[507] CEB-Gradina de Copii Alef., "Letter to CEB President.," March 16, 1939, 28, File III 84/1939-1948 (Gradinitele de copii Aleph-Beth ale Asociatiei Culturale a Femeior Evree. Documente originale, manuscrise), ff. 27-28, CSIER; For a brief description in English of these kindergartens' operation, see "Rumania," 7–8.

increasingly, the need to react and protect against fascism. "Femeea Evree" and AFER's other publications had always advocated the worth and need of women's independence, arguments which matched a tradition of women's strong involvement in economic and secular life as a result of men's encouraged focus on religious study.[508] In the 1920s, the organization created professional training courses for young women who wished to resettle in Palestine. Drawing on these experiences, in 1941, as young women were dismissed from their white-collar positions during the Antonescu regime, AFER organized retraining courses in more practical trades for those left unemployed:

> In 1941 when all the young Jewish girls were dismissed from their offices, the workshops and everywhere where they could honourably make a living, we founded a domestic science school - foreseeing as we did the need for professional re-orientation - where the young girls were, in addition to domestic science, taught a handicraft such as sewing and dressmaking.[509]

By providing relief and support for women affected by antisemitic legislation, the AFER's welfare activism gained additional political urgency and gravitas. Whereas, as previously mentioned, the SSAS – a professionalized women's organizations associated with welfare activism became extremely influential in national welfare policy-making – the AFER was pushed towards an almost exclusive focus on women in the Jewish community. As a result, the AFER became crucial for the survival of a marginalized community while being formally excluded from the rest of the local network of women welfare activists, in part via the direct contribution of key actors within that network.

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[508] Ursuțiu, "Pe drumul către modernitate. Câteva considerații privind emanciparea femeii evreice din România [On the road to modernity. Some considerations on the Jewish woman's emancipation in Romania]."
[509] WIZO, "Rumania," 2.

During the Second World War, the AFER became indispensable to the CEB and the Jewish community more broadly. In the first report that reached WIZO after the war, AFER described its wartime activities under the heading "During the Occupation". In WIZO's summary of that report,

> In the second year of the war, every member was haunted by the fear of deportation; nevertheless, they continued to go on meeting occasionally. […] The first practical task of a social and educational nature which they were able to perform was the setting up of a network of Jewish schools, after the elimination of Jews from every sphere of public life and the abolition of the Jewish community's educational institutions. Not content with keeping the schools going, WIZO women also started professional re-orientation courses, and in spite of shortage of staff, kept the two Hebrew WIZO kindergartens going. Moreover, the establishment of the first Hebrew School and evening university courses was due to their concerted efforts.[510]

Considering the lack of resources, persecution and general demoralization, the efforts of AFER members to maintain several educational institutions is illustrative both for their organizational skill, and the organization's capacity to adapt its practices to contexts of state violence and in materially difficult and psychologically tense circumstances.

The AFER further adapted its older practices to the labour of postwar relief and reconstruction. In 1946, AFER's hostel hosted sixty women who had returned as orphans from different situations of deportation and displacement. The hostel provided domestic science, sewing and tailoring courses, so as "to do something to save these unfortunate deported from a life of degradation".[511] Notably, in both their wartime and postwar organizing, the AFER emphasized "honorable work" and protection from a "life of degradation" for young Jewish women dealing with economic hardship. Whereas the terms could have connoted only the risk of long-term poverty, they more likely referred to the need to protect women from the dangers of prostitution and human trafficking – an issue on which, in less despondent times, in the late 1920s, Jewish

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[510] WIZO, 2.
[511] WIZO, 7.

women in Bucharest had cooperated with various other women's organizations in the city. (See Section 5.3.)

To sum up, Jewish women welfare activists in Bucharest faced a set of distinct challenges in their own quest for recognition and inclusion (primarily as "lay experts" on welfare provision). In the interwar context of "Greater Romanian" nationalism and surging antisemitism, Jewish women welfare activists engaged cautiously (mostly) with other women's organizations in the city. Nevertheless, such strategic, usually temporary engagements covered key issues in local feminist and need-related politics: suffrage, women's education and access to employment, the protection of young women from "human trafficking". At the same time, Jewish women welfare activists in Bucharest (especially the AFER, the largest women-dominated welfare organization associated with the CEB) became part of different transnational networks compared to other prominent welfare activists in Bucharest. Thus, Jewish women welfare activists were part of the Women's International Zionist Organization. They were also more likely to be part of international socialist or communist networks. Jewish women in Bucharest faced unique challenges, forms of marginalization and exclusion. Whereas wartime welfare provision represented a moment of peak authority for women welfare activists within the SSAS, the same years were a period of maximum strain and exclusion for members of the AFER, and for Jewish women (and men) in Bucharest more broadly.

3.5. Social Democrats and Communists

In conservative Romania, the leftist definition of "social questions", with its emphasis on class and urban organizing, was not overtly influential. The Social-Democratic Party had a small following outside the formerly Austro-Hungarian provinces of Transylvania and Bukovina. In the early

1920s, in Bucharest, the party ran on the same municipal electoral ticket as the declining Conservative Party. It later briefly allied with the NPP.[512] Between 1928 and 1937, social-democrats, socialists and several other splinter groups had between seven and nine MP in the lower chamber of Parliament.[513] The Communist Party was made illegal in 1924 and communist organizing actively persecuted in the two decades that followed.[514] Nevertheless, the policy agendas of transnational social-democracy and communism merged with local claims and contributed to making visible in the Romanian capital city issues connected to productive and reproductive labour performed by women. Two left-wing organizations had important albeit different roles in shaping social policy in Bucharest: the social-democratic Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare (Union of Working Women [UWW]) and the short-lived, (covertly) communist Association for the Protection of Women and Children.

The Union of Working Women (UWW) functioned between 1930 and 1946, with interruptions. In accordance with the statutes of the Social Democratic Party, it functioned as the party's women's section, with branches in several towns. At its peak, in 1932, the Union networked twelve sections, mostly in industrial towns and cities, with around 1200 members.[515] By 1937, it had only six sections and about five hundred members.[516] Between 1931 and 1934, the UWW published its popular monthly *Buletinul Femeia Muncitoare* [The Working Woman Bulletin], with an average circulation of three thousand copies and parallel (not identical) issues in the Hungarian

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[512] Cutișteanu and Ioniță, *Electoratul din România în anii interbelici*.

[513] Ioan Scurtu et al., *Enciclopedia de Istorie a României [The Encyclopedia of Romanian History]*, 3rd ed. (Bucharest: Editura Meronia, 2002), 65–67.

[514] Stănescu, *Stânga politică din România în anii crizei (1929-1933) [The Political left in Romania in the years of the crisis (1929-1933)]*, 24–25, 139, 143, 195; "Se urmărește dizolvarea Blocului democratic? Perchezițiile și arestările de eri [Is there a plan to dissolve the Democratic bloc? Yesterday's searches and arrests.]," *Adeverul*, May 3, 1936.

[515] Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului românesc: Studiu și antologie de text [From the history of Romanian feminism: Study and text anthology]*, 177.

[516] Elisabeta Ioniță, "Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare din România UFMR [The Union of Romanian Workers of Romania]," *Revista de Istorie* 33 (October 1980): 1925.

and German languages. In concrete terms, the Bucharest section of the UWW was numerically weak and like all labour organizations, faced police and army chicanery when involved in activism. Unlike Cernăuți (a city in the formerly Austrian province of Bukovina with a strong social-democratic tradition), Bucharest social-democrats never had a municipal councilor from among UWW members.[517] Yet for all its small scope, the UWW maintained strong ties with international social-democratic women's organizations. Through its meetings and journals, the UWW popularized the stances of international social-democratic women in industrial centers in Romania and shaped the parameters of public discourses around issues such as labour legislation and birth control.

Social Democratic women in Bucharest were particularly inspired by Austrian social democracy and looked up to the achievements of municipal governance in "Red Vienna". In 1934, members of the UWW argued that unlike Soviet Russia, social democratic Austria has had impressive welfare achievements "without sacrificing the current generation for the sake of the future one" and that the Viennese example was a testament of the importance of "practical achievements" that could improve workers' everyday lives.[518] In July 1931, four women were part of the small (150-strong) delegation from Romania attending the Fourth Congress of the Labour and Socialist International, held in Vienna.[519] More importantly, while there, between July 23rd and July 25th, the four members of the UWW participated in the proceedings of the Fourth International Women's Conference of the Labor and Socialist International.[520]

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[517] Leea Kissmann was Social-Democratic councilwoman in Cernăuți and a speaker at the Labour and Socialist International Congress in Vienna. Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare, "Informațiuni [Information]," *Femeia Muncitoare*, November 1931, Fond 30 - Organizații Feminine Democratice, Microfilm roll no. 400, s.42, ANIC.
[518] Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare.
[519] Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare.
[520] *Fourth International Women's Conference of the Labor and Socialist International, Vienna, July 23rd to 25th, 1931: Report of the Secretariat to the Women's Conference and Proceedings of the Women's Conference* (Zurich, Zurich Canton: Labour and Socialist International Archives, International Institute of Social History. Labour and

The issue of the *Bulletin of the Working Woman* published following the delegates' return from Vienna contained enthusiastic summaries of reports presented during the Conference. Editors reported about speeches and presented documents, especially those concerning the international situation of women working in industry and commerce, in agriculture and as housewives. In relation to the last topic, the author of the account added that "we very much regret not being able to share [the report] with our comrades other than through some of the more important conclusions".[521] The report of the Vienna meeting also outlined the Conference's demands for improved working conditions and protective legislation for each of the three categories of workers. The Bulletin also relayed the achievements and demands of social democratic women, as outlined by Austrian social democratic leader Adelheid Popp, "whose wonderful book 'Autobiography of a Working Woman' has been translated into Romanian too and it is certain that many of you are familiar with it".[522] Popp was reported to have discussed issues such as the founding of social democratic women's organizations, the right to vote and the promotion of "conscious maternity".[523] It is especially this latter, pro-birth control, pro-abortion stance that would distinguish organized social democratic from all the other women's organizations (except for active communists) in Bucharest. Also, by promoting protective labour, social democratic women were an important - if somewhat shadowy pole - in discussions on women's productive and reproductive labour.[524]

Socialist International, 1931),
https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C1728431.
[521] Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare, "Marea sărbătoare muncitorească de la Vienna [The grand labour cellebration in Vienna]," *Femeia Muncitoare*, September 1931, 37, Fond 30 - Organizații Feminine Democratice, Microfilm roll no. 400, s. 34-38, ANIC.
[522] Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare, "Marea sărbătoare muncitorească de la Vienna [The grand labour cellebration in Vienna]."
[523] Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare, "Maternitatea conștientă [Concious maternity]," 1934, Microfilm 1-1-6-30-82-400 "Organizatii feminine democratice", s. 60-62, Romanian National Archives.
[524] Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare, "Federația Sindicală Internațională și Internaționala Ușilor Deschise: Protecție sau bun plan [The International Trade Union Federation and the Open Door Federation: Either protection or arbitrariness]," *Femeia Muncitoare*, September 1931, Microfilm roll 400 ("Organizatii feminine democratice"), f. 90, ANIC.

Conversely, social-democratic women in Romania, especially once reunited in the UWW, gathered and compiled information for different international inquiries initiated by social-democratic women's bodies. At the 1931 meeting, the Executive Committee presented information about the newly-founded Union of Working Women and "owing to the strong ties between our organization and the feminine international Committee in Zurich […] information about our movement can be found in all chapters [of the Executive Committee report]".[525] The "feminine international Committee in Zurich" referred to the Women's Committee of the Labour and Socialist International (LSI), founded in 1927.[526] As Dorothy Sue Cobble points out, many of the women associated with this LSI Committee were also closely involved with the ILO.[527] Social-democratic women in Romania sent information about their activities to comrades in this Committee in 1930 and 1931 and asked to be sent publications. [528]

I have not been able to establish how often social-democratic women in Romania sent information to comrades abroad in the following years. Nevertheless, in 1937 or 1938, the Social Democratic representative (of the two representatives for Romania) in the ILO's Correspondence Committee for Women's Work contributed a scathingly critical report which, after providing

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[525] Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare, "Informațiuni [Information]," 7.

[526] Secretariat of the LSI, "Women in the Labour and Socialist International : Report Submitted to the Third Women's International Conference of the L.S.I. and the Third Congress of the L.S.I. by the Secretariat of the L.S.I." (Labour and Socialist International, 1928), https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/166012.

[527] Dorothy Sue Cobble, "The Other ILO Founders: 1919 and Its Legacies," in *Women's ILO: Transnational Networks, Global Labour Standards, and Gender Equity, 1919 to Present*, ed. Eileen Boris, Dorothea Hoehtker, and Susan Zimmermann (Leiden: BRILL, 2018), 47.

[528] Eugenia Deleanu, "Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare to Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale (SAI), Internationales Frauenkomitee," December 13, 1930, Labour and Socialist International, and Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale (SAI). Labour and Socialist International Archives. File 4398, f. 1, International Institute for Social History, http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH01368.4398?locatt=view:pdf; "Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale (SAI), Internationales Frauenkomitee to Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare," February 25, 1931, Labour and Socialist International, and Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale (SAI). Labour and Socialist International Archives. File 4398, f. 2, International Institute for Social History, http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH01368.4398?locatt=view:pdf; Lilly Radaceanu, "Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare to SAI, Internationales Frauenkomitee," May 5, 1931, Labour and Socialist International, and Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale (SAI). Labour and Socialist International Archives. File 4398, ff. 4-5, International Institute for Social History, http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH01368.4398?locatt=view:pdf.

statistics on women's employment and trade union membership, denounced the inapplication of protective legislation concerning women's and children's work, lack of access to contraceptives and maternal healthcare (especially in rural areas) and the way in which the martial law instituted that year completely hindered social democratic women's organizing.[529]

Communist women, for their part, were largely barred from maintaining party organizations, publications or welfare associations with any degree of continuity. They did play however, an important cultural function, as they were turned into public examples of hyper politicized, out-of-control women. Thus, in 1933, Eugenia Economu, governess of the Mislea Women's Penitentiary, complained about communist inmates in the following terms:

> I have today in the prison eighteen so-called political detainees. All of them, absolutely all, are possessed by the fixed idea of happiness under communism […]. As soon as they enter the prison, the struggle against the Headmistress and the control organs begins. Cynical, daring, and arrogant in attitude, in speech, in looks, carrying in their eyes something akin to a burning flame, sparks, green with anger and hatred, their entire beings tense up when they tell you they will not execute an order.[530]

This portrayal of communist women received greater publicity in 1935, after Anna Pauker's condemndation to ten years in prison, at the end of the "trial of the antifascists". Notably, Pauker was not detained at the Bucharest-based Mislea but in the Dumbrăveni women's prison, in the North West of Romania.[531] There, Pauker and another hundred of antifascist women enjoyed a political detention regime. The relative laxity of this type of incarceration was considered by

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[529] "Letter from Roumania," 1937, by courtesy of Prof. Susan Zimmermann.

[530] Eugenia Economu, "Contribuţiuni la o mai bună organizare a sistemului nostru represiv în penitenciarele de femei - Conferinţă ţinută la Cercul de Studii Penale la 26 februarie 1933 [Contributions for the improved organization of our repressive system in women's prisons- Lecture delivered at the Circle for Penal Studies on 26th of February 1933].," in *Femeile delincvente [Delinquent women]* (Bucharest: Tipografia Ziarului Universul, 1939), 31.

[531] Political detention regime at Dumbrăveni meant that "The [women condemned in the trial of the Antifascists] were no longer kept in separate individual cells or obliged to wear standard prison uniforms; they were allowed to cook their own meals, work in their own workshops, and correspond with the outside world; and they were permitted to receive books and newspapers and to engage in intellectual pursuits of their own choosing." Levy, *Ana Pauker: The Rise and Fall of a Jewish Communist*, 52.

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Economu a few years earlier a privilege communist women did not deserve and were likely to abuse by radicalizing the other inmates. The governor of Mislea prison described the prisoners as benefitting from the much too mild detention regime reserved for political prisoners, engaging in the permitted "intellectual work" by shamelessly translating communist publications and generally acting defiantly due to their detailed knowledge of their rights as prisoners. In the same lecture, Economu warned against believing the reasons for "placing themselves in the service of the soviets" condemned communist women invoked during trials, among which "misery" and having been misled.

Besides being constructed as the veritable witches of interwar popular (and professional) cultures, communist activists did - for brief moments - pioneer (for the Romanian context) forms of grassroots, neighborhood-based political organizing and agitation. In Bucharest they did this as fulfillers (or rather improvisers around) "popular front" anti-fascist organizations bankrolled by the Soviet Union. The covertly communist Association for the Protection of Women and Children, functioning between late 1934 and the end of 1935, was one of several vehicles through which communist women in Bucharest engaged in political agitation.

The Association aimed to fight for the "material and social protection of women and children". Although the Statutes listed a longer list of proposed activities,[532] the archives of the Bucharest Association show that they worked towards this goal mostly by opening neighborhood social centers in city districts, providing free medical assistance and legal advice and enabling women and children to actively claim social rights.[533] Throughout the year it functioned, the

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[532] Elena Georgescu and Titu Georgescu, *Mişcarea democratică şi revoluţionară a femeilor din România [The democratic and revolutionary movement of women in Romania].* (Craiova: Editura Scrisului Românesc, 1975), 177.
[533] Asociatia pentru Ocrotirea Mamei si Copilului, "Statut și act constitutiv al Asociației pentru Protecția Mamei și Copilului [Statute and constitutive document for the Association for the Protection of Mother and Child]," January 29, 1935, Fond 64 - Asociația pentru Ocrotirea Mamei și Copilului, Microfilm 466, File 1/1935, ff. 42-43., ANIC.

Association published the *Drumul Femeii* [Woman's Road] newspaper. The first issues claimed

that: "we want to see women's full rights protected in all realms, we want the passage to the

scientific protection of women…To mobilize all good wills around preschool-aged children, to

support through our writing any improvement of today's tragedy of women-mothers".[534] The

Association publicly problematized industrial working women's labour conditions only to a small

extent. Rather, the Association focused on what could be termed "social reproduction" issues and

the feminized work of providing for families. Thus, whereas upper-class and left liberal women's

organizations were involved in providing public welfare, the communist Association began

contesting the conditions of distribution for these entitlements.

Several street protests were organized in 1934, 1935 and 1936. In the description of state

socialist historians,

> Among the manifestations organized by the Association we can mention: on April 23, in
> front of the Capital's City Hall, against high prices, with poor women and children from
> all neighborhoods of the Capital; in May, in the Pieptănari neighborhood, when housewives
> sent the bailiff running, police forces having come to remove and sell the objects of needy
> people […]. It was very impressive to see the manifestation of children, organized on June
> 2nd 1935 in Bucharest. From all neighborhoods, the children gathered in Cișmigiu gardens
> and then, in rows, led by their mothers, in perfect order and the admiration of the public -
> as told by the *Dimineața* newspaper - demonstrated on Elisabeta and Victoriei Boulevards,
> carrying placards and shouting : 'We want bread! We want milk! We want books! We want
> jobs for our parents.[535]

As evidenced by the title of the Association for the Protection of Mother and Child, communist

women did focus on child protection. Other organizations in Bucharest also organized

manifestations which included acting or singing by children, on various occasions. However, while

the participation of children with placards in the political demonstration described above is

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[534] Georgescu and Georgescu, *Mişcarea democratică şi revoluţionară a femeilor din România [The democratic and revolutionary movement of women in Romania].*, 178.

[535] Georgescu and Georgescu, *Mişcarea democratică şi revoluţionară a femeilor din România [The democratic and revolutionary movement oyf women in Romania].*

plausible, I could not verify the description provided in the 1975 volume by referring to the issue

of the *Dimineața* newspaper in which an account of the protest is supposed to have been published.

The social democratic *Bulletin of the Working Woman* also mention protests by women

around consumption issues. For instance, the 1932 Bulletin discussed housewives' "spontaneous"

protest in the city of Sibiu, against a new tax for baking homemade bread in public bakeries. [536]

Yet the highly confrontational politicization of physical and social reproduction seems to have

been a tactic organized communist women claimed for themselves.

The confrontational strategies extended to organizing imprisoned women expected to work

in penitentiary workshops. According to governess Economu,

> A serious event that occurred in the prison determined me to interpret the regulations in
> the interest of the institution. Namely, having received an order from the management to
> reduce the work tarrifs in accordance with the price of sale, the communist women began
> through the most subtle and ingenious means a propaganda among the common prisoners,
> who were working. One fine day, instigated by these delinquents, something which has
> never occurred to me since I have been at the head of this institution, the prisoners did not
> want to go back into the workshops until I would not grant them their old tarrifs. I sought
> to persuade them that work had to be seen as a benefaction for them not as a business [ca
> o binefacere nu ca o afacere], that it is a grace from the lawmaker not a burden. I was not
> listened to. Or if immediately after my sermons they became convinced, the counter
> propaganda would occur until the morning and then they would go in the workshops and
> intentionally did poor work.[537]

Imprisoned communist women convincing non-political detainees a Mislea to down tools or

engage in production slow-down so as to overturn changes in labour conditions points to these

welfare activists' capacity to use forms of intimacy work ("the most subtle and ingenious means")

in order to mobilize. The episode also underscores how interwar communist women's welfare

activism entailed generating grassroots contestation of the same logic of "reform through labour"

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[536] Uniunea Femeilor Muncitoare, "Informațiuni [Information]."
[537] Economu, "Contribuțiuni la o mai bună organizare a sistemului nostru represiv în penitenciarele de femei -
Conferință ținută la Cercul de Studii Penale la 26 februarie 1933 [Contributions for the improved organization of our
repressive system in women's prisons- Lecture delivered at the Circle for Penal Studies on 26th of February 1933].,"
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which was embraced by other welfare activists in Bucharest. In the case of Mislea prison, communist detainees seem to have successfully contested the presentation of prison labour as morally-redemptive benefaction, reframing it as a form of sweated, unfree labour which could be struggled against.

In conclusion, social democratic and communist women in Bucharest participated in the local network of women welfare activists primarily as critics of its other members, as challengers of other organizations' assumptions and as representatives of the distinctive world of transnational left-wing women's organizing in Romania. The social-democratic Union of Working Women forged links with Austrian social-democrats, the Women's Committee of the Labour and Socialist International and by extension, with the International Labour Organization. Like these organizations abroad, the UWW supported women-specific protective labour legislation and women's reproductive autonomy. They positioned themselves both against nationalists such as Cantacuzino (see Section 3.1.) and against the "catch up" development politics of the Soviet Union which influenced the communists in Romania. Women in the UWW saw the former as exclusionary in their welfare politics and the latter as insufficiently preoccupied with workers' most pressing needs. Communist women were reviled in the press and in mainstream political fora because of an assumed lack of allegiance to Romanian nationalism but also due to their radical questioning of existing welfare practices and the broader set-up of need related politics and social reform in Romania. Although not able or willing to cooperate with the state and local administration, social-democratic and communist welfare activists in Bucharest engaged in social knowledge-making and politicized welfare practices in ways which bestowed upon them a quiet political and cultural influence but did not bring them much short-term recognition and visibility as cultural producers.

In this chapter, I introduced the most significant types of women welfare activists in Bucharest, the organizations most representative for these categories, their leaders or emblematic figures, core stances on issues of women's work and welfare, transnational connections, and bids for recognition in a broader field of social reform. I have first dealt with upper-class women's organizations, arguing that Alexandrina Cantacuzino, leader of the SONFR, sought to claim a type of "feminine expertise" among social reformers in Bucharest. This positioning was meant to preserve philanthropic women's authority to define and shape welfare in the city. However, Cantacuzino also attempted to infuse philanthropic practices with innovative approaches and jargon, mostly drawn from the new "social" disciplines, as part of a transnational knowledge-making and knowledge-circulation process which included Cantacuzino's contacts with ICW and League of Nations representatives. Secondly, I have traced the development of the Romanian Social Institute, arguing that its institutionalization of a rural focus in social reform and social research in Romania produced the marginalization of professional women initially associated with the ISR's dominant figures or research priorities. I argued that this marginalization led to the development of alternative, women-dominated institutions. The fora for women's research which emerged in this context, the Section for Feminine Studies and the Superior School for Social Assistance, had strong ties with the ISR but developed a distinctive program of urban research, as part of a process of institutionalizing American-style social work in Romania. I have also shown how the SSAS and its leaders were relatively (or at least, eventually) successful in converting their social science expertise into influence and political authority. In the 1920s, the third category of women welfare activists I have spotlighted in this chapter, progressive feminists, enjoyed more authority than left-liberal social scientist women. In the years after the First World War, feminists

from the AECPFR were perceived within the ISR and by public opinion to be "feminist experts". The preoccupation of AECPFR leaders such as Calypso Botez and Ella Negruzzi for women's access to employment and non-discrimination, developed through their contacts with the transnational International Alliance of Women, was reflected in their welfare activism within the ISR's Section for Feminine Studies and their politics as members of the NPP. Importantly, Calypso Botez facilitated and amplified the public visibility of "feminine studies" empirical research produced by women researchers otherwise marginalized within the ISR and in Romanian academia. In the middle of the 1930s, AECPFR member and pioneering woman lawyer Ella Negruzzi defined her welfare and feminist activism so as to include support for antifascism. Negruzzi, along with several other progressive feminists in Bucharest, promoted antifascist cooperation with left-wing women's groups. Jewish women's organizations in Bucharest, especially the AFER, were part of the local welfare activism network but participated more cautiously on the background of Romanian nationalism and mounting antisemitism (which turned into formal racist exclusion at the end of the 1930s). Also, I have shown how the AFER acted as welfare provider for members of the Jewish community in Bucharest, including during the Second World War and immediately afterwards and pointed out how the politics of women in the AFER was shaped by Zionism and their membership in the Women's International Zionist Organisation. Last but not least, I have argued that social-democratic and communist women were also part of the network of women welfare activism that shaped welfare provision and social assistance in the city. I argued that they participated in this network primarily as challengers of the methods and assumptions of other organized women in Bucharest, as groups that engaged in confrontational mobilization around issues such as labour conditions and relief distribution, and as members of

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transnational left-wing networks which constructed stances on gendered work and welfare that differed from those advocated within the IAW and ICW.

The entanglements, clashes and connections between various types of welfare providing women's organizations and their key activists in Bucharest unfolded in relation to distinctive policy issues and practices in the city. The chapters which follow will turn to effects on the city's "welfare mix" deriving from the positionings and actions of the women welfare activtists discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 4 – Women's Welfare Activism in Local Politics and Its Gendering Effects on Municipal Social Assistance Provision

I have argued that, because of budgetary constraints as well as middle-class women's post-WWI lobyying, the national government encouraged women-run organizations in Bucharest to expand their activities as welfare providers at the municipal level. In this chapter, I look at how women welfare activists took up this challenge and with what effects on the capital's "welfare mix". I reconstruct the participation of coopted and elected councilwomen in the local policy-making process in Bucharest. I show that rival plans for the reform of Bucharest's social assistance service were at the center of the political competition between the two factions of the women's movement represented in the Bucharest City Council beginning with 1930. I show how the leaders of the two groups and their collaborators defined the causes and solutions of entrenched need in different ways, supported either "lay" or credentialed social assistance experts and emphasized either the benefits of any kind of waged work or rather, the higher rewards of intimacy work in the process of transforming the character of persons requesting public aid. I argue that the different designs for social assistance created by councilwomen and their collaborators participated in a process of gendering need and welfare provision, especially by considering poor women as main current or potentially entitled recipients of aid. By focusing in the second half of the chapter on how the reforms of social assistance the two groups proposed functioned in practice, I show how regardless of the separate ambitions and conflicts between the two groups, their policies could be easily subverted, abusively overturned or ignored by more politically-secure councilmen.

4.1. Suffragist Women Making Their Way into Bucharest's Municipal Administration

Municipal politics as compromise on suffrage and social reform opportunity (1919-1928).
Women's associations began organizing and petitioning for full enfranchisement since before the war was over.[538] They were building on mobilization for women's emancipation occurring since the 1870s in various territories that would become part of Romania after 1918.[539] Involvement in healthcare provision and resistance acts performed in the occupied city of Bucharest during the recently ended war also played a part in emboldening these women (almost exclusively from privileged backgrounds) to claim political rights.[540]

After the end of the First World War, three women's organizations agitated the most in Bucharest for political and civil rights for women. The Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women (AECPFR) (founded 1918) was an organization bringing together women focused on legal changes. It included lawyer Ella Negruzzi[541] and teacher Calypso

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[538] In 1917, two hundred women signed a petition demanding the right to vote in parliamentary elections. It was presented in the Chamber of Deputies by Calypso Botez and received the support of several prominent MPs, among whom future Minister of Labour (1920-1921), Gr. Trancu-Iasi. The petition did not persuade a majority of MPs. The Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Women (AECPFR), a future IAW affiliate, was formed in Iasi in 1918. Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 41–52.

[539] Câncea, *Mișcarea pentru emanciparea femeii*; Georgeta Tudoran, "Din lupta socialistă pentru afirmarea femeii la sfârșitul secolului trecut [From the socialist struggle for woman's affirmation during the previous century]," *Revista de Istorie* 38, no. 2 (1985): 128–44; For a wealth of new evidence on women's organizing in Transylvania and Bukovina and transnational entanglements, see the presentation of the "Habsburg Empire" document cluster of the Women and Social Movements in Modern Empires digital database. Zimmermann et al., "Women and Social Movements in the Habsburg Empire."

[540] On women's battle front and home front involvement in Romania during the First World War, see Ciupală, *Bătălia lor- Femile din România în Primul Război Mondial [Their Battle- Women in Romania in the First World War]*.

[541] Ella Negruzzi (1876-1948). Born in Hermeziu, in the Negruzzi family of prominent, liberal progressive intellectuals. Graduate of Iasi University with a degree in Law. Around 1910-1912, founder of a women's social center (camin cultural) in her native village, and in 1911 (together with De Reuss-Ianculescu) of the "Woman's Emancipation" society, the first women's association in Romania affiliated to the IAW (in 1913). In 1913, Negruzzi became a public figure after being banned from joining the Bar in her native Iasi county. In 1919, she her Supreme Court appeal of the issue and was allowed to practice law in Ilfov county (which included Bucharst). Founding member of the AECPFR (in 1918). Member of the National Peasantist Party since at least 1929. NPP municipal councilwoman in Sector II Black, between 1930 and 1932. As of 1935, member of the antifascist "Group of Democratic Lawyers" and from 1936 of the popular front organization the "Feminine Front". In 1936, she became internationally very visible through coverage in the leftwing press as defender of communist Ana Pauker and

Botez[542]. Joined by an organization titled the League for Romanian Women's Rights and Duties (LDDFR), the latter led by novelist Eugenia de Reuss-Ianculescu, the AECPFR became affiliated to the International Alliance of Women (IAW) in 1923.[543] (See Section 3.3.) The other important women's organization pushing for political and civil rights for women was the National Council of Romanian Women (CNFR) (founded 1921). It was a federation-like structure, dominated by Alexandrina Cantacuzino[544], leader of the SONFR - the largest ethnic Romanian women's philanthropic society at that point. The CNFR was an affiliate of the International Council of

eighteen other communist women and men, abusively detained and tried. Negruzzi's activities in the decade until her death are uncharted. I.M. Ștefan and V Firoiu, *Sub semnul Minervei [Beneath Minerva's sign]* (Bucharest: Editura Politica, 1975), 109–15.

[542] Calypso Botez (1880-1937?). Held university degrees in history and philosophy, taught history in a Bucharest women's highschool after 1918. Married to prominent progressive lawyer Corneliu Botez. Founder of the Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women. President of the National Council of Romanian Women between 1921 and 1930. Designated in the press as "theorist of Romanian feminism", in the early 1920s Botez published several well-received articles of legal commentary on the 1923 Constitution and its impact on women's rights. Since around 1925 until at least 1936, president of the Section for Feminine Studies of the Romanian Social Institute. Supporter of the National Peasantist Party, at least since 1929. Councilwoman elected on NPP party lists in Bucharest General Council and Sector I Yellow, between 1930 and 1932 (possibly 1933). In 1936, as president of the Federation of Romanian University Women, organizer of a women's protest against Mussolini's revisionism, in collaboration with the "Feminine Front" and other former NPP councilwomen. Her publications include: Botez and Botez, "Actele juridice intre soti [Legal documents between spouses]"; Botez, "Drepturile femeii în Constituţia viitoare [Women's rights in the forthcoming Constitution]"; Botez, "Problema feminismului. O sistematizare a elementelor lui [The problem of feminism. A systematization of its elements]"; Botez and Botez, *Problema drepturilor femeii române*; De Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms in Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe*, 76–78; Izabela Sadoveanu, "După Congresul Femeilor Române [After the Congress of Romanian Women]," *Adeverul*, September 19, 1936; I reconstituted Botez's activity after 1932 from various Article printed in the Adeverul daily, among which "O actiune anti-revizionistă a organizaţiilor feministe [An anti-revisionist action of feminist organizations]," *Adeverul*, November 20, 1936; Sadoveanu, "Cu prilejul unui congres feminin [On the occasion of a feminine congress]."

[543] Cosma, *Femeile şi politica în România*, 17.

[544] Alexandrina Cantacuzino (1876-1944). "One of the most important leaders of the Romanian women's movement; President of the SONFR (1918-1938); Vice-President (from 1921) of the CNFR and its only President from 1930; co-founder of the Little Entente of Women (1923-1929); member of the official delegation of Romania to the League of Nations (1929-1936); Vice-President of the ICW (1925-1936) and convenor of the ICW Art Committee (from 1936); President of the Romanian feminist organizations Solidaritatea (Solidarity) (from 1925) and of the Gruparea Femeilor Romane (GFR, Association of Romanian Women) (from 1929)" De Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms in Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe*, 89. More specifically, within the League of Nations, Cantacuzino was appointed to the influential Child Welfare Committee (1934); Advisory Committee on Social Questions (1937, 1938, 1939). (Inofrmation courtesy of Prof. Susan Zimmermann); . In 1939, placed under house arrest due to her son's connections to the Romanian fascist Iron Guard movement. In a letter written to a confidante during this period, she defended her politics as "nationalist and liberal". Released that year, between 1940 and 1943, Cantacuzino resumed her public activities. Roxana Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s) : Nationalism and Internationalism" (PhD dissertation, Budapest, Central European University, 2005), 74–75. Author of Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*.

Women (ICW). For her part, Cantacuzino participated in both IAW and ICW congresses. (See Section 4.1.)

Over the two decades that followed, the leaders of the two organizations in Romania would clash publicly on issues such as choice of representatives to the IAW and ICW, women's non-partisanship (or women's parties) as opposed to women's enrollment in existing, male-dominated parties, and eventually, right-wing sympathies versus anti-fascist politics.[545] These clashes were increasingly acrimonious.

In the middle of the 1920s, women's organizations redirected their ambitious claims for women's participation in national politics towards local politics. The 1923 Constitution of the Kingdom of Romania postponed women's enfranchisement (only mentioning that women could be granted voting rights through "special laws" at a future date) but offered women "of age" the possibility to become coopted members in communal councils.[546] (See Section 2.5.) After wresting this compromise from Parliament, organized women brought their suffrage politics even closer to municipal welfare activism.

This "municipal solution" in women's franchise mobilization was conceded to by men and embraced by organized women because it built on precedent. Prominent women had created and led charitable organizations in various Romanian cities since the nineteenth century.[547] Also, as discussed in the first chapter, the 1920s (especially) were characterized by interest for municipalism within transnational reform networks.(See Section 1.3.) Women who had been

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[545] For most comprehensive overview of these organizations' interactions, differences and clashes, see Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s) : Nationalism and Internationalism."

[546] Parliament of Romania, "Constitutia Regatului României [Constitution of the Kingdom of Romania]," M. Of. 282/ 29 Mar. 1923 §, accessed April 14, 2019, http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htp_act_text?idt=1517, Ars. 5 and 108.

[547] Câncea, *Mișcarea pentru emanciparea femeii*; Daniel Pavăl, "Filantropie și asistenţă publică în lumea urbană românească (1864-1914) [Philanthropy and public assistance in the Romanian urban world (1864-1914)," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie AD Xenopol Iaşi*, no. 48 (2011): 193–206; Păltineanu, "Calling the Nation. Romanian Nationalism in a Local Context: Brasov during the Dual Monarchy."

involved in local philanthropy in Romania before or during WWI were increasingly drawn to these flourishing city-centric interwar networks. Rapid affiliation to the IAW and ICW and enthusiastic contributions to feminist publications testify to this. Between 1923 and 1926, AECPFR, CNFR and non-formalized women's groups petitioned and agitated for women's participation in electoral politics in local administrations.[548]

Based on the 1923 Constitution and due to subsequent lobbying, special provisions followed by major reforms of local administrations (in 1925 and 1926) enabled women to participate in Bucharest local politics as "coopted councilwomen". (See Section 2.5.) Consequently, a first cohort of seven women served as coopted municipal councilwomen in 1926. As laid out by Table 2, in 1927, another seven councilwomen were coopted and assigned to various city sectors, where they would join the women already in office.

The 1926 choices made by the men in the City Council, and the cooptation procedure in itself, chagrined key representatives of women's organizations; they protested the "politicization of the local administration" via the cooptation mechanism.[549] The discontent was caused by the fact that the thirteen coopted women were associated either with the SONFR (among them Alexandrina Cantacuzino) or with prominent members of the NLP (for example, Sarmiza Alimănăşteanu[550]). The women's organizations' leaders who were complaining (among them De

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[548] Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s) : Nationalism and Internationalism," 193–205.

[549] Cheșchebec, 202.

[550] Sarmiza Bilcescu-Alimănișteanu (1867-1935). Born in a landholding family with personal ties to the Brătianu family leading the National Liberal Party, Bilcescu became an accomplished legal scholar. With a doctoral degree obtained in 1890 from the Sorbonne, she was feted in Romania (quite possibly legitimately so) as the first woman to gain this post-graduate diploma in Europe. Sylvie Chaperon notes that Bilcescu's dissertation " De la condition legale de la mere en droit roumain et en droit francais" signals a tipping point in women's presence in French universities, illustrating the beginning of scholarly study of women's condition in the country. After her cooptation, in 1929 Bilcescu-Alimănișteanu ran for city council on the lists of NLP but did not gain another mandate. Ștefan and Firoiu, *Sub semnul Minervei*, 49–50; Sylvie Chaperon, "Une Génération d'intellectuelles Dans Le Sillage de Simone de Beauvoir," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, no. 13 (2001): 105; Razvan Moceanu, "Portret: Sarmiza Bilcescu [Portrait: Sarmiza Bilcescu]," Press Agency Webpage, RADOR - Agentia Romana de Presa, April 27, 2016,

Reuss-Ianculescu) were most likely not considered for cooptation in an NLP administration because of their campaigning in favor of the National Peasantist Party during the 1926 municipal elections in Bucharest.[551]

From candidates to elected Councilwomen – the 1930 City Council campaign and its implications.

