

*From the absences of history toward the unequal  
of the equal. Women in the higher education of Romania  
1919-1939\**

**Dragoş SDROBIŞ**

**Keywords:** *Greater Romania, higher education, women, gender education, social promotion*

*The evolution of the socio-political, economic and legal status of woman in interwar Romania*

Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the movement for women's emancipation pursued to define and to impose the recognition of the civil and political citizenship of women in all societies. By citizenship – as any symbolic notion – one understood social security and non-discriminatory access to the state resources, as a way to assure liberty and welfare.

The concept of liberty – as a generic one – gathered all the rights and freedoms promoted by any democratic political pattern, that should be shared by all citizens. To this respect, the right to vote and the right to be elected represented one of the most important demands of the feminist movements all over the world in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The states that granted these two rights were the North European states, before the beginning of the World War I: Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913, Denmark and Iceland in 1915. Between 1917 – 1921 many other countries granted political rights for women: Great Britain, Germany, Ireland, Holland, USA, Canada, and even USSR. For the above-mentioned states, the amplitude of the women's political emancipation movements and the granting of these rights were mainly caused by the industrial revolution and the phenomenon inherent to the economic demands. Briefly, “the necessity of the civil emancipation was imposed by the requests encountered on the labor market”<sup>267</sup>.

---

\* This paper was supported by a Joint Research Project *Women in Educated Elites in Early Socialist and Pre-Socialist Eastern and Central Europe* funded in the frame of SCOPES (Scientific Cooperation with Eastern Europe) program of the Swiss National Science Foundation. Director Dr. Natalia Tikhonov Sigris.

<sup>267</sup> Ghizela Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România. Evoluția dreptului de vot în perioada interbelică*, Cluj, Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002, p. 8.

Although an important number of successor states granted the right to vote for women, in Romania this reform eventually occurred in 1938<sup>268</sup>, during the authoritarian regime of King Charles II. Nevertheless, a success was obtained in 1929, when the new administrative law granted electoral rights for women. But the right to vote or to be elected was restrained for the local elections and revealed the importance of the educational credentials in order to achieve these two rights. Although men didn't have to accomplish such a criteria, women were requested to graduate at least the inferior cycle of the secondary level of education, to be employed in the administrative apparatus, to be war widows and/or decorated for their patriotic activity during the Great War. In fact, through this law a sort of *cultural censure* was imposed on women (Ştefania Mihăilescu). The only common aspect with the Parliament electoral law from 1926 was the compulsoriness of the vote for all the women who fitted among those with electoral rights<sup>269</sup>.

Beside the obstructing of the women political emancipation, it is reasonable to stress also the economic status. According to the *Romanian Encyclopedia* (1939), the conceptual delimitations between active and passive population may be suspected of gender discrimination and of the lack of defining the difference between social assured people and social assisted people. So, if the active population “takes part in the collective effort of production”, “the other inhabitants who – because of their social category, of their physical incapacity or of their biological state (age, sex, invalidity) – do not intervene, but as consumers, they represent the *supported population* or the *passive population*”<sup>270</sup>. According to these definitions, the woman – through her very biological sex – became part of the *supported population*. Last but not least, it should be pointed out that the right of woman to perform certain professional activities was granted very late and after a great struggle. At the end of the Great War women were allowed to become part of the Superior Labor Council or of the School Councils and to perform remunerative activities in the National Railway Company. And, after Ella Negruzzi's success in 1915 (she was the first

---

<sup>268</sup> The reasons that caused such a continuous delay of the electoral reform were demographical (because of the human casualties during the Great War, in 1930 the male population represented 49.1%), educational (the very low alphabetization ratio among women) and moral (although the society idealized women from the moral point of view – portrayed as mother, devoted wife and housewife – it also created an antithesis between the domestic space and political life. By this the society generated and maintained the political exclusion for women, who *should* remain in the limits imposed by the patriarchal thinking).

<sup>269</sup> G. Cosma, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>270</sup> *Chapter II – Oamenii*, in *Enciclopedia României*, vol.III, Bucureşti, Imprimeriile Naţionale, 1939, p. 41.

Romanian woman to become a lawyer), the right to perform advocacy was granted to women in June 1920.

But in the countryside the situation was far away from any improving. Because the agriculture was mainly practiced by small land owners, with no technological improvements, the woman became part of this economic activity, but as an auxiliary, together with the children. Although statistically women exceeded men in agriculture (4.18 million females – 50.7%, and 4.06 million males, 49.3%), this aspect is far away of being interpreted as a sign of women's economic emancipation. It was, in fact, “the consequence of practicing an extensive agriculture and of a rudimentary agricultural technics of production”<sup>271</sup>.

Despite these rural aspects, in industry and in the administrative apparatus the women ratio is increasing during the entire interwar period. For instance, in industry female workers represented 18.9% of the employees, but they were above this ratio in food industry, textile industry, where “together with children [women] represented at the end of the 30s more than 40% of the employees”<sup>272</sup>. The same trends were visible in public services, where in 1930 the females represented 20.4% of the employees. But it should be emphasized that the women – as civil servants – didn't achieve managing positions. For instance, in 1923 the Central Administration of the Interior Minister had 555 employees, of whom 227 were women (that is 40%). None of these were in managing functions and only 8 of them had graduated higher education. In 1938 in the same institution the number of employed women was of 128 (44.6% of 287), of whom 25 had graduated higher education. Still, they were invested in inferior executive functions<sup>273</sup>.