In 1929, an NPP-government-driven new law for local administrations allowed certain categories of women (educated, socially-active, war widows) to elect and be elected for local office (see Section 2.5.). The 1930 elections for local councilmen were intensely contested, partly on the background of the economic crisis and partly due to the fact that (uniquely in the history of interwar elections) the poll was free and fair, undisturbed by election-day violence or pre- and post-election rigging.[552] Women's candidacies for council seats contributed to its disputed character.

The two main contending parties approached the issue of women's political participation in different ways. The National Liberal Party did not explicitly oppose women's suffrage. Nevertheless, after the enfranchisement of all men in 1918, National Liberals, who dominated the 1920s, were not keen to expand the Romanian electorate even more.[553] This is why, in governing, National Liberals responded to middle class women's demands for greater clout in local and national government through compromise and containment. For instance, the NLP showed openness towards the (perceived) parallel politics of women's associational life and their

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http://www.rador.ro/2016/04/27/portret-sarmiza-bilcescu-prima-femeie-avocat-din-europa-si-prima-din-lume-cu-un-doctorat-in-drept/.

[551] Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s) : Nationalism and Internationalism," 203.

[552] Cutișteanu and Ioniță, *Electoratul din Romania în anii interbelici [The Electorate in Romania during the interwar years].* For a detailed English-language description of pre-WWI hired thugs ("batiusi", "batausi") during elections opposing Liberals and Conservatives during the 1910s, see Maude Rea Parkinson, *Twenty Years in Roumania* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1921), 35–37, https://archive.org/details/twentyyearsinrou00parkuoft/page/3, accessed 25 April 2019.

[553]Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 56–57.

involvement in welfare provision (including via state subsidies). By contrast, National Peasantists supported women's rights to elect and be elected. However, they expected a stronger political alignment with party policies than Liberals did from their socially-active women collaborators.

The National Peasantist Party (NPP) had a better record of supporting women's franchise than the National Liberal Party (NLP). The NPP's stance was rooted in the history of moderately progressive gender politics of the Transylvanian National Party, the pro-women's suffrage stance of the self-identified "left-bourgeois" Peasant Party with which the National Party merged in 1926, and the hopeful image the NPP wanted to project in the "great oppositional [electoral] campaign" of "all democratic forces" which swept the National Peasantists into power in 1929.[554] This attitude went hand in hand with a desire to limit the scope of action for women's voluntary associations and replace them with fully publicly-funded social assistance organizations coordinated by professionalized women.

The NPP's consistent pro-suffrage stance and momentary popularity led two important women's associations to join the party's ranks before elections. Thus, shortly before the 1930 municipal elections, the entire leadership of the largest feminist association in Romania (the Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Women in Romania, AECPFR) joined the NPP, running for council on the party's electoral list in Bucharest. Four of the leading feminists won their seats: Calypso Botez, Margareta Paximade Ghelmegeanu, Ella Negruzzi and Ortansa Satmary.[555]

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[554]Scurtu, *Istoria Partidului Național Țărănesc [History of the National Peasant Party]*, 36. On the National Party's pro-women's suffrage politics, see Oana Sînziana Păltineanu, "Converging Suffrage Politics: The Romanian Women's Movement in Hungary and Its Allies before World War I," *Aspasia* 9, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 44–64, https://doi.org/10.3167/asp.2015.090104.
[555]Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 108.

The NLP fielded their own women candidates in this election, but without enthusiasm. In fact, the other significant group of women candidates in the 1930 local council elections were the incumbent "coopted councilwomen", in office since 1926. During the previous decade, through subsidies and both executive and honorary administrative positions, Liberals had supported the social activities of this group of women. Many of the coopted council women had also demanded suffrage, side-by-side with the women now running on the NPP lists. Yet the coopted women opposed the NPP's left-leaning electoral program and the notion of women's full equality with men, preferring to make their case for greater social influence in the name of women's complementary difference from men.

Some of the women who had served as coopted councilwomen ran in the 1930 municipal elections in the framework of the women-only, "citizens' bloc" titled Gruparea Femeilor Române (The Group of Romanian Women - GFR).[556] Its leadership (especially the ubiquitous Alexandrina Cantacuzino) had expressed support for center-right leaders of the opposition and appear to have been tolerated as a kind of non-enemies by Liberals – a party which, as mentioned before, did not make women candidates a priority in this particular municipal election.

Social assistance and its reform were at the core of the incumbent, coopted councilwomen's program. The electoral manifesto launched with great fanfare and amid controversy by the Group of Romanian Women headed by coopted councilwoman Cantacuzino announced a platform centering on the reorganization of social assistance, primarily in the direction of optimizing the

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[556]The GFR list of candidates consisted of: Alexandrina Floru, Ana Filitti, Ecaterina Cerchez, Maria Gen. Anastasiu, Tereza Bally, Alexandrina Gr. Cantacuzino and Margareta Hera. The latter two were both running for councilwomen positions in Sector IV-Green. Gruparea Femeilor Române, "Manifestul Grupării Femeilor Române la alegerile comunale din Capitala [The Manifesto of the Group of Romanian Women for the local elections in the Capital]," in *Din istoria feminismului românesc: studiu si antologie de texte (1929-1948)*, ed. Ștefania Gáll Mihăilescu (Iași: Polirom, 2006), 109–11. The GFR emerged out of a February 1929 split within the women's movement. It had several hundred members across the country and organized events until at least 1936. Beginning with 1933, GFR leader Alexandrina Cantacuzino began supporting a corporatist reorganization of the state, with reserved corporate representation seats for women. Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 64, 71–87.

existing small levels of municipal social assistance spending. The Group thus set out to promote "the removal of politics from public administration and a scrupulous and thrifty handling of the public coin."[557] Group candidates demanded the autonomy of the city's public assistance; "the organization of assistance through work"- explained in the manifesto as a form of locally coordinated labour exchange service; the opening of maternities; the improvement of "working men and working women's" access to healthcare and childcare; and an increase in the number of professional training institutions.

In her 2005 dissertation, Roxana Cheșchebec defined the main competing directions within the Romanian women's movement as "liberal progressive" (AECPFR) respectively "nationalist reformist" (SONFR, GFR).[558] However, it is more appropriate to say that someone like SONFR and GFR leader Cantacuzino was socially conservative (and increasingly slid towards the extreme right as the 1930s progressed, clearly impressed by the social order achieved in Mussolini's Italy).[559] On the other hand, the AECPFR leadership was centrist liberal (and increasingly moved to the left, by becoming prominent members of the Antifascist Popular Front initiated by communist and socialist women in 1935). Whereas SONFR borrowed some of their religiously-infused, anticommunist and Eurocentric rhetoric vision of progress and modernization from the socially conservative, anticommunist and Eurocentric International Council of Women (ICW), the AECPFR had closer associations with the less overtly status-quo-maintaining, and overall more liberal International Alliance for Women's Suffrage (IAW).[560] In terms of electoral strategies,

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[557]Gruparea Femeilor Române, "Manifestul Grupării Femeilor Române."

[558]Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s) : Nationalism and Internationalism," 23.

[559]Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 80–85; Alexandra Petrescu, "Femeile și politica autoritară [Women and authoritarian politics]," *Sfera Politicii*, no. 120–122 (2006), http://www.sferapoliticii.ro/sfera/120-121-122/art15-petrescu.html.

[560]On the Christian rhetoric, Eurocentrism and social conservatism of these two largest international women's organizations, see Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, chaps. 3, 4 especially.

whereas Cantacuzino advocated the creation of a women's electoral group that would transcend inherently corrupt political parties and promote the common good due to women's innate morality (a conservative, almost reactionary vision by the late 1920s), National-Peasantist Calypso Botez, leader of the AECPFR, and her supporters, advocated women's participation in municipal elections as members of established parties and their making use of municipal mechanisms and professional expertise in order to make administration efficient and transparent (a technocratic, fairly innovative vision at the time).

In a nutshell, the GFR electoral manifesto favored the kind of conservative revolution that among others, corporatist rhetoric was homing in on throughout Europe.[561] For instance, according to the GFR manifesto, the answer to unemployment was not consistent aid, but economic coordination (hence references to a "general [economic] activity"). Coordination was supposed to create adequate possibilities for the jobless to find honest wage labour but not go further than that.[562] Also, the Group emphasized the need to transcend social divisions and chided those women who chose to enter the fray of party politics and "believed they served the cause of woman by bringing to the door of the family home the impassioned fighting which unravels Romanian public life, the sin they committed we hope will not weigh on the entire community too heavily."[563]

Meanwhile, the women running on the NPP ticket in the 1930 Bucharest local elections were articulating a broader, more inclusive program of social demands than the GFR. The goals

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[561] Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s) : Nationalism and Internationalism," 235–36. On Cantacuzino and the GFR's embrace of corporatist notions and rightward ideological slide in the 1930s, see Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 77–85.

[562] Concerning the issue of unemployment, the manifesto argued that: "In these times of crisis we will also take charge of the large number of unemployed persons: the resolution of this matter we will not regard as a daily aid for those lacking employment, but as a transformation of economic life (industry and commerce) in order to give to each the capacity to earn, from the general activity, his bread honestly (orig. pentru a da putinta fiecaruia, din activitatea generala sa-si poata castiga painea lui in mod cinstit)." Gruparea Femeilor Române, "Manifestul Grupării Femeilor Române," 110.

[563] Gruparea Femeilor Române, 111.

of the NPP municipal administration at the time, as declared by general mayor Dobrescu were to chip into "the black boulder with which [the Liberal administration] were oppressing the people".[564] During an electoral rally, Dobrescu boasted that he had mobilized intellectuals and made them into his collaborators, had set up school cafeterias in marginal neighborhoods, provided bread and milk for schools, created "six mobile kitchens with which I want to give food to the children at 12 o'clock", opened soup kitchens for the unemployed, cut administration costs for the commune and lowered taxes for water and electricity.[565] Speaking on the platform at the same rally, council candidate Ella Negruzzi chimed in support of Dobrescu's vision, stating that "the women's program consists in easing the misery of the population".[566]

The National Peasantist women candidates for Bucharest city councils also appear to have been enthusiastically interested in the electoral process itself rather than mostly drawn to the possibility of implementing a grand design for social reorganization once the elections were won, as the GFR manifesto alludes. For instance, as members of a broader campaign, they promoted the National Peasantist Party as the woman-friendly party. An election-day rally held in Tomis Hall by the group of NPP women candidates celebrated as a clear feminist victory the partial enfranchisement of women (in local elections) through the 1929 Administrative Law (M. Of. 167/ 3 Aug 1929) passed by the National Peasantist government.[567] A detailed press article about the Tomis gathering described how Dr. Rappaport, a member in the "women's leadership committee in this party" but not a council candidate herself, addressed her "co-religionists", urging them to vote pragmatically. [568]

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[564] Fulmen, "Întrunirea femenină."
[565]Fulmen.
[566] Fulmen.
[567] Parliament of Romania, Legea pentru Organizarea Administrațiunii Locale [Law for the Organization of Local Administration].
[568]Fulmen, "Întrunirea femenină."

The campaigns of women running for City Council incorporated the bitterness that had been accumulating within the Romanian women's movements in the preceding years.[569] For instance, the group of incumbent coopted councilwomen (gathered around Cantacuzino's GFR) were attacked by challenger women for incompetence and hypocrisy. NPP candidate Botez stated during a rally:

> I would like to see in this hall today those persons who ask for your votes and then write that women must not participate in administrative leadership. […] On the ballots you will see the names of other ladies, who were part of the council before. These women need to be asked what they have achieved while they were in city hall? What merits do they have that they may ask for your votes? What program did they accomplish? As for us [NPP women candidates], all four of us are women who have known only hard work and we committt to giving the rest of the life we have left to live to serving citizens.[570]

Evidently, the "ladies who were part of the council before" to whom Calypso Botez referred during the 1930 electoral rally were a group of around thirteen women associated with the National Society of Orthodox Women (SONFR), led by Alexandrina Cantacuzino.

After the divisive 1930 elections, four NPP, two NLP and one GFR women candidates became city councilors. Rivals Calypso Botez (AECPFR leader, NPP) and Alexandrina Cantacuzino (SONFR president, GFR) both served in sector councils and represented all councilwomen in General Council meetings, between 1930 and 1934.

As prominent feminists and political opponents, Cantacuzino and Botez, their respective collaborators, and the network of women's political, charitable and cultural associations they each influenced, were instrumental in defining and implementing in quick succession two visions of municipal (or municipality-subsidized) social assistance in the city of Bucharest.

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[569] Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România*, 59–71.
[570]Fulmen, "Întrunirea femenină."

After power reshufflings in July 1932, women not associated with either of these networks served in Bucharest's Sector Councils but they only managed to shape rather than change dramatically the schemes created by their direct predecessors.

4.2. Councilwomen as Initiators and Shapers of the Municipality's Assistance Practices

Alexandrina Cantacuzino and Calypso Botez enjoyed simultaneous Bucharest General City Council mandates between 1930 and 1934. Before that, Cantacuzino served as coopted councilwoman, between 1926 and 1930. At different points in time, each was assumed by other councilors and the mayor to be the General City Council member in charge of monitoring municipal social assistance. They each shepherded their own set of proposals for social assistance provision within the city. Collaborators in various women's associations in Bucharest since the 1920s, in the mid-1930s the two women became involved in a bitter, eventually internationally-known, conflict around their municipal council membership (and mutual accusations of fund embezzlement). In Roxana Cheșchebec's description of one episode in a long conflict,

> In a letter of protest sent [in 1934] to the Minister of Foreign Affairs by AECPFR and the Union of Romanian Women (UFR) it was maintained that Cantacuzino (then in the delegation of the Romanian government to the League of Nations), told the representative of the Dutch government at the League, Louise Van Eeghen, that C. Botez, M. Ghelmegeanu, E. Negruzzi, O. Satmary were involved in "unclear affairs" as municipal councilors and would appear in court. They denied these accusations and asked to have Cantacuzino dismissed from her position at the League of Nations as intellectually and politically incompetent.[571]

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[571] Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (Approx. 1890s-1940s) : Nationalism and Internationalism," 428, fn.914.

Whereas the conflict itself has been detailed before, their contributions to welfare provision in the capital city – albeit influential - have only received passing attention.

Alexandrina Cantacuzino's vision for public social assistance.

After her cooptation to the General City Council, in 1926, Cantacuzino initiated and won support for a stark vision of "social assistance through labour." According to her vision, the main social assistance providers would be "private initiative" associations run by women. In the beginning of 1927, Cantacuzino sent a letter to members of the Bucharest General Municipal Council, outlining basic principles and advantages of her project, in her quality of "initiator of this project [for the reorganization of municipal assistance]."[572]

In the document she explained that the guiding principle of the reorganization project she was proposing was "assistance through labour". Referring to the examples of the blind, the facially disfigured and those "who have only torsos left" working in institutions for war veterans she had visited in Germany, France and America, Cantacuzino implied that work allowed even the most disabled to stay "productive elements".[573] Furthermore, gainful employment spared the poor the status of slaves to rich people's generosity. She argued that the system of social assistance she proposed would enable the City to "cease with the help through mercy, through favors, through interventions, given most of the time in order to spare us the displeasure of having to say like men, when the request is purposeless, <u>no</u>."[574]

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[572]Primaria Municipiului Bucuresti, "Raportul Directiunei Asistentei in Sedinta Comitetului de Asistenta Din 13 Ianuarie 1927 [Report of the Assistance Direction in the Meeting of the Assistance Committee of 13 January 1927]," January 13, 1927, Fond 1830- Cantacuzino Familial, File 86/1926-1929, ff. 33-34., Arhivele Nationale Istorice Centrale Bucharest.

[573] Alexandrina Cantacuzino, "Letter. Alexandrina Cantacuzino to Bucharest City Councilors.," Undated-early 1927, Fond 1830- Cantacuzino Familial, File 86/1926-1929, ff. 21-24, Arhivele Nationale Istorice Centrale Bucharest.

[574]Cantacuzino.

Another purpose of Cantacuzino's letter was to argue that unemployment was an issue to be dealt with through local social assistance rather than through the institutions of the central government. The councilwoman reported on the strong opposition her project faced from those who argued that assistance through labour concerned the Ministry of Labour and the Job Placement Offices it ran in Bucharest. In her letter to councilmen, Cantacuzino retorted by emphasizing that only the municipal administration could prevent the urban demoralization that comes with lack of employment.

Finally, Cantacuzino referred to objections to her plan of giving women's associations primary responsibility for social assistance provision. Thus, she mentioned that "it has been said that the ladies, wanting to monopolize welfare provision activities [operele de ocrotire], sought to cast aside even the priests from this holly calling". The letter clarified that this was not going to be the case, since some (although certainly not all) of the many members of the suburban Parish Committees involved in relief in Bucharest were going to be included in the process of providing social assistance. Specifically, priests and other members of the existing Parish Committees would be enabled to bring assistance-deserving persons to the attention of General and Sector Councils for Social Assistance. These new Social Assistance Councils would be led by women's societies and supervised by the City Hall; they would be dealing with the assistance of a recommended person from that point on.

Besides a productivist notion of "assistance through and for work", the other principle guiding Cantacuzino's project was the prevention of social assistance fraud. The enhanced responsibilities of women's organizations in municipal assistance provision were integral to the achievement of this goal. She shared how the cooperation between on the one hand, "Associations

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for private assistance in the Capital" (subsidized by the municipality) and on the other hand, the bureaucracies of City Halls would enable the "methodical control" of distributed aids. In her view,

> Mercy without reason, limitless kindness will stop; there will no longer be women who receive aid for a child who is 20 and an army officer. Whoever will dare to ask for firewood vouchers for relatives who can procure them themselves, will do so with more difficulty as they will know that they expose themselves to being ill-regarded and their request will be rejected by the independent associations, who cannot be tricked by certain influences. There will thus be a brotherly collaboration between the official organs and the private initiative.[575]

In Cantacuzino's voluntarist vision, the private character of women's associations constituted the guarantee of their impartiality. It is interesting to note how the "methodical control" Cantacuzino proposed relied largely on a classed politics of respectability: her project assumed that the "ill-regard" of women involved in charity-giving (rather than any type of bureaucratic sanction) would be the best deterrent against fraud.

The women's associations Cantacuzino had in mind when creating her project were already providing various forms of welfare in Bucharest. In a nod to the corporatist notions she would fully embrace later, Cantacuzino intended to assign the various assistance tasks in the city to several such experienced associations. Thus, Obolul (The Alm) society and Uniunea Societăților de Binefacere (The Union of Benevolent Societies) would deal with the distribution of clothes to children and women and the distribution of food aid to convalescent or anemic children. Also, the two societies would be charged with distributing all the vouchers for the fire wood which could be picked up on the 15th of November.[576] Furthermore, again based on their previous social activities, other select women's associations were charged with the job placement of women and girls, while still others with finding home work for women who could not work outside the home.

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[575]Cantacuzino.
[576]Cantacuzino, "Ante-Proiect Pentru Organizarea Asistentei Publice a Comunei [Ante-Project for the Organization of the Commune's Public Assistance]."

The autonomy and financial security of these welfare-providing associations was a significant concern while Cantacuzino was drafting her assistance reorganization project:

> The General and Sector City Halls must have it in their programs that nothing is bought and given directly by the City Hall clerks, nor by the esteemed councilmen, but all is given through the private initiative social actions [prin operele sociale de inițiativă privată], recognized as moral (alt. juridical) persons and to whom the General and Sector City Halls would give officially addressed subsidies to these societies (sic) […] The Social Assistance of the City Hall must leave all freedom of action to these nuclei and reserve the right to only coordinate and control their activity, we must not snuff out private activity, we need only control.[577]

The formulation suggests that at that point, the reform of social assistance envisioned by Cantacuzino implied displacing the discretionary charity practiced by local council members through public money, and instituting a women's monopoly over the domain. This struggle between the new welfare actors introduced by councilwomen and the older charitable practices extended over the next decade. Progressively, it was Cantacuzino's preferred policies and allies that were accused frequently of indiscriminate social assistance.

As mentioned before, Cantacuzino argued that associations' independence was especially useful for the coordinated identification of fraud. In particular, the minimal interference of Council members enabled efficient use of existent municipal methods for the coercion and control of economically unstable persons. In the councilwoman's view,

> There are poor people of bad faith who find ways to take relief from multiple places especially nowadays when each sector city hall has funding set aside for aid to the poor. It could be asked of each person, who asks for the help of City Hall, to present the population fiche with the stamp from the Police section, that they really live at that address and should be added to special fiches and communicated to all the city halls and the societies. In this way, all Assistance Societies will be interconnected, and we will avoid having the same person take aids from multiple societies. Ideally, the relief would be given in the poor person's home, which allows for continuous control of the true state in which this assisted person finds itself.[578]

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[577]Cantacuzino.

[578]Primaria Municipiului Bucuresti, "Raportul Directiunei Asistentei in Sedinta Comitetului de Asistenta Din 13 Ianuarie 1927 [Report of the Assistance Direction in the Meeting of the Assistance Committee of 13 January 1927]."

As described by Cantacuzino here, charitable women's visits to the homes of those who received assistance were meant to be a form of control in addition to that exerted through registration and identification. Similarly, in other correspondence, the councilwoman mentioned that "research at the domicile of the helped, done by the ladies from the subsidized societies" was to be performed prior to the distribution of any form of aid.

Nevertheless, this measure of in-home verification seems to have remained a desire, never becoming a systematic procedure while Cantacuzino was influential in City Council. Unlike in the case of later practices, relief during Cantacuzino's mandate as coopted councilwoman (1926 to 1930) was not distributed in the homes of those assisted or in connection to their concrete living conditions. Rather, aid petitioners presented themselves at association's headquarters, city hall, or in the street.

Besides a vision for outdoor assistance, Cantacuzino described to the City Council her vision of indoor assistance. This was inspired by her 1926 visit to a reform home for former sex workers, created in Paris by Avril de Sainte Croix. In a letter addressed to " General and Sector Mayors", the Councilwoman reported on her official visit to various public assistance establishments in Paris while attending a feminist congress there.[579]

During her tour in the company of Paris city administrators, Cantacuzino was most impressed by an institution she variously termed as "a house for girl-mothers", "a home for the protection of fallen women" or a place for the moral uplift of prostitutes.[580] In Cantacuzino's description, even if it was retrograde in its toleration of prostitution and surpassed by anglo-saxons' innovative approach to morality, the French ruling class still "feel the need to seek the salvation

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[579] Alexandrina Cantacuzino, "Letter to General and Sector Mayors.," August 12, 1926, Fond 1830- Cantacuzino Familial, File 87/1926-1929, ff.127-131, ANIC.
[580] Cantacuzino.

of those [women] who can still be saved". ICW collaborator and President of the French National Council of Women, Mrs. Avril de Sainte Croix, was the "woman of [good] heart and high culture" who, "helped by distinguished sociologists" and partially funded by the city, had created *La Maison de Relevement*, "where hundreds of girl-mothers are brought with their child, and finally find there in the workshops labour and moral treatment by doctors and sociologists". De Sainte Croix's moral reform initiative was so successful, Cantacuzino pointed out, that some former sex workers married and even went into the teaching profession without threat to the morality of children in their care.

Cantacuzino described the *Maison* in detail as part of her request towards city authorities for the creation of a similar institution in Bucharest. In seeking to persuade, she pointed out that not only was there a practical need for such an establishment but its construction would improve Romania's standing in the League of Nations, as "I am forced to remind that the reports drawn up by the international commissions which have been in the country represented a heavy verdict for us and they have been submitted to the League of Nations, where again thanks to Mrs Sainte Croix no overly drastic resolutions were adopted."[581] The councilwoman asked for the creation of a local commission composed of the women councilors in the General City Council and several progressive doctors, as well as a budget of ten million Lei. She followed up this request one year later, by submitting a detailed proposal for the functioning and organization of the "Protection Home" in Bucharest, and asking for fifteen million Lei, to be covered in collaboration with two ministries and contributions from all seventy counties in the country.[582]

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[581] Cantacuzino, fol. 130.
[582] Alexandrina Cantacuzino, "Letter. Anteproect Pentru Casa de Ocrotire [Project Proposal for the Protection House]," 1927, Fond 1830- Cantacuzino Familial, File 103/1927, ff. 25-29, ANIC.

The Protection Home she proposed was destined to host up to two hundred "fallen women", a category she eventually defined as comprised of "girl-mothers" and reformable prostitutes. (Much too-depraved prostitutes, in need of "isolation and a more drastic regime" were to be sent to Mărcuța, a monastery turned reformatory, located outside Bucharest.) On the ground floor, the building of the proposed Protection Home was to host a self-sustaining workshop: "mechanical workshops organized to be a productive force and enable the Home for the Protection of Women to support itself and at the same time serve to fulfill all the assistance needs of the City by making thousands of laundry items and clothes for the poor."[583] The second floor of the home was made up of up to one hundred and fifty "cellular rooms", sunny, clean, decorated with flowers, pictures and religious icons. The institution was meant to be surrounded by garden plots and sports fields.

The coercive features of the Protection Home become fully evident only in the second part of the document. Cantacuzino proposed that the institution be created adjacent to the SONFR-administered Sfânta Ecaterina Orphanage for abandoned children, "separated by a fence and a gate". In this way,

> As this Institute will be situated right next to the orphanage […], the girl mother would have there her child, protected under perfect conditions, almost under her eyes, without one more expense for the State. She would nurse him by passing by several times a day under surveillance to the Orphanage.[584]

The plans for the Romanian version of the Protection Home capture several features of Cantacuzino's reformism: interest for the protection of women as mothers, embrace of the goals of the transnational anti-prostitution/abolitionist movement, a focus on moralization through work, preoccupation for cost-cutting and right beneath the surface of benevolence, harshly morally regulative and socially controlling interventions.

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[583] Cantacuzino, fol. 25.
[584] Cantacuzino, "Letter to General and Sector Mayors." Emphasis in the original.

All in all, politically, Cantacuzino's vision of social assistance, in its disdain for scroungers and condemnation of mercy, as well as through its interest in the moralizing value of pure productivity is a conservative vision. In fact, the outdoor relief system proposed by Cantacuzino greatly resembles the widespread "Elberfelder system" of municipal poor relief functioning in nineteenth century Germany. Similarly to Cantacuzino's proposed system, the Elberfelder one relied on the work of voluntary middle- and upper-middle-class almsgivers, who were required to visit with aid recipients every second week.[585] When it was initiated, in the 1850s, in the Wuppertal region, the Elberfelder system was meant to help prevent working class unrest (for example through the emphasis on face-to-face meetings between recipients and almsgivers). It was also a way for the municipal government to "involve its middle- and upper-class citizenry in government, while relying less and less upon voluntary financial contributions."[586] Through this lens, and in the context of the NLP government's dithering on voting rights, Cantacuzino's 1927 proposal for Bucharest can also be understood as a way of encouraging still unenfranchised middle-class women to become involved in local government.

Also it is interesting to note that in her writing, the post-WWI progressive foreign institutions for the heavily disabled by the war ("the people with only torsos left" mentioned above), likely encountered during her time in the leadership of the Association for the Protection of War Orphans in the 1920s (see Section 2.2.), figured as model institutions for making poverty productive (rather than as rehabilitative establishments, as intended).[587] As prefigured in the previous chapter's discussion of budget cuts and technocratic ideals, the NPP-influenced

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[585] James Willis, "The Elberfeld System: Poor Relief and the Fluidity of German Identity in Mid-Nineteenth Century Germany" (MA Thesis, Boise, USA, Boise State University, 2016), https://scholarworks.boisestate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2184&context=td. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Susan Zimmermann for drawing my attention to parallels between this system and the proposition for Bucharest.
[586] Willis, 2.
[587] Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Univ of California Press, 2001), 113, 156.

reorganization of municipal, public social assistance would embrace a vision almost as strict, albeit one covered in the sheath of social science expertise.

Calypso Botez's embrace of social assistance as advocated by USA-educated social workers.

Although NPP councilwoman Calypso Botez (elected in 1930) increasingly opposed Cantacuzino's social reform initiatives, she did not herself have a particularly well-developed individual vision of the causes of poverty or the role and methods of social assistance in addressing needs. However, once a councilwoman, Botez fully embraced and spearheaded the implementation of the vision of research-based social assistance promoted by several women trained in social work in the United States of America and connected to prominent members of the first NPP government.[588] (See Section 3.2.)

During her time in City Council, Botez assumed the role of a strategic political backer for Veturia Mănuilă's vision of social assistance. In recounting how the Superior School for Social Assistance in Bucharest managed to gain a foothold in the operation of social assistance in parts of Bucharest, in 1929, the School's founder recognized the crucial help provided by Botez's role as councilwoman charged with social assistance responsibilities:

> The collaboration of the School with the assistance service of the first sector [Sector I Yellow] of Bucharest turned out to be much more fruitful [than attempted collaborations with the assistance service of the General City Hall]. The movement for administrative decentralization of the different sectors, which was affirming itself at that point, allowed an independent action that could be undertaken by the School, again by the grace of Mrs. Botez, delegated to the directorship of the Sector's assistance. As she here had full freedom of action, the School was given the entire latitude of organizing a service which conformed

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[588] In Gordon's account of the interwar social reform scene in the US, women social workers focused on combatting "pauperism" (even if they developed increasingly sophisticated understandings of the causes of poverty), insisted on individualized approaches to poverty and case work (attracting the "pantry snooper" moniker from some included in the male network), assumed the possibility of social cooperation, spoke more about needs than about entitlements, and naturalized the quantitativist approaches they had pioneered, mixing them with less specialized discourses.[…][Social workers] believed that the injuries of class were experienced through problems like alcoholism, defeatism, and violence as well as through inadequate food and shelter, and they considered the social insurance definition of poverty partial, reductive and naive. " Gordon, "Social Insurance and Public Assistance."

to its principles. It was therefore possible to realize in the first sector an organization which fit the requirements of a constructive social assistance, outside of all old philanthropic habits.[589]

In fact, before the School even began its functioning, Botez had shown support by advocating for the School's usefulness within the Section for Feminine Studies of the Romanian Social Institute. Later, Botez collaborated with the School in her work as one of two national expert rapporteurs to the International Labour Office, using in her report research work largely supplied by the Superior School (See Section 6.2.).

Those associated with the Superior School of Social Assistance and its post-1929 attempts at reforming relief in Bucharest viewed with disdain Cantacuzino's vision of coordinated poverty policy via autonomous but publicly subsidized "private initiatives". Without naming Cantacuzino, in 1931, Superior School instructor Xenia Costa-Foru argued that "although we have plenty of regulations", practically the uncoordinated social assistance in the city encouraged the "dependence" of those receiving aid, instead of contributing to their autonomization. In her opinion, as the aid received from one charity was insufficient, even the person in true need engaged in what she considered to be types of increasingly skillful performances of poverty at multiple societies throughout the city.[590] In making her case, Costa-Foru provided the example of a widowed mother of nine children:

> The woman, thin and swarthy, is dressed in black, simply and clean. She makes a good impression, is communicative and can relate well the misfortunes she has endured. […] The situation is very difficult, but the woman is smart and fear of hunger and her love for the children had taught her how to speculate the misery. An appeal in the newspaper: 'nine children without bread'; a pension from City Hall; some doors she knocks on regularly; different associations and the aid of the alms the priest collects for her in the church, these enable her survival. But this not without humiliations, not without deceit and lies, because in order to obtain the maximum from everywhere, the woman is all day long on the street, crying to each one, exaggerating her situation and hiding as much as possible - fearful that

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[589]Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]," 56.
[590]Costa-Foru, "Colaborarea în asistență."

she might see her income lowering - the aids she receives from all places. As the societies only communicate among each other very imperfectly, the work is easily achieved, and Ana knows it.[591]

However, besides clearly opposing views on the usefulness of decentralization in public assistance, what could be called "the private initiative" and "social work" factions in the City Council did not radically differ in their views regarding other central issues. Like Cantacuzino, Costa-Foru and other persons associated with the Superior School of Social Assistance were concerned with the lack of productivity among assistance-recipients and the potential for fraud that excessive generosity unleashed. For instance, Costa-Foru argued that among genuinely needy (if ocasionally over-performing) people in Bucharest there hid plenty of experienced charlatans and work shirkers.[592] Also, like Cantacuzino, they believed that generosity alone could be damaging. In fact, unlike their allied NPP councilwomen during their 1930 campaign speeches, Superior School social workers were disinclined to consider generous relief and "the fight against misery" a genuine long-term solution. Nevertheless, their approach differed from Cantacuzino's in the emphasis placed on COS-like principles: expertise, long-term investigation and character reform. In the social workers' view, control against fraud could not be guaranteed by honorable well-to-do women but only by detailed research followed by sustained, systematic intervention into the home lives of those assisted.

In fact, practically, in terms of supervision of those receiving aid, the Superior School's programs in Sector I Yellow achieved by 1932 what Cantacuzino in 1927 could only hope would happen.

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[591] Costa-Foru, 17.
[592] Costa-Foru, "Colaborarea în asistență."

In an account of the workings in one of the Superior School's pioneering assistance initiatives, Mănuilă detailed the new level of supervision that was achieved, and the reactions enhanced control produced:

> The population was at first disoriented. They were accustomed to receiving assistance in money and in kind after a summary investigation and they cannot comprehend what we might want from them to go so deeply into their familial agendas, wanting to find out everything they do, what they eat, what they spend their money on, how they divide their earnings, how they spend their leisure time etc. […] the population understands relief but does not also understand control. One of our clients told it to us directly: 'I, together with my children, have been living off of assistance for 23 years and no one has ever done me the displeasure of checking what's boiling in my pot'.[593]

Nevertheless, in their writings, Superior School founders claimed that the chronic moral and financial "dependence" that defined destitute, "disorganized families" could also be caused by environmental factors and not only by deficiencies of character. The harmful environments they referred to mostly meant living conditions but could also refer to industrial labor, particularly when the worker was a mother.

Similar to the corporatism that underlay Cantacuzino's vision of municipal charity, couched in the language of professional expertise, the Superior School espoused a coherent political ideology, one which overlapped with the puritanism and liberal individualism influencing the American Charity Organization Society. In the 1930s, the School's social vision was that of "left liberal" municipalism. As the 1930s progressed, social workers' left liberal vision of the need to apply the principles of "social economy" in order to correct the "rapacious and expansive" nature of capitalism[594] became infused with increasing amounts of eugenicists' ideas and rhetorics. The latter insisted on the log-term safeguarding of human capacities, for the sake of the collectivity and downplayed the economic critique dimension of earlier discourses. At the same time, as

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[593]Mănuilă, "Organizarea Centrului de Demonstrație."
[594]"Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualized assistance]," 9–10.

mentioned before, this outlook was never fully eugenicist, nor fully devoid of sympathy for women who were overburdened by caring duties. (see Chapter 6)

After the fall of the second NPP government, in 1933, founders of the Superior School and initiators of "constructive assistance programs" in Sector Yellow, complained of obstructionism from the new councilwomen, installed by the new Liberal leadership:

> A new change of government brought new municipal councilwomen, a new mayor and a different activity program […]. But the social assistance was able, despite the opposition of the new delegated councilwoman, to ensure a certain continuity. Nevertheless, the School students who were in training [practicing in the sector's official Assistance Bureau] had to leave, as the new councilwoman carried them little sympathy.[595]

In this case, it was the new mayor of the Sector who removed the obstacle. In 1937, he finally appointed a different councilwoman, "Miss Florica Marcotzi", to deal "with all assistance issues in the Tei neighborhood". (See Table 2) That year, the new mayor also reinstated the subsidies for the SSAS-run Center of the Assistance of the Family functioning in Tei.

And yet, despite changing governments and mayors, as late as 1938, social assistance in Sector I Yellow - at least - tried its best to function along the basic principles laid out in the extensive social assistance regulations created in 1929 by the temporarily strong alliance between progressive feminist Calypso Botez and social workers who embraced a version of left-liberalism at the time, but would use their knowledge to support authoritarian projects later.[596]

Putting intimacy to work through SSAS social knowledge-making practices.

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[595]Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]."

[596]Cornelia Zamfirescu, "Raport asupra activității serviciului de asistență socială din Sectorul I Galben al Capitalei [Report on the activity of the service of social assistance in Sector I Yellow of the Capital]," *Asistența Socială - Buletinul Școalei Superioare de Asistență Socială "Principesa Ileana"* 7, no. 2 (1938): 109–12.

As the assistance system created and implemented by the SSAS in Sector I Yellow enjoyed continuity in that flagship, central district of the city, the social-knowledge-making practices emphasized in the School became its symbols. For Veturia Mănuilă and colleagues, social knowledge-making depended both on practices of intimacy (visible in "friendly visiting") and what could be called "practices of abstraction" (such as statistics or intelligence testing). Nevertheless, they considered the former much more important than the latter in social assistance.

In an article published in one of the first issues of the Superior Schools' *Bulletin*, Veturia Mănuilă detailed how a social assistant could secure the cooperation of those assisted. She directed assistants to grant utmost attention to the first meeting with a client, during which they were supposed to earn the trust and friendship of the person to be assisted. In instructions which fully match the features of "intimacy work" as theorized by Boris and Salazar- Parreñas, Mănuilă asked social assistants to perform the care work and manipulation of sensitive information which defined their profession by fine-tuning their own emotions: "The assistant's mood (lit. "the dispositions of the heart"): well-disposed, cheerful, attentive, solicitous, resolute, who inspires trust."[597]

Mănuilă underlined that gaining trust through informal conversation and creating the sensation of empathy and interest in the client was more important than obtaining factual information. Such information would have to be double-checked with relatives, neighbors, friends, employers, trade union mates and the local priest in any case. If the required intimacy work was performed correctly, the sensitive information on which the scientific methods of social work depended could be extracted seamlessly: "[the dependents] will thus betray their mentality, their character and leaving a multitude of necessary impressions for the interpretation of the things purposefully hidden by the dependent"[598].

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[597]Mănuilă, 21.
[598]Mănuilă, 21.

Handbooks published by the Superior School argued that social worker's activity depended on the relations they could construct successfully with assisted women as women and with men as men, within a patriarchal heterosexual matrix. Thus, Mănuilă argued that assistants usually found out about certain households' problems from the adult women living there. In meeting a reluctant husband or father, the assistant was advised to introduce herself as a "good friend of your wives'"[599]. In persuading a man sick with tuberculosis or an alcoholic to seek treatment, the assistant was taught to emphasize the man's status as family patriarch, his freedom of choice on the matter and complete control over "your and your family's situation."[600]

Gendered solidarities enabled social assistance to gain a foothold into clients' intimacies. The unvarnished situation of a woman who struggled with having the children from her previous marriage accepted by the new husband could be heard, confidentially, from a well-meaning neighbor woman once her own secretive husband left.[601] A woman who was a teacher could be persuaded, after multiple conversations with the assistant, to take charge of the pauper children of a sister who married below her station.[602] Union brothers could persuade a man to pursue medical treatment when "demoralized" and provide financial help to that end.[603]

The statistical-quantitative component of research applied to social assistance was better aligned with the technocratic vision and preferred work methods of the first NPP government. However, it was usually portrayed as complementary to the "individualized assistance for dependent families" approach. Following the 1930 census, in 1931, the head of the newly-founded National Institute for Statistics, and Vetura Mănuilă's partner, contributed an article to the *Bulletin*

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[599]Mănuilă, 24.
[600]Mănuilă, 19.
[601]Mănuilă, 31.
[602]Mănuilă, 32.
[603]Mănuilă, 33.

of the Superior School of Social Assistance. In the piece, Sabin Mănuilă argued for the importance of the census for social assistance work.[604] He stated that the census could illuminate such issues of importance for social assistance as: number of existing family units, including single-woman-headed ones, he highlighted; infant mortality rates; rates of rural-urban migration; increases in the rates of cohabitation without marriage; professions and unemployment levels (but not wage levels, as information on the matter was not collected); the rise in dual-income families ("the socialized family"); the number of people with disabilities, cared for either within homes or institutions; information about the quality of housing; and, to a smaller extent, information about the composition of the workforce- a topic on which Mănuilă complained that not sufficient data could be collected due to employers' refusal to provide information for the "Industrial Bulletin" part of the census.

Finally, in his article, the head of the National Statistics Institute outlined the normativizing political stakes of the census:

> From combinations of collected information, it will be possible to study current living conditions in Romania, under the most varied aspects, so that we will have a base to establish the normal in certain regards and as a result, we will be able to define with more scientific precision the pathological.[605]

Importantly, this form of statistical knowledge production depended on intimate, assistance-like work. Veturia Mănuilă knew as much when arguing in 1930 that "Indirectly, social assistance serves the causes of all the social sciences, offering them through its detailed case studies the documentary material for the practical study of the various social problems."[606]

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[604] Mănuilă, "Importanța Recensământului."
[605] Mănuilă.
[606] "Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualized assistance]," 13.

On the other hand, despite the clear intellectual and practical proximity of statisticians and social workers, key figures of the social work movement in Romania considered that intimacy work made the kind of knowledge produced through social assistance investigations more useful, and in a sense more valuable than statistical abstractions. For instance, Veturia Mănuilă explained that although social workers asked clients in the Tei neighborhood to fill in intelligence measuring questionnaires, their results did not inform their day-to-day work:

> The mental exam has a greater value when we are speaking about masses. In isolated cases, especially in social assistance, it mostly has a justificatory and not a determinant value. Social assistance has such intimate contact with the dependent that it has the possibility to know his intellectual value well, through experience.[607]

All in all, the Social Assistance Service and its Bureau in Sector I Yellow – as organized by the SSAS, with the support of councilwoman Botez – advocated for a type of of COS-inspired social assistance that had many common features to the Elberfelder-like project proposed by Cantacuzino during the latter's days as a coopted councilwoman. Both proposals favored individualized monitoring, were designed to prevent welfare fraud and meant to replace indiscriminate giving by unauthorized persons.

However, Cantacuzino's system constructed women involved in certain charitable or philanthropic societies as incorruptible "lay experts" and focused on wage work as short-term and long-term cure to poverty, under any circumstances. The SSAS system was less insistent on the singular benefits of wage-work for curing pauperism and dependency. Gainful employment was part of their envisioned solution, but so was an intense program of investigating and reconstructing a family and (more rarely, an individual) dealing with chronic need. The intimacy work which in

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[607]"Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualized assistance]," 23.

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Cantacuzino's vision simply facilitated monitoring became in the SSAS system both a means of supervising and a key component in the public projection of social scientific expertise.

4.3.   Poverty Policy and Social Assistance Between 1920 and 1929

How did the rival councilwomen's plans for municipal social assistance function in practice? Could these new methods easily displace existing practices? And which political or economic changes affected their application? In this subsection I discuss the functioning of social assistance in the city during the 1920s, showing the progressive but tenuous switch from an ad-hoc National Liberal approach to one in which the councilwomen's successive visions became influential.

Poverty policy between 1920 and 1926.

As discussed previously, poverty policy refers to the collection of unsystematic, small scale, repressive forms of assistance, provided by a variety of actors in a specific area, with public aid not playing a more significant part than private or religious institutions' charity. (See Section 1.2.) "Poverty policy" is usually considered a precursor of publicly-funded social assistance. Yet lack of systematicity in welfare provision in Bucharest in the first five years after the First World War, and the absence of a policy agenda beyond vagrancy criminalization, make it more suitable to refer to this periods' policies as "poverty policy" rather than as "social assistance" which could address social need however minimally. Between 1920 and 1926, Bucharest's administrators spent little on indoor assistance (i.e., institutions) and even less on outdoor (i.e., direct transfers) social assistance. The priorities of the 1920-1926 provisional commissions running the General City Hall were large investments in infrastructure. These were made with money from a large loan,

borrowed on the British financial market. Disinterest for welfare provision is visible in the lumping of social assistance with schooling and health protection in City Hall's budget categories during those years. In 1923, City Hall spent 31 million Lei on "Communal Schools and Public Assistance". Of these shared funds, 25 million went to the city's (much too few) schools, with only 2.7 million Lei remaining for "public assistance".[608]

That many other priorities trumped municipal social spending during the Liberal Party-dominated provisional commissions is further underscored by how, in 1923, the single largest category of expenses in the entire budget of the municipality covered the expropriation of seventeen home- or land-owners whose properties stood in the way of planned roads and other infrastructure improvements in the city. On these expropriations, Bucharest's general City Hall spent 68.4 million lei, almost three times as much as the amounts allocated for school constructions.[609] Running on a common ticket with the National Peasant Party in the Bucharest elections of April 1926, the Social-Democratic Party criticized that: "Outside some street paving works, in the periphery, primitive and to a great extent paid for directly by the citizens, the liberal government has done nothing for the welfare and protection [buna viețuire și ocrotirea] of the great mass of our people. [...] There is no policy of affordable housing, nor social assistance organized according to modern principles, nor concern for cleanliness and public hygiene. The city, outside of some central streets, lies in indescribable filth." [610]

During the period of administration through provisional commissions, City Hall's "public assistance" involvement entailed several, very different methods of approaching need. Also,

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[608] For comparison's sake, public lighting -in an admittedly under-illuminated city- cost in 1923 a total of 2.9 million lei. Primăria Orașului București, *Dare de seama asupra activității administrative a Comisiunei Interimare pe exercițiul 1 aprilie-31 decembrie 1923 [Report on the administrative activity of the Provisional Commission for the mandate 1 April -31 December 1923]*, 14.

[609] Primăria Orașului București, 58.

[610] Petrescu, *Socialismul în România 1835 - 6 septembrie 1940 [Socialism in Romania 1835- 6 September 1940]*, 392.

eligibility criteria for the various small types of outdoor relief were underdefined. Of the amounts spent on "public assistance" in 1922-1923, the largest proportion went toward the purchase and storage of firewood, used for heating and cooking. The municipal bureaucracy proper distributed directly to individuals or families considered needy - "the poor population"- only 12% of the purchased firewood (forty-seven wagons). Important quantities were transferred as in-kind subsidies to various public institutions — in the winter of 1922-1923, city schools received 371 wagons of firewood. Another 554 wagons were sold to interested individuals at low prices. The remaining 334 wagons were distributed to charity organizations.[611] The latter likely redistributed most of their share of the fuel to needy persons they assisted. This suggests that (even before Cantacuzino's 1927 intervention in favor of delegation to the private initiative) various charitable organizations intermediated the distribution of outdoor relief that had been paid for by City Hall. Criteria for distribution varied from association to association. In addition, City Council members occasionally distributed sums of money based on "the most impressive petitions or interventions", social workers complained later.

Besides spending for the purchase, storage and distribution of firewood, City Hall also allocated significant amounts for the provision of other, less direct, forms of aid. Thus, at least in 1922-1924, it acted as a regularizing economic agent by storing and selling basic food items on the so-called "Free Stock Market for Food (*Bursa Liberă a Alimentelor*)." City Hall also distributed construction lots to 111 public servants, fourteen widowed women with children, 55 demobilized soldiers, 62 active soldiers and nineteen invalids, and subsidized the construction of schools begun by self-organized neighborhood committees.[612]

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[611] Primăria Orașului București, *Dare de seama asupra activității administrative a Comisiunei Interimare pe exercițiul 1 aprilie-31 decembrie 1923 [Report on the administrative activity of the Provisional Commission for the mandate 1 April -31 December 1923]*, 31.
[612] Primăria Orașului București, 43, 85.

Low and eclectic social spending was complemented by government-driven policies of criminalizing the most visible forms of poverty. Created by the government, detailed laws against vagrancy and begging were implemented by the municipality, with especial virulence in the first half of the 1920s.[613] The 1921 Law for Curbing Begging and Vagrancy and for the Protection of Children (No. 2908/ M. Of. 4 Jul 1921) mandated the transportation to reform-through-work colonies of those found begging and loitering.[614] The Law had been constructed around the assumption that those loitering were, in their majority, able-bodied men who were unwilling to work, with the Law's initiator, Labor Minister Trancu-Jassy, even arguing that the punishing statute was the fitting complement to the new social insurance programs created for the "honest workers".[615] The presupposition that those without a stable domicile or employment were in large number either foreigners or, at least, not ethnically Romanian was invalidated by statistics collected in the city's Vagrant Triage Office. More importantly, as it turned out from data gathered by Dr. Zaplachta, head of the Triage Office, between September 1921 and September 1922, the overwhelming majority of the 814 men apprehended in Bucharest did not fit the crime of vagrancy and begging as defined in the law, since they were either not able-bodied or had been looking for

[613] Ministerul Muncii și Ocrotirilor Sociale. Direcțiunea Generală a Asistenței Sociale., *Lege si regulament pentru infrânarea vagabondajului si cersetoriei si pentru protectiunea copiilor : expunerea de motive, formulare [Law and regulation for the curbing of begging and vagrancy and for the protection of children: exposition of reasons, forms]* (Bucharest: Tipografia Reforma Socială, 1921); "Ce sunt 'Coloniile de îndreptare prin muncă'? [What are 'the colonies of reform through labor'?]," *Calendarul Asistenței Sociale*, 1923; Zaplachta, "Cersetorii si vagabonzii capitalei [The beggars and vagrants of the capital]"; "Cu ce au contribuit vagabonzii și cersetorii la expoziția de la Iași [What the beggars and vagabonds contributed to the Iasi exhibition]," *Calendarul Asistenței Sociale*, 1924; "Înfrânarea cerșetoriei și vagabondajului [The curbing of begging and vagrancy]," *Calendarul Asistenței Sociale*, 1923.

[614] Parliament of Romania, Lege pentru înfranarea vagabondajului și cerșetoriei și pentru protecțiunea copiilor [Law for the curbing of vagrancy and beggining and for the protection of children]. Four "colonies of reform through labor" were created in villages, mostly in Eastern Romania: in Raducaneni, Buhotin, Turnu Rosu and (housing only minors) Grădiștea. The proponent of the law cited the work colony at Merxplaz in Belgium as inspiration. After 1926, these work colonies were turned into correctional institutions, mostly for young delinquents.. "Ce sunt 'Coloniile de îndreptare prin muncă'? [What are 'the colonies of reform through labor'?]."

[615] Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru înfrânarea vagabondajului și cerșetoriei și pentru protecțiunea copiilor [Law for the curbing of vagrancy and loitering and for the protection of children]," M. Of. 76/ 9 Jul. 1921 § (1921).

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work but could not find any.[616] Triage director Zaplachta's critical report, advocating for "modern and humane" social protection, unusually among the unsympathetic materials on vagrancy published during those years, makes the clear connection between vagrancy, labor market issues and inadequate welfare measures.

Policies for suppressing poverty are likely to have functioned according to very gendered logics in Bucharest. For late nineteenth century Budapest and Vienna, Susan Zimmermann has shown that practices of prosecuting men found to be engaging in vagrancy and begging had as their corollary the criminalization of poor or homeless women as prostitutes.[617] Unfortunately, I could not identify data on women apprehended for unauthorized prostitution during this period. When presenting his data, Zaplachta explained it only referred to men triaged by his office as beggars and vagrants, since women were processed in a different triage office. The same state

Figure 2 - "Women committed to Buhotin colony, working the wine." (Original caption)

Source: "Ce sunt 'coloniile de îndreptare prin muncă'? [What are 'the colonies of reform through labor'?]." Calendarul Asistenței Sociale, 1923, 74.

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[616] He argued that the great increase in the numbers of vagrants during the summer months (rather than the winter ones) was due to impoverished peasants' presence in the city, in search for unskilled work. In fact, the majority of those who were able-bodied (according to the physical and psychiatric examination undertaken during the triage) simply needed assistance in order to either find employers or access other small benefits they were entitled to. The other people brought in, overwhelmingly, were unable to work even if they wanted to. The doctor mentioned that 222 "completely unable" elderly persons had been taken to asylums, often at their own request. Similar numbers of people were suffering from infectious diseases, had been disabled or were alcoholics-'of which 20 in such a state of addiction that they cannot do even the lightest type of work'. Ion Zaplachta, "Cerșetorii și vagabonzii capitalei [The beggars and vagrants of the capital]," *Calendarul Asistenței Sociale*, 1924.

[617] Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide and Rule*, 29.

publication containing Zalplachta's report published captioned photographs of women in work colonies, but no statistical information. However, considering that according to Zalplachta's tables there were 174 men interned into work colonies in 1921-1922 and a 1924 article mentioned only 32 women in the women's colony at Buhotin (Fig. 1), the nearly six times higher rate of men's criminalization for begging suggests that a not insignificant number of women would have been criminalized as prostitutes instead of being triaged as vagrants.[618]

In any case, as in Budapest earlier, in the first five years after the war, authorities in Bucharest "strove to supress, eliminate and persecute those symptoms of poverty that were perceived as subverting the virtues of industriousness, respectability and modernization".[619] Criminalization was accompanied by winter time spending on the in-kind heating aid (i.e., fire wood), distributed either by the General City Hall directly or via trusted (but hardly monitored) charitable organizations in the city. One-off donations made by councilors were added to these minimal practices

Social assistance practices between 1926 and 1929.

In 1927, the city gained its first set of comprehensive social assistance regulations.[620] These were amended versions of those proposed by Alexandrina Cantacuzino earlier that year (Section 4.2., above). The original proposal had passed without substantive modifications in what concerned the handling of beneficiaries. However, the handling of funds received additional oversight and financial control via municipality-employed committee secretaries. Such secretaries of the new

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[618] Zaplachta, "Cerșetorii și vagabonzii capitalei [The beggars and vagrants of the capital]"; "Ce sunt 'Coloniile de îndreptare prin muncă'? [What are 'the colonies of reform through labor'?]," 74.
[619] Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide and Rule*, 29.
[620] Primăria Municipiului București, "Regulament pentru asistența socială a Primăriei Municipiului București [Regulation for social assistance in the city of Bucharest]," 1927, Fond 1830 - Cantacuzino Familial, File 86/1926-1929, ff. 28-32., ANIC.

Assistance Committee signed off on disbursements made by the women's associations making up the Committees. They also reported to City Hall.

As initially outlined in the letter Cantacuzino sent to Bucharest council members, once formalized, the new social assistance practices relied on the work of voluntary women. They distributed the aid paid for by the municipality in accordance with the decisions on entitlements taken by Assistance Committees. These Assistance Committees (functioning at city and sector levels) included a number of established civil servants and *ex oficio*, all councilwomen coopted in various sector councils.[621] Sector committees were to be "aided in the fulfillment of their mission by an information committee, made up of a representative of the sector's police, a doctor designated by the mayor and the sector's juridical councilor.*"[622]

The categories of persons eligible for aid from these Assistance Committees were very similar to the categories of beneficiaries women's societies had devised for their work before being integrated into the "official assistance"-as the municipality-provided relief came to be known. They point to the strong woman-gendering of social assistance through the practices initiated by habilitated women's associations. Thus, according to the regulations newly officializedin 1927, these categories were "those who can no longer work, the ill elderly who can no longer work, the sickly poor, young girls wandering the streets without work, poor pregnant and nursing women

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[621] Assistance Committees also included the general and sector mayors, doctors employed in various sectors' dispensaries, priests, the sector's juridical councilor and in the case of the General Council, the police prefect and a representative of the school system.Women's automatic membership in these Assistance Committee was partly due to councilmen's stereotyping newly-coopted women and partly to Cantacuzino's long-standing claim that women's political involvement was justified by women's natural higher morality and incilination towards social care. This political choice entrenched women municipal politicians' distribution to social assistance committees and their development of policy expertise in this direction (albeit not exclusively).

[622] Primăria Municipiului București, "Regulament pentru asistența socială a Primăriei Municipiului București [Regulation for social assistance in the city of Bucharest]."

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without home; orphaned, cast out or abandoned children; the children of poor mothers with or without a man"[623].

True to the initial Cantacuzino proposal, the new regulations insisted on work in exchange for relief. In addition, Article 9 of the 1927 Municipal Social Assistance Regulations transformed women's associations in Bucharest into intermediaries and monitors of such mandatory employment. The Regulations stated that:

> Those who can work, but cannot find employment and because of this cannot sustain their and their families' existence, when appealing to the respective committee, the committee will recommend them to the sanitation service of the commune, to be used in the cleaning of the streets, [recommend them to] job placement offices, and those societies whose [set] program it is to procure employment for these persons. If the petitioner refuses work that was found for them then they will not receive any aid and if not originally from the capital, measures will be taken for them to be expelled [*să fie trimis la urma lui*]. Verbal and written requests for these cases will be noted down in a separate registry and will make the object of an immediate report of the secretary to the authority who can procure employment, while the cases of refusal will be communicating with a special and urgent notification to the police authorities.[624]

As can be deduced from the resort to expulsion in case of refusal to work, this new public assistance approach relied on the existing anti-vagrancy procedures. Thus, in practice, the deputized social assistance probably dealt with both women and men, of all ages, but were more likely to solicit removal measures for men who were out of work and did not have to fulfill any visible caring duties.

The novel procedures for social assistance covered only a small part of the types of direct aid provided by City Hall. Besides aid in money or in firewood, sectors made available various other forms of aid on (what appears to be) a discretionary basis, without the involvement of the Social Assistance Councils. For example, in its first three years of autonomy (1926-1929), the Sector IV Green Hall overwhelmingly provided aid in medical assistance: 443,500 Lei for

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[623] Primăria Municipiului București.
[624] Primăria Municipiului București.

families' medical care; 387,500 Lei for school children's care between 1927 and 1929; 266,500 Lei in subsidies for dispensaries and maternities run by charities. At the same time, Sector IV Green also provided aid in money for families (414,320 Lei in 1928 and 1929) and aid in kind for families (293,363 Lei in 1928 and 1929). The latter category referred almost exclusively to firewood, but could sometimes entail clothing or boots for school children.[625]

Letters requesting social assistance appear in the ill-preserved Bucharest city archives after the implementation of the new social assistance regulations suggest that citizens were not aware of the changes. In fact, the handful od letters and petititons requesting aid preserved in Bucharest City Hall archives show that at least in the second half as of 1927, women were the main adult beneficiaries of aid and that several criteria were considered (implicitly or explicitly) when providing relief, besides advanced age and (in)capacity to work. Marital status, property ownership and support networks, nationality (or perhaps ethnicity) and perceived respectability were all considered. Importantly, it was still long-time, usually propertied members of the neighborhood community, usually male, who had to vouch for the legitimacy of a person's claim for aid.

In 1927, a woman living in Sector IV Green wrote a letter addressed to the mayor:

> Mr. Mayor,
> I, the undersigned, Alisandrina G., widowed, domiciled in Șoseaua Crângași, no. 45, I come with profound respect to ask you to kindly dispose that I too receive a firewood aid [un ajutor de lemne], as I am a poor woman [femeie sărmană] without any help, unable to work because I am Old, as I can Prove with the Attached Proof of Neighborhood Residence [*Dovadă de Mahala*].
> Please receive Mr. Mayor,
> The esteem and respect I carry for you
> Alexandrina G.[626]

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[625] Between 1927 and 1936, the City Hall of Sector IV Green "assisted the population through aid in kind, in money, for summer camps, scholarships, school children's thermal baths, medical assistance, aid for funerals, maternities etc". By 1936, these various forms of relief and their different scopes were classified into four types of social assistance: the assistance of the family, assistance for schoolchildren (*asistența școlara*), "other systems of assistance", and subsidies for charity societies.

[626] Alicsandrina G., "Letter. Alicsandrina G. to Bucharest Sector IV City Hall.," November 1927, Fond 76 Primăria Sectorului IV Verde, File 2/1927, f.11, SMBAN Bucharest.

The Dovada de Mahala (Proof of Residence and/or Need) document that petitioners attached to their letters was essentially an affidavit provided by neighbors.[627] A "delegated representative" certified the statement by applying an official stamp and signature. The procedures being followed in this case do not seem to be those created by Cantacuzino.

The same year, another proof of residence document was provided by four home-owning neighbors for another, related widow. The second woman shared an address with Ms. Alexandrina G. In this case, neighbors emphasized her respectability and dire need:

> Proof
> The Undersigned homeowners and neighborhood inhabitants [proprietari și mahalagi(i)] from the Sfânta Vineri suburb we declare on our own responsibility that we are familiar with the widow Maria N. who lives on Șoseaua Crângași no. 45 and we know well that she is a poor woman who does not possess any means and as she has no help we give her the present proof so she can avail herself of it for what she needs. 27 November 1927[628]

The document functioned as a character reference and did not petition authorities, since Maria N. was likely to make her own request, either in person or in writing- regulations allowed both.

A similar "Dovada de Mahala" was provided for a Miss Lucia C., "daughter of Cazimir C, superior clerk with the Romanian Railways". Rather than directly vouching for her material need, this letter attested that Ms. Lucia C. was known in the neighborhood, of Romanian nationality and "enjoys a good comportment in society".[629]

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[627] "Dovada de mahala" can be translated as both "proof of slum-conditions" (if "mahala" is considered to denote a slum-like, poor neighborhood) and "proof of neighborhood habitation" (if "mahala" is considered to mean 'popular neighborhood' rather than 'slum'-see Section 2.4). Considering that documents attesting material need were more frequently refered to as "certicate/proof of pauperism", the "proof of mahala" is more likely to have meant a documentation that the person was domiciled in the neighborhood where she claimed. On the other hand, considering the content of the "dovada de mahala" letters quoted above, these documents functioned as community attestations of a petioner's residence and need, simultaneously. Nae Dumitrescu, "Letter. Nae Dumitrescu to Bucharest Sector IV City Hall. Dovada de Mahala [Proof of Neighborhood]," November 1927, Fond 76 Primăria Sectorului IV Verde, File 2/1927, f.3, SMBAN Bucharest.

[628] Grigore Tănăsescu, "Letter. Grigore Tănasescu to Bucharest Sector IV City Hall.," November 1927, Fond 76 Primăria Sectorului IV Verde, File 2/1927, f.12, SMBAN Bucharest.

[629] Dumitrescu, "Letter. Nae Dumitrescu to Bucharest Sector IV City Hall. Dovada de Mahala [Proof of Neighborhood]."

As the visibility of municipal public-private social assistance grew, so did skepticism about relief expenditure in the context of economic downturn. In 1927, the "hitherto unknown" phenomenon of unemployment became visible in Romania.[630] In February, the Mayor disposed extensive verifications in the city-managed elderly asylums, so that only those "truly pauper" benefit from the city's social assistance. The official also expressed his conviction that state laws enabled and mandated administrations to take such verification steps. [631] As economic problems only became more acute, the issue of keeping funding in check and streamlining the public provision of relief gained increasing importance.

4.4. Social Assistance Between 1929 and 1938

Social Assistance between 1929 and 1934.

In 1929, procedures for aid provision changed, after the election of a Parliament dominated by the NPP and its centrist and left-of-center allies. This is because the Peasantist victory activated the expertise of the social workers and social researchers who had been defining progressivism for the Romanian context through their activity in the Romanian Social Institute. The new principles that governed public social assistance were evident in the Municipality's commitment to reserve 12.5% of the general and sectors' budgets for public social assistance.[632]

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[630] "An important thing for the labour market becomes noticeable during this year [1927]. For the first time, the number of requests for work [in job placement offices] supersedes the number of offers for work, with a plus which will remain increasingly visible in the following years (sic). This was the signal of a phenomenon which up to that date had been unknown in Romania. From 1927, unemployment appears in our country, where before lack of employment had been unheard of." Stănescu, "Piața muncii [The Labor market]," 183.

[631] Primaria Municipiului Bucuresti, "Deciziune [Decision]," in *Monitorul Comunal Al Municipiului Bucuresti*, vol. 26 (7) (Bucharest, 1927), 1.

[632] Primăria Municipiului București, "Regulament pentru asistența publică 1929" Art. 61.

Through a "Regulation for Public Assistance", which was meant to be supplemented by Operating Rules for each sector (but practically never was), a hierarchical and centralized structure for public assistance provision was created.[633] The wide-reaching Sanitary Law of the NPP government, guided by similar ideas and principles to those that drove the Public Assistance Regulation, followed in 1930.[634] Representatives of the Superior School of Social Assistance acted as fconsultants for both municipal and national legislation concerning social assistance during the NPP governments from the first half of the 1930s.

A structure that centralized the social assistance bureaucracy in Bucharest and placed it under the authority of the healthcare administration, was created through the Regulation. Titled "The Service for Public Assistance", the new structure had sections in each of the city's four Sectors. This Service was made up of a General Council for Public Assistance, a General Directorate for Public Assistance, and Sectoral Assistance Sections. Within the General Directorate, there functioned: a general director, a Directorate for Medical Assistance, a Directorate for Labor Protection, a Directorate for Statistics and (Health) Propaganda, as well as accounting, archiving, and legal services which were meant to contribute to the smooth functioning of the Directorate.

Subordinate to the Directorate for Medical Assistance was a newly-formed Central Assistance Bureau. (See Section 2.3.) The Bureau's goal was to "coordinate the whole Assistance work and standardize it". The Central Bureau was itself subdivided into: the "bureau for child assistance and school hygiene", the "bureau for the assistance of woman and pregnant women", "the tuberculosis bureau", and "the bureau for anti-venereal struggle, including the supervision

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[633] Primăria Municipiului București.
[634] Parliament of Romania, Legea Sanitară și de Ocrotire [Sanitary and Protection Law]. See also Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru modificarea unor dispozițiuni din Legea Sanitară și de Ocrotire [Law for the modification of certain provisions in the Sanitary and Protection Laws]," M. Of. 87/ 13 Apr 1933 § (1933).

and control of prostitution". (The latter bureau could only function in this format until 1930, when Romania switched to an abolitionist regime.) These sub-sub bureaus were made up of "two representatives of either public or private assistance works", a lax provision which probably allowed for significant bypassing of disliked private assistance representatives. The Central Bureau functioned in close cooperation with the Direction for Medical Dispensaries, also subordinate to the Directorate for Medical Assistance. These bureaus' Sector Committees were made up of the mayor, the councilwomen in the sector, the sector's doctor and priests serving in the area.

The Regulation laid out the new procedures for applying and distributing public relief:

Assistance will be distributed in the following way…For longer-term aid, for aid in money, firewood, clothing etc the medic in charge will propose the requested aid to the Central Bureau which will advise based on a report […] The Central Bureau will decide the type and the site of relief, on reserve of approval by the general director of assistance. […] Aid in money will be granted at the assistance bureau's cash desk, that in kind (firewood, clothing etc) from the commune's storage facilities, milk from the milk distribution center in each sector's dispensary [biberoneriile dispensarului de sector], following the decision of the general director, inscribed on the assistance booklet. The Assistance Booklet will be nominal, with the photograph of the assisted or of the head of the family, will serve all members of the respective family, and will have inscribed all the aids received from the assistance [direction] and other institutions. Copies of the notebook will be sent: one to the assistance bureau of the sector, where together with the enquette of the inspector-woman will constitute the file of the family, and another will stay in the central office.[635]

Figure 3 - First page of reprinted filled-in social assistance questionnaire

Titled "Summary Diagnostic," dated 15 November 1929, the document describes the situation of Marioara Ionescu and her family. Offered as model to social work students. Source: "Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualzied assistance]." Asistența Socială - Buletinul Școalei Superioare de Asistență Socială "Principesa Ileana" 1, no. 2 (1930). Bucharest.

The new procedures differed from those proposed by Cantacuzino through their centralized operation. They instituted detailed evidence-keeping practices and demanded the coordination of

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[635] Primăria Municipiului București, "Regulament pentru asistența publică 1929," 10.

information across the city. And they drastically curtailed the independence Cantacuzino had demanded on behalf of women's organizations. More importantly, in theory, the new rules substituted the control of the police and its population registry with an Assistance Booklet.

Through the new Regulation, the home inquiry became a mandatory step in the process receiving aid. Thus, the practice was elevated from the status it had in the previous social assistance set-up, as ideal but not compulsory procedure.

The changed rules were applied consistently only in Sector I Yellow. There, between 1931 and 1933, training students of the Superior School of Social Assistance (SSAS) carried out the home investigative work, through an official delegation received from City Hall.

In the winter of 1931, the SSAS's Demonstration Center for the Assistance of the Family, functioning in the Tei neighborhood since 1929, was first asked to fully function as a part of City Hall's Service of Public Assistance. According to the 1938 report of the councilwoman who replaced Botez in Sector I Yellow,

> The school was asked to investigate all those who were soliciting Christmas aids, for whom individual fiches were created. It was then, for the first time, that City Hall distributed aid on the basis of minute home investigations. From this date on, the school stayed on to organize the service, admitting the idea that aid would be granted only after the real conditions of the petitioner become known.[636]

Because of this mandate, the Superior School of Social Assistance built its casuistry and teaching material around the work in Tei neighborhood enabled by the new municipal social assistance guidelines.

As attested by the inclusion of (what were most likely) their case documents among the samples of the SSAS *Bulletin*, in 1929-1930, Marioara Ionescu and her family were considered

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[636] Zamfirescu, "Asistența Socială," 109.

the typical, worthy clientele of the Demonstration Center in Tei (See Introduction).[637] Veturia Mănuilă would state later that through the founding of the Tei Demonstration Center, students were to becomeacquainted with the life styles of various categories of people who might need assistance: "different categories of workers, skilled workers, unskilled workers, day laborers, petty clerks."[638]

And almost until 1933, when the Superior School was asked to cease its involvement with the distribution of public money and assistance in kind, the social work students could be described, based on the existing reports, more as eager community helpers rather than strict enforcers of "constructive social assistance principles" meant to combat a family's dependence. The main categories of problems social assistants dealt with in this first period of functioning in Tei were: "widowhood, orphanhood, abandonment of the home by one of the spouses, concubinage, illegitimacy, prostitution, begging, pauperism, unemployment, the situation of working mothers, children's work, the situation of infectious diseases, of venereal diseases, the tuberculosis situation, the problem of alcoholism."[639] In their work, social assistants dealt with the various issues affecting broadly-defined families with similar energy.

But as the economic crisis and the government's austerity measures forcefully hit no longer just peasants and blue-collar workers but also public sector employees enduring wage cuts as part of the NPP government's agreed "sacrifice curbs"[640], the former two categories became constructed through social assistance practices as much less entitled recipients of social assistance than before.

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[637] "Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualized assistance]."
[638] Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]," 33.
[639] Mănuilă, "Organizarea Centrului de Demonstrație," 54.
[640] Bucur, "Budgetary Austerity Measures Taken by Romania during the Great Recession of 1929-1933 and Reflected in the Specialized Press of the Time."

The problems that concerned Mănuilă the statistician in his 1931 piece on the 1930 population census testify to the ideological provokations created by the Great Depression for social scientists and social reformers in Bucharest. In his otherwise staid article on the census, Mănuilă launched into what-by comparison to the rest- reads like an impassioned argument against rural-urban migration:

> Rural-urban migration is an important question, especially in the context of economic depression, when the extremely large number of fresh immigrants to cities- influencing the pathology of cities to the greatest extent, especially in peripheral neighborhoods, where they usually accumulate-presents the most difficult social problem. Only then can immigrations to city be useful when the city is going through a period of economic growth [...]. But when the city goes through a phase of depression, then the too great number of immigrants, with rural habits and mentality, complicate its life irreparably. The complication does now come from those who settle provisionally in the city and who, in case of misery, return to their village, where they will continue the lives they had before. The great social danger is constituted by the rurals, that is those who liquidate their countryside households and settle definitively in the city, minds set firmly on remaining. They create the biggest number of social dependents in cities, consequently researching them is of great importance from the point of view of social assistance.

His argument that the appropriate rural migrant was the temporary migrant who could and should return to his life in the countryside in times of economic depression can be read as providing an authoritative, "social scientific" grounding for policies of forcing unemployed migrants back to the countryside in the years that followed, through the application of policies for removing vagrants and the unemployed -very similar in outlook if not practical solutions to the trademark anti-vagrancy laws of the Liberals (See Section 4.3).

The challenges of migration from the countryside were viewed more sympathetically by Mănuilă the social worker (Veturia Mănuilă), at least at the beginning of the Tei Center's activity. In 1930 she pleaded for the more careful integration of rural migrants into the urban fabric:

> The physique accustomed to life in the countryside is unable to conform to urban sanitary conditions (see the great number of tuberculosis sufferers among elements migrated from the countryside). These elements unadapted to the urban environment form a great percentage of the urban dependents and are elements who are in great need of social

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assistance, with the purpose of facillitating their adaptation to the social environment suitable to their personal inclinations. They need to be helped to find their purpose in their new situations, because they cannot return home, some using up for emigration everything they had.[641]

Like her equally influential partner, Mănuilă did see this growing category of migrants as fundamentally unadapted to the life Bucharest could offer to migrants without financial means. Yet at this point she was willing to plead for the integration efforts to which their lack of return alternatives entitled them.

But when in the winter of 1931 the Yellow Sector asked Mănuilă to organize the Sector Hall's relief program for unemployed persons, the unsettled rural migrant met with far less practical and political good will. Working with a definition of "unemployment" that included only registered state and private clerks and qualified workers who could prove year-long residence in Bucharest, the temporary Bureau for the assistance of the unemployed the School for Social Assistance had organized refrained from distributing weekly meal rations to recently migrated peasants. Mănuilă explained that the one-year residence rule was too lenient, because of the "much too great influx of elements from the countryside, who come to Bucharest […] where the husband falls into the charge of city hall as an unemployed person". The economic relief system Mănuilă and her collaborators set up at the request of the Ministry of Health and City Hall could not function properly without excluding new-arrivals, unqualified workers or day laborers- the latter two categories which were very likely to be populated by recent migrants from rural areas.[642] The drastic triage of those entitled to food rations, on the basis of professional category (rather than length of unemployment, for instance), through the use of identification papers and home investigations was contrasted by Veturia Mănuilă to the un-scientific ways of granting aid to

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[641] Mănuilă, "Organizarea Centrului de Demonstrație," 58.
[642] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor," 439.

unemployed persons before, with "superficial triage" leading to multiple claims to assistance by persons who were not genuinely entitled to such relief.

Social Assistance between 1934 and 1938.

The social work practices which relied on detailed home investigations continued in Sector I Yellow even after the ousting of Superior School students, in 1933. The director of the Assistance Service, Cornelia Zamfirescu, showed that although her office was understaffed after that point, the existing personnel continued to provide long-term assistance for 230 families, who each had their own personal information fiches and chronological reports, as required in the protocols developed for the Sector by the Superior School. Besides assistance to families, by 1938 the Bureau organized what it termed a "bazar" and dealt with the social assistance for infants.

The Bazar was created in 1937 and it consisted of "help by finding home work". Its creation was the mark of the replacement of the NPP city administration with an NLP one. Concretely, the service had asked 230 women who had requested aid to knit wool socks (931 pairs), woolen vests (1048 pieces) and "distributed for artistic craft works" another thirty women. Ostensibly an employment opportunity, considering that the bazar only made a profit of 6000 lei, and that the program was meant to help "achieve an economy for the Service", the Bazar seems to have served largely as a cost-cutting scheme for the municipality. The socks and vests were distributed to the 1200 children assisted by the Service in 1937, through its infantile assistance program. In addition, 450 children from the sector neighborhoods of Tei and Floreasca received daily portions of bread and jam in specially-created children's canteens.[643]

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[643] Zamfirescu, "Asistența Socială."

The tendency towards economy was part of the ideological baggage of the sector's social assistance program and did not correlate with trends in budgetary constraints. The global budget for social assistance in Sector I Yellow (including besides the sums destined for social assistance those for schools and healthcare), stayed relatively constant between 1931 and 1936. In 1936-1937, when the social assistance budget saw a marked increase, the Service was still economizing on the production of clothing to be donated to children by hiring for low pay unemployed women in its home work Bazar scheme.

Figure 4- Evolution of Social Assistance Budgets in Bucharest Sector I Yellow
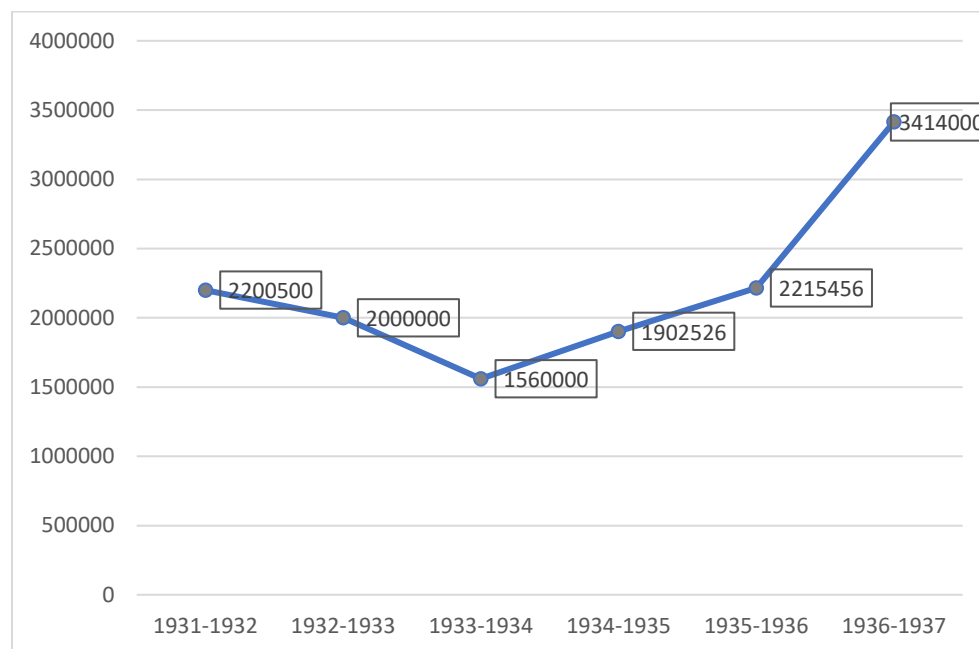
Source: Zamfirescu, Cornelia. "Raport asupra activității Serviciului de Asistență Socială din Sectorul I Galben al capitalei [Report on the activity of the Service of Social Assistance in Sector I Yellow of the capital]." Asistența Socială - Buletinul Școalei Superioare de Asistență Socială "Principesa Ileana" 7, no. 2 (1938), 110.

The programmatic underpinnings of the home-work program and the fact that it replaced a measure by which poor persons received regular aid in food was further clarified by Sector Yellow mayor, National Liberal Ioan Săbăreanu, in 1938 in a brochure celebrating "four years of Liberal

government".[644] After calling the National-Peasantist administration which governed between 1929 and 1934 "a five year eclipse of governance", the Sector mayor detailed some of the most important changes made to social assistance since he took up the position in 1934. Among others, he stated that:

> We abolished assistance through meal tickets and free bread, because it did not bring the results we hoped for and it anyway encouraged, to a certain extent, begging. We created instead an opportunity of working from home, for pay, which consists from knitting socks and vests made of pure wool for primary school children, of different sizes. This work from home is currently carried out by over 250 poor women in the Sector, who receive the wool from the Social Assistance of city hall, who pays them: 40 Lei each pair of socks and 70 Lei each vest. The system has proven welcome. The poor women, rather hard to convince at first that it is more dignified to work something and receive payment for work, than to walk around seeking alms, present themselves today in growing numbers to ask for work. For city hall, the system has the advantage that, for the same amounts that were previously spent for food tickets and other aids truly useful clothing items are now created, which are then distributed to the poor children in the sector.[645]

Other social assistance measures functioning in the Sector were canteens for children, annual fire wood distributions "to the true poor persons" and in line with the Liberal passion for real estate development, the construction of a one thousand square meter Center for Assistance and Moral Education in Tei neighborhood, complete with a gymnastics and lecture hall, canteen, children's dispensary and a social assistance office.

In reprising the assumption that employment rather than autonomization were the necessary solutions for poverty, the Liberal mayor reconnected to the social assistance approaches that had characterized the period of Liberal municipal governance which had embraced Alexandrina Cantacuzino's proposals. On the other hand, by supporting a scheme of organizing and supervising women's paid work within the space of the home, Liberal mayor Săbăreanu was

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[644] Ioan Săbăreanu, "Spicuiri din Darea de Seama asupra activitatii gospodăresti a Sectorului I Galben [Chosen fragments from the report on the municipal management activity in Sector I Yellow]," in *Patru ani de guvernare şi gospodărire naţional-liberală 13 noiembrie 1933-13 noiembrie 1937* (Bucharest: Gobl SA, 1938), 9–87.
[645] Săbăreanu, 60.

aligning himself with the family ideologies the National-Peasantist-backed SSAS. By 1937, the Cantacuzino and SSAS visions of social assistance were entirely compatible. By 1938, this was the vision that functioned within the corporatist set-up introduced by King Carol II through a new Constitution.

The arbitrary and "unscientific" aid distribution continued to exist in the city. In 1937, in Sector I Yellow, it was local councilmen and not the Social Assistance Service proper who distributed the largest proportion of food vouchers. Bureau head Zamfirescu reported:

> Distribution of aid is done from autumn to spring, when relief reduces. Besides the traditional Christmas and Easter aids, for which important amounts are spent (for Christmas 1937 390 food vouchers were granted and 70 fire wood wagons, out of which only 13 wagons were distributed to homes through the assistance service, the rest of 2300 individual vouchers were distributed by the commune councilors.[646]

The fact that by 1937 the municipal social assistance distributed only 390 of several thousands of available food vouchers, with the rest being handled by councilmen, shows that assistance systems in place could easily be subverted and instrumentalized.

It is in this context that Veturia Mănuilă complained openly that not only did political interference create discontinuities in the functioning of social assistance but that political influence could be discerned in practical social activity, with aids granted primarily to the political partisans of an administration or another.[647] And, Cornelia Zamfirescu further detailed in 1937 the connection between electoral pressure (applied in male-headed families due to existing franchise restrictions) and access to relief in stating that: "Our service, far from being well-organized, is nevertheless in full progress. Of course, there remain in the memory of many among us those not

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[646] Zamfirescu, "Asistența Socială."
[647] Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]," 55.

too bygone times when the investigations of the assistants were replaced by those of the tax bayliffs or the electoral agents."[648]

In sectors other than Sector I Yellow, where the SSAS still enjoyed some influence, the power non-professionals had over social assistance distribution was even greater. Once the administration changed hands in 1934, from the National Peasantists to the National Liberals, in Sector IV Green petitions for aid in cash – like the ones preserved for the 1920s - began to reappear. Categories of petitioners and procedures for being granted relief also changed.

After 1934, municipal social assistance seems to have also evolved in the direction of a different kind of public social assistance gender politics. Even before, during the Assistance School's involvement, social assistants tended to formally add to women-headed households the name of even an absent husband- this was the case of Marioara Ionescu and her children in 1929.[649] However, in 1934, Sector Green approved relief for twenty-six men and three women. The three women described themselves as "the widow of a superior civil servant without pension rights", an "elderly and sick woman" and a "poor woman with two girls to support".[650]

Also, as in the late 1920s, petitioners once again defined their needs on their own, instead of having them defined on their behalf through home investigations. In relation to the Easter 1934 cash aids, the motives authors provided for their claims mostly refered to the "heavy burden" of large families and care duties for numerous or sick children, situations brought about by prolonged unemployment or disability. A former high school physics teacher who had migrated to Bucharest with his family complained that "for two years I have been without a post, enduring for days the

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[648] Zamfirescu, "Asistența Socială," 112.
[649] "Anexă: Copia unui cazier de asistență individualizată [Appendix: Copy of a case file for individualized assistance]."
[650] Primăria Sectorului IV- Verde, "Ajutoare acordate persoanelor sărace din cuprinsul sectorului [Aid given to poor persons from the sector]," 1935, Fond 76 Primăria Sectorului IV Verde, File 8/1935, SMBAN Bucharest.

most terrible misery", while "a typographer as I have a lung sickness formerly in a Sanatorium and today without help from anywhere" also petitioned for aid from the Sector's mayor. Most of the letters bear the handwritten inscription "Verified" and are stamped with the word "Paid", suggesting that the veracity of statements was checked by a city hall delegate but that those doing the verifications were a lot less involved in the process of defining needs than women social assistants had been.[651]

The allocation of relief mostly to men seems to have been decided based on the petitions received by the mayor. On the other hand, petitioners may have been encouraged to apply or not by the persons charged with the verification and administration of amounts, based on criteria which favored men - such as long-term unemployment. Should this have been the case, it is possible to conclude that those involved in public social assistance at that point did not shape discourses of need through investigation but rather more curtly decided on what constituted need, in favor of male bread winners.

Complimentary to the privileging of male-headed households, certain sector halls began double checking the monthly social assistance pensions certain women received. In 1935, Sector IV Green dispatched a Ms Eliza Dimitriu, likely a Sector Hall employee, to create a list of "Women receiving pensions who exist at the [stated] address and are deserving".[652] The verifications were meant to establish who among the approximatively sixty women receiving monthly pensions of between 100 and 200 Lei was genuinely deserving.

Sector Green Deputy mayor officially requested in March 1936 that:

From the list all pension receiving women registered on the list of mercies [relief rolls] will be excluded all those who do not live in the area of Sector IV Green, those who have

[651] Primăria Sectorului IV- Verde, 1–30.
[652] Primăria Sectorului IV- Verde, "Raport verificare pensii lunare anul 1935-1936 [Report for the verification of monthly pensions 1935-1936]," 1935, Fond 76 Primăria Sectorului IV Verde, File 8/1935, SMBAN Bucharest.

a home and sufficient food, those who are helped by the family, those who live in the sub-urban communities and those who could not be identified at their stated addresses.[653]

The results of the home investigations verifying aid fiches created the year before showed that even under these harsher selection criteria thirty-one women still "existed at their address and were deserving". Out of the women who did not pass the verifications, none had her pension cut because she had enough food or help from her family. Rather, they stopped receiving aid through the enforcement of jurisdiction rules: six women did not live in the Sector, another six were living in asylums for the elderly, two had addresses in the suburban communes for which Sector Green did not want to assume responsibility, and sixteen persons did not live at the stated address. It was decided that for the months of February and March 1936, a monthly pension would be granted "only to the pensioner women who live in the sector and have no shelter in the asylums or with families and no help from any part". [654]

Some of the pensioners were like left in even direr straits by the restrictions. The hastily filled in investigation questionnaires from the previous year noted such situations as "Lives with one of her daughters, is very lacking in clothing, would need a coin of her own" and marked the woman's possessions as "one bed". Another woman was described as "has no one, lives in the asylum since 1932". And yet another as "lives at Mrs. T.'s without rent as she is poor and has no one". Following the new rules and Eliza Dimitriu's verifications, they lost their right to the pension.

All in all, after reviewing, in Chapter 2, the national legislation and political context which shaped Bucharest's austere "welfare mix", in this chapter I reconstructed the municipal regulations and

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[653] Primăria Sectorului IV- Verde, 2.
[654] Primăria Sectorului IV- Verde, 3.

practices which influenced such welfare provision. I have argued that councilwomen, present in Bucharest General City Council since 1926, drove changes in municipal social assistance practices, and thus decisively changed local constructions of need. I have shown that such welfare activism flourished out of feminist activism for suffrage and remained tied to electoral and party politics. Several of the key factions of women welfare activists (introduced in the previous chapter), once represented in the City or Sector Councils, enthusiastically advanced their own designs for the assistance of the neediest. I pointed out that despite ideological and rtheorical divisions, the various factions converged – in practice- on stark, workfarist welfare visions. These overarching views were centered on productive work, the combatting of welfare fraud, and character reform. These council-based welfare activists' support for what were considered innovative or at least original procedures, made women (especially women who cared for children) into the main subjects of the welfare bureaucracy.   The next two chapters turn to the ways in which parts of this bureaucracy encountered other key components of the Great Depression "welfare mix": domestic service (paid household work)   and unpaid care work performed by women employed outside the home.

Chapter 5 - Unprotected, Suspect but Worth Rescuing: Women in Domestic Service, Social Control and Welfare Activism

I have shown in the previous chapter that women welfare activists were formally and informally connected to Bucharest City Councils. They also decisively shaped the way central and local government dealt with increasing social vulnerability in the city and partly constructed "the welfare mix" that contributed to the self-maintenance of the most precarious working-class families. I argued that welfare activists molded the city's social assistance set up to primarily involve women (as providers and recipients) and conditioned relief on wage work and engagement with intimacy labour.

Here, I examine another facet of "the welfare mix" in Bucharest, paid domestic work. I focus on unearthing contemporary social knowledge production on servants and on linking (the related) welfare activism to what Nara Milanich has termed "the allocation of domestic service across social groups".[655] I reconstruct the approach of international organizations and researchers to paid domestiv work, the surveillance methods Bucharest authorities used, and women welfare activists' initiatives for providing indoor and outdoor assistance. I focus on unpacking the linkages between these categories of actors and the ways in which they contributed to the construction of "servant women" as category of public action. I show that these specific constructions shaped the social reproduction of middle-class households and families and the self-maintenance of migrant female and male workers in the Romanian capital, during the Great Depression and after.

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[655] Nara Milanich, "Women, Children, and the Social Organization of Domestic Labor in Chile," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (2011): 33.

I begin by showing, in the first section, that in the 1930s, in transnational fora and within the public spheres of various countries, domestic service began to be regarded especially as a profession exposing women to the risk of prostitution and human trafficking. To a lesser degree, domestic service was also problematized as precarious employment, made particularly complicated by its entailing intimacy work.

In the second section, I point out that in Romania, the above-mentioned type of diagnostics - of domestic service as tied to the period's key social questions and therefore requiring social reform - had limited impact on government-level policy-making. Legally, in Romania between the Two World Wars, servants' employment was regulated through outdated laws. In practice, poor legal protection translated into increasingly coercive practices of dealing with servant women (and to a lesser extent servant men). I reconstruct the changes in the legal status of servants, the variability and precariousness of employment conditions, and the significant, invasive innovations introduced in Bucharest by the Office for the Control of Servants.

In the third section, I argue that in Bucharest, women welfare activists contributed to the local definition of domestic service and its social significance, generally in more benevolent ways than the authorities yet not exclusively with beneficial effects. I focus on how women welfare activists participated in reforming the publicly-funded "Radu Vodă" Girls' Orphanage and their involvement with the anti-human trafficking Friends of Young Girls Association.

After looking, in the first three sections of the chapter, at domestic service through the lens of its definition and regulation by policy makers, law enforcers, and welfare activists or (potential) employers, in the final section of this chapter I excavate counter-narratives of domestic service in interwar Bucharest and the particularities of its contribution to the maintenance of middle-class households by analyzing sources created with a focus on domestic workers's own narratives.

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5.1. Transnational and Global Aspects

Before industrialization, at least in Europe, "domestic service was the typical form of female employment outside of agriculture";[656] this was the case even in economies where a considerable number of women worked in manufacturing or white-collar service jobs.[657] Yet after the First World War, "domestic work entered ILO deliberations obliquely: included in a few conventions and recommendations that addressed women and child laborers, such as the minimum age for children in non-industrial occupations and discussed as a cause of prostitution and in relation to forms of coerced or bonded labor."[658]

Within the ILO's tripartite structure, employers and states did not support the direct regulation of the catch-all category of "servant" laborers. The quasi-feudal master-servant codes which governed domestic service in most states across the globe were key legal tools in the modern production of frameworks for contracting wage labour.[659] Since the nineteenth century, such codes provided economic and political elites from societies undergoing rapid social transformation with a practical and adaptable instrument through which "an astonishing variety of legal forms of labour relationships emerged".[660] Post-imperial societies (including Romania) partook in the widespread

[656] Louise A Tilly and Joan Wallach Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1987), 68.

[657] Tilly and Scott, 154–55; Selina Todd, "Poverty and Aspiration: Young Women's Entry to Employment in Inter-War England," *Twentieth Century British History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 122.

[658] Eileen Boris and Jennifer N. Fish, "Decent Work for Domestics: Feminist Organizing, Worker Empowerment, and the ILO," in *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger (Brill, 2015), 532.

[659] Ravi Ahuja, "Making the Empire a Thinkable Whole: Master and Servant Law in Transterritorial Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 52, no. 2 (2007): 287–294.

[660] Ahuja. Holding on to inherited notions of social hierarchy, "master-servant codes" considered servants' lack of submission to an employer a criminal offense while treating employers' breaches of contract as civil offenses. As long as they were their masters' servants, hired persons did not have to become "wage workers", sparing employers and bourgeois societies the cost of these workers' pay rises and access to emerging social rights.

use of Servant Laws, by using these types of codes to legally frame and smooth their integration into capitalist trading circuits on fully- or semi-unadvantageous positions.

The scant attention domestic service garnered internationally after the First World War was also linked to a by-then institutionalized political unwillingness to conceptualize forms of social reproduction work as fully tied to labour policy. As Susan Zimmermann has shown, in the 1920s, the ILO "carefully avoided referring to women's 'family responsibilities' as work" when dealing with maternity and family policies to be applied in the Global North, with such evasion explicitly tied to the goal of not increasing social expenditure in ILO member countries.[661] By contrast, "women's subsistence work" (and thus social reproduction responsibilities) was acknowledged as labour in relation to colonial territories; such exceptional recognition was necessary to push for reform concerning men's forced labour in non-sovereign areas.[662] Also, regulation of domestic service would have entailed its definition as a gendered profession and as entailing, at least in part, paid housework. In turn, this could have triggered further unwanted debate on the productive character of unpaid work on behalf of families in the Global North.

Because of these economic and political circumstances, the international bodies making up the Geneva system brought attention to the issue of domestic work especially via their expertise-producing rather than regulative dimensions. This way of approaching the issue was manifest in the pursuit of large-scale research studies focusing on or touching upon domestic service by both the International Labour Organization and the League of Nations. Albeit not clashing politically or administratively, these two key institutions of the Geneva system harbored increasingly

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[661] Susan Zimmermann, "The International Labour Organization, Trasnational Women's Networks, and the Question of Unpaid Work in the Interwar World," in *Women in Transnational History: Connecting the Local and the Global*, ed. Clare Midgley et al. (Routledge, 2016), 33–53.
[662] Zimmermann.

different communities of discourse on the "woman question" and "the social question".[663] By the middle of the 1930s, the social knowledge produced by these diverging communities of discourse linked domestic service to gender and intimacy work in different ways.[664]

ILO research on domestic servants.

Research on domestic service commissioned by the International Labour Organization and conducted by women's labour expert Erna Magnus created labour-centric understandings of domestic service.[665] Magnus's scholarship argued that domestic work was an increasingly unappealing profession due to the underpayment and restrictiveness enabled by such labor's association with familial, embodied intimacy. Prefiguring twenty-first century analyses of "intimacy work"[666], the Magnus articles portrayed domestic service as an occupation whose involvement with intimacy significantly complicated labour relations and labour conditions for the women it employed.

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[663] Susan Zimmermann, "Equality of Women's Economic Status? A Major Bone of Contention in the International Gender Politics Emerging During the Interwar Period," *The International History Review*, 2018, 1–28.

[664] As outlined in Chapter 1, Benedicte Zimmermann proposes a method of understanding the "constitution of categories of public action" (a process which includes but is not limited to the historical construction of social policies) that entails an analysis of: the definitional activities through which new social problems emerge; the work of political translation which shapes their adoption by public powers; and the cognitive and administrative techniques which "produce a generality after starting from a collection of singular cases". The objective of the approach would be to understand a category of public action such as "unemployment" (as problematized in the interwar) simultaneously as a concept and a social practice, requiring practices of risk-construction through the aggregation of categories and the construction via bodies perceived as competent and/or legitimate of public spaces for intervention, at various scales. Such categories are struggled over in order to enable the sedimentation of one or another definition, with legislation passed in relation to such a category the most direct way of ensuring at least temporary sedimenting. Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Eléments pour une socio-histoire des catégories de l'action publique [Elements for a socio-history of public action]," in *Historicités de l'action publique*, ed. Pascale Laborier and Danny Trom (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France - PUF, 2003), 241–58.

[665] Kirsten Scheiwe and Lucia Artner, "International Networking in the Interwar Years: Gertrud Hanna, Alice Salomon and Erna Magnus," in *Women's ILO: Transnational Networks, Global Labour Standards, and Gender Equity, 1919 to Present*, ed. Eileen Boris, Dorothea Hoehtker, and Susan Zimmermann (Leiden and Boston: BRILL, 2018), 75–96.

[666] Boris and Parreñas, "Introduction."

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A social-democratic feminist academic expert who founded and taught at the innovative German *Wohlfahrtsschule* (School for Public Welfare), Magnus researched domestic work for the ILO between 1933 and 1934.[667] The results of her research were published in a two-part report, titled "The Social, Economic and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants".[668] Her attempts at systematic comparison, filtered through her political sensibility, shaped a study which drew on various types of data produced in ILO member states. Framed as comparative analysis of reasons for the purported decline in the profession's attractiveness for young women, the report dealt attentively with contemporary employment conditions for servants in a profession governed by "outdated norms" and excluded from most of the social protection innovations of the period.[669]

Magnus showed how in most countries, employers expected domestic servants to constantly interpret and attend to very variable and vaguely-defined understandings of the employer's personal comfort. The report also found that servants' work was considered "sensitive" by state authorities and private employers because it made possible the damaging of an employer's right to privacy or his reputation. This justified the policing of servants, hampered enforcement of labour rules and collection of "sensitive [survey] data".[670] Furthermore, the tactility of the work performed linked servants to the fear of contagion - in Brazil, Romania and Yugoslavia detection of an infectious disease constituted legal grounds for immediate dismissal.[671]

[667] Scheiwe and Artner, "International Networking in the Interwar Years: Gertrud Hanna, Alice Salomon and Erna Magnus."

[668] Magnus's two-part contributions published in the ILO's flagship journal,the International Labor Review, examined paid household work with reference to: domestic workers social position; the nature of the contract of employment; hours of work, rest periods and holidays; wage levels; social and unemployment insurance coverage; juvenile employment in domestic service; job placing mechanisms; settlement of disputes; vocational training opportunities; and existing organisation of domestic servants. Erna Magnus, "The Social, Economic, and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants: I," *Int'l Lab. Rev.* 30 (1934): 190; Erna Magnus, "The Social, Economic, and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants: II," *Int'l Lab. Rev.* 30 (1934): 336.

[669] Magnus, "The Social, Economic, and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants: I"; Magnus, "The Social, Economic, and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants: II."

[670] Magnus, "The Social, Economic, and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants: I," 202.

[671] Magnus, "The Social, Economic, and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants: II," 305.

The report showed how it was specifically the intimate character of domestic service work which created short-term and long-term social exclusion for live-in domestics. Thus, Magnus attributed the lack of appeal domestic service had for young women at the time, despite the Great Depression, to the socially-isolating character imparted to the job by its association with an employer's right to privacy:

> The position in which the domestic servant necessarily finds herself in her new social environment affects both her own outlook and that of her friends and relations, the maintenance of intercourse with whom is rendered appreciably more difficult than in other occupations by the fact of her living under her employer's roof. In this respect the material conditions of employment play a very important part. As a result, the position of the domestic servant is often one of both personal and social isolation.[672]

Because of such "personal and social isolation", many unmarried career servants found themselves without the social networks which could support them in old age or illness and which could absorb the care-taking needs left uncovered by social protection arrangements. Also, organizing together with other domestics was often forbidden by mistresses and prevented by the little free time available to live-in servants. This was why, servant women's leisure time was frequently spent - Magnus believed - in questionable company that exposed these young persons to "dangerous influences" and created further concern among employers.

The primary materials used for the 1934 ILO research on servants' employment were governmental reports on domestic service, commissioned since the beginning of the 1920s in various European countries. These built on precedents of commissioning Parliamentary inquiries on the "servant question".[673] Thus, for her *International Labour Review* articles, Magnus drew on

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[672] Magnus, "The Social, Economic, and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants: I," 197.

[673] Mary O. Furner, "Inquiring Minds Want to Know: Social Investigation in History and Theory*: Mary O. Furner," 2009; Nadav Gabay, "From Politics to Social Facts: How the British Parliament Created the Conditions for the Emergence of Social Science, 1780-1860," 2009, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Nadav_Gabay/publication/232703509_From_Politics_to_Social_Facts_How_t he_British_Parliament_Created_the_Conditions_for_the_Emergence_of_Social_Science_1780- 1860/links/0912f508b2b8bec11f000000.pdf; Lawrence Goldman, "The Origins of British 'Social Science': Political Economy, Natural Science and Statistics, 1830–1835," *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 3 (1983): 587–616.

the usually conservative conclusions but especially the data produced in 1923 by the British government-appointed "Committee to enquire into the present conditions as to the supply of female domestic servants", the 1926 German government and workers' organizations' "wide enquiry into the conditions of employment of female domestic servants" and the 1930 Swiss Federal Labor Office's research on the country's shortage of domestic servants, via a Committee of Enquiry on Domestic Service. Studies on the topic published by the Women's Bureau in the US Department of Labor published in 1924, 1932 and 1933, and information from a Swedish enquiry into domestic workers conditions carried out in 1933 were also included.[674]

Notably, most "non-Core" European states whose policies Magnus reviewed understood the issues of paid household work through the lens of legalistic knowledge. For these countries Magnus collected and included whatever information was available in country-level statistical yearbooks, state representatives' occasional reports on broader labor issues submitted to the ILO, and compendia of international labor legislation. Much of Eastern Europe, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia, are visible in the Magnus articles due to the information contained in a 1930 three-volume collection of annotated European labor laws, published by German scholars Molitor, Schott and Nipperdey.[675]

The difference between the Western and Eastern European countries regarding the quantity and quality of data which could be included in the report on paid household work was not rooted in the latter countries' backwardness. Rather, it was a product of an increasingly specific economy of knowledge production in which research on "the servant question" was embedded. Practically, the aggregation of synthetic, quantitative data in comparative reports like Magnus's largely

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[674] Magnus, "The Social, Economic, and Legal Conditions of Domestic Servants: I," 190–91.
[675] Ernst Molitor, Hans Carl Nipperdey, and Richard Schott, *Europaeisches Arbeitsvertragsrecht [European Labour Contracts' Law]*, vol. 1–3 (Marburg, 1930).

depended on information culled from the parliamentary inquiries Western European governments had formed the habit of ordering in relation to various social issues since the late nineteenth century.[676]

It could be argued that the absence of state-sponsored inquiries into domestic service in Romania and other Eastern European states points to absence of actors in the region able and willing to question this form of employment enough to want to destabilize its legally-enshrined definitions. However, the cultivation of "strategic ignorance" about various issues, by privileging legal discourse over the potentially more critical discourse of social research, must also be considered as factor.[677]

The League of Nations Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children conceptualizing domestic service.

The influential Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children (1921-1939) of the League of Nations used domestic service's connection to intimacy and familial settings to link the occupation to the transnational anti-prostitution purity campaign it was increasingly involved in.[678] Ostensibly aimed at curbing cross-border transport and supply of women and minors for commercial sex, the Committee's work increasingly engaged in the transnational fight for the abolition of prostitution advocated by some of its most influential members (including Avril de Sainte-Croix, close collaborator of Cantacuzino).[679] By the 1930s, through debates, transnational research and the commission of annual reports from governmental and non-governmental

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[676] Goldman, "The Origins of British 'Social Science'"; Furner, "Inquiring Minds Want to Know."

[677] Linsey McGoey, "Strategic Unknowns: Towards a Sociology of Ignorance," *Economy and Society* 41, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 1–16, https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2011.637330.

[678] Magaly Rodríguez García, "The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women," *International Review of Social History* 57, no. S20 (2012): 97–128.

[679] Rodríguez García.

collaborators, the Committee made the "protection of girls" and the rehabilitation of women into one of its main concerns.

The research work of the Committee strengthened the association between domestic work and the risk of moral endangerment and cross-border trafficking.[680] The work of the Committee downplayed the character of domestic service as a low-paid, deregulated profession. Committee members endorsed protective measures such as separate hostels for women, a women's police force, tourism offices and receiving posts in rail stations and ports, moral and sexual education for young women were existing types of initiatives.[681] Labour market dynamics, such as low wages or unemployment were considered among the causes of prostitution, but their importance was downplayed and moral factors, such as bad environments and dubious (usually male) influences emphasized.[682] Consequently, there were no clear recommendations for improved social protection of servants in various countries.

Additional conceptual blurring of domestic service's character as precarious labour occurred through the joint work of multiple League of Nations organizations the *mui tsai* system of transferring children (especially girls) from less affluent to better-off households, practiced under that name in China, Hong Kong and Malaya.[683] ILO representatives within these joint commissions pleaded for treating *mui tsai* as a problem of poor working conditions and potential forced labour, while two anti-slavery committees considered it a form of child slavery. By contrast, the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children saw *mui tsai* as a suitable system of quasi-adoption into families which by-and-large protected girls from sexual exploitation and

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[680] Rodríguez García, 125.
[681] Rodríguez García, 119–22.
[682] Rodríguez García, 123–25.
[683] Magaly Rodríguez García, "Child Slavery, Sex Trafficking or Domestic Work? The League of Nations and Its Analysis of the Mui Tsai System," in *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015), 428–450.

trafficking.[684] The Advisory Committee's adopted stance on *mui tsai*, although very likely one reached after much internal debate, clearly subordinated labour standards to the goals of a large transnational social purity campaign underway.

Debates about domestic service in various countries.

In parallel to the knowledge- and ignorance-making practices shaping understandings of domestic service within the Geneva-based international organizations, similar processes were taking place in national public spheres. National actors, especially those seeking to become established as social experts, were keenly aware of the transnational discussions. However, whereas in the League of Nations a broad ideology of liberal internationalism dominated (and therefore organized) knowledge production,[685] in various countries the politics and policies of domestic work were much more heavily influenced by the left-right ideological polarization which characterized the interwar.

Ideologized political struggle made various forms of expert knowledge of domestic service into at times, tools for encouraging reform and at other times, knowledge devices in the service of the status quo. On the one hand, pressure from organized labour amplified by the reports of progressive doctors, labour inspectors, journalists and social workers brought more inclusive legislation and improved regulation in contexts and at moments of general openness towards the demands of the left, in Europe and elsewhere.[686] On the other hand, domestic service was a

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[684] García.

[685] Zimmermann, "Equality of Women's Economic Status?," 2.

[686] For instance, in Austria, a 1920 Domestic Help Act, building on several years of agitation and taking advantage of the framework of the labour-friendly First Austrian Republic, abolished the existing Servant Codes, did away with police jurisdiction over servants and the mandatory Employment Books, and partly assimilated domestic workers to contractual employment. In Chile, domestic workers organized in strong unions, Popular Front women's organizations and doctors who were part of the "social medicine" movement kept the issue at the forefront of the public agenda throughout the interwar. As a result, working conditions for empleadas in the country were a frequent topic of research for physicians throughout the Chilean Popular Front Period (1938-1952) while labour inspectors

preoccupation for governments interested not in labour standards but in maintaining social order and keeping economic balance by regulating labour markets. After all, the primary material of Magnus's ILO research, the governmental reports commissioned since the beginning of the 1920s in various European countries, had been produced in the context of labour scarcity or labour unrest.

Laura Schwartz and Vanessa H. May show for the English and respectively US American settings that feminists who were otherwise progressive on labour issues sidelined proposals for the regulation of wages or labour conditions for domestic service. This occurred largely because the profession did not fit neatly into conceptions of productive labour and was not deemed to require urgent regulation (unlike women's industrial work).[687] According to Schwartz, many Edwardian English feminists were reluctant to support the suffragist Domestic Workers Union (DWU, 1908-1913), despite their general embrace of industrial labor reform, because domestic work complicated the notion that "work" happened outside the home and employment was inherently emancipatory for women. Moreover, some of the progressive women debating the DWU in the feminist press employed servants or considered paid domestic work a prerequisite of their own liberation as women.[688]

Like English feminists, the New York Progressive era middle class women in Vanessa H. May's study, many of whom were part of the feminist movement, also saw their political

conducted thousands (2136 visits in 1939-1940) of the type of household inspections considered improper or logistically impossible in other countries. In both Austria and Chile, domestic servants were included into healthcare or retirement schemes (but excluded from new key entitlements, such as unemployment insurance). Jessica Richter, "What Is 'Domestic Service' Anyway? Producing Household Labourers in Austria (1918–1938)," in *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger (Brill, 2015), 484–510; Elizabeth Quay Hutchison, "'The Problem of Domestic Service in Chile, 1924–1952,'" in *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger (Brill, 2015), 511–29.

[687] Laura Schwartz, "A Job Like Any Other? Feminist Responses and Challenges to Domestic Worker Organizing in Edwardian Britain," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 88 (2015): 30–48; Vanessa H. May, *Unprotected Labor: Household Workers, Politics, and Middle-Class Reform in New York, 1870-1940* (UNC Press Books, 2011).

[688] Schwartz, "A Job Like Any Other?"

involvement as dependent on the employment of domestic work and considered household labor as fundamentally different from the industrial and trades work they wished to see regulated. Faced with demands for regulation of domestic employment coming from such labor organizations as the Women's Trade Union League, by the interwar, influential New York women frowned at the notion of intervention into the home. By 1939, a New Yorker wrote to a women's magazine to complain that "sociologists and legislators are after us".[689]

In the globally-influential American context, newly-recognized women experts contributed to keeping class politics out of middle-class kitchens. Instead, the constributed to turning issues connected to domestic service into medical problems or "municipalized" them as urban vice issues. So, even as American left-Liberal social reformers occupied government positions in the Roosevelt administration and decisively shaped New Deal relief policies, and even as they noted the drop in employment conditions for domestic workers and the racialization of the occupation, they refrained from articulating labor standards as solutions. Instead of minimum wage and (especially) work hour regulations, women in New York state politics supported improved training for domestics, medical-check-ups to guard employers from diseases and drafted templates for voluntary (not mandatory) agreements between maids and madams.[690]

Rafaela Sarti's comprehensive review has shown that policy-driven, expert-led inquiry into domestic service had existed since the 1870s, mostly concentrating on Western European settings.[691] And yet the post-WWI cultural, economic and political configuration generated original questions about and links between domestic service and social reproduction, sexuality,

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[689] May, *Unprotected Labor*, 229.
[690] May, 229–30.
[691] Raffaella Sarti, "Historians, Social Scientists, Servants, and Domestic Workers: Fifty Years of Research on Domestic and Care Work," in *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger (Brill, 2015), 25–60.

women's work outside the home and increased political participation, transnational circulation and class.

5.2. Policing of Domestic Service and Marginalization of Servants in Bucharest

The knowledge of domestic service that lingered through the Second World War.

Among the most frequently cited sources in the postsocialist Romanian historiography on the interwar period are two volumes published in the early 1940s. Their authors' statements on servants and domestic service seem to correspond to the two key, transnationally-constructed, stances outlined above, i.e. progressive labour experts' relatively low interest for domestic service (especially when compared to the extent of their preoccupation with women's industrial work) and international purity campaigners and their tendency to associate domestic work with prostitution.

The first source Romanian historians refer to frequently is a collection of lectures by progressive Law Professor Gheorghe Tașcă titled *Romania's Social Politics (Labour Laws)*, published by the Romanian National Bank in 1940. The book discussed the development of labour protection and legislation in detail but did not mention paid domestic work. While focusing on apprenticeship contracts, or trade schooling (including an inflation of household economics courses), Tașcă had nothing to say on domestic service, other than an acknowledgment that accident insurance covers "accidents in home-based employment". Instead, women's industrial employment, including protective legislation and the principle of equal pay and surrounding international debates receive quite detailed treatment.[692]

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[692] Gheorghe Tașcă, *Politica Socială a României (Legislația Muncitorească) [Romania's Social Policy (Labour Laws)]* (Bucharest: Banca Națională a României, 1940).

Servant women received much more mentions in the second historiographically influential volume published in the early 1940s. The *Treatise on Social Medicine,* by social hygiene doctor Gheorge Banu, has a fourth volume dedicated to tuberculosis and venereal disease.[693] In the book's ample discussion on prostitution, Banu reviews the results of inquiries into prostitution, studies conducted in single countries or internationally, through the League of Nations, up until the late 1930s. Repeatedly, Banu mentioned the demonstrated high incidence of servants among prostitutes.[694] Also, the author pointed out that returning servant women carried syphilis into rural areas in Romania[695], that servants were a category of women "totally deficient from the point of view of bodily hygiene"[696] and that domestic service was the suitable occupation for the "mentally feeble".[697] However, under the influence of the conclusions of a League of Nations questionnaire-based inquiry,[698] he recognized that: "In addition, servants, washerwomen, etc are not protected legally to the same extent as other working women; they depend more tightly on the employer, than the other categories of waged women. All these represent factors which favor prostitution".[699]

Yet as much as these stances were linked to the influential transnational discourses on domestic service, Tașcă's and Banu's low interest for and respectively, pathologization of, domestic service as occupation was also tied to the marginalization and criminalization of servants

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[693] Gheorghe Banu, *Tratat de Medicina Socială [Treatise on Social Medicine]*, vol. 3 Social Assistance (Bucharest: Casa Școalelor, 1944).
[694] Gheorghe Banu, *Tratat de Medicina Socială [Treatise on Social Medicine]*, vol. 4 Tuberculosis. Venereal Disease. (Bucharest: Casa Școalelor, 1944), 4.
[695] Banu, 4 Tuberculosis. Venereal Disease.:427.
[696] Banu, 4 Tuberculosis. Venereal Disease.:377.
[697] Banu, *Tratat de Medicina Socială [Treatise on Social Medicine]*, 1944, 3 Social Assistance:241.
[698] League of Nations- Advisory Committee on Social Questions, *Enquiry into Measures of Rehabilitation of Prostitutes -Part I: Prostitutes-Their Early Lives* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1938), https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.190132; League of Nations- Advisory Committee on Social Questions, *Enquiry into Measures of Rehabilitation of Prostitutes -Part III and IV: Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes. Recommendations and Conclusions* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1939), https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.223606.
[699] Banu, *Tratat de Medicina Socială [Treatise on Social Medicine]*, 1944, 4 Tuberculosis. Venereal Disease.:522.

enacted by Romanian state laws since the late nineteenth century and intensified through Bucharest-specific institutions during the 1930s.

Servants not workers: domestic service in interwar Romania's old and new laws.

Romania kept its nineteenth century Servants Law on the books throughout the interwar, even as Western European countries (but not so much Eastern European ones, the reports by Magnus reveal) began applying the newer instruments of Labour Law to domestic service.[700] Throughout the interwar, domestic service continued to be governed by a Servants Law enacted on 16 June 1892, amended 18 February 1896.[701] Typical for servant codes globally, the Romanian Servants Law, formalized highly unequal rapports between the two contracting parties, with the master enjoying significant discretionary power and privileged recourse to the authorities. [702]

The precarity the Servants Law set up for domestic servants was enhanced by the servants' exclusion from the newer social policy instruments being implemented in Romania after 1918. Domestic servants in Bucharest were not covered by the social insurance system until 1938.[703]

[700] Richter, "What Is 'Domestic Service' Anyway? Producing Household Labourers in Austria (1918–1938)"; Marta Kindler and Anna Kordasiewicz, "Maid-of-All-Work or Professional Nanny? The Changing Character of Domestic Work in Polish Households, Eighteenth Century to the Present," in *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger (Brill, 2015), 158–81.
[701] Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru Servitori din 16 iunie 1892 cu modificarile din 18 febr. 1896 [Law for Servants from 16 June 1892 with modifications from 18 febr 1896]," in *Codul General al României*, vol. II Legi Uzuale 1860-1900 (Bucharest: Leon Alcalay, 1903), 2507–16. Similarly to codes in other European countries, the Servants' Law in the Romanian Kingdom defined servants as "all those who in exchange of a wage [simbrie] or other kind of pay, place their personal services at the disposal of a house, a family, an authority, a charitable or public utility establishment, a person, a hotel, or their patrimony".
[702] Ahuja, "Making the Empire a Thinkable Whole: Master and Servant Law in Transterritorial Perspective"; Sarti, "Historians, Social Scientists, Servants, and Domestic Workers: Fifty Years of Research on Domestic and Care Work." According to the Romanian Servants Law, a paid household worker owed her or his employer "respect and submission", had to follow "fully, the rules decided by the master" and was obligated to uphold morality and health standards imposed by the master . The master owed it to a servant to pay wages, provide lodging (if so agreed), "treat him gently", help a sick employee to "regain his health", and pay two weeks' worth of wages in case the servant was let go without justification. The master (but not the servant) had quick recourse to the police and had the right to search a servant's belonging in case of suspicions about the servant's honesty. If a servant was diagnosed with a "venereal disease", the master had the right to immediately dismiss the servant.
[703] In Transylvania, domestic servants were part of elective insurance schemes covering sickness, maternity and death whose legal framework was created in the Hungarian Kingdom. Mandatory coverge was extended to servants

(See Section 2.2.) At most, when ill, a domestic servant could invoke the Servants Law for the access to healthcare a master was supposed to facilitate in case of illness. Servant women often found themselves in dire straits especially when pregnant, as employers understood the obligations deriving from the Servants Law in very different ways and frequently did not want to keep or take in servants with children.[704]

Domestic servants in Bucharest should have become insured in 1933, when the insurance system was unified and (theoretically) expanded. In 1927, Romania ratified the ILO Convention concerning Sickness Insurance for Workers in Industry and Commerce and Domestic Servants (C024).[705] However, as with other social policies supported by the ILO (see Section 2.1.), on C024 Romanian employers' representatives opposed major changes while the Romanian government stalled on implementation.

In the 1927 International Labour Conference, the representative of employers in the tripartite Romanian delegation pronounced himself in favor of extending insurance to employees in industry and commerce but disagreed with compulsory insurance for servants and agricultural workers, arguing that it was premature.[706] For its part, the Romanian government waited until the 1933 Law for the Unification of Social Insurance (M. Of. 83/ 8 Apr 1933) to translate C024 into national legislation.[707] At that point, insurance was expanded to cover the industrial workforce in

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and entitlement amounts were raised in 1919 by the autonomous provisional administration in Transylvania. MMSOS, *Dare de seama asupra activității Casei Centrale a Asigurărilor Sociale pe anii 1912-1934 [Report on the activity of the Central House of Social Insurance for 1912-1934]*, 12, 54. For details on how the pre-WWI Hungarian insurance schemes applied to domestic workers, see Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide and Rule*, 89.

[704] In proposing a way to solve the problem of servant women's abandoned children, General Mayor Costinescu stated:"Our public does not want to receive servants with children, so then we find poorer families, who want to have a servant with a smaller salary, and I, the commune, pay the wage differences." "Darea de seamă asupra desbaterilor."

[705] International Labour Organization, Convention concerning Sickness Insurance for Workers in Industry and Commerce and Domestic Servants.

[706] D. Constantinescu, "Conferința Internațională a Muncii din 1927 [The International Labor Conference of 1927]," *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială* 7, no. 03–04 (1928): 545.

[707] Parliament of Romania, Legea pentru unificarea asigurârilor sociale [Law for the unification of social insurance].

the Old Kingdom part of Romania. Unfortunately, in the setting of the new law, precarious or "low-skill" workers (i.e. most of the workforce in agrarian Romania), as well as domestic workers were excluded either explicitly or through the cultivation of implementation vices.[708] (See Section 2.2.)

During the 1933 presentation of the project for the Law for the Unification of Social Insurance, in a nod to the formal obligations deriving from C024, a government representative suggested that in servants' case the exclusion was temporary. The slow pace of actuarial knowledge-making was offered as a justification for the postponement:

> In order to fulfill the obligation we have accepted by ratifying the 1927 Geneva convention we mentioned before, we created [in the projected law] the possibility that – once preparatory technical works have been concluded – we might be including into mandatory insurance servants and other categories of employees which are not included today on the insurance rolls. We formulated an amendment according to which, within six months, we will make the calculations, create the control organs […] and then they will all become part of the insurance system.[709]

The need for technical work was invoked again, in a more brisk exchange between the minister supporting the law and an opposition MP during the same debate:

> Dr. Gr. Graur: I see that the law doesn't clarify who will guarantee the inscription to social insurance [rolls] for all the classes you wish to insure, because the law talks of the enterprise, the enterprise-owner and so on. But there are people who aren't part of an enterprise, such as servantmen and servantwomen. […]
> Mr. D. R. Ioanițescu, minister of labour, health and social protection: They must become part of the insurance [system], because on this matter the Romanian state has an obligation following the ratification of the international convention of 1927. At present, I do not have exact calculations [concerning risk and salary categories] but I am telling you that they too need to be included.[710]

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[708] For example, "employees of agricultural enterprises" - many of whom would have earlier been considered servants - were exempted from insurance, ostensibly due to the protestation of medics' associations who feared city hospitals would be overwhelmed by rural patients. MMSOS, *Dare de seama asupra activitâţii Casei Centrale a Asigurărilor Sociale pe anii 1912-1934 [Report on the activity of the Central House of Social Insurance for 1912-1934]*, 59.

[709] Parliament of Romania, "Adunarea Deputaților, Ședința de vineri 31 martie 1933 [Chamber of Deputies, Meeting from 31 March 1933]," *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 78 (May 2, 1933): 32.

[710] Parliament of Romania, "Senatul: Ședința dela 17 martie 1933 [Senate: Session of 17 March 1933]."

In both cases, postponement of inclusion and deflection to avoid the issue were achieved by invoking the production of specialized knowledge, the lengthy "preparatory technical works", necessary to include servants into the social protection system.

It was only in 1938 that servants, a large part of agricultural workers and various types of precarious occupations (apprentices, street vendors, employees of travelling artistic acts) were included into the social insurance scheme.[711] According to the new law, employer and employee paid equal shares of the cost of a servant's monthly insurance contributions. As with other social protection and assistance laws passed during the turbulent Carol II dictatorship (1937-1940), the extent to which the act produced meaningful effects is difficult to ascertain.

Repression, surveillance and social control facilitated by Offices for the Control of Servants.
Since the nineteenth century, servants in the Kingdom of Romania were surveilled by the police and punished by courts. No other institutions exerted meaningful authority over servants' working lives. After 1918, due to the strengthening of the legacy of police jurisdiction over domestic servants through new laws, civilian administrators in cities did not and could not intervene in issues relating to adult servants.

Certainly, the police were technically subordinate to the local administration. However, the powerful Police Prefect of the capital could (and in the interwar often did) refuse to submit to municipal oversight. Bucharest Police Prefect Gabriel Marinescu's insubordination to the NPP administration in the 1930s generated massive political tension.[712] Bucharest local authorities

[711] King Carol II of Romania and Parliament of Romania, "Legea Asigurărilor Sociale [Law for Social Insurance]," M. Of 298/ 22 Dec 1938 § (1938).
[712] Gabriel Marinescu (1886-1940). Army and then police officer, Prefect of Bucharest Police between 1930 and 1937, under-secretary in the Ministry of Public Order and state secretary in the Ministry of Internal Affairs between 1937 and 1940. A member of King Carol II's controversial inner circle, he was named at the head of the Bucharest police through royal decree rather than ministerial appointment, and Peasantist Interior Minister Mihalache's attempts to have him removed from the post in 1933 through several meetings with the King resulted in the fall of the NPP cabinet. Considered by political adversaries as highly corrupt, brutal and exclusively loyal to Carol II,

refrained (or were prevented) from passing local level ordinances and regulations. It was the police who made the rules for servants.

Beginning with 1896, the control of domestic workers and the intermediation of jobs in urban settings was ensured by Servants' Bureaus. They served as employment offices but their main function was to register and keep track of a significant subset of low skill rural-urban migrants (those likely to enter domestic service). There were six such Bureaus functioning in the Old Kingdom. The Servants' Law enabled these Bureaus to issue Employment Booklets (liveries) containing identification information and the worker's photograph. The Bureaus also supplied residency and "morality certificates". An employer was supposed to keep a servant's booklet for the duration of their employment and hand it back to the Bureau upon the servants' leaving the position and after having filled in service dates and a brief characterization of the servant's period of service.[713] Between jobs, the domestic worker had her booklet returned to her and was obligated to hold on to it, paying regular fees for its recertification.[714] In Bucharest, the Servants Bureaus was funded from the budget of City Hall but was run by the Administrative Police branch of the police force.

The repressiveness which lurked behind domestic service was also evident in the use of fines and jail time to punish errant servants. The 1896 Servants Law mandated fines and jail time for servants who failed to comply with administrative procedures, attendance rules, or the full

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Marinescu was charged with the repression of the right-wing Legionary movement in the second half of the 1930s. He was arrested in 1940 by the "Legionary police" during the movements' stint in the Antonescu government, and murdered in detention by a Legionaires' squad. Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria Partidului Național Țărănesc [History of the National Peasant Party]*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedica, 1994); Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947), vol. al II-lea (Ferdinand I) [The History of Romanians during the four kings (1866-1947), vol. II (Ferdinand I)]* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

[713] The characterization supplied by the employer for the 55-year-old widowed cook who owned one such Employment Book/ Servant's Livery reads: "Departed our service 10 August 1905, after an unbroken service of three years, performed with skill and honesty". "Libret de Serviciu [Employment Booklet]," 1902, File 1168, f. 18, Fond Saint Georges, National Library of Romania.

[714] Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru Servitori din 16 iunie 1892 cu modificarile din 18 febr. 1896 [Law for Servants from 16 June 1892 with modifications from 18 febr 1896]."

variety of an employer's requirements. Those found guilty of not observing the law could be fined or forced to serve one day of police jail for each set part of the total sum they were supposed to pay. By 1933, an unpaid fine of 50 Lei meant one day spent in jail. Servants found guilty by a court who were not Romanian citizens could be expelled.

Courts stepped up their punishments in times of economic downturn, for fiscal reasons and possibly to keep a suspect occupational category in check. My analysis of the Official Monitor published between 1915 and 1936 shows an uptick in official judicial ruling of fines and jail time invoking the Servant's Law in the 1930s.[715] I obtained a rough measurement of the enforcement of the punitive provisions of the Servants Law by counting mentions of "Servants Law" in a complete digital collection of *Monitorul Oficial* [Official Monitor], the government bulletin issuing the formal text of laws, transcripts of parliamentary debates, government decrees and courts' rulings. I limited my search to all daily *Monitorul* issues published between 1915 and 1936. Based on this measurement, peak years for the repressive application of the Servants Law were 1915, when there were fifty-five Monitors mentioning court rulings which invoked the Servants Law, and 1933 with another fifty-five relevant Monitors. In detail: 1915 (66); 1918 (4); 1919 (10); 1920 (1); 1921 (2); 1922 (0); 1923 (0); 1924 (0); 1925 (1); 1926 (0); 1927 (0); 1928 (27); 1929 (22); 1930 (55); 1931 (13); 1932 (0); 1933 (24); 1934 (0); 1935 (0); 1936 (55).

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[715] I used this method to create this rough estimate after noticing that most the references to the Servants Law in the Official Monitors referred to court-mandated fines and jail time for servants. This operationalization provides a basic estimate and relies on the assumption that most mentions of Servants Law will have been made in the context of court rulings and that the DigiBuc database performs searches through the entire collection of Monitors each time. Rather than measuring the number of times the Servants Law was mentioned in each Monitor, this basic quantification method simply signals the presence of at least one mention of the Servant's Law in one issue. However, I did check whether the measurement would be completely skewed by different ways of announcing sentences, i.e. inconsistently publishing sentences either in bulk or separately. It would appear that by and large, when one issue contained sentences they were, consistently, part of a series of between five and ten rulings. Series of less than five or much more than ten rulings in one Monitor were unusual. N.d.

The continued application of the Servants Law provided a legal justification and precedent the Police could resort to when dealing with the alleged novel problem of mass unemployment. Art. 9 of the Servants Law punished unemployment, by mandating the removal from the city of those who were jobless for more than fifteen days. It stated that "Servants without masters who will not have become reemployed within fifteen days of receiving back their Employment Booklet and who cannot prove that they have sufficient means of existence, will be considered destitute [fără mijloace] and sent to their last formal residence [se vor trimite la urma lor]."[716] As the next section (Section 4.3.) will show, the expulsion of unemployed men and their families from Bucharest was practiced during the Great Depression.

In the 1930s, new criminology techniques became important for enforcing and enhancing the power of the old rules governing domestic service. In 1932, the murder of employers by a servant woman and her lover [concubinul] was used to publicly justify the reinvention of the Servants' Bureau into the Office for the Control of Servants within the Administrative Police. According to a reporter who wrote enthusiastically about the new Office:

> One night last winter a servant woman in the company of her concubine murdered her masters with bestiality. The mobile of the hideous assassination was theft mingled with a strong dose of vengefulness. […] In the [following] period, the newspapers' "various crimes" columns swelled with thefts, attempted murders, murders, with indictments indicating solely service personnel. A quick solution to the problem was found by Mr. Col. Gabriel Marinescu, prefect of the Capital's police, who created that interesting "Bureau for the Control of Servants", a unique institution in Europe. Thanks to which within two months over 8000 service personnel were triaged and catalogued thus enabling a rapid identification in case a crime is committed.[717]

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[716] Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru Servitori din 16 iunie 1892 cu modificarile din 18 febr. 1896 [Law for Servants from 16 June 1892 with modifications from 18 febr 1896]."

[717] Margareta Nicolau, "Metode nuoi [New methods]," *Realitatea Ilustrată*, 1932.

Similar offices did exist in other European countries.[718] However, the institution was indeed unusual through the ease with which domestic servants were treated like potential criminals, forced to undergo triaging and cataloguing. This is especially striking since the profession had become more formalized by the 1930s, with many states (Poland, for instance, included) doing away with the special means of identification for servants, Employment Booklets included.[719]

These intrusive rules applied mostly to women because they constituted the majority in the profession. However, with an uptick in 1930 because of the creation of the Office for the Control of Servants, servants were also controlled based on gendered assumptions and through gendered methods.

Through the operation of the Servants' Bureau and later the Office for the Control of Servants, the assumption that entire categories of employed women were either practicing or latent prostitutes became part of long-term administrative practice. In 1919, medics of the allied French army named to quasi-honorary posts in the administration of Bucharest amended the rules regulating sex work in the city to include all servant women in the category of "latent prostitutes". Article 52 in the new regulation mandated the generalization of "control, treatment and isolation measures […] to all categories of women who practice prostitution more or less latently, namely: a) real and fake variety show artistes; b) women who frequent rendezvous houses; c) women who practice prostitution in hotels; d) hotel maids; e) servants of private homes."[720] Whereas the first four categories of women were considered practicing prostitutes and were to be controlled by the Police, servants in private homes were designated "latent prostitutes". The article encouraged

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[718] Leo Lucassen, "Administrative into Social Control: The Aliens Police and Foreign Female Servants in the Netherlands, 1918-40," *Social History* 27, no. 3 (2002): 327–342; Leo Lucassen, "The Police, Gender, and Social Control: German Servants in Dutch Towns, 1918-1940," *Social Control in Europe* 2 (2004): 226.

[719] Kindler and Kordasiewicz, "Maid-of-All-Work or Professional Nanny? The Changing Character of Domestic Work in Polish Households, Eighteenth Century to the Present."

[720] Dărămuș, "Prostitutie feminina si heterosexualitate," 105.

employers to "submit them to the visit of their current doctor" and mandated servants to "submit to the visit of the [Police] prefecture's medic with each change of employment".[721] Servant women were asked to submit to gynecological medical examinations even after, in 1930, Romania switched from a regulationist approach to prostitution to a system termed by contemporaries as "limited abolitionism"[722]. In fact, evidence of police-intermediated medical checks becomes abundant after 1930.[723]

The Office for the Control of Servants used cutting edge techniques to enhance the surveillance of people in domestic service:

> In our institution, for each person requesting a livery we keep for control a photographic and dactiloscopic fiche. We sought to avoid waste of time, and thus the owner of the booklet only needs to make two trips: one to the Prefecture for photographs - and here we need to open a small paranthesis. We succeeded to have a standard photograph- the individual is captured front and profile - which gives the possibility of identifying the face. Secondly: with a ticket I distribute in which the specific day is indicated, they appear here where they have their fingerprints taken and an interrogation file is created, to which we add the documents each may possess. Of capital importance is the sanitary control, which service women are made to undergo rigorously. Venereal and chest diseases are propagated largely by these women, official numbers showing 12-18 percent of these are touched by these diseases.[724]

The dactiloscopic fiches the Office used represented one of the first applications in Romania of the new technique of using fingerprints for identification.[725] The assumption that servants were potential criminals was detectable not only in the mandatory photographing and fingerprinting, but also in the interrogation process. The mandated medical checks would have been welcome

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[721] Dărămuș, 105.

[722] Dărămuș, 114.

[723] Bucharest City Hall, "Activitatea Biroului de Control al personalului din serviciul particular (1931-1936) [The Activity of the Office for the Control of personnel in private domestic employment]," in *Anuarul Statistic al Municipiului București 1931-1936* (Bucharest: Rotativa SAR, n.d.), 375; Prefectura Poliției Municipiului Bucuresti, *Activitatea Prefecturii Poliției Municipiului București pe anul 1937 [The Activity of the Prefecture of the Bucharest Municipal Police for the year 1937]* (Bucharest: Tipografia Poliției Capitalei, 1938), 31–32.

[724] Nicolau, "Metode nuoi [New methods]."

[725] Simon A Cole and others, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification* (Harvard University Press, 2009).

considering the high rates of tuberculosis encountered in the capital city. However, in 1937, the police prefecture boasted that "for examinations of servants' health, since the beginning a special medical service was created, led by three doctors and provided with all the necessary devices for sanitary checks and on-the-spot medical tests."[726]

The insistence of having chest and gynecological examinations in the police building rather than a hospital environment enhanced the stigma and unsavory association of domestic service with contagion and illicit sexual behavior. In reports and manifestos created by communist women from Bucharest, the issue of these medical checks was at the core of claims made in favor of women working as domestics. For instance, a 1935 report by a clandestinely communist women's organization stated that they planned to organize "against the mandatory Dr. control, which [makes] that all servants are considered like prostitutes (sic)."[727]

Public Job Placement Offices.

The legal subordination, social exclusion and police surveillance of servants (particularly servant women) were supposed to be moderated by the Public Job Placement Offices (*Oficiile pentru Organizarea Plasării*) organized by the Ministry of Labour, in Bucharest and elsewhere.[728] Instead, these employment offices provided only minimal benefits to job-seeking women while greatly contributing to state institutions' concerted efforts of ignoring urban unemployment and rural economic emigration during the Great Depression.

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[726] Prefectura Poliției Municipiului Bucuresti, *Activitatea Prefecturii Poliției Municipiului București pe anul 1937 [The Activity of the Prefecture of the Bucharest Municipal Police for the year 1937]*, 32.
[727] Asociația pentru Ocrotirea Mamei si Copilului, "Raport asupra muncii printre femei, copii și tineri, pe lunile martie și aprilie în București [Report on the work with women, children and youths for the months of March and April in Bucharest]," November 23, 1935, Microfilm 466, Code 792-818, ANIC.
[728] Stănescu, "Piața muncii [The Labor market]."

Founded in 1921 through the ILO-inspired Law for the Organization of Public Job Placement (M. Of./30 Sept 1921), such government-funded employment offices overwhelmingly intermediated domestic service jobs.[729] Thus, beginning with 1925, the Bucharest Placement Office had two main sections: one for skilled industrial workers and one for domestic service personnel. This latter section was divided into a women's, a men's and a couple's employment section.[730] At the height of unemployment in Romania, in 1929-1932, the capital city's placement office offered mostly service jobs, overwhelmingly to single women.[731]

Rather than mediating between employer and potential employee, the Job Placement Office in Bucharest largely functioned as a site where servant women and mistresses bargained for wages in a rather unregulated manner. Richly illustrated reportage pieces published during the crisis years depict the Office as a space that enabled hassle-free contracting favorable to employers.[732] Through the organization of the "small, official looking house" of the Placement Office, bureaucrats created order and the appearance of respectability among applicants. They asked women applicants to wait in a waiting room that had neat rows of benches and a "no smoking sign". (Men waited outside.)[733]

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[729] Between 1922 and 1927, the institution had received 299.162 demands for domestic service work and 271.456 offers of service positions, managing 208.892 placements nationally. Stănescu.

[730] International Labour Organization, "Unemployment Convention (C002)," C002 § (1919), https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:55:0::NO::P55_TYPE,P55_LANG,P55_DOCUMENT,P55_NODE:CON,en,C002,%2FDocument; Parliament of Romania, "Legea pentru Organizarea Plasării [The Law for the Organization of Job Placement]" (1921); Stănescu, "Piața muncii [The Labor market]," 184.

[731] For instance, in February 1931 there were 616 job offers for women in service positions, 310 for men in service and 130 for skilled workers, with 621 applicants for women in service and 418, respectively 303 for the other two types of positions. In September 1931, there were 703 offers for women in service, 448 for men in service and 368 for skilled workers. MMSOS, "Statistica activității Oficiilor Publice de Plasare [Statistics of the activity of Public Job Placement Offices]," December 1931, MMSOS 1920-1931, Inv. 2523, File 280/1931, ff. 2-25, ANIC.

[732] Ion Țic, "Din lumea celor mici - Într-o zi la Biroul de Plasare [From the world of little people - One day at the Job Office]," *Ilustrațiunea Română*, October 24, 1929; REX, "Oficiul de Plasare [The Job Placement Office]," *Ilustrațiunea Română*, May 15, 1935, DigiBuc; I., "Toamna șomerilor [The Autumn of the unemployed]," *Ilustrațiunea Română*, October 16, 1935, DigiBuc.

[733] REX, "Oficiul de Plasare [The Job Placement Office]."

Despite the care with which the Office's space was set up, much of the bargaining for employment seems to have occurred in front of the Office itself, in a kind of open-air market kept orderly by the Office's gendarmes. As mentioned, this more public space was reserved especially for men. However, women looking for service work were present too. Whereas in the American context, open-air employment markets for domestic seems to have been among the few issues that generated consisted domestics-related concern among New York's social reformers in the late 1930s,[734] no impropriety of dramatizing the employment relation on such an informalized, public stage registered with civil servants and journalists in Romania, indicating an even higher degree of deregulation than the one tolerated in Great Depression America.

Haggling for below-market wages, even when occurring inside the Office's neatly-prepared waiting room, did not benefit from the intervention of the bureaucrats. A scene in the Placement Office's waiting room narrated in a 1935 reportage underscores the informal (and deregulated) character of interactions:

> The woman […] kept choosing until she found a sturdy woman, dressed in city clothes, with a resigned and pained face. She arrived the day before yesterday from [the city of] Iasi and had not had much to eat since. She previously served at "Mr. Roată, you must know him, from the Kogălniceanu street" and agrees to do the washing up as well.
> - But why have you come to Bucharest?
> - Around our places, in Iasi, there was no work. I kept searching but these days the young ladies keep their own houses. They don't need a servant.
> - And what was your wage?
> - Three hundred, respectfully.
> The lady blushes happily, agrees to pay the same wage (what a bargain!) and whisks her employee away. Behind the lucky one, the other [servant] woman, with the gold fillings, spits delinquently on the cement floor:
> - Good thing that sweet-talking easterner left. She is ruining our prices.
> - But how much do you ask for a month?
> - Nine hundred and food for my man…[735]

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[734] "By putting a roof over the Bronx "slave markets," the committee was able to allay several concerns: it guaranteed that domestic labor was the only thing being sold into employers' homes while also suppressing the public image of middle-class housewives offering paltry wages to desperate women." May, *Unprotected Labor*, 208; 204–9.
[735] REX, "Oficiul de Plasare [The Job Placement Office]."

The interaction between potential employer and employee also underscores a potential decline in demand for domestic service by the mid-1930s, as "the young ladies keep their own houses". Tilly and Scott present solid evidence for such a decline in France, for the period between 1920 and 1950. They explain that increases in the cost of living and the diversification of employment opportunities led to a decrease in the number of live-in workers in certain towns.[736] Certain Romanian towns seemed to be evolving in that direction, with relatively more prosperous Bucharest not as affected.

Deregulation, the high turnover deregulation created, and the low skill status of the occupation meant live-in domestic service could absorb women migrants relatively quickly and contribute to keeping relief expenditure low. In explaining the drastic triage applied among those eligible for the basic unemployment relief offered by the Unemployment Office in Sector I Yellow (See Section 5.4.), Veturia Mănuilă - who managed this ad hoc city bureau in 1931 and 1932 - hinted at the minimalism afforded by the service work which migrating women could perform in Bucharest, in contrast to the alleged relief dependence of these women's partners:

> All the unemployed had to prove with identification from the population bureau that they have been citizens of the Capital for at least a year. This limit has proven to be absolutely insufficient and will have to be increased to 5 years in the future, as the affluence of elements from the countryside is too great; they come to Bucharest where the wife goes into service as a servant, and the husband falls into the responsibility of the city hall as an unemployed man. They stay in this situation until they can save up some money or until they pay up their debts at home.[737]

The statement above shows Mănuilă viewed the gendered arrangement of a servant woman and an unemployed partner as constituting a veritable migration strategy. Read against the grain, her explanation highlights how paid intimacy work in middle class households ensured the subsistence

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[736] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 154–55.
[737] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor," 439.

of migrating households. Notably, fear of such servant women's "kept boyfriends" as invoked by Mănuilă and assorted reporters, justified the intense surveillance servant women had to undergo through institutions such as the Office for the Control of Servants.

The continuous encouragement of service work performed by women via its consistent facilitation in Public Job Placement Offices was a way to regulate labor supply, minimize unemployment relief expenditure and fundamentally, deny the extent of joblessness. Through the concrete and symbolic operation of these establishments, women applicants could be channeled into a type of work that was flexible and cheap. Also, since domestic service regulations allowed employers to express virtually unbounded demands with regard to the characteristics of their employees, central and municipal authorities could use the profession to subtly shape who migrated from rural areas to cities, in what kind of familial and sexual arrangements and with which kinds of long-term plans and aspirations.

5.3. Women Welfare Activists Protecting Young Domestics – Intervention Tactics and Investigative Tools

Women welfare activists in Bucharest were implicated in the construction of domestic service as category of public action through their connection with child protection institutions and associations, as philanthropists and local politicians. In the 1920s, upper-class women's associations were called upon by the city to administer publicly-subsidized orphanages or homes for foundlings, as part of the public-private welfare partnership favored by the Liberal Party at the time.[738] In the 1930s, mirroring a process discussed by Donna Guy for the case of interwar

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[738] For instance, in a 1927 speech, Bucharest mayor Costinescu (National Liberal Party) congratulated Mrs. Caragea (of "Principele Mircea" Foundation) and Mrs. Cantacuzino (SONFR, which ran the "Radu Vodă" Girls' Orphanage,

Argentina,[739] these private initiative associations' authority over child protection institutions was increasingly contested by professionalized women. At the same time, in the Romanian capital city, a (mostly) unsubsidized initiative focusing on the outdoor protection of young women and migrant girls garnered the support of most women welfare activists.

The "Radu Vodă" Girls' Orphanage placed at the center of debates about the inevitability of domestic service in the lives of publicly-assisted girls.

Nara Milanich argues that historically, child protection institutions were involved in the "societal allocation of domestic labor across social groups."[740] Milanich's research shows that in late nineteenth century Chile charitable asylums and child fosterage practices run by private or public authorities were "actively involved in training and placing servants."[741]

Child protection institutions in interwar Bucharest had similar roles to Chilean ones in the allocation of domestic service across social groups. For instance, in the 1920s, domestic service was the assumed future occupation for the orphaned girls placed by the city in the care of modest families, through the system of *creștere la mahala* (lit. upbringing in the [suburban] neighborhoods).[742] Also, local politicians encouraged the occupation for marginalized children and were convinced that the mothers of most abandoned children were themselves servants.[743]

Such assumptions and practices concerning the training of girls in protective institutions for futures as domestic servants were extended to the students of the "Radu Vodă" Girls'

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creches and kindergartens) for the infant protection private initiative work they conducted, "paid for by us [the commune]". "Darea de seamă asupra desbaterilor."

[739] Donna J Guy, *Women Build the Welfare State: Performing Charity and Creating Rights in Argentina, 1880–1955* (Duke University Press, 2008), 123–34.

[740] Milanich, "Women, Children, and the Social Organization of Domestic Labor in Chile," 31.

[741] Milanich, 33.

[742] Gheorghe Banu, "Asistența comunală a copiilor găsiți, orfani și săraci în București [The Commune sssistance for foundlings, orphans and poor children in Bucharest]," *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială* 5, no. 1–2 (1924): 146.

[743] "Darea de seamă asupra desbaterilor."

Orphanage. The Orphanage was funded by Bucharest City Hall but administered by the Orthodox National Society of Romanian Women presided by Alexandrina Cantacuzino since 1919.

Because Radu Vodă was associated with the controversial Cantacuzino, the institution was implicated in the philanthropist- councilwoman's political rivalries. Between 1918 and 1934, rival women welfare activists complained about mismanagement at Radu Vodă and the need for the institution to be reformed. These local clashes ocassioned various articulations of the connection between indoor child protection, domestic service and women's activism as well as the questioning of these links.

Founded shortly before 1918, the "Radu Vodă" Orphanage could host up to one hundred girls aged seven to eighteen. It ran its own primary and upper-secondary school. It was financed by the Bucharest City Hall but also sustained itself from the embroidery and sewing girls did in the school's workshop. Archival documents suggest that residence at Radu Vodă was considered something of a privilege reserved for promising girls as, unlike suburban foster homes, the orphanage guaranteed primary and secondary education and a minimal standard of living for residents (wards).[744]

A 1918 incident at the orphanage created a first problematization of the relation between domestic work, welfare provision, class and women's emancipation. In February of that year, with the German army still occupying Bucharest, the new headmistress of the "Radu Vodă" Orphanage wrote an incensed letter to Alexandrina Cantacuzino, president of the SONFR - the women's association recently placed in in charge of the institution. In her detailed report, Pavlu described the students' lack of discipline and the state of disrepair in the institution. In her view, the causes

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[744] For example, one of the Radu Vodă headmistresses described a ward who proved willful and difficult to educate as a girl who did not "repay the sacrifices made by City Hall" and therefore "can be sent away [alt. removed] from the school (s-ar putea indeparta din scoala)." Coralia Pavlu, "Referat [Report]," February 28, 1922, Arhivele Nationale Istorice Centrale Bucharest, Fond 1035- SNOFR, File 27/1918, f. 17.

for the chaos were the emancipatory pedagogical convictions and incompetent leadership of the

former headmistress, feminist writer and activist Eugenia de Reuss-Ianculescu.[745] (See Sections

2.3, 3.1) The new headmistress complained that:

> We found the same disorder in the bedrooms: dirty and disorderly beds. Under the bed we
> noticed some small chests carefully locked. We wanted to find out what was being kept in
> these chests, thinking we were going to find hygiene objects. After the children, with quite
> a bit of difficulty, decided to open them, we found them full of magazines: *Drepturile
> Femeei* [Woman's Rights] and the novels of Mrs. Ianculescu, gifted to the students with
> dedications from the author. […] Many of the girls had thoughts of running away from the
> residence hall. Probably a desire for the unknown and wandering induced by these readings
> of emancipatory ideas. […] Mending, sweeping, cooking they saw as beneath them, they
> who were used to make anglaise embroidery, Richelieu, decorative art with a special
> teacher, dancing, and singing; and occasionally discussing *Drepturile Femeei* or the
> heroines from sensational novels.[746]

Through her letter, Pavlu defined the appropriate types of work for the girls at Radu Vodă:

"mending, sweeping, cooking". The inappropriate pass-times the letter dismisses were those

associated with upper-class young women's salon education: fine embroidery, artistic

performance, special tutors. The reading of magazines which encouraged women's independence

and ownership of objects that highlighted individual distinction (locked personal chests, volumes

with the author's signature) further signaled the transgression of class boundaries. Cantacuzino's

writings from the period make it clear she shared Pavlu's puritanical notions about gendered and

classed respectability.[747] In effect, through the mediation of a key figure of the local women's

movement, De Reuss-Ianculescu's (likely inchoate) idea of including lower-class women in the

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[745] In an enthusiastic letter to Jus Sufragii in 1919, Reuss Ianculescu began by saying "Since January 1919, I have recommenced the feminist struggle. Feminism is in full swing." Mme de Reuss-Janculescu, "Roumania. Mme. de Reuss-Janculescu Writes from Bucarest...," *International Women's News.*, The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs, 13, no. 10 (1919): 147 It is unclear under which circumstances the feminist took over the administration of Radu Voda, but it seems to have been a short-lived engagement conceived of as part of her wartime feminism-inflected welfare activism.

[746] Coralia Pavlu, "General report on the situation at Radu Vodă orphanage," February 4, 1918, Fond 1035- SNOFR, File 27/1918, ff. 12-13, ANIC.

[747] In recounting her visit to a university women's dormitory in Canada, the SONFR president expressed admiration for the premises but dismay at the students' use of make up and fashionable clothing when receiving their parents' visits. Cantacuzino, *Cincisprezece ani*.

feminist emancipatory project was going to be prevented from tainting a lauded, state-subsidized formula for child protection in Bucharest.

Despite naturalizing domestic service as destined profession for poor girls, administrators of the Radu Vodă orphanage did seek to improve the basic terms under which city wards were going to labour as servants in the future. For instance, Coralia Pavlu opposed the irregular adoption of the institutions' girls into middle class families as part of an older practice of taking in a minor as unwaged domestic servant whom the family would later help set up in life. In repeated letters to educational authorities and the City Hall, throughout the 1920s, Pavlu pleaded with local politicians to stop facilitating the "taking in" of girls from the orphanage:

> Daily I am sent from Hon. City Hall, either with special recommendations, or formal notes [ordin de servici], persons who wish to take in girls [sa iee fete în căpătuire] or <u>potentially</u> adopt them.[…] Some, such as Mr. M., emboldened by the formal note from City Hall by the order of Vice-Mayor Dr. Burnea requested to be presented all graduates from which he was to choose one to take her in [and] potentially adopt her.[…] But the exhibiting of these almost grown up and sensitive girls for choosing is hurtful for their morale. They do not even want to appear and we are in the difficult situation of bringing them despite their will. Mr. M. chose Verona G., who has parents.[748]

In a letter from 1922 protesting the intermediation by a City Hall official of a similar adoption, Ms. Pavlu explained that of all the children in the orphanage, only six were entirely without relatives and "could be disposed of by the City Hall".[749] The others had different relatives who strongly opposed the children's removal from the school "and asked that their children form a career through the sister-institutions of the schools". Pavlu's letter suggests that having been considered bright enough to be educated until the age of eighteen in a publicly-funded institution, most girls were protected by families, or at least by administrators speaking on behalf of families,

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[748] Coralia Pavlu, "Coralia Pavlu to Madam School Inspector," October 24, 1918, Fond 1035- SONFR, File 27/1918, ff. 17, ANIC Bucharest. Underscore in the original.
[749] Pavlu, "Referat [Report]."

from what seems to have sounded to everyone as the prospect of years of service without pay or worse.[750]

At the same time, beyond ethical concerns, the undisrupted presence of the girls in the Radu Vodă orphanage was also encouraged because it enabled the institution to remain self-sustaining by relying on students' labour. For instance, in her 1918 letter, Pavlu argued that adoptions after the school year had begun disrupted the functioning of the clothes-mending workshop as well as the upkeep of the Radu Vodă institution, as "we have neither servant nor cook."[751]

All in all, throughout the 1920s, the SONFR-linked administrators of the orphanage made only minimal attempts at questioning the link between class, public assistance and domestic service. Statistics about the life trajectories of girls hosted at Radu Vodă underscore this. Of 214 girls hosted at the orphanage between 1919 and 1927, a majority of girls (47 students) who stayed in the school made paid domestic work their occupation, under varying conditions: eleven went to a professional school that prepared girls for service, three became servants before graduation, thirteen went to housekeepers' school and another twenty were (despite protestations) given to families who promised to help set them up in life.[752]

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[750] A similar link between adoption and lifetime service work existed in interwar Cyprus, where a 1933 report on domestic servants' employment conditions found that of the 549 registered adopted children, 91% were actually employed in domestic work. As in Romania, in theory, an adopter committed to creating savings for a child and later finding a suitable husband. Cypriot inspectors' found, however, that in practice the children very often worked only in exchange for food and board. Dimitri Kalantzopoulos, "Domestic Work in Cyprus, 1925-1955: Motivations, Working Conditions and the Colonial Legal Framework," in *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger (Brill, 2015), 451–64.

[751] Pavlu, "Coralia Pavlu to Madam School Inspector."

[752] Of the 214 girls who had lived at Radu Voda between the end of the war and 1927, 11 students were sent to professional school "Protopopul Tudor", 3 were "sent into service", 9 to teachers' school, 9 to "Elena Doamna" professional school, 13 to Housekeeping School, 9 at the Tesatoarea [The Weaver] professional school, 2 to highschool, 2 in workshops, 2 in nursing school, 20 girls were given for adoption ["date in capatuire"]. A surprising number of 94 girls were withdrawn from the orphanage by their relatives, 8 ran away to join their relatives, 20 were expelled and 12 died. Coralia Pavlu, "Situația elevelor trecute prin Orfelinatul Radu Vodă din anul 1918-1927 [The situation of students who passed through Radu Vodă Orphanage from 1918 -1927]," October 27, 1927, Primăria Municipiului București, Serviciul Administrativ, Inv. 1702, Fond 83, File 16/1926, ff.21-30, SMBAN Bucharest.

The practices at Radu Vodă were questioned again, this time by allies of Reuss-Ianculescu, in 1931. That year, during a meeting of Bucharest's General City Council, NPP councilwoman Calypso Botez requested an inquiry into the management of the Radu Vodă girls' orphanage. Botez mentioned that one of the girls living at the orphanage had sent in a letter a lock of the hair pulled out by a teacher. The student also complained that abuses occurred while headmistress Pavlu lived in luxury.[753] Finally, Botez stated that "[the girls] are not given honest careers, the majority end up being servants and no one knows anything about them after that."[754] The statement suggests that Botez may have believed that Radu Vodă was supposed to have progressive educational and protective mission, left unfulfilled by the SONFR-chosen administrators.

Once appointed by General City Council as "delegate for the solving and study of matters of public assistance", in 1931, Calypso Botez submitted a plan to reorganize the Radu Vodă Orphanage. Her vision for the orphanage was of a vocational school focused on domestic management, which would open the door of entrepreneurship for its wards. This purportedly novel housekeeping institute was meant to be self-sufficient "like all the orphanages of great centers from around the world" and capable of supplying other city institutions with sewing, laundry and cooking services.[755] Judging by the available sources, the similarity between Botez's vision of an economically efficient, labor-centered institution and Cantacuzino's vision for the Home for the Protection of Fallen Women (See Section 4.2), outlined a few years earlier, was not commented on publicly.

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[753] "O anchetă la Orfelinatul din Str. Radu Vodă [An inquiry at the Radu Voda street orphanage]," *Adeverul*, Ocotber 1931, DigiBuc.

[754] "O anchetă la Orfelinatul din Str. Radu Vodă [An inquiry at the Radu Voda street orphanage]." As proven by the statistics provided by the orphanage in 1927, the statement was not accurate The administrators did attempt to pay at least minimal attention to orphaned girls' trajectories after their leaving the institution.

[755] Primăria Municipiului București, "Deciziune [Decision]," *Monitorul Comunal al Municipiului Bucureşti* 56, no. 39 (September 27, 1931): 4–5.

Following Calypso Botez's 1931 intervention, headmistress Coralia Pavlu was acrimoniously dismissed from the Radu Vodă orphanage in 1932. A recent graduate of the prestigious Fribourg School of Home Economics named Marcela Pretorian was installed instead. On the occasion, the school within the Radu Vodă Orphanage was renamed the Radu Vodă Housekeeping School.[756] Essentially, due to pressure from publicly-elected feminists who opposed Cantacuzino, the Radu Vodă school was finally institutionalized as an educator of women who would be working as servants, after only implicitly functioning as one for over a decade.

Nevertheless, councilwoman Botez promoted the professionalization of housework through certification in housekeeping. Likely, this was envisioned as a way of insuring that girls from Radu Vodă would be able to finally make "honest careers". Despite furthering practices of distributing the same kind of persons into the same type of occupation, Botez helped professionalize domestic service thus offering the girls at Radu Vodă a chance at a measure of upward social mobility. Furthermore, a housekeeping diploma improved pay and labour conditions for students were they to take employment in domestic service or in the higher-end of (a growing but still deregulated) hospitality industry.

Friends of Young Girls' Association as transnational anti-trafficking actor dealing with domestic service.

Besides the Radu Vodă clashes, the locally-celebrated work of the Asociația Amicele Tinerelor Fete (Women Friends of Young Girls Association, ATF) provided a second backdrop for the publicly-visible linking of domestic service and women's welfare activism during the 1930s.

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[756] Primăria Municipiului București, "Deciziune [Decision]," *Monitorul Comunal al Municipiului București* 57, no. 41 (October 16, 1932): 3.

Founded in Romania in 1927, the ATF was part of a network of organizations established in Neuchatel (Switzerland) which advocated for the abolition of prostitution.[757] Titled L'Union Internationale des Amies de la Jeune Fille (AJF), the Neuchatel-based network was practically the francophone wing of the anglo-saxon World Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA).[758] The latter was a transational organization which became a major player in League of Nations abolitionism through membership in the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.[759]

Through involvement in the international anti-prostitution movement, the AJF/YWCA espoused a complex understanding of the labour issues characterizing domestic service. Due to its preoccupation with labour issues (from a Christian standpoint, critical of the morally deleterious effects of unfettered industrialization), the YWCA developed some of the "most progressive [among] women's organizations" stances and practical assistance methods for domestic service, unionization and women's labour migration.[760] In the 1930s, the YWCA's Geneva headquarters strengthened the organization's collaboration with newly-recognized League experts on women's labour, among which the ILO's Marguerite Thibert (See Section 6.1). Thibert provided technical assistance on the construction of YWCA survey design, data collection and report construction.[761]

The Bucharest version of the AJF, the ATF, ran a welcoming post in the city's main train station, through which it aimed to guide young women freshly arrived from the countryside and

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[757] Asociația Tinerelor Fete, *Dare de seamă pe anul 1932 [Annual report for the year 1932]* (Bucharest: Tipografia Carmen Sylva, 1933).
[758] The International AJF was formally absorbed into the YWCA in 1960; historically, it more strictly defined itself as an anti-prostitution organization that the YWCA. Elisabeth Joris, "Amies de La Jeune Fille [Friends of Young Women]," Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse, November 15, 2005, http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F16501.php"The International AJF Union was founded in 1877 (...) following the first international abolitionist congress held in Geneva. the Swiss section of the International AJF Union, founded in 1886, dedicated itself to the prevention of prostitution. The AJFs assisted young women arriving in cities looking for work by helping them find work and offering them affordable lodging in hostels ('maisons Martha')."
[759] Rodríguez García, "The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women."
[760] Boris and Fish, "Decent Work for Domestics: Feminist Organizing, Worker Empowerment, and the ILO," 535.
[761] Boris and Fish, 536.

protect them from "falling into prostitution".[762] The organization also managed a strict hostel and

a private, free-of-charge, job placement office focusing on domestic service. At its founding, the

ATF functioned within an anti-human trafficking discourse, identifying as a non-denominational

Christian organization whose goal was to "help and support any young girl isolated in life or given

bad counsel."[763]

Similarly to the YWCA, the Bucharest ATF developed a range of original local practices

to deal with labour issues, while drawing inspiration for its anti-trafficking modes of intervention

from the international AJF network. As a result, over at least fifteen years of activity, the ATF

worked to fulfill its abolitionist mission by providing travel-related assistance to young women or

contributing to what they saw as the rehabilitation of prostitutes through shelters and workshops.[764]

However, the Association also worked to (re)define domestic service in Bucharest in their

work as providers of emergency assistance to domestic servants and as both ad hoc and systematic

facilitators of domestic service employment. Yet despite certainly being an organization

increasingly skilled at providing quick, pragmatic responses to various issues affecting young

women, the ATF also showed great comfort in aiding local authorities' control of migration to

Bucharest during the Great Depression.

Never an organization involved with women's emancipation through the use of feminist

rhetoric, ATF Bucharest was nevertheless embedded in the network of local women welfare

activists that included some feminists. The leaders of the ATF were several women associated with

the medical profession (such as Dr. Manicatide -Venert or Mrs. Dr. Hurmuzescu) and local

politicians Alexandrina Cantacuzino and Calypso Botez were members of the associations board

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[762] Asociația Tinerelor Fete, *Dare de seamă pe anul 1932*.
[763] Asociația Tinerelor Fete.
[764] Asociația Tinerelor Fete.

during the 1930s. Several of the other coopted or elected Bucharest councilwomen or long-time members of the SONFR were also listed among the members or donors to the ATF. Princess Elena of Romania was the honorary president of the association. Also, in 1932, the "Ladies from the Israelite hostel (home)" figure among the most important small donors in support of a shelter destined for former "fallen girls" released from hospital following treatment for venereal disease.[765]

The cooperation of these groups is less surprising than might appear at first sight: all major publicly-visible women's organizations in Bucharest subscribed to abolitionist stances according to their own answers in international surveys and had welcomed the 1930's changes in the Romanian legislation on sex work.[766]

Figure 5 – "Friends of Young Women" Association in Gara de Nord

Source: Tonia H., "Fetele, în Gara de Nord [Girls, in the North Train Station]," Ilustrațiunea Română, September 23, 1931, 7.

The ATF's receiving post in the Gara de Nord intervening to prevent trafficking and channel migration.

The ATF in Bucharest conceived of domestic service as strongly linked to internal, rural-urban migration. A magazine report from 1931 depicted the activities of the ATF information center in Bucharest's Gara de Nord. According to the reporter, the agents of the Association would wait for the arrival of trains while walking back and forth on the station's landing, wearing brooches and bandanas with the insignia of the Association.[767] (See Fig. 5)

The receiving office in Bucharest's train station helped young, largely unaccompanied women, with a great variety of issues:

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[765] Asociația Tinerelor Fete, 48.

[766] Dărămuș, "Prostituție feminina si heterosexualitate."

[767] Tonia H., "Fetele, în Gara de Nord [Girls, in the North Train Station]," *Ilustrațiunea Română*, September 23, 1931.

temporary hosting, medical assistance, legal assistance and occasionally financial assistance. A manuscript of "Special cases for the year 1931" discusses the assistance provided to eight young women (out of a total of 331 recorded cases of assistance, 116 of which consisted of providing basic travel and safety information) during that year. In 1939-1942, the median age of assisted young women was 14, but over the years the ATF assisted girls as young as six and as old as twenty-one.[768]

In most of the "special cases", requiring multiple actions and types of intervention, young women had been placed in danger by lurid men. A high school student due to switch trains in Bucharest was promised by a young man that he can arrange cheaper tickets to the city of Brașov. He then dragged the girl "through a labyrinth of people" into the basement of a building several streets away. The ATF reported that the girl had almost been abducted there but managed to escape and sought the help of the ATF office. The ATF office at the train station facilitated police assistance and bought her part of a return ticket.[769]

Similarly, a thirteen-year-old girl who had been a factory worker in a nearby city told the ATF woman that a "beautiful and elegant individual came to the child and proposed to go for a walk, because it is a pity to come to Bucharest and not go for a walk".[770] The individual offered to pay for the girl's hotel room for the night, something she categorically refused. The ATF hosted her over night and provided her with a ticket. On the same day, alerted by the thirteen-year-old girl, the agent helped a crying sixteen-year-old girl who had been sequestered in a hotel room by an individual who claimed to be a civil servant, who promised to marry the girl but instead stole

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[768] Asociația Amicele Tinerelor Fete, *Dare de seamă 1942/1943 [Report 1942/1943]* (Bucharest: Rotativa SAR, 1943), 13.
[769] "Cazuri Speciale 1931. Asoc. Amicele Tinerelor Fete Gara de Nord [Special Cases 1931. Assoc. Friends of Young Women North Train Station]," 1931, Fond 1830- Cantacuzino Familial, File 103/1927, ff. 1-9, ANIC.
[770] "Cazuri Speciale 1931."

part of her money but "without doing anything to her". The organization helped by taking her to Dr. Manicatide Venert's gynecological practice, "for a medical examination, where she obtained a certificate that the girl was a virgin". She was then returned to her parents in a different city, from where the association received a grateful telegram.[771]

Sometimes, ATF volunteers carried out their anti-trafficking mission by being proudly confrontational. For example, on the morning of July 7, 1931, the agent saw pass in front of an office a police sergeant [sergent de Groși] dragging a girl by the hand. The sergeant ignored the ATF woman's questions about the girl, at which point "seeing that he was not about to stop, I shouted at him, demanding him to stop right away". Upon discovering that the sergeant was supposed to bring the girl to the ATF office but instead offered to take care of her only once he was off work that day, the ATF volunteer filed a formal complaint with the sergeant's superior. Similarly, after seeing a young woman "accompanied by a man who did not look trustworthy, with the risk of being insulted by that individual, our missionaries snatched the girl away from him and took her to a priest, her uncle", who provided money for the girls return ticket to a provincial town. In 1932, after visiting girls who were being treated in the Colentina hospital for veneral disease, members of the ATF "guarded a girl coming out of Colentina hospital so that she would not fall in the hands of traffickers".[772]

Nevertheless, the cases in which the ATF became involved most comprehensively concerned young girls working as servants, most of whom had migrated to the city (and were thus unaccompanied young persons), even if their arrival was not necessarily recent.

The train station receiving post as provider of emergency assistance for young domestics in precarious employment.

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[771] "Cazuri Speciale 1931."
[772] "Cazuri Speciale 1931."

In 1931, the ATF volunteer at the Gara de Nord receiving post described the case of Linica T., a twelve-year-old servant in the house and store of a Mr. K. A neighbor of the girl, familiar with her difficult situation, had brought her to the post in the station, hoping the ATF might be able to assist.

The draft description of the case, drawn up for one of the ATF's yearbooks, illuminates not only the dire working conditions children in domestic service could encounter, but also the limits of ATF's view of human trafficking:

> She has been serving there for six months, there are 8 persons, she is sent out late, during the night, around one o'clock, for all sorts of errands. The child delivered bread daily to Mrs. L., who lives across the street, the child cried every day asking her to save her from the hard work because she wants to kill herself. She declared that she had been brought to Bucharest, by a lady who had requested her from her parents when she was 9 years old. This lady gave her to a certain Mrs. B., where she served for 2 years, during which she was not paid anything, she was kept hungry and to get rid of her gave her off to Mr. K for 100 lei monthly paid and clothing.[773]

As they were asked by the concerned neighbor, the ATF intervened in the situation. After investigating the veracity of claims made by Linica T. among her employer's neighbors, ATF agents removed her from the home of Mr.K. (The report does not mention whether any local authorities were involved.) The girl was then placed in domestic service with a family where she "enjoyed better conditions" and double the monthly pay. The report did not refer to the source or nature of the girl's exploitation in any general terms: her case was not named as one of human trafficking, labor coercion or child abandonment. Although ATF agents clearly saw the situation as wrong, the non-construction of this particular case as an instance of a broader category of public action meant that domestic service employment could still be the preferred solution for the protection of Linica T., while the deregulated character of domestic service in Romania remained beyond questioning.

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[773] "Cazuri Speciale 1931."

Domestic service's basic legal and social set up was left unquestioned by the ATF partly because easy placement into private homes was an essential component of its child protection working methods. A 1932 "special case" refers to a girl who was attempting suicide was saved by the ATF. She stated that she had been raped and abused by her employer. Following an "inquiry among the neighbors" the girl's account was confirmed. The association found out that "this brute had dishonored other girls too and that indeed the girl had been martyrized".[774] As in the case of Linica T., the girl was taken from the house and placed in what the ATF claimed to be better domestic service employment.

What is more, domestic service placement intro private homes was a way for the ATF to fulfill its abolitionist mission. For instance, several young women treated in the Venereal Disease section of Colentina hospital and then hosted in a temporary shelter the ATF initiated in 1932 were placed with various families. ATF members complained that optimal placements for these women could not be achieved in all cases, resulting in the defection of several women who could not become accustomed with life in service.[775] In 1931, two women, both of whom had been pardoned for murdering their husbands, after serving part of their sentences, were found domestic service work among the acquaintances of the ATF train station agent.[776] (The striking willingness of the ATF at that point to place former sex workers, but also women with histories of sexual or physical abuse, or infectious illnesses into service suggests they had less conservative, less moralizing attitudes than other Christian-identified organizations in Romania [chiefly the SONFR].)

For all its insistence on its religiously-motivated, social assistance work, the ATF became increasingly involved in the labour market, as economic actor, and in the regulation of the same

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[774] Asociația Tinerelor Fete, *Dare de seamă pe anul 1932*.
[775] Asociația Tinerelor Fete.
[776] "Cazuri Speciale 1931."

market, as social reform actor allied to the state. To a certain extent, this feature was already present in the purest social assistance activities of the organization, through the publicization of employment conditions for women working in domestic service, the largest occupational group to which the ATF provided assistance in the train station. [777] But, to a much greater degree this was visible in the ATF's running of a job placement office, its participation in the city's efforts at controlling rural-urban migration and unemployment, and its consistent promotion of the professionalization of domestic service.

The ATF's Job Placement Office redefining domestic service as respectable and important occupation.

The job placement office run by ATF functioned in the same building as its dormitory. By 1934, for the small amount of 30 Lei per day, young women who checked in received "room and board, a job and good company", for as long as the hostel's rules, "severe and moral", were rigorously observed.[778] Although the services of the employment office were free of additional charges for residents, the ATF sought to shape the labour force supply so that it would more closely match demand. Primarily, this meant that the Association encouraged the women it hosted to embrace domestic work. In 1936, a representative of the Association wrote that:

> The Placement office finds work possibilities for young elements, from among whom it has placed 1089 persons in 1935 and raises the moral level of this youth, seeking to persuade these elements that domestic, auxiliary service, so necessary to the organization and the calm of our households is in reality an honorable profession, worthy of any honest working woman. […] Today when the fight to obtain a job is so tough, this occupation knows no unemployment, it is perhaps the only one where offers are greater than demands.[779]

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[777] In 1931, the station office in Bucharest assisted 95 servant girls. The second largest occupational group the ATF interacted with-and recorded- was primary school teachers (42), followed by pupils (40). "Cazuri Speciale 1931."

[778] Lc., "Protecția tinerelor fete [The Protection of young women]," *Ilustrațiunea Română*, October 24, 1934, 4.

[779] Marga Ghițulescu, "De la asociațiile de asistență socială. Din activitatea asociației 'Amicele Tinerelor Fete'. [From the social assistance associations. From the activity of the 'Friends of Young Women' Association]," in *Din Istoria feminismului românesc*, vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1936), 259–63.

The issue of the unappealing character of domestic work for the young women it hosted was a problem the Association had encountered even at the height of the Depression, in 1932. Thus, the ATF's yearbook for that year stated that its Placement Office had far more requests for servant women than persons willing to fill such positions, largely because "we are sought out mostly by girls who, obligated to temporarily abandon their professional or university studies, see themselves as unsuitable for domestic service"[780]. The yearbook argued that there was simply no demand for factory workers or shop assistants, and that in these circumstances the Association only managed "with great difficulty to persuade the girls who graduate from a few of the middle school years to become live-in servants or child nannies. Nevertheless, we are obtaining some very satisfactory results whose examples are useful in the campaign we are waging to change the mentality of our feminine youth"[781].

In promoting adaptation to demand, by 1936, the ATF linked the market and the household into a mutually dependent relation, whose balance - and the social peace emerging from it - hinged on the figure of the domestic servant. One of its booklets stated that the Association "understands the importance of this labour in the life of the modern home, as well as the purpose of good rapports between one social category and another [so that] the association has systematically organized the continuous evidence-keeping of the situation of all placed elements and of all the families in which they work".[782] In other words, the Association committed to a degree of monitoring of employment conditions as well as customer satisfaction levels in order to ensure the smooth functioning of a market conceived as a realm whose imbalances were to be corrected, in the last instance, through the adaptation of supply to demand.

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[780] Asociația Tinerelor Fete, *Dare de seamă pe anul 1932*, 7.
[781] Asociația Tinerelor Fete, 7.
[782] Ghițulescu, "De la asociațiile de asistență socială. Din activitatea asociației 'Amicele Tinerelor Fete'. [From the social assistance associations. From the activity of the 'Friends of Young Women' Association]."

ATF's contribution to shaping rural-urban migration during the Great Depression.

The ATF acted as social reform actor allied to the state by contributing to the control of labour migration. Through its actions on behalf of travelling girls, especially in the year 1932, the Association contributed to controlling women's rural to urban migration. It also participated in the city's measures for the alleviation (or rather the masking) of unemployment in Bucharest, through the expulsion of jobless workers towards the countryside or their cities of origin.

The squarely eugenicist *Revista pentru Igienă Socială* [The Journal for Social Hygiene] praised the collaboration between the ATF and the Orthodox Church, "for stemming the tide of rural youth's migration towards cities, a social phenomenon that has taken worrisome proportions".[783] The primary objective was the "moral defense of the rural element, uprooted from its natural environment". As a part of this collaboration, priests were meant to advise villagers not to send their children off as servants and to instead practice home industry and crafts to be sold in cities. Where villagers were too poor, priests were supposed to ask for information, so that the young persons migrating to cities for domestic work could be found a position in advance, through the Association.

In addition to participation in measures for "stemming the tide" of young people's migration to cities, in 1932, the ATF made use of "the unemployment tickets" created by the Bucharest municipality in order to "repatriate" jobless servant women:

> Our missionaries helped to repatriate 40 girls, arrived from the province to look for work in the Capital, without any special training and without sense. Thanks to the unemployment tickets, granted by the City, these girls could be persuaded to return to their homes and therefore prevented from slipping on the slope of vice on the streets of Bucharest.[784]

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[783] "Diverse [Various Items]," *Revista de Igienă Socială*, 1932, 186.
[784] Asociația Tinerelor Fete, *Dare de seamă pe anul 1932*, 5.

The tickets in question were part of the city's policy of removing unemployed persons in Bucharest. As shown by the requests for "unemployed tickets" preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Labour, the main institution petitioned for the facility was the police. Ticket-ed migrants' return may not have been optional.[785]

The measure of pushing unemployment out of cities so it could vanish in the countryside fit with the government's rhetoric that unemployment was a phenomenon specific to highly industrialized countries and areas and as such, was inexistent in the countryside, especially in a country where even industrial workers remained tied to agricultural production and their villages of origin.[786]

Finally, through its activities, the ATF sought to improve domestic service by providing better training for women. In the report the Federation of all ATF associations in Romania submitted to the League of Nation Advisory Committee on Social Questions sometime in the late 1930s, on the matter of the rehabilitation of prostitutes, the Association argued that:

> The employment agency for women and girls which is situated in the centre of the market, becomes more widely known every day. Although only about seventy to eighty girls are placed every month, the posts required and the demand for workers are double as much. We cannot satisfy all demands because the peasant girls coming from the country often know nothing at all of housework. This shows how much a training school for general servants is needed. Unfortunately, there is no such thing here as yet.[787]

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[785] In 1931, the Ministry of Labour requested train travel vouchers (foi de drum) from the Bucharest Police Prefecture for a manual worker and his wife, "as he is unemployed and wishes to return to his domicile", for an "the unemployed man" G.P. and his family "since as he is unable to be employed for work wishes to return to his domicile", for a former white collar worker to travel back to his native city "as in the Capital no position can be offered to him" or for two others to "go to their domiciles, as they both have no work and no other means of supporting themselves in the Capital". Ministerul Muncii, Sanatatii si Ocrotirilor Sociale, "Request. Ministry of Labour to Bucharest Police Prefect.," December 10, 1931, MMSOS 1920-1931, Inv. 2523, File 279/1931, ff. 59-63, Arhivele Nationale Istorice Centrale Bucharest.
[786] Stănescu, "Piața muncii [The Labor market]"; Cantacuzino, "Societe des Nations. Comite de la Protection de L'Enface. Protection de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse contre les consequences de la crise economique et du chomage. Rapport presente par la Deleguee du Gouvernement roumain [League of Nations. Committee for Child Protectiion. Protection of Children and Youth against the consequences of the economic crisis and unemployment]."
[787] League of Nations- Advisory Committee on Social Questions, *Enquiry into Measures of Rehabilitation of Prostitutes -Part III and IV: Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes. Recommendations and Conclusions*, 75.

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The answers provided to the League of Nations inquiry may have had an echo in Romania. For instance, the 1939 *Encyclopedia of Romania* mentions that "such a hostel for the training of domestic personnel opened its gates recently in Bucharest".[788]

5.4. Domestic Service as Experienced by Servant Women in Bucharest

As the previous sections have shown, police in Bucharest criminalized and pathologized servants, while local welfare activists sought to portray domestic service as an "honorable occupation", necessary to the calm of our households" and as a potential avenue for upward social mobility for orphan girls. As research conducted by Erna Magnus for the International Labour Office suggested, such portrayals and the attendant restrictions, were linked to employers' (positive and negative) perceptions that servants' home-based work was essentially made up of a series of intimacy-related practices and entailing unavoidable proximity with someone from a (usually) different class background. (See Section 1.4.) To what extent can the assessments created by persons considered to be authoritative voices about domestic service during the interwar period be countered or supplemented by narratives which discuss service work from the perspective of the workers? What kind of sources exist to shed light on this issue and in what contexts were they produced?

In the 1920s and 1930s, journalists captured details about servant's non-murderous activities almost invariably through descriptions of interactions between maids and madams. In 1929, maids were presented interrogating their future employers in front of the Job Placement Office:

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[788] Asociaţia Ştiinţifică pentru Enciclopedia României, *Enciclopedia României [The Encyclopedia of Romania]*, 1:602.

Among others, the servant asked the following questions: where she lived, what was her name, her husband's profession, how old she is, how many children there are in the house and of what ages each, how many stairs between floors, how many stairs to the attic, if the firewood is brought up by hand or elevator, how often the lady receives visits per week, if the house has electric light and how many visitors there are in total.[789]

By 1932, the same magazines that had depicted maids as the true masters of their employers' households admitted that "the crisis has mellowed the expectations from yonder. They are now happy to know how many rooms you have, if you have children and if you take her in for laundry as well".[790]

A 1933 set of interviews of (mostly) male servants sought to capture servants' subversive power. The men explained that "a servant must be smart, handy and remember everything".[791] They shared that whereas a servant could not talk back to a master, a good servant could quietly do what he wanted. Resistance could be found in polishing a demanding master's boots with the master's sitting room plush curtains, pretending to simply convey insults spoken by a third party (a butcher, a neighbor), intentionally misplacing a masters' glove or a shoe and then later, recovering the other from the trash bin in order to keep the entire pair, or simply in sharing these methods with fellow servants in public gardens and pubs.[792] Servant women were suspected of having price arrangements with a household's food suppliers so they could put money aside, of purposefully misplacing objects and of frequently borrowing their mistresses' clothes.

It is only by the end of the 1930s that the illusion of servants' power over masters was pierced in the popular press. In 1937, journalist Nicolae Papatanasiu wrote a piece on the process of interviewing a "maid of all work", selection occurring in a friend's house. Rather than focusing

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[789] Țic, "Din lumea celor mici - Într-o zi la Biroul de Plasare [From the world of little people - One day at the Job Office]."

[790] M. Ursu, "Brațe de închiriat- chivuțe, servitoare, coșari [Hands for hire - charwomen, servants, chimneysweeps]," *Ilustrațiunea Română*, September 7, 1932.

[791] Alex F. Mihail, "Slugi și stăpâni [Servants and masters]," *Realitatea Ilustrată*, December 1933.

[792] Mihail.

on petulant servants, the author depicted the lady of the house as demanding to the point of absurdity. The article described how the interviewed women were called to the employers' house rather than at the Job Placement Office - considered "boring"- were described as hopeless, and not simply as poor: "How impressive a group of women together. And these faces with only one drop of hope in their eyes, with the human emptiness they express."[793]

In Papatanasiu's reportage, the job applicants' narratives revolved around their search for domestic work as alternative to the increasingly onerous employment to be found in small industrial establishments or as a second, live-out job, to be complemented by night work in a factory. Most of the eleven applicants were "disqualified for minor issues" by the mistress: small children, wanting Sundays off, the request that some of the day's cooked food could be set aside for the servants' husbands, an appearance of illness on the face of a "thin, horribly thin" young woman, twins that the servant woman would not leave in an orphanage.

After what appeared like decades of ignorance of domestic personnel, the balance of power shifted after the Second World War. In 1952, Munich-based Radio Free Europe collected a report from Bucharest on the state of relations between maids and madams in the new popular democracy regime:

> Another source of displeasure for the women of Bucharest is the maid situation. Only State employees may have maids and only in case the woman of the house works. Through these maids the Miliția (Police) and Securitatea (Secret Services) know all about the families where these maids work. Maids are organized in unions and are regularly interrogated by police about what the families say and do, what they eat, whom they receive, etc. Most women, even if they have the right to a maid, prefer not to have one and do the housework themselves. If a maid is illiterate, which is often the case, the family employing her must send her to a night school, and the family is fined if the maid, instead of going to school, goes out to enjoy herself.[794]

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[793] N Papatanasiu, "Caut post [Looking for a job]," *Realitatea Ilustrată*, February 17, 1937, DigiBuc.
[794] Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, "Modes and Maids: Bucharest Headaches [Electronic Record]," May 14, 1952, HU OSA 300-1-2-19693, Open Society Archive, http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:9430613c-6316-4484-82f1-84bfc3d08d3a.

Besides the improvement in working conditions for the decidedly smaller numbers of domestic workers, it is interesting to note the collportation of tropes about maids' political unreliability and moral dubiousness into Free Europe discourses on dissidence. The newly-acquired rights (or privileges, in the eyes of some) of a professional group previously controlled, ignored or made invisible became the measure of the radicalness of transformations in post-war Romania.

It is in this new context that Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția,[795] one of the women marginalized in the Bucharest Sociological School,[796] published in one of the 1957 issues of the Romanian scholarly journal *Revista de Folclor* [The Folkore Journal] an article titled "A folk poetess: Veronica Găbudean".[797] (See Section 3.2.) The article was based on conversation notes and the contents of two notebooks, with over 1300 verse lines, Golopenția had collected in 1939 from the nineteen-year-old Găbudean, the maid of all work in the Bucharest-house where the sociologist was lodging with a family. The article dwelled on the themes present in Găbudean's work and her creative process.

In letters to neighbors and friends from her Transylvanian village, the literate but orphaned and poor Găbudean sent news (in prose) and wrote her feelings about being orphaned, life as a servant in a master's house and love (in rhyming sentences). From Găbudean's "songs" and narrations, Golopenția found that the woman had migrated to Bucharest from a combination of

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[795] Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția (1908-1978). Social researcher. In ethnographic research from the 1920s, Cristescu-Golopenția focused on women's magical practices in rural households, in the context of the monographic investigations conducted by members of the Bucharest Sociology Seminar and the Romanian Social Institute. In the 1930s, Cristescu-Golopenția obtained her doctorate at the Sorbonne University, supervised by Marcel Mauss. After 1945, following her husband's arrest and imprisonment, Cristescu - still in Romania - taught Romanian literature and published academically in the field of comparative linguistics. Cristescu-Golopenția, *Credințe și rituari magice*; Ștefania Cristescu, *Sporul vieții: jurnal, studii și corespondență* (București: Paideia, 2008).

[796] In personal letters from 1930, Cristescu expressed frustration at her monography topic being taken over by a male colleague, who violently argued she needed to turn to feminine topics such as linguistics and philology, despite the work on magical practices she had already drafted. Cristescu ended up writing a parallel report on magical practices, which was not published with the other materials from the campaign. She publicized her work in 1940 , when it received an award from the Romanian academy. Văcărescu, "Coopter et écarter," 133.

[797] Ștefania Golopenția, "O poetă populară: Veronica Găbudean [A folk poetess: Veonica Găbudean]," *Revista de Folcor* 2, no. 1–2 (1957): 99–122.

what Selina Todd has termed "poverty and aspiration"[798]. On the one hand, she had become a servant at the age of fourteen because her remaining relatives could no longer support her, her life story thus enforcing the notion that orphan children were channeled into domestic service. On the other hand, she had come to Bucharest to raise money for her dowry - especially for the fine fabric clothing, "dresses in silk and crepe-de-chine", that "women around our places" wore for their weddings. She also confessed to have used her savings to buy land in her native village, a place to which she returned each summer during the height of the agricultural work season. In Golopenția's formulation, "Her songs fix her economic and social situation. They speak to us about a wage worker who has remained only a seasonal peasant woman, but who hopes to return to her village entering – perhaps - in the fold of middling peasants, so that she may be able to work for herself."[799]

In the servant girl's poems, the employer is described as stingy about her food and clothing and careless about her unwillingness to work during religious holidays. The ethnographer noted Găbudean's means of countering her employers' perceived lack of humanity, by pointing to the theme of dissimulation in the woman's poems (laughing while one's heart was sad, not letting the master see her sorrow) and her frequently-expressed ambition of one day working for herself rather than in strangers' houses. Notably, because Golopenția's focused on the experiences of the maid, the domestic worker's unease with the intimacy work component of her occupation (manifested in the need to dissimulate or modulate one's own emotions) becomes highly visible.

Golopenția's study built an argument that effected a break with the assumptions of interwar sociologists. Thus, Golopenția stated that the time she had spent with Găbudean had taught her that "certain theoretical beliefs concerning folk literature are false". [800] Among these was the idea

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[798] Todd, "Poverty and Aspiration."
[799] Golopenția, "O poetă populară: Veronica Găbudean [A folk poetess: Veonica Găbudean]," 108.
[800] Golopenția, 100–101.

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that once peasants left their villages they broke their ties with rural spirituality and its folk-lyrical expression. By analyzing the experiences of Găbudean, a girl who had left her Transylvanian village five years before, Golopenția noted how even in the city folklore played a social function for the young woman, helping her express her emotions through the fokloric forms of her region. Notably, Găbudean's folk production was interpreted as developing in relation to the quotidian rather than in line with the long durations of village traditions, as conservative Romanian ethnographers had previously assumed. Interestingly, with land collectivization beginning in 1949 and reprised eagerly in 1957,[801] Golopenția's article could not have fit too well within the intellectual setting of the new regime either, considering the emphasis the article placed on land ownership as a key to the peasant woman's sense of self and politics of resilience.

Another life story, an oral history interview recorded in the late 1980s by a sociologist developing an interest in urban history, reveals similar experiences to those of Găbudean. Sociologist Zoltán Rostás interviewed the Hungarian-speaking Vilma Kovacs as the latter was representative of the Szekler servants who had been "a common category in the Bucharest of the Interwar".[802] Like Găbudean, Kovacs was a Transylvanian woman whose mother had died young. She also crossed into the "Old Kingdom" region of Romania, in Bucharest, to raise money for land in her own village. After serving in Bucharest from 1923 and 1937, during which time she refrained from "buying even a bagel" and sent all her money to her village's doctor who bought land for her, Vilma Kovacs amassed an enviable peasant fortune in her native village. Unlike Găbudean, Kovacs could not speak Romanian at first, and had to rely on a fellow Szekler servant to learn the language. She narrated her employment in her first master's house in the following way:

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[801] Dorin Dobrincu and Constantin Iordachi, *Transforming Peasants, Property and Power: The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania, 1949-1962* (Central European University Press, 2009).

[802] Zoltán Rostás, ed., *Chipurile orașului - Istorii de viață în București secolul XX [Faces of the city - Life histories in Bucharest in the 20th century]* (Bucharest: Polirom, 2002), 183.

Mornings, after I woke up, I went out for bread, I served breakfast, took care of the children, then came the cooking, because there was an old lady in the house too. When she asked me for a plate, I brought a lid. They used to laugh at me. This is how I started to learn [Romanian], alone. And then I spoke. I didn't know after the rule, but I could manage with the household things. I helped around, did the dishes, cleaned, took the children out for walks. They would find work for me all the time. In the afternoon the seamstress of the house came round, and after she left I had to cut up the scraps of fabric. […] [Sundays] I did have off. I used to go with the people from the same village, or that other servant man came and we used to go in Carol Park.[803]

Besides her memory of the multiple tasks to be fulfilled and the way in which work was found for her all the time, Kovacs also recalled being uneasy with the intimate character of her work. In her case, her first service position in Bucharest was made difficult by the skin condition that affected the entire family she worked with, which involved not only having to wash sheets frequently but also touching a sick child often. In an inversion of the trope of the diseased servant, the woman claimed it was the master's family who suffered from a hereditary, contagious venereal disease. Furthermore, in her position as servant she was made privy to her mistress's infidelities and was "made to swear to keep the secret".[804] After leaving and switching several workplaces, Kovacs was badly burned while cleaning floors with gasoline, obtained very little medical care and as she was pregnant with her first child, finally returned to her native village.

Significantly, neither Kovacs nor Găbudean expressed much use for politicized solidarities with fellow workers. Both women met with fellow servants from their villages often. In the case of the poetess, attending dances organized in a locale in Bucharest constituted an occasion to hear and pass on news, a way to remain accountable and respectable in the eyes of her multi-sited community and Golopenția pointed out, for her to remain steeped in the melodies and lyricism from her region.[805] Vilma Kovacs mentioned meeting other servants on Sundays but boasted of

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[803] Rostás, 186.
[804] Rostás, 187.
[805] Golopenția, "O poetă populară: Veronica Găbudean [A folk poetess: Veonica Găbudean]," 101.

never having attended a dance, the cinema or the Hungarian association on Zalomit street her interviewer brought up.[806] Both women remained connected to their ambitions of rural upward social mobility and concerned about the specter of poverty in their villages, rather than fully invested in their service in Bucharest- a period they narrate as marked by material and emotional self-denial and loss of independence.

All in all, in this chapter I sought to place women's welfare activism related to domestic service work within an international and national legal and economic context. I have shown that the Romanian national government left domestic servants out of social protection arrangements, while local authorities in Bucharest pathologized and criminalized servant women, assuming a direct and frequent link between domestic service and sex work. Women welfare activists in Bucharest did not confront this set up and at times even helped maintain it (as in the ATF's contribution to controlling rural-urban migration). At the same time, through their involvement in local level indoor and outdoor assistance for young women and girls, these activists (whose stances were shaped by their various engagements in transnational reform networks) did try to modulate the terms according to which recently-migrated and orphaned young women helped "maintain the calm" of "our modern households". In other words, the oblique preoccupation with domestic service within international organizations was paralleled by similar eschewing of the labour issues involved in domestic service in Bucharest among welfare activists. This, in its own way, was a contribution to the "welfare mix" in the capital city: servants' under-regulated, underpaid intimacy work contributed to wellbeing in middle class households and made the absence of work in rural areas and of unemployment relief in Bucharest somewhat more tolerable.

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[806] Rostás, *Chipurile orașului - Istorii de viață în București secolul XX [Faces of the city - Life histories in Bucharest in the 20th century]*, 186.

Chapter 6 – Women's Wage Work and Household (Dis)Organization in Bucharest-based Survey Research[807]

In the previous chapter, I showed that institutions such as orphanages, labour placement offices, offices for the control of servants and hostels for travelling women shaped domestic service as occupation, and through that the way in which middle class households (employing servants) and working-class women (employed as servants) ensured their physical and social reproduction. In this chapter, I turn to survey research Bucharest welfare activists and medical professionals conducted during the 1930s. These studies touched on the topic of women's paid and unpaid work in professions other than domestic service; data for these studies was often collected in conjunction with outdoor welfare provision. I argue that through the social knowledge-making practices these surveys entailed and due to their conclusions, the research component of women's activism became a part of the city's "welfare mix", with more or less beneficial effects.

I identify seven studies relying on survey and case work research from Bucharest, produced by two distinct categories of social researchers: social workers and medical professionals (especially social hygienists). I argue that these researchers developed different, contradictory, even internally-contradictory explanations of the causes and effects of women's waged work on the social reproduction of families.

In the end, I analyze the interpretations and data collected during these seven studies, re-reading them through the lens of the historiography of women's work in the twentieth century and

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[807] A first, early version of parts of this chapter (from Sections 6.2. and 6.3.)appeared in print as Alexandra Ghiț, „,,Emoțiuni mecanice": familia femeii muncitoare din urbanul românesc în anchetele sociale și sanitare interbelice (1924-1939) ['Mechanical emotions': the urban working woman's family in interwar social and sanitary inquiries (1924-1939)]," in *Familia în România -O incursiune diacronică pluridisciplinară*, ed. Anca Dohotariu (Bucharest: Editura Universității București, 2017), 121–60.

by drawing on insights in the sociology of knowledge. Thus, in an "against the grain" reading, the seven surveys conducted between 1932 and 1939 in Bucharest show how informalized women's work ensured working class urban households' survival, particularly during the Great Depression. Lower class women's unpaid work within households combined with various types of paid labour made up for the lacks in the social protection system in Bucharest. I point out that despite their role in making visible working-class women's increasing responsibilities for dependents during the crisis, survey research and other investigative procedures were not always welcome and could even have damaging effects on aid recipients' circumstances.

Specifically, in this chapter, I show that the surveys produced by researchers associated with the Superior School of Social Assistance and the Section for Feminine Studies were influenced by International Labour Office reports and research programs. They were also tributary to views and practices advocated by US American progressives such as Mary Richmond.[808] Building on these progressive and reform influences, SSAS and SSF social researchers collected small scale survey data. They interpreted such data to argue that although women's wage work in Bucharest neighborhoods such as Tei had negative effects for the physical and social reproduction of women's dependents, such need to labour was most damaging for the women workers themselves. Rather than condemning women, these surveys identified economic crisis and men's "moral degradation" owing to lack of employment as key causes for the process of "familial disorganization" they noticed in the city.

By contrast, "social-sanitary" surveys, among which one created by Dr. Gheorghe Banu[809] and his (sanitary personnel) collaborators, in 1937, were influenced by the more conservative

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[808] Franklin, "Mary Richmond and Jane Addams: From Moral Certainty to Rational Inquiry in Social Work Practice."

[809] Gheorghe Banu (1889-1957). Hygienist physician who supported eugenics. Founder of the Revista de Igiena Sociala (Journal of Social Hygiene) (1931-1944). Succeeded Dr. Iuliu Moldovan as Director [Subsecretar] in the

stance on women's work circulating within the transnational eugenicist movement. These sanitary surverys display more prescriptive rigidity, despite also advocating for more state intervention on behalf of working women's families.

Social workers' and hygienists' survey research on women's work in Bucharest highlights these professionals' different stances and influences concerning the state of working-class families, and the effect of women's wage work on families' ill-being. The differing stances adopted by these two categories of researchers challenge Maria Bucur's interpretation of the Romanian social work movement as integrated into the Romanian eugenicist movement.[810]

6.1. Transnational Social Research on Women's Work

By the middle of the 1930s, working class women's wage labour came under increasing scrutiny in globally influential labour- and social-policy-making circles. The transnationally-circulating category of "the working woman" was the focus of expert discourses and practices which were both supportive of women's work outside the home and concerned about the risks growing women's employment created for the social reproduction of working-class families.

Within the ILO, largely on the background of the Great Depression, internationally-comparable information was collected and compiled into multi-variable statistics on women's employment.[811] Among others, such data was used to counter those arguing in various national

MMSOS (1930-1931), later serving as Minister of Health and Social Protection in the antisemitic Octavian Goga government (1937-1938). Supported the practice of "voluntary" eugenic sterilization of persons suffering from certain diseases or criminals, considering the German 1933 law which allowed forced sterilization to be "authoritarian". In 1939, Banu argued for the need to"normalize the race" through medical certificates obtained by future spouses, preventative sterilization, and the segregation of persons considered disgenic. Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*, 198, 206; Marius Turda, ed., *The History of East-Central European Eugenics, 1900-1945: Sources and Commentaries* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 291.

[810] Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen [The Eugenicist movement and gender roles]," 129–31.
[811] Cobble, "The Other ILO Founders: 1919 and Its Legacies."

settings for the exclusion of women from the labour force in order to reduce male unemployment.[812]

Through the research and diplomacy of its Correspondence Committee on Women's Work, founded in 1932, the ILO - or, more precisely, the International Labour Office - promoted a view favourable to women's employment in conjunction with support for women-specific protective legislation. The latter issue was coming under increased attack from non-socialist women's organizations, opposed to all forms of gender-specific protective legislation, who began intensively lobbying the ILO and the League.[813]

In 1935, the International Labour Organization included considerations of working women's familial obligations into its research on women's work. That year, the League of Nations required the ILO to investigate "the question of equality under labour legislation" as well as "possible gender-specific discrimination in the world of work".[814] The request was formulated in this way on the background of legal equality feminists' growing influence within the League. These groups were pushing for an international legal instrument "prescribing strict legal equality between women and men" mostly as a way of "pressuring the ILO into committing itself to a politics of legal equality in international labour law."[815]

The International Labour Office initiated a comprehensive international inquiry whose topics of interest "significantly transgressed the inherited scope of interest prevailing in the Office".[816] Thus, the questionnaires sent out by Office officer Marguerite Thibert [817] and her team

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[812] Marguerite Thibert, "The Economic Depression and the Employment of Women: I Special Article (Part I)," *International Labour Review* 27, no. 4 (1933): 443–70; Marguerite Thibert, "The Economic Depression and the Employment of Woman: II Special Article (Part II)," *International Labour Review* 27, no. 5 (1933): 620–30.

[813] Susan Zimmermann, "Equality of Women's Economic Status? A Major Bone of Contention in the International Gender Politics Emerging During the Interwar Period," *The International History Review*, 2017.

[814] Zimmermann, 18.

[815] Original quotes taken from Susan Zimmermann, "Equality of Women's Economic Status? A Major Bone of Contention in the International Gender Politics Emerging During the Interwar Period," *The International History Review*, 2017, 7.

[816] Zimmermann, 18.

[817] Cobble, "The Other ILO Founders: 1919 and Its Legacies."

to experts in various ILO-member countries included questions about women's employment, unemployment, gendered wage differentials and vocational training. They also included questions about "the family circumstances of gainfully employed women and their responsibility if any for dependents".[818]

Because urban social research Bucharest had strong links with US American Progressive Era social reform institutions (see Section 3.2.), the survey research on women's wage work which multiplicated in the 1930s tended to express concern about the growth trend in women's wage work. At the same time, the ILO's push for transnational social research on women's work and familial responsibilities contributed to researchers recognizing that women workers in Bucharest carried a heavy work burden during the economic crisis.

6.2. Politics, Policy and Research: The Factors Leading to Social Surveys on Working Women in 1930s Bucharest

In the beginning of the 1930s, working class women in Bucharest became the main data suppliers for survey research on women's work. This occurred even though up to that point, the most publicly-visible opinion currents in Romania had discussed "woman's condition" and her emancipation with the circumstances of middle-class women in mind. This applies to the preoccupation of feminists as well as anti-feminist eugenicists, for example.[819]

The uptick of research on working class women in urban Romania was the product of two factors. Firstly, the enactment in Romania of ILO-inspired protective legislation on women's work in industry generated attention for the topic. It also encouraged the discursive restriction of the

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[818] Susan Zimmermann, "Equality of Women's Economic Status? A Major Bone of Contention in the International Gender Politics Emerging During the Interwar Period," *The International History Review*, open access 2017, 18.
[819] Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen [The Eugenicist movement and gender roles]."

category of "working women" to denote strictly those women employed in industrial work or from industrial proletariat families. Secondly, as mentioned above, the International Labour Office began collecting data on women wage workers in the early 1930s, gradually expanding its interest to consider women as breadwinners and unpaid houseworkers.

Also, quite simply, it was easier to collect data on working class families. White collar women were unlikely to interact with the women social workers collecting survey data in Bucharest. Certainly, interest for white collar women's work continued among politicized women.[820] But data on low-income working-class women, more likely to come into contact with a social worker moonlighting as surveyor, could be obtained, aggregated and even distributed more easily- compare the public details of Marioara Ionescu's life to the opposition of women employing servants towards having their compliance with labour regulations investigated in the privacy of their homes (See Introduction and Section 5.1.). SSAS social work students conducted most of the research on working women. For Gheorghe Banu's 1937 social-sanitary survey, visiting nurse Jeaneta Kogălniceanu performed at least part of the data collection.

Sarah Igo has argued that social knowledge-making (in her case the production of opinion polls) depends on persuasion, with social research creating "complex, recursive negotiations between researcher and researched."[821] In the case of Bucharest surveys, the features Igo identifies were enhanced by the overlap between research and welfare provision. The women collecting the survey data were the same women providing assistance and filling in welfare case files.

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[820] "Funcționarii și Legea Pensiilor"; "Protest in chestiunea femeilor funcționare [Protest on the issue of women office workers]," 1930, Cantacuzino Family Collection (folder 157, file 37), Romania. National Archives, Women and Social Movements, Modern Empires Since 1820 database, https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C3262724.
[821] Sarah E Igo, "Subjects of Persuasion: Survey Research as a Solicitous Science," in *Social Knowledge in the Making*, ed. Charles Camic and Michele Lamont (University of Chicago Press, 2011), 287.

The similarities between data collection in survey research and social work or out-patient nursing, created by these professions' shared intimacy work load (see Section 4.2.), can be inferred from a 1933 article on the specificity of visiting nurses work, contributed by doctor to the eugenicist *Revista de Igienă Socială*:

> We see the categorical necessity of a person, other than the doctor or the sanitary agent, who has the calling to go inside the homes of these needy people decimated by disease and misery, and who do not know where or how to ask for the alleviation of their pains. The distance between the doctor and this needy population is too great for them to address him with all their troubles. The sanitary agent, whose attributions are more those of sanitary police, will never be able to enter the family, to win the unconditional trust and to be able to exercise an educational role. [...] This education cannot be done [...] other than through intimate contact with the population, whom we address, through individual persuasion, through examples and practical demonstrations.[822]

The author in the quote above only refers to the importance of persuasiveness and familiarity in sanitary professionals' work of imparting hygiene principles. However, they hint at the persuasiveness necessary in social work and survey-making as well.

Protective legislation in word only.

In 1928 politicians spoke more about women's work than in previous years because Romania implemented at once several International Labor Organization Conventions.[823] (See Section 2.1.) Through the 1928 omnibus Law for the Protection of Minors' and Women's Work and the Duration of the Work Day (M. Of. 85/ 13 Apr. 1928), the Parliament of Romania belatedly translated into national law the ILO conventions on the eight-hour work day (C001), maternity leave (C003), the ban on women's night work in industry (C004), minimum age for employment in industry (C005), the limiting of "young persons'" nighttime work (C006).[824]

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[822] Mihail Zolog, "Sora de ocrotire [The Visiting nurse]," *Revista de Igienă Socială*, 1933, 125.
[823] Setlacec, "Din activitatea Ministerului Muncii în raport cu Biuroul Internațional al Muncii din Geneva [From the activity of the Labour Ministry in relation to the International Labour Office in Geneva]," 104.
[824] Parliament of Romania, Lege pentru ocrotirea muncii minorilor și femeilor și durata muncii [Law for the protection of minors' and women's work and for the duration of the work day].

Romanian MPs reluctantly voted on this, an act hurriedly separated from the draft body a planned Labour Code. One factor that contributed to the haste was the insistence of the International Labour Office.[825] Until the end of the 1920s, the issue of international standards for the protection of laboring women and minors was downplayed by the Romanian Parliament. After Romania and Chile were criticized in the plenum of the ILO's annual 1927 Labour Conference as "pious ratifiers" of Conventions who refused to fulfill promises they had made to workers in their countries, with special reference to the legislation on the protection of women, the government mobilized.[826] (Two years later, the "embarrassing" episode of Romania being singled out in the ILC plenum was used by a Ministry of Labour official to justify small states' "even greater [potential] reserve for ulterior ratifications".)[827]

Like all other social legislation provisions of the 1920s in Romania, women-specific protective legislation functioned in a political environment that was hostile to state intervention in labour relations even as it endorsed protectionism when participating in international fora. (See Section 2.1.) Yielding to ILO experts' insistence, the "Exposition of Reasons" in the Law for the Protection of Minors' and Women's Work borrowed, in passing, the rhetoric of longer and tenser

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[825] Concerning C001, C003, C004, C005 and C006, the Committtee of Experts examining countries annual reports on thier progress in the implementation of ILO conventions had advised in 1927 that "the Office should approach the Romanian Government and represent the urgency of passing legislation in conformity with these conventions." International Labour Organization, "Report of the Committee of Experts Appointed to Examine the Annual Reports Made under Article 408 of the Treaty of Peace of Versailles," Report of the Director Presented to the Conference (Geneva: International Labor Organization, 1927), 406, http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/P/09605/09605(1927-10).pdf.

[826] International Labour Organization, "Record of Proceedings [of the] International Labour Conference.," 287. The public rebuke came from a Dutch delegate following the Director's Report, which included the Report of the Committee of Experts appointed under Art. 408 of the Treaty of Versailles. The report noted that Romania and Chile had submitted incomplete or very late documents on the state of implementation of ratified ILO Conventions in their countries. International Labour Organization, "Report of the Committee of Experts."

[827] Setlacec, "Din activitatea Ministerului Muncii în raport cu Biuroul Internațional al Muncii din Geneva [From the activity of the Labour Ministry in relation to the International Labour Office in Geneva]," 108.

debates which had taken place in international fora and national parliaments in Europe since the

middle of the nineteenth century.[828] According to the statements of a Romanian Liberal MP:

> Modern industrialization had as an effect the calling into the field of work, to a great extent, of the woman and the child [...] we only want to emphasize the danger that can emerge for the health and vigor of the population as well as for maintaining and consolidating the family home, in the case when abuses become habit. [...] In the same way, the woman, forced to join the field of labor must not be completely taken away from the home and the family, where she still has great obligations to fulfill.[829]

As can be deduced from the assertion above, Romanian politicians adopted the economically-

desirable relaxed stance on women and children's work, arguing that such labor was necessary or

at least inevitable for "modern industrialization". At the same time, as a nod of acknowledgement

towards internationally-circulating discourses about the effects of labour deregulation (signified

by women's and children's work in industry) on households' survival, the speaker introducing the

protective legislation bill in Parliament conceded that women's paid work could take away from

women's unpaid work and thus damage families.

Given the absence of meaningful left-wing representation in Parliament,[830] protective

legislation (especially when it covered adults) was not a political priority nor a genuinely

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[828] Labour protection legislation for women had been the object of tensions in the British and German Parliaments in the 19th century, in Denmark or Greece in the beginning of the 20th, in the Second International and among "legal equality" and "laborist" women associated with the ILO in the beginning of the 1920s. Sonya O Rose, "'From Behind the Women's Petticoats': The English Factory Act of 1874 as a Cultural Production," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 4, no. 1 (1991): 32–51; Efi Avdela, "'To the Most Weak and Needy': Women's Protective Labor Legislation in Greece," in *Protecting Women-Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 290–317; Ulla Wikander, "Some Kept the Flag of Feminist Demands Waving :Debates at International Congresses on Protecting Women Workers," in *Protecting Women-Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002); Zimmermann, "Equality of Women's Economic Status?"

[829] Parliament of Romania, "Legea pentru ocrotirea muncii minorilor și femeilor și durata muncii [Law for the protectio of minors' and women's work and for the duration of the work day]," *Buletinul Muncii, Cooperatiei și Asigurarilor Sociale* 9, no. 3 (1928): 93.

[830] The representation of socialist and social-democratic parties in the Romanian Parliament decreased steadily, from a high of 19 Socialist Party [Lower Chamber] Deputies (and three Senators) in 1921, to a spell without left wing MPs for the following seven years, to between seven and nine Social Democratic MPs from 1928 to 1937. The National Peasantists' program fit with a favorable attitude towards protective labour legislation but the embrace of "open door" policies while in government meant that the party could not use its parliamentary majorities to push for such laws. Scurtu et al., *Enciclopedia de Istorie a României [The Encyclopedia of Romanian History]*, 65–67.

contentious issue. On the day in July 1928 when the law was voted, the debates in the plenum of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies did not focus so much on damaging effects of paid work on adult women and their families as on the implications for local industry of the section of the Law which regulated the work of minors. The articles dealing with minors' work created concerns because it was feared that the provisions could prove extremely disruptive for the important sector of small craft industry, which relied heavily on exploiting the labor of apprenticed children.[831]

The main group to be persuaded by the Exposition of Reasons which justified the bill on which MPs were going to vote was made up of employers and their associations. The Exposition argued that the act was by no means meant to ignore the needs of the national economy, was not blind to the need to „intimately adapt [ILO-inspired rules] to our social realities" and congratulated employers' association for their support for protective legislation (if not the eight-hour work day).[832] It also argued that the law was mostly meant to honor the country's special international commitments. Furthermore, the introduction to the bill drew on the increasingly popular rhetoric of eugenics and its on emphasis national biopolitical interest in order to point out the benefits of such regulations for entrepreneurs. The Exposition stated that protective labour legislation and regulations safeguarded the long-term needs of industrial development. It was emphasized that industrialization required physically and intellectually "vigorous elements" in spite of „certain person's" lack of foresight.[833]

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[831] According to the published Expose (which incorporated the official statements by the bill's proponents), 'Examining the concrete situation, we can notice things which must be rectified immediately. Indeed, the annual reports of the labour inspectors show that the small industry abuses in a still emphatic manner of the apprenticed child. Submitted to heavy labour, he works daily much over the legally permitted hours, housed and fed in conditions that endanger his health.' Besides this timid mention of a dire situation, the statistics for vagabond children in the 1920s show that most were runaway apprentices, suggesting a worsening of work conditions for children after the war. Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru ocrotirea muncii minorilor și femeilor," 97.

[832] Parliament of Romania, "Legea pentru ocrotirea muncii minorilor și femeilor și durata muncii [Law for the protectio of minors' and women's work and for the duration of the work day]," 94.

[833] Parliament of Romania, "Lege pentru ocrotirea muncii minorilor și femeilor," 93.

In the years after the 1928 Law passed, gendered protective legislation was rarely enforced. Not observing work hours, laying off or prohibiting rest because of pregnancy, unencumbered night work in industrial establishments, remained part of the quotidian experience of labor for women employed in the country's major cities. Irregularities were so frequent that they surprised no one. "The laws for the protection of women workers exist only on paper" reported dryly an unnamed social-democratic woman in a letter towards the International Labor Office relayed in 1937 or 1938.[834]

Welfare activists in the Section for Feminine Studies defending women's wage work.

Law 85/13 Apr 1928 may have had limited effects in industrial enterprises, yet it generated enhanced social scientific attention for women as wage workers. Before the law's passage, the protection of women workers was a subject of occasional discussion among the key social reformers of the 1920s but not a central concern.

Certainly, in the 1910s, socialist women had written compellingly about the condition of the working woman in large and small industrial establishments and the need for better protection. For example, in 1911, physician Ecaterina Arbore published the text of her highly original lecture delivered to the members of the Dockworkers' Union in the Danube port city of Braila.[835] In "Woman in the Fight towards Emancipation", Arbore pointed out that home industry was as oppressive for women (and all workers) as factory labour and suggested she was in favour of protective legislation for women workers (as well as women's suffrage and temperance

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[834] "Letter from Roumania." Archives of the ILO, courtesy of Prof. Susan Zimmermann.
[835] Ecaterina Arbore (1873-1937). Physician, publicist and socialist militant. Her activity is emblematic for intellectual women's labour militancy in late nineteenth century Kingdom of Romania. Public lecturer on the "woman questions" at trade union gatherings , author of social and sanitary inquiries on workers' living and working conditions, she advocated for the centralization of Socialist Party's women's organizations and their importance in labour organizing. After 1918, Health Commissar in the Soviet Union, executed during Stalinist purges. Elisabeta Ionita, *Ecaterina Arbore* (Bucuresti: Editura Politica, 1973).

movements).[836] After the First World War, with Arbore in revolutionary Russia, the socialists' split into communists and various small socialist and social-democratic groups, and governments' unease towards the left, the labour press chronicled abuses in women's employment in industry yet few of those reports were as compelling or as original as Arbore's publication. Also, they were not circulated widely-enough to shape the opinion of anticommunist elites interested in social reform. (See Section 4.2.)

In this context, before the 1928 law, the Section for Feminine Studies within the Romanian Social Institute barely addressed the issue of women's wage work. The "protection of women and children" had been discussed in SSF meetings and conferences from 1926 and 1927.[837] However, "protection" referred to the social assistance of marginalized categories (such as young mothers with illegitimate children) rather than employment. A PhD thesis published in 1927 and claiming to focus on "The Protection of Working Women and Children" lacked content that matched its title; it mostly reviewed social insurance legislation affecting working men.[838]

After the Law for the Protection of Minors' and Women's Work was voted, in the setting of the Section for Feminine Studies, teacher Catherine Cerkez (an associate of Alexandrina Cantacuzino) lectured on the situation of working women in both urban and rural environments.[839]

[836] Ecaterina Arbore, *Femeia în lupta pentru emancipare [Woman in the fight for emancipation]* (Bucharest: Biblioteca Socialistă, 1911).

[837] "Sectia de Studii Feminine," *Arhiva Pentru Știință Și Reformă Socială*, no. 8 (1929): 739.

[838] Emil Bălteanu, *Ocrotirea femeilor şi copiilor muncitori [The protection of working women and children]* (Bucharest: Tipografia Antonescu, 1927).

[839] Cerkez, "Munca femeii si consecintele ei pentru familie si societate [Woman's work and its consequences for family and society]"; Caterina Cerkez (1910?-1970?) received a humanities education in Bucharest and came from a family of engineers and architects who maintained an interest in social reform. A collaborator of the more-conservative Alexandrina Cantacuzino in the 1920s, Cerkez underook in 1925 a research trip together with the latter in the United States and Canada, at the behest of the International Council of Women, where she noted the activites of mutual aid associations set up by Romanian immigrants there. She was a secretary of the National Council of Women and occasionally reported on women's labour for international organizations. Until 1947, when she became a French teacher, Cerkez active in political and educational initiatives. She was vice-president of the Asociatia "Amicele Tinerelor Fete" (see Chap. 5). Catherine Cerkez, "Section Francaise. Roumanie," *International Women's News.*, The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs, 23, no. 4 (1929): 62; C Cerkez, "Legislation Industrielle Pour Les Femmes. 13. Roumanie," *International Women's News.*, The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs, 29, no. 6

The ominous title of the lecture, "Woman's work and its consequences for family and society", is deceptive. The lecture (later published by Cerkez in a separate volume) provided at least twenty validly-constructed arguments about the categorically positive effects of women's wage work for women themselves, their families and society at large.[840]

Although employing the general term "women", Cerkez's lecture rebutted mostly arguments against (aspiring) middle-class, city women's entering white collar work. At the same time, the published lecture is striking because it displays this welfare activist's understanding that women's experience of wage work was shaped by class. Cerkez demonstrated attention and appreciation for the work of women employed in all sectors, advocating for better social protection for factory women, land ownership for peasant women, and an end to the association of peasant and working-class women with promiscuity or unstable common law marriages.

(1935): 48–49; Catherine Cerkez, *'Rapport Du Conseil National Des Femmes Roumaines Sur l'activité Des 5 Derniers Années 1925 – 1930', _Bulletin Du Conseil National Des Femmes Roumaines_* (Cantacuzino Family Collection (folder 160, files 1-2), Romania. National Archives, 1930), https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C3374310; Catherine Cerkez, "Roumania," in *What the Country Women of the World Are Doing*, ed. Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks Gordon, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, (London, England: Chapman and Hall, 1932), 74–76; Asociația Tinerelor Fete, *Dare de seamă pe anul 1932*.

[840] The arguments provided by Cerkez read like rebuttals of frequently expressed concerns about women's work outside the home. Thus, she argued that women's paid employment was beneficial for marriages and all interactions between women and men, pointing out that: statistics showed an increase in the number of marriages involving an employed woman; families where both spouses worked were no less cohesive than male-breadwinner families; men were not actually opposed to women working, despite occasional complaints; men had more respect for women who did wage work; in case of a family conflict concerning wage work, women would be the ones giving up their jobs. Cerkez also invoked economic necessity: women could not marry without dowries, but as dowries could no longer be offered by families, young women were forced to work; many times it was men who pushed women towards employment, rather than women choosing employment as selfish act. And she pointed to economic convenience or societal benefits: some employers did say women were slower workers, while others claimed the opposite; women belonged in politics- international experience had shown women created excellent legislation; women were qualified for positions of great responsibility and more women had to be allowed to demonstrate their abilities long-term before all women were considered ill-suited for leadership positions. Finally, she argued that mothers' wage work was good for children (kindergarten prepared them better for adult life, working mothers never neglected their children, working women cherished family life and housework more), had clear health benefits (more time spent out of doors), and was not going to have a negative impact on workplace morality - unless men behaved unseriously. Cerkez, "Munca femeii si consecintele ei pentru familie si societate [Woman's work and its consequences for family and society]."

Shortly afterwards, the enthusiasm for women's wage work within the Section for Feminine Studies became more moderate. After her lecturing in 1929 at the ISR and opening the Demonstration Center for Family Assistance in the Tei neighborhood, Veturia Mănuilă became the most influential member of the SSF.[841] Her theories on social assistance as a way of combatting social dependence relied on a diagnostic of the social effects of women's wage work which was influenced by American social reformers. However, they were also shaped by opinions on women's wage work such as those Caterina Cerkez had expressed in SSF reunions or those Calypso Botez had been expressing in meetings supporting women office workers.[842]

Mănuilă believed that industrialization and fast-paced social change had led to the "disorganization of the family". In a 1930 article published in the second issue of the quarterly journal associated with the Superior School of Social Assistance, Mănuilă reviewed the proceedings and frameworks of analysis developed at the Congress for Family Assistance held in Buffalo, USA in the fall of 1927. Led by Mary Richmond (of the COS and the US Children's Bureau) and Profs. E Burgess, Groves and E.R. Mowrer, the Congress set up a Commission which in the following five years was supposed to carry out "research based on observations and studies through the statistical method" that would help in defining "the normal and the abnormal family".[843] Mănuilă's perspective on the role of social work was influenced by the literature on the "disorganization of the family" that sprung up in the aftermath of the Buffalo Congress. As evidenced by the titles and arguments presented in the survey reports drawn up by the students of the SSAS, these ideas proved influential in the long term.

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[841] Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]."

[842] "Funcționarii și Legea Pensiilor- Marea intrunire de la Palatul Funcționarilor Publici [Civil Servants and Pensions' Law- The Great gathering at the Palace of Public Servants]," *Adevărul*, March 17, 1925; Cerkez, "Munca femeii si consecintele ei pentru familie si societate [Woman's work and its consequences for family and society]."

[843] Mănuilă, "Asistența individualizată," 50.

Like participants in the Bufallo Congress, Mănuilă believed that the purpose of social assistance was to focus on reconstructing "dependent families" and preventing the "disorganization of the family" (defined as the separation of the familial group) which causes the dependence. "Dependence" in this instance meant both reliance on forms of public aid and the family's inability to manage relations between members, thus becoming dependent on the guidance of social assistants or priests. American classifications of the types of tensions that emerged mentioned "sexual mismatch", economic causes, "differences in culture" and "differences in view on life".[844] A different classification, produced by E.T. Kruger, included "differences in temperament" and "the sanitary situation" (referring to a partner's illness). The purpose of what Mănuilă termed "constructive social assistance" was not to merely distribute aid but to enable the family to become "autonomous" again by dissolving the intimate tensions which threatened a family's subsistence.

The type of individualized social assistance advocated was meant to address concern-inducing social change. The overarching diagnostic elaborated by Ogburn and E.R. Mowrer was that the "mechanization of labour" had pushed men, and then women and children, into wage work. This changed the historical "patriarchal family" into the "socialized [emancipated] family", where members become individualized from the "will of the father". Tensions within families had arisen because, in this context, this new "socialized family" was no longer able to fulfill its function as ideal reproducer of hereditary and social heritage.[845]

In her 1930 piece, Mănuilă agreed that the family was now "socialized" or "emancipated" and provided examples from among the cases handled by the municipal Central Bureau for Social Assistance (see Section 2.4.) for the types of tensions that disorganized families. However, she

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[844] Mănuilă, 50.
[845] Mănuilă, 43.

conceived of the causes and effects of changes in gender relations in a different way. She stated that "when analyzing the four points through which prof. Ogburn sums up the role of the family, we notice that these do not fully correspond to the function of the family."[846] The reason for the inaccuracy lay not in Ogburn's definition of the functions of the "normal family" per se, Mănuilă pointed out, but the fact that that family was becoming a structural near-impossibility.

Mănuilă agreed with Ogburn that "mechanization" had pushed men to seek employment outside the home and eventually pushed women and children onto the labour market, resulting in the transition from the "patriarchal family" to the "socialized family". But she believed it was now more difficult for women to raise children within this "normal family" due to worsening economic conditions. Mănuilă argued that despite women's efforts to maintain those families, tensions arose because most families maintained the ideals of the patriarchal family whereas the setup of the economy had emancipated (individualized, separated) the members. In her view, it was not so much mechanization as changes in how women positioned themselves as workers that had to ensure subsistence that had changed families:

> In the patriarchal society, the woman had her well-determined role of wife, mother and housewife. In the new situation, where the woman who is wife or mother is also a professional, the old organization of the family no longer corresponds. The intact maintenance of the frameworks of the patriarchal family in the new situation of the working woman has determined the process of the disorganization of the family. [847]

Besides direct economic causes, Mănuilă believed the situation had been worsened by "two extreme movements": feminism and eugenics. She considered feminism extreme in its individualizing emphasis on women's equality with men. On the other hand, eugenics was extreme because it was not concerned with the individual fulfillment of all family members' potential and instead only focused on the biological and social role of the family. This assessment shows that

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[846] Mănuilă, "Asistența individualizată."
[847] Mănuilă, 48.

Mănuilă subscribed more to views such as those of the American Charity Orgnization Society rather than the biopolitical ideas of her (and especially Sabin Mănuilă's) political backer and mentor, Iuliu Moldovan – as Bucur implies.[848] (See Section 4.2.)

The author considered changes in the structure of the family difficult to undo, even through large scale social intervention:

> The situation has been made even worse by the complete ignoring of the feminist movement. Everyone watched it passively, with a kind of spectator's ironic interest. […] The feminist movement was caused by the drop in men's earnings and was accentuated by women's desire to reach greater possibilities for earning money, again in the interest of their families. […] The authorities, instead of studying the possibilities for the logical improvement of the disaster provoked by the mechanization of labour, through the rational organization of earning opportunities for men's sufficient earnings, they let events unfold on their own, without guiding them. Today the events can no longer be controlled, the situation is so complicated and advanced, that any effort to guide the social evolution seems illusory. [849]

By suggesting that economic need underlay women's "feminist" quest for employment in a context in which the male breadwinner salary was not a reality, Mănuilă seems to be countering arguments for state limits to women's employment. Through this, her advocacy resembles somewhat that of the Women's Correspondence Committee from the same period - discussed above. However, her discussing women's work as tied to feminism (a current embraced mostly by middle class women in Romania) suggests that Mănuilă's was a defense of women's white collar wage work, one which technically allowed for different stances on industrial or domestic service work performed by women. In 1930, the category of women public office workers may have already been threatened

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[848] It must be pointed out that in her article on eugenics and its impact on Romanian public life, Bucur discusses the SSAS as an employer of Gheorghe Banu and an institution supported by several known supporters of eugenics. However, she does not argue it was a eugenicist institution or one driven by those principles. Bucur also portrays Veturia Mănuilă as a member of the eugenicist milieu, as an anti-feminist social worker influenced by the mission of the Rockefeller foundation and as someone who contributed to containing middle class women's emancipatory drive by prescribing for them professions in social work and other "caring occupationd". However, in her text, Bucur does not state that Veturia Mănuilă was a eugenicist, mentioning instead that she was a "supporter of the eugenicists". Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen [The Eugenicist movement and gender roles]," 129–30.

[849] Mănuilă, "Asistența individualizată," 51.

with the women-exclusionary "sacrifice curbs" measures that would eventually be enacted in 1932. (See Section 2.1)

The SSAS and Mănuilă's views became linked to the ILO's research on women's work. This happened because, in 1930, Mănuilă (a National Peasantist Party associate) became a close collaborator of Sector I Yellow councilwoman Botez, who was to collaborate with the International Labour Office. (See Chapter 3) Calypso Botez served as president of the Romanian Social Institute's Section for Feminine Studies (SSF) from 1925 until the late 1930s. Because of the connection to Botez but also with Dimitrie Gusti, the president of the ISR, beginning with that year, during SSF meetings, Mănuilă's students at the Demonstration Center or the SSAS presented the results of their studies on issues of "family dependence" in various cities. (See Section 3.2.) Botez forwarded these texts for publication in the official journal of the Ministry of Labour, *Buletinul Muncii* (the Labour Bulletin). At least three such pieces appeared in disparate issues of the *Buletinul Muncii* throughout the 1930s.[850] Lengthy texts, they were very visible in the issues of the Bulletin. They were perceived as authoritative because they were part of an official, widely-distributed publication.

In 1932, Calypso Botez became the designated Romania expert, contributing to the research carried out by the International Labour Office (under Thibert's leadership) on women's work.[851] Upon receiving Thibert's questionnaire on gender equality and discrimination in the world of work and women's familial responsibilities, Botez, Mănuilă and the SSF tried to find or create the comprehensive data required for responding to the request.

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[850] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor"; Luția, "Raportul dintre problemele de muncă și problemele de dependența familiei [The connection between work problems and family dependence issues]"; Popoviciu, "Munca femeii și repercusiunile ei asupra familiei [Woman's work and its repercussions for the family]."
[851] Botez, "Reponse au questionnaire du BIT."

In the 1937 reply to the questionnaire, Botez explained the absence of data on women's labour until recently and the importance of work by Mănuilă and the SSF in collecting it:

> It is only with the creation of the International Labour Office's Correspondence Committee on Women's Work in Romania, Committee which I am honored to preside as a part of the Feminine Section of the Romanian Social Institute, that a series of studies were made, guided especially by Mrs. Veturia Mănuilă, member of the Executive Board of the Superior School for Social Assistance. Her students create studies on the situation of working women in Commerce and Industry, taken in groups of 100 or 130-160. The results are presented as lectures at the reunions of the Section and the information that follows was taken over from there.[852]

The explanation of circumstances and the research efforts made to change them provided by Botez underscore the simultaneous influence of the ILO and of the Johns Hopkins-trained Mănuilă on new research about women as wage workers. Whereas Geneva asked the questions, the SSAS shaped the methodology and chose the respondents. In this configuration, the role of Calypso Botez – as local politician and established social reformer – was to help publicize these results nationally and help their smooth incorporation into social knowledge production in a transnational setting.

SSAS social investigations and two major sanitary surveys during the 1930s

The small scale SSAS studies presented at the SSF during the 1930s did not employ a monographic method, using instead a survey method whose questionnaires were social assistance case files - a style and method of doing research consciously transferred by Mănuilă from US practice to Romania.

In 1939, Mănuilă defended convenience sampling and the use of data from assistance case files as more practical than the monographic research the Bucharest Sociological Seminar insisted on: "As a monograph of the entire urban environment is very difficult, expensive and time-

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[852] Botez, 297.

consuming, we had to resume ourselves only to the assisted families, following their evolution long-term, even after they became normalized."[853]

The SSAS studies conducted in Bucharest usually relied on data collected during the practical training of SSAS students at the Demonstration Center, in the Tei neighborhood. Here,I discuss six surveys relying on such data, conducted between 1932 and 1939.

In these circumstances, as advocated by Mănuilă but also by doctors interested in social reform, a visiting nurse or social assistant in Bucharest often doubled as a social researcher. Such assistant researchers persuaded families to become respondents, generating consent and extracting information. (See Sections 3.2. and 4.2.)

Two additional studies contributed to defining women's contributions to the social reproduction of low-income families and outlining the deleterious effects of waged work. They were created by doctors not associated with the SSF or the SSAS but who were part of the transnational space of social reform in which the two institutions were also included.

The studies "Data and conclusions from the international inquiry into the causes of infant mortality […] in the Xth (peripheral) medical district in Bucharest in 1931" and "Studies concerning the situation of the working woman in Romania" were published in 1932 and 1937, respectively, in the Romanian *Journal for Social Hygiene*.[854]

The first among these, a "sanitary and social study" was conducted in the framework of an international inquiry initiated by the League of Nations Health Organization, on the issue of child mortality. The second was prepared by Dr. Gheorghe Banu and his collaborators to be presented in a 1937 international congress organized by the Union Féminine Civique et Sociale.

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853 Mănuilă, "Pauperismul şi criza familială."
854 Negrescu, "Date și concluzii din ancheta internațională asupra cauzelor mortalității infantile"; Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation."

The congress, titled "La Mere au Foyer, Ouvrière du Progrès Humain" (The Housewife Mother, Artisan of Human Progress), took place in Paris.[855] In line with Romanian and American eugenicists condemnation of changes in gender roles,[856] these two other survey-based studies condemned the disorganization of working-class families in stronger terms than the SSAS surveys.

Despite differences, the data collected by the SSAS students and medical researchers like Banu and Negrescu confirmed the difficult circumstances women who engaged in waged labour confronted. Results pushed all researchers to admit or more carefully consider the weight of economic circumstances beyond families' control to their disorganization.

6.3. Wage Work and Women's Role in Social Reproduction in Bucharest Surveys of the 1930s

In the 1930s, physicians and medical professionals associated with the Romanian eugenicist movement interpreted data gathered through social and sanitary investigations beginning from quite rigid assumptions concerning the historical function of the family and women's role within it.[857] By contrast, researchers and social workers who were members of the Section for Feminine Studies of the Romanian Social Institute produced studies with more diverse interpretations, even if not enthusiastically supporting women's work outside the home.

In the concluding part of their study on the social and medical situation of 145 women workers in Bucharest, Dr. Gheorghe Banu and his collaborators affirmed that women's presence in the domestic space was crucial for the survival of Romanian's as ethnic group in this people's „heroic phase". This "heroic phase" was marked by war and economic oppression by foreign rulers

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[855] Negrescu, "Date și concluzii din ancheta internațională asupra cauzelor mortalității infantile," 290; Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation," 369.
[856] Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*; Laura L Lovett, *Conceiving the Future: Pronatalism, Reproduction, and the Family in the United States, 1890-1938* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2007).
[857] Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen [The Eugenicist movement and gender roles]."

and local boyars and preceded the constitution of the independent Romanian state.[858] Banu argued

that women "installing themselves in government" were the mark of civilizational decline.[859] The

authors went on to claim that there already existed adequate labour protection and welfare

legislation in Romania to cover working women. Still, they argued, a "genuine social politics, in

the framework of social hygiene" was now needed, in order to restore the working woman to her

key, moral and biological, role in the family.[860] The concluding text implied that such "social

politics" did not necessarily mean formally discouraging women's wage work. However, it does

amount to advocacy for a shift of attention from women's working conditions in employment

outside the home to the quality and intensity of intimacy work within families. For Banu, women's

place was in the home.

By contrast, in 1932, SSAS student Rodica Luția pointed out the long international disputes

for and against women's work: "It is the moment to mention a problem that is being discussed for

several decades: is it advisable for the woman to work outside the home? Those who answer *no*

are confronted with the cases where the woman is forced to support herself together with her

children, whereas those who answer *yes* are confronted with the reality of neglected homes due to

fatigue and lack of time of professional mothers."[861] Similarly, in 1935, SSAS student Natașa

Popoviciu faulted feminism for women's „extreme individualization" but also conceded that „the

fact of women's waged work is now a general phenomenon, confirmed by years of struggled for

its normalization."[862] For these SSAS students, working class women's wage work was not

desirable, but it was not a phenomenon that needed to be reversed or could, realistically, be undone.

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[858] Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation," 385.

[859] Banu et al., 385.

[860] Banu et al., 389.

[861] Luția, "Raportul dintre problemele de muncă și problemele de dependența familiei [The connection between work problems and family dependence issues]," 670.

[862] Popoviciu, "Munca femeii și repercusiunile ei asupra familiei [Woman's work and its repercussions for the family]," 653.

And yet: SSAS surveys on women workers and their families argued that the working-class family was undergoing quantitative decline and deterioration. In 1932, Veturia Mănuilă claimed that the small number of children born in the families of the unemployed men she assisted in Sector I (Yellow) represented a "phenomenon contrary to the Romanian type of the family with many children".[863] In 1935, Natașa Dr. Popoviciu concluded following her social survey in the Tei neighborhood of Bucharest that the area was „traversing a muddled period of transformation of the patriarchal family". She categorized the one hundred families she studied into: „strictly patriarchal", „disorganized", and „completely disorganized".[864]

Unformalized marriages and disorganized families.

The most frequently noted sign that the working-class family was becoming "disorganized" was the perceived growth of cohabitation without marriage. The 1937 study by Banu et al. mentions that of the one hundred working women's families included in their social and sanitary survey, thirty-five lived together with partners in "illegitimate marriages".[865] These „illegitimate marriages" were not associated with the frequent and functional common-law partnerships of rural areas, as they had been in the Cerkez lecture a decade before.[866] Rather, in 1937, Banu's research considered cohabitation as „promiscuous". Importantly, „promiscuity" connoted concrete domestic practices not an abstract relationship to the law: other noted instances of „promiscuity" were parents' and children's habitation of the same single room or several persons' sharing one bed.

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[863] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor," 443.
[864] Popoviciu, "Munca femeii și repercusiunile ei asupra familiei [Woman's work and its repercussions for the family]," 653. NB: Natasa Popoviciu did not hold the "Dr." title, her physician spouse (or less likely, father) did.
[865] Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation," 369.
[866] Cerkez, "Munca femeii si consecintele ei pentru familie si societate [Woman's work and its consequences for family and society]."

More moderately, SSAS student Popoviciu affirmed that young working women, especially if they had been born in the city and had learned a craft, were part of a generation transitioning away from forms of familial organization dominated by a male patriarch: „The ease with which these women take hold of their fate is remarkable: they get married easily and they break their marriage just as easily; they are not tied to it, they know they can be freed at the first inconvenience, because they would not die of hunger without the support of the man".[867] She also described the attitude of older women from the Tei neighborhood as unfree from patriarchal mentalities, despite long-term waged work:

> A day labourer, a maid, even a seamstress, who has been working for some ten years and is in fact the head of the family, will have a strictly patriarchal conception concerning family life. For her, her man's authority is an indisputable fact, planted through education and the example of her parents' family, religious and social tradition and through an unconscious admission of woman's inferiority.[868]

Popoviciu noticed that traditional forms of familial organization were subordinating women but also provided evidence that things were not changing quite as urgently as alarmist rhetoric suggested. For example, she mentioned that the older generation of women often had as their sole aspiration to be allowed to administer the finances of their households-suggesting that in spite of their wage earning, allocative decisions within the family economy were often taken by men. Astute empirical observation did not prevent Popoviciu from normatively concluding that deviation from the norm of the patriarchal family led to moral societal decline.

The quality and propriety of working women's marriages made the object of the eugenicist researchers' detailed attention. The "Analytical Exposition of Observations" in the Banu survey consisted of schematic portraits of interviewed women.[869]

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[867] Popoviciu, "Munca femeii și repercusiunile ei asupra familiei [Woman's work and its repercussions for the family]," 660.
[868] Popoviciu, 660.
[869] Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation."

Nicolina C. Age 29. Lives in common law marraige (partner has a minimal, inconsistent income); weaver works in "Bumbacul (The Cotton)" factory on Iancului Road, 90; hours of work: 8, without breaks; works standing up; wages 40 Lei per day; lodgings = 1 room, 400 Lei rent per month; one child (one year old), cared for by a stranger; good conjugal atmosphere.[870]

Ruzina B. Not married, maid. Rest period before giving birth: one hour. 10 pregnancies, 3 births. Duration of labour before birthing = 5 hours; series of normal pregnancies; kilograms of the newborn= 3800 gr.; double overwork [double surmenage]= homework + pregnancies; gave birth to term; 7 self-induced abortions; breastfeeds children herself; children healthy; supervised by the mother.[871]

Most portraits contained a categorization of a woman's marriage, using one of the following labels: "perfect conjugal harmony", "conjugal harmony", "good relations among spouses", "profound conjugal disharmony". The latter category was usually accompanied by brief remarks on the causes: "alcoholism and husbands' infidelity", "constant fighting among cohabitating (alt. common law) partners, promiscuity, alcoholism."[872] Domestic violence was noted with greater attention still: "profound conjugal disharmony (live-in boyfriend is lazy, alcoholic, mistreats members of the family)"; "woman is completely unhappy in conjugal life (live-in boyfriend [concubinul] is lazy, alcoholic, and abuses her)."[873]

SSAS survey research problematized men's behavior to a far greater degree than the Banu survey described above. Mănuilă ascribed men's behavior to the "demoralization" caused by economic crisis, attendant unemployment and consequent inability of an assumed breadwinner to provide for his family.[874] In a 1939 study reviewing the social assistance case files of 765

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[870] Banu et al., 362.
[871] Banu et al., 375.
[872] Banu et al., 359.
[873] Banu et al., 360. The sole term "concubinul" (approx. transl. "male concubine") was used to denote a male partner in a longer-term not formalized relationship. The institution of "common law marriage" was not part of Romanian legal practice. The "concubinage" concept stemmed from French legal practice. On the French legal approach, see Jenny Gesley, "Concubinage and the Law in France," Institution Web Page, Library of Congress, September 20, 2018, https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2018/09/concubinage-and-the-law-in-france/.
[874] Salvina Sturza, "Femeia muncitoare în fabrică [The Factory working woman]," 1937, Ministerul Muncii și Ocrotirii Sociale, Oficiul pentru Studii Sociale, Dosar 333/1937, ff.2-44, ANIC; Mănuilă, "Pauperismul și criza familială."

"pauperized" families (2782 persons) assisted by the Tei Demonstration Center for the Assistance of the Family and the Central Bureau for Social Assistance of the city of Bucharest, Mănuilă noted a high number of partners cohabitating without formal marriage. She pointed out that rather than women seeking men to support them as she believed was the case before the economic crisis, "we can now find men who come to live in with women who have a salary or a profession which earns well. In these cases, it is the woman who refuses to marry the man, because she does not want to keep on supporting him all her life".[875]

SSAS surveys conducted in 1932 among unemployed men assisted in Sector I Yellow revealed some of the reasons men offered for avoiding formalized marriages:

> For 470 marriages we have 118 common law ones, which makes them 25%. More than half of these illegitimate marriages do not last more than 3-4 years. Asked if they do not consent to having their marriages legitimized, especially where there are children, they almost always give the same answer: They are afraid of responsibility, these are hard times, they do not comprehend to make a commitment, when they do not know what tomorrow brings.[876]

In providing such reasons, the unemployed men assisted by City Hall Social Assistance in 1932, most of whom were petty clerks and craftsmen, affirmed the primacy of economic factors in creating familial strategies (or postponing to create them). Unfortunately, in the context of high unemployment - unalleviated by unemployment insurance or other forms of relief - such reluctance to commit fully shifted the weight of families' or dependents' social reproduction onto adult women (usually mothers).

(Umder)paid and unpaid overwork on behalf of dependents.

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[875] Mănuilă, "Pauperismul şi criza familială."
[876] Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor," 442.

In the 1939 study reviewing the case files of 765 pauperized families, Mănuilă was careful to dispel the notion that common law partnerships could have genuine advantages for women. After mentioning the case of a seamstress who prefered to take in a different lover every year, the researcher emphasized that in fact, cohabitation [instituția concubinajului] "creates an incomparably more difficult and unfavourable situation for women than for men".[877] According to Mănuilă, this was because if the men deserted the family, the children would remain in the care of the mother, without the men "feeling the slightest material and moral obligation towards the children."[878] Women's fear of being left to care for children on their own greatly enhanced their workload and their subordination: "The lovers keep terrorizing their women that they are going to leave them, exploiting them in an inhuman way. The women do any kind of work, are forced to do wage work and keep house for fear of being deserted."[879]

The extent to which women did end up taking over the care for other family members was clearly revealed by the survey of income levels and responsibility for dependents among 130 employed women; the studied women were working in factories, as hairdressers and as manicurists, in Bucharest. The results of the study - conducted by the SSAS under Mănuilă's leadership- were included in the reply provided by Botez to the questionnaire drawn up by the International Labour Office's Correspondence Committee on Women's Work. The survey showed that among the 130 women, there were more women deserted by husbands (37) than women who were married (34), widowed (22) or divorced (8). Most of the women's income came exclusively from their profession (107), but a considerable number also did handicraft for sale on the side (21). From their work, 76 women supported their "personal families", 21 supported their parents,

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[877] Mănuilă, "Pauperismul şi criza familială."
[878] Mănuilă.
[879] Mănuilă.

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another 21 "supported their children and their parents" and only twelve women kept their salaries from themselves.[880]

A Romanian social reform journal published the report of this study, in the shape sent by representative Botez to Marguerite Thibert, head of the ILO Correspondence Committee on Women's Work. In the same issue, the journal printed the text of Thibert's response, including her request for further details. In writing back, Thibert politely asked Botez and Mănuilă to provide more information about the sampling method used in the study. The researcher excused herself for further importuning the raporteur for Romania but explained that: "the results of the investigation you have shared bring such a striking example of heavy familial responsibilities born by women workers that it appears to me particularly interesting to be able to bring attention to such a result by displaying it with all the desirable level of precision."[881] The exchange points to the influence of ILO practices and expertise on the practices and expertise of the SSAS, and associated women welfare activists.

Participation in the ILO inquiry directed the SSAS towards a fuller, quantifiable asessment of the contribution of women's wages to the maintenance of family members. Their understanding of the family included not only children, but also parents or (not fully discernible in the ILB report) unemployed partners. Before 1937, SSAS surveys considered working class women with more empathy and concern than they did men. However, these surveys tended to question working-class women's ability (and not just availability) to properly care for their children. Contact with the ILO pushed their conclusion towards considering other interpretations too.

Previous to the stronger cooperation with the Correspondence Committee, in 1935, the Popoviciu survey described the general condition of the working-class family as emotionally

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880 Botez, "Reponse au questionnaire du BIT," 300.
881 Botez, 302.

malformed. Popoviciu emphasized the loss of "sentimental ties" between mother and child.[882] Also, she argued that working class households were generally lacking in a pleasant, familial atmosphere: "The typical house of the working woman presents a disorganized household", which did not fulfill the requirements of the "intimate, pleasant, homely [casnic] spirit".[883]

Despite pointing frequently to inadequate care of children, both the doctors' and the SSAS surveys documented a diversity of methods through which women did ensure the care, or at least the surveillance, of their children. According to data from the Dr. Banu et al. study, children were supervised "by the mother (so long as she lives close to the factory)" (5 cases); by the father (4 cases); by grandparents (26 cases), by other members of the family (3 cases); by "strangers" (24 cases).[884] More than a third of children remained unsupervised, joining the bands of children roaming around the streets. In her own studies, Natașa Popoviciu commented that such bands were sources for future thieves, delinquents and prostitutes.[885]

An explanation for the great number of apparently unsupervised children can be found in the cost of care: 71% of those who cared for the children of women surveyed by Dr. Banu's team received some form of payment for the service.[886] The high percentage indicates that even relatives were paid in one way or the other for their work. Similar to the cases of working-class families from the English and French settings studies by Tilly and Scott, even in economic crises, childcare work continued to be performed by women (be they mothers, wifes, grandmothers, neighbors), despite the breakdown of the male-provider-model through men's unemployment.[887]

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[882] Popoviciu, "Munca femeii și repercusiunile ei asupra familiei [Woman's work and its repercussions for the family]," 655.
[883] Popoviciu, 655.
[884] Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation," 368.
[885] Natalia Popovici, "Cronica muncii. Protecția muncii femeilor și a copiilor [Labor chronicle. The Labor protection of women and children]," in *Din Istoria feminismului românesc*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Polirom, 1935), 655.
[886] Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation," 368.
[887] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*.

Causes for change in patterns of women's work.

All the surveys conducted in the 1930s recognized that most women worked because they had been pushed by dire economic need. SSAS student Rodica Luția identified through her survey of over seven hundred families assisted in the Eastern Romanian city of Cernăuți that the main characteristic of women's paid work in what Tilly and Scott termed much later the "family wage economy":

> When the woman feels that her family can support itself without her working, she will stop work only to recommence when it was again necessary. So that the woman, from a professional point of view, is content to be the family's reserve army of labour, who gives help only in the case of great need. This work performed only in need and without it being part of any craft, is an inferior and badly-paid work.[888]

The function of adult women as "reserve army of labour" for their families is typical for laboring families from the end of the nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century. Adult women focused on household work due to its labour-intensive and time-consuming character. As shown by Ellen Ross with reference to London working class communities of the period, the way in which the mother in a family managed to administer the extremely limited resources she had at her disposal, could save or push into destitution the entire family.[889] Women's employment in industrial settings, which had long workdays, prevented them from juggling household tasks and paid work due to industrial discipline. Industrial work paid half a man's wages regardless of type of labour, so was by no means an economically rational choice. Especially not if there were any able men or teenage children in the family.[890]

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[888] Luția, "Raportul dintre problemele de muncă și problemele de dependența familiei [The connection between work problems and family dependence issues]," 669.
[889] Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 22, 44.
[890] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 199.

If women worked frequently in Bucharest, to certain researchers' dismay, it was because the survival of families in Bucharest depended on women's employment outside the home. SSAS researcher Natașa Popoviciu mentioned that "for [the older generation of women], work was not a determinate purpose in itself" but that divorce, widowhood or illness of a partner forced them to become heads of families, a situation they saw as a "painful necessity".[891]

Working class women's waged work in bad conditions increased because acute poverty had become frequent, at least in Bucharest, already from the middle of the 1920s.[892] In 1937, a year of apparent redress for the world economy, living standards for Bucharest families who depended on the labour market had not considerably improved. As the Dr. Banu et al. survey noted, the wage level for the main employed person in a family was extremely low. Also, work in industrial establishments had maintained a seasonal character, with long periods of technical unemployment.[893]

The Banu survey claimed that women in poor families worked more than their men because "their great professional adaptability" and "the lower expectations regarding wages" guaranteed them employment throughout the year. And indeed, as opposed to 10% of surveyed men, none of the surveyed women reported to have been entirely workless during the previous year, suggesting women's higher participation in occasional, unskilled work. In terms of earnings, 46 of the 100 women surveyed in the Banu study gained between 30 and 40 Lei per day, as opposed to only

[891] Popovici, "Cronica muncii. Protecția muncii femeilor și a copiilor [Labor chronicle. The Labor protection of women and children]," 660.

[892] "In 1925-26-28, a skilled worker earned on average 5000-7000 lei monthly. In 1930-31, the monthly earnings were reduced to 3500-4000 lei, but the majority are at the limit of 3000 lei. Fixed wages have decreased within three years by 50%. At the same time, rents have maintained their level constantly. We have calculated that on average our unemployed pay 21% of their last salary on rent. " Mănuilă, "Principii de organizarea ajutorării șomeourilor," 445.

[893] Necșa, "Date privind situația clasei muncitoare în perioada crizei economice 1929-1933 [Data on the situation of the working class during the economic crisis 1929-1933]"; Viorica Moisuc, "Unele date noi cu privire la situația maselor populare în perioada 1938-1940 [Some new data regarding the situation of the popular masses in the period 1938-1940]," *Studii - Revista de Istorie* 17, no. 6 (1964): 1325–40.

nineteen of the men. Despite the Dr. Banu et al. study's supply-side explanation, the concentration

of women in work considered to be unskilled and in low-paying positions indicates not so much

adaptability but the lack of other choices; women had to accept the only wages available. As

indicated by Botez in her report to the ILO Office, wage differentials of at least 50% between

women and men were the norm in most sectors.[894] Because of the crisis, women (especially the

poorest ones) worked more but obtained less income for families than before.

The Banu survey insisted and contextualized for the public of the "Mere au Foyer"

congress, the seriousness of the situation for working class families:

> It is to be remembered than <u>in more than half</u> of these cases, the sum available for each
> person in the working-class household is <u>derisory</u> (5 lei up to maximum 20 lei). […] It is
> self-understood that with such material resources it is impossible to ensure the existence of
> the family, no matter how low the living standards of this category.[895]

Also,

> Economic life is, without discussion, at the root of the majority of these deficiencies, both
> individual and familial, of the woman who works outside the home. It appears, according
> to all evidences (and without having at all the intention to exaggerate-as much as possible-
> the aspects of the real situation) that in our country the labour force is being exploited by
> the employers.[896]

Certainly without sympathy for pro-labour arguments, the social and sanitary survey presented in

Paris by the eugenicist and socially conservative Dr. Banu recognized, forced by evidence, that the

realities of waged labour in Eastern Europe were constraining workers and their families to a very

high degree.

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[894] Botez, "Reponse au questionnaire du BIT," 300.
[895] Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation," 372.
[896] Banu et al., 369.

6.4. The Flip Side of Investigative Assistance

If social research is a "complex, recursive negotiation between researcher and researched", as Igo claims,[897] what did the participants in the survey-making research process in Bucharest get out of their cooperation? The small scope of social and sanitary assistance programs and the relative rarity of surveys made it so that social workers or visiting nurses did not importune too much on the daily life of Bucharest's poorer families. When such professionals were present, they were often met with reluctance and distrust, even if their help was needed in a household.

In a sense, social research complicated receipt of aid. Participation in survey research conducted by professionals who were also welfare providers enhanced the already-present "quid pro quo" features of the interactions between those who needed assistance and those who were able to provide it, following home investigations.

The requirements of data collection meant respondents acquiesced to more intense observation, evaluation and counseling than normally. If a survey was being conducted, case documents could not be filled in by the social worker in an abbreviated, even perfunctory manner – as social workers in the capital's Hospital Social Service often did. On the basis of the more detailed data, a household's sanitary and social situation could be evaluated more strictly, and the receipt of welfare conditioned more stringently by certain kinds of behavior.

In 1932, Dr. Ștefania Negrescu described the living conditions of families from the "Xth medical (peripheral) circumscription", observed during an international survey on infant mortality:

> Living conditions were in 46% of cases of the most miserable. […] Floors were made of dirt. Water was procured most often from a fountain situated in the street, or in the neighbours' yard, carrying it in a bucket, in which all sorts of cups were introduced. Great promiscuity: some 3-4 persons sleeping in a single bed. The latrine, primitive and dirty, is

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[897] Igo, "Subjects of Persuasion: Survey Research as a Solicitous Science."

situated close to the dwelling and emits, especially during the summer, an unbearable smell.[898]

We can imagine the hawk-eyed presence of Dr. Negrescu in the homes of the Xth sanitary district, peering at water buckets, weighing children and requesting for her tables information on infants' health or the death of certain of them. Visiting nurse Kogălniceanu, coauthor in the Banu survey, must have felt obligated to offer advice on the state of the homes, as required of her profession and as appeared to be demanded by the stuffy and unheated rooms she noted in a majority of cases.[899]

The women whose overwork was diligently noted in the 1937 Banu survey must have listed the births and the abortions they had with a certain detachment (most women went through both, multiple times throughout their lives, the report revealed) and must have complained about husbands, concubines and landlords to the young women who put down the information about the quality of their marriages.[900] Most likely the surveyed women hoped that access to their homes and information offered would bring medical or social assistance, or prevent it being made unavailable. For instance, for the Banu investigation, the level of detail concerning living and working conditions, the recorded medical and personal histories of the more than one hundred employed women surveyed makes one wonder about the circumstances in which such access was granted.

When the Demonstration Center for the Assistance of the Family was opened in the Tei neighborhood by the Superior School for Social Assistance in 1932, it was initially met with "violent reactions" and a "stubborn resistance against the system of constructive assistance the Center introduced".[901] According to Veturia Mănuilă, initiator of the Center, most of those who opposed the new Center's role in the distribution of public relief (fuel, aid in cash, other aid in

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[898] Negrescu, "Date și concluzii din ancheta internațională asupra cauzelor mortalității infantile," 279.
[899] Zolog, "Sora de ocrotire"; Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation."
[900] Banu et al., "Etudes concernant la situation," 373–77.
[901] Mănuilă, "Le role de l'Ecole Superieure d'Assistance Sociale dans le mouvement d'assistance sociale roumaine [The role of the Superior School of Social Assistance in the Romanian social assistance movement]," 34.

kind) would have preferred a system which surveilled them less. Or, as a woman who had received help from the reformed Social Assistance Office told Costa-Foru, the social workers were doing her the displeasure of conditioning help upon their investigation of what was boiling in her pots.[902] (See Section 4.3.)

In the Bucharest context, welfare investigations through home visits could sometimes have unequivocally negative effects. In 1932, Sector III Black councilwoman Zefira Voiculescu (see Table 2) sent a concerned letter to the office of the Comunitatea Evreilor București (Jewish Community Bucharest), the official body intermediating between the large Jewish community in the city and local authorities.[903]

> Mr President,
> It has been brought to my attention by several unemployed men of Jewish faith that following the list I relayed to the Honor. Community containing their names so they could request unleavened bread on the occasion of the Holly Passover, with I do not know which purpose they were investigated at home which caused them great harm namely that many of them were masking their misery as best they could, were registered at the unemployment office without their landlords knowing and because of these investigations [cercetări] that were carried out in their homes the landlords found out they were unemployed and revoked their contracts. I am pointedly asking you to investigate the situation and that these people be left alone to carry on with their life difficult as it is already.
> Delegated Councilwoman Zefira Voiculescu[904]

Councilwoman Voiculescu's letter to the Jewish Community condemned the same home investigation procedures that were being applied with enthusiasm in Sector II Yellow beginning with 1930 and which provided data for some of the SSAS's studies. Councilwoman Voiculescu served in a different sector and had been elected on the National Liberal Party lists. In writing about the consequences of what she seems to portray as excess of zeal on behalf of representatives

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[902] Costa-Foru, "Colaborarea în asistență."
[903] In 1930, Bucharest's Jewish population was almost 75,000, around 10%. Rotman, "Bucharest."
[904] Zefira Voiculescu, "Sector II Yellow City Hall to Jewish Community Bucharest," Registered letter, April 14, 1932, File II 271/1920-1947, f. 112, CSIER.

of the Jewish Community in dealing with unemployed men, she was also questioning the "constructive social assistance" approach introduced by Veturia Mănuilă and National Peasantist councilwoman Botez. And indeed, in the context of Great Depression Bucharest and unemployed tenants' lack of protection against evictions, home investigations appear to have had a great potential for backfiring. Archival evidence about similar situations in neighborhoods such as Tei is missing. Yet the quick and grave ripple effects of the welfare-related home investigations conducted in the Jewish community could have plausibly happened in neigborhoods and sectors of the city where home investigations were part of the procedure for access to social assistance. If archival evidence shows that social workers could not help with much in Bucharest, situations such as that noted by Voiculescu raise questions about the instances in which social workers really did not help at all, despite good intentions.

In this chapter I argued that survey research on women's work in Bucharest became part of the city's "welfare mix" through its overlapping with welfare provision, due to the involvement of social workers and visiting nurses in data collection. These surveys shed light on the fact that women's paid and unpaid work was ensuring the survival of dependents and the maintenance of households. The phenomenon led to women's overwork, as male unemployment and women's subordination to men pushed women towards badly-paid, deregulated wage work. In other words, the small scale studies conducted in the city's neighborhoods underscored how welfare was ensured and needs provided for through an increase in adult women's paid and unpaid work. I have also shown how findings were interpreted in different ways by researchers connected to the ILO and those heavily influenced by eugenics. Whereas both groups focused on the effects of women's

wage work on the "disorganization of the family", the social workers associated with the SSAS were less willing to advocate a return of women to the home as a solution. The coming of the Second World War curbed the influence of the small scale studies on welfare policy. In the short term, their effects could be disruptive for the researched.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I set out to challenge the foundational assumption of the "modernity paradigm" as applied to Romania and Eastern Europe more broadly. I showed that contrary to its key propositions, welfare and the well-being of "populations" were not of paramount importance to state-building in Romania (or the larger region) during the interwar period. I also questioned the tendency of Romanian historiography to read social and economic policy-making as effects of so-called "debates on development". In creating a gendered social history of welfare provision in Bucharest during the 1920s and 1930s, I have demonstrated that as in most semi-periphery, export-dependent economies, politicians in "Greater Romania" displayed limited support for state intervention in labour relations and in any case, lacked the budget for large-scale, functional welfare provision. In this context, proletarianized city and village inhabitants dealt with a highly volatile economy by making do as best they could. The network of competing and collaborating women advocating for changes to urban social assistance, identified and tracked throughout this dissertation, operated as local politicians, direct welfare providers or as social researchers within this context of precarity and low state investment for relief, especially during economic downturn.

My inquiry spotlights four welfare-related themes that are indispensable to a more complex understanding and one might even say a more accurate account of the interwar period, in Romania and regionally: women's welfare activism, the concrete operation of welfare provision, the development of urban-focused social research and women's paid and unpaid work.

In the dissertation, I uncovered the full significance of women's welfare activism by insistently integrating the activities of women such as Calypso Botez, Alexandrina Cantacuzino or

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Veturia Mănuilă in the political history narrative of Romania, an account from which they have so far been missing. I pointed out how women's welfare activism was a key element in the construction of the heterogeneous and disjointed „welfare mix" which enabled a minimal management and alleviation of social need, especially in the symbolically- and economically-significant capital city of the country. By reconstructing trasnational links as well as local constraints and path depedencies in the forging of Bucharest's particular welfare set-up during the interwar, I have suggested that these historiographically-marginalized actors shaped events and experiences for more people and in more immediate ways than such knowledges and practices as the consecrated „debates on development". For instance, in Chapter 4, I have traced how these activists' reforms of Bucharest City Hall social assistance constructed women as main recipients. (Only for male breadwinners to be favored again once councilwomen were no longer in office, several years later.) However, by also examining the network of women welfare activists in Bucharest as involved in interwar-specific struggles for access, recognition and influence within male-dominated spaces of cultural production, I have portrayed these activists as calculating political actors and personally-ambitious social reformers. Their initiatives on behalf of women and girls were shaped by such clashes over and claims to authority. The process was most evident in the increasingly stark opposition between Alexandrina Cantacuzino's vision of „lay", „feminine" expertise as the key to improved municipal social assistance and Veturia Mănuilă, Xenia Costa-Foru and Calypso Botez, and their vision of professionalized, centralized social work. These competing reform projects envisioned different conditions for entitlement and definitions of citizenship for lower-class women, with effects on how these women and their households ensured their and dependent members' survival.

Also, this dissertation provides a comprehensive account of welfare in urban Romania, going beyond the focus on the creation of standard welfare policies, such as health insurance. Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 reconstruct the links between different levels and layers of welfare provision, the welfare ideologies shaping social assistance and their functionality. They reveal that the welfare system in Romania was one characterized by consistent subsidies to private organizations run by women and an emphasis on women's wage work as complement or condition to relief. Whereas in the 1930s male breadwinner ideologies (and correspondingly, the intensification of women's housework) were being promoted in countries such as the USA, welfare activists in Romania supported women's wage work. Thus, in Chapter 4, I have indicated how in the 1920s, councilwoman Cantacuzino conditioned able-bodied persons' receipt of public aid upon their performing community work (such as cleaning streets). Almost a decade later, a different cohort of councilors than that of which Cantacuzino was a part were extolling the virtues of wage work by asking women to knit socks and vests in exchange for the minimal relief available from the Sector I Yellow (City) Hall.

Furthermore, the chapters of this dissertation enable the construction of a different narrative about the institutionalization of the social sciences in Romania and social knowledge-making during the interwar period. Chapter 3 and Chapter 6, especially, reconstruct a process by which women trained in urban social research (due to its connection to social reform and social work) were marginalized in the process of institutionalizing sociology as academic discipline. I argued that women welfare activists became involved in small scale and transnational social research, developing an emphasis on intimacy work as a necessary component of social knowledge-making. I also called attention to the fact that research conducted by the Section for Feminine Studies or the related Superior School of Social Assistance was shaped by the double influence of American

welfare movement (led by welfare activists such as Mary Richmond) and that of the International Labour Office (among others, through officer Marguerite Thibert). Previously, the tendency has been to associate these institutions and networks of women researchers either with the eugenicist current or the Rockefeller Foundation. Besides correcting existing narratives, this alternative account of the development of empirical social research in Romania can contribute to the new, highly interesting critical historiography of the evolution of the social sciences. In dialogue with contributions by Adela Hîncu and Mara Mărginean, on the history of the sociology of the family and respectively, post-WWII investigations of "quality of life" in urban Romania, I have aimed to create a history of the interwar precedents of post-1945 urban sociology.[905]

In addition, besides being a history of gendered activism and welfare provision, this dissertation can also be read as a contribution to the "new" labour histories Dorothy Sue Cobble has called for.[906] It reveals the prevalence and extent of informalized and deregulated work in Bucharest during decades of economic boom and bust, in which self-maintenance and the maintenance of dependents fell on women's intensified wage work, combined with housework to be performed in bad conditions. It can also be considered a history of the urban in which villages and the migrants their poverty produced figure prominently. Thus, I have shown, particularly in Chapters 5 and 6, that the wage work performed by women in domestic service as well as in industry was increasingly necessary for the maintenance of wage-dependent households. Chapter 5 traced how a young woman's domestic service in 1920s and 1930s Bucharest was integral to

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[905] Adela-Gabriela Hîncu, "Accounting for "the Social" in State Socialist Romania, 1960s to 1980s: Contexts and Genealogies" (PhD Dissertation, Budapest, Central European University, 2019); Mara Mărginean, "Politicile caloriei: standard de viață, alimentație și legături de familie în România la jumătatea secolului al XX-lea [The politics of the calory: Living standards, food and kinship in Romania in mid twentieth century Romania]," in *Familia în România -O incursiune diacronică pluridisciplinară*, ed. Anca Dohotariu (Bucharest: Editura Universitatii Bucuresti, 2017), 161–85; See also Adela-Gabriela Hîncu and Viktor Karady, eds., *Social Sciences in the "Other Europe" since 1945* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018).
[906] Cobble, "The Promise and Peril of the New Global Labor History."

families' survival or even upward mobility strategies in the countryside, could be at the basis of a couple's rural-urban migration strategy and also represent an important factor in how middle-class families allocated labour within households. The trend towards women's overwork during the crisis was confirmed by surveys conducted by welfare activists at the time; data showed that women took up unstable, badly-paid employment despite the continuously heavy burden of household work and growing numbers of dependents. This phenomenon is not visible in studies which trace changes in urban living standards only with men's patterns of work in mind, assuming full-time, consistent employment, with some access to social benefits and therefore visibility in unemployment statistics during the Great Depression.

This dissertation has not looked at the transformations of welfare during the late 1930s in sufficient detail. It has also only touched on changes occurring in social policy and social assistance, either locally and nationally during the 1940s. The cooptation of women's organizations in bodies such as the Patronage Council of Social Works in Marshall Antonescu's regime during the Second World War, the changes in welfare legislation that came with conscription and antisemitic Romanianization, and how various households made do during the war are matters which require much more detailed attention.

In the end, what of Marioara Ionescu's case file and its veracity? Over the course of this dissertation I showed that the layers of welfare-related laws, institutions, persons and practices mentioned in the "sample report" describing Marioara Ionescu's situation, discussed in the Introduction, were real and their disjointed functioning accurately described. I also showed that the predicament described in the casework documents was by no means rare. However, I revealed that such comprehensive assistance support as Marioara Ionescu received (according to the sample report) would have been virtually unheard of in reality. Instead, as in most (semi) peripheries

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during times of convulsive economic transformation, a woman in a similar situation would rely on

her wage work and housework, the care work and support of immediate kin and perhaps, the work

of older children in workshops or other people's household

Table 2 - Councilwomen in Bucharest City Councils, coopted and elected (1919-1938)

Year	General City Council	Bucharest Sectors				Mayor
		I Yellow	II Black	III Blue	IV Green	
1919						Emil Petrescu
1920	Zoe Ramniceanu (honorary membership in provisional commission)					
1921						Gheorghe Gheorghian
1922						Gh. Corbescu
1923						I. Costinescu
1924						
1925						
1926	Zoe Ramniceanu, Maria Bals, Alexandrina Cantacuzino, Sarmiza Alimanisteanu, Ecaterina Caragea, Eleonora Gologan, Elena Popp ("Ladies coopted in the general council")					
1927		Elena Popp, Ecaterina Caragea, Eleonora Gologan, Sarmiza Alimanisteanu, Maria Bals, Irina Butculescu, Alexandrina Cantacuzino (mandates in sector councils for period 16 Jul 1927-4 Feb 1929)	Maria Camarasescu, Stela Pilat (mandates in sector councils for period 16 Jul 1927-4 Feb 1929)	Aurelia Col. Badescu, Maria Elefterie Georgescu (period 16 Jul 1927-4 Feb 1929)	Margareta Hera, Gabriela Duca (period 16 Jul 1927-4 Feb 1929)	
1928						
1929						
1930	Calypso Botez, Ortansa Satmary	Calypso Botez, Alexandrina Cantacuzino (Oct 1930 to May 1931)	Ella Negruzzi, Zefira Col. Voiculescu (Oct 1930 to May 1931)	Ortansa Satmary (Oct 1930 to May 1931)	Maria Pilat (Oct 1930 to May 1931)	Dem. Dobrescu
1931						

1932	Calypso Botez, Margareta Ghelmegeanu ("elected council members" from May 1931 to 1932)	Calypso Botez, Alexandrina Cantacuzino ("elected council members" from May 1931 to 1932)	Ella Negruzzi, Zefira Col. Voiculescu ("elected council members" from May 1931 to 1932)		Margareta Ghelmegeanu, Maria Pilat ("elected council members" from May 1931 to 1932)	
1933			Zefira col. Voiculescu			Al. Protopopescu (from July 1932)
1934		Tatiana Iorgulescu			Maria Pilat	Al. G. Donescu
1935						
1936						
1937		Florica Marcotzi		Elena V. Gheorghiade;		
1938				Henrieta Gavrilescu, Mira D. Constantin (Jan.-Feb. 1938)		C.C. Braescku, Julian Peter
1939						Gen. Victor Dombrovski ("designated mayor" from Sept. 1939)

Source: Table compiled from Serviciul Statistic al Municipiului Bucuresti, "Membrii Comisiunii Interimare dela 5 ianuarie 1920-2 fevruarie 1922 [Members of the Provisional Commission from 5th of January 1920 to 2nd of February 1922]," in *Anuarul Statistic al Orasului Bucuresti 1915-1923 [Statistical Yearbook of the City of Bucharest for the Years 1915-1923]*, vol. 21–22 (Bucharest: Tipografia Curtii Regale F. Gobl Fii, 1924), 3; Serviciul Statistic al Municipiului Bucuresti, "Tablou de Consilierii Municipali Dela 16 Iulie 1927-4 Fevruarie 1929 [Table of Municipal Councilors from 16 July 1927 to 4 February 1929]," in *Anuarul Statistic al Municipiului Bucuresti 1924-1930 [Statistical Yearbook of the Municipality of Bucharest for the Years 1924-1930]*, vol. 30–36 (Bucharest: Tipografia de Arta si Editura Leopold Geller, 1931), v–x; Serviciul Statistic al Municipiului Bucuresti, "Tablou de membrii alesi ai Consiliului Comunal dela 31.X.1930-15.V.1931 [Table of elected members in the Commune Council from 31 October 1930 to 15 May 1930]," in *Anuarul Statistic al Municipiului Bucuresti 1924-1930 [Statistical Yearbook of the Municipality of Bucharest for the Years 1924-1930]*, vol. 30–36 (Bucharest: Tipografia de Arta si Editura Leopold Geller, 1931), xi–xii; Serviciul Statistic al Municipiului Bucuresti, "Membrii alesi ai consiliului comunal dela

16.V.1931 pana in prezent [Elecected members to the commune council from 16 May 1931 to the present]," in *Anuarul Statistic al Municipiului Bucuresti 1924-1930 [Statistical Yearbook of the Municipality of Bucharest for the Years 1924-1930]*, vol. 30–36 (Bucharest: Tipografia de Arta si Editura Leopold Geller, 1931), xiii–xiv; Primaria Municipiului Bucuresti, *Anuarul Statistic al Orasului Bucuresti 1931-1936 [Statistical Yearbook of the City of Bucharest 1931-1936]* (Serviciul Municipal de Statistica, 1937).

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