The political and economic inferiority of woman was strongly linked with the legal one. The Constitution of 1923 stipulated at article 6 that “The civil rights of women will be established of a fully equality between the two sexes”. This principle was far away from the social reality, if we take into consideration the dispositions of the Romanian Civil Code, a

---

<sup>271</sup> Ștefania Mihăilescu, *Amplificarea și maturizarea mișcării de emancipare a femeii române între 1929 și 1948*, în Ștefania Mihăilescu (ed.), *Din istoria feminismului românesc. Studiu și antologie de texte 1929-1948*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2006, p. 17.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 19.

<sup>273</sup> See *Anuarul funcționarilor de stat ai Ministerului de Interne pe anul 1923*, București, Imprimeria Statului, 1923, pp. 132-182, *Anuarul funcționarilor din Administrația Centrală și Exterioară a Ministerului de Interne 1938*, București, Imprimeria Națională, 1938.

conservative act of Napoleonic inspiration<sup>274</sup>. Some examples can be illustrative: the Romanian woman would automatically lose Romanian citizenship by the marriage with a foreign citizen (in order to keep the Romanian citizenship she had to record this option in a legal act). By marriage, the woman would lose her judicial personality, in this way having the same status as children or as alienated persons. So, she couldn't conclude contracts or present herself in court without the approval of her husband. Another common law regarding marriage was the *dowry marriage*, a dowry that would never be at her disposal. Calypso Botez, a feminist militant, considered that marriage meant for the Romanian woman „le passage de la capacité à l'incapacité”<sup>275</sup>. Eventually, in 1932 a special law cancelled the civil incapacity of married woman, for whom this law granted the right to conclude contracts, to present herself independently in front of the justice or to dispose of her wage, if employed. Nevertheless, a great restriction was the maintaining of the mutual divorce.

*Romanian educational system during interwar period. General characteristics*

It would be very interesting to emphasize the social role of education in a society that, more or less, marginalized women. Was the education a vector for social promotion (as the democratic model of mass education pretended to be)? Was it just a cultural mechanism in order to inoculate a certain identity? Or – the optimistic point of view – did it remain far away of the socio-political ideas performed in interwar Romania?

As an agrarian society, where the delimitation between the public and the private sphere represented the extension of the male-female cleavage, the Romanian state designed education mainly as a way to *enlighten the masses*. This is how we can explain the frenzy of *cultural offensive* during the 20s, through which Constantin Angelescu as minister of public instruction and, as a continuator of Spiru Haret (the first instruction minister who tried to eradicate the analphabetism), tried to complete the alphabetization of Romanian nation. In this manner, Angelescu considered school “a way to provoke a renovation in spirit and to reawake the national conscience”, and after that a way to fit “the requests and the needs of the

---

<sup>274</sup> Ştefania Mihăilescu, *Amplificarea și maturizarea mișcării de emancipare a femeii*, p. 23.

<sup>275</sup> Calypso Botez, *Rapport sur la situation juridique de la femme dans la législation roumaine*, Bucarest, 1932, p. 7.

country”<sup>276</sup>. By this, the educational politics – that imposed a minimum period of compulsory and no-fees education – promoted the idea of preserving a certain national specific of the Romanian society. Despite the enormous investments that were made (e.g. new buildings), education was not designed to be a mechanism of social change.

Education as an *end in itself* was harshly criticized. Iuliu Moldovan considered the Romanian school “a place of experiencing a blind pedagogy towards the elementary necessities of life. The result of such an instruction would be weak graduates, [...] with no initiative or emancipation spirit, no will or determination, finally with no preparation for life’s real necessities”<sup>277</sup>. This is the reason why Moldovan proposed the model of the bio political state, which should focus its attention on the selection and the promotion of human capital. In terms of gender the model designed by Moldovan would eventually extend the male-female cleavage. Thus, if “the man is the productive, disciplined and individualist element, for whom intellectual activities prevail”, woman is “the receptive, obeyed, and socio-altruist element, for whom soul capacities prevail in order to give moral education”<sup>278</sup>. This kind of ideas had the role to block the ascension of women through education, mentally too. For a peripheral, traditionalist and agrarian society, the reticence of the *manhood establishment* to improve women social status could have hardly been defeated by a weak women emancipation movement. It should be taken into consideration the economic coefficient. Romania’s poor economic level of development didn’t impose a supplementary human capital to be converted in labor force. That is, the

---

<sup>276</sup> Constantin Angelescu, *Evoluția învățământului primar și secundar în ultimii douăzeci de ani*, in *Revista generală a învățământului*, an XXVIII, nr. 5-6, mai-iunie 1940, pp. 170-171.

<sup>277</sup> Iuliu Moldovan, *Biopolitica*, Cluj, 1926, pp. 33-34.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76. Later, at the end of the 30s, the eugenic researchers negated the existence of any differences between girls and boys in terms of intelligence. The way they tried to explain the absence of women from social life was due to the mainstreaming of the gender social roles, which caused the social promotion of women. “The fact that the number of genius men is superior to that of women genius cannot become a proof of the women’s inferiority. This could be taken for good, if we can prove that social and educational opportunities were equals for both sexes. But the educational curriculum for girls is different from that of boys, because for girls the scientific content was smaller and, by this, a lot of professions became forbidden for women. And hardly had she been employed, the wage received was smaller”. Alexandru Roșca, apud Maria Bucur, *Mișcarea eugenistă și rolurile de gen*, in Mihaela Miroiu, Maria Bucur (ed.), *Patriarhat și emancipare în istoria gândirii politice românești*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2002, p. 123.

social and economic quasi-lockage of women. In fact, to maintain woman in a dependency state toward man represented a valid argument to ban total political rights for woman.

But, despite all these anti-feminist attitudes, the ratio of women in the second level of education represented a necessary premise for achieving a cultural and social capital that could lead to a social promotion.

Modernity required a profound reform of the educative system, because of the complexity of the social life that industrialization and urbanization phenomena provoked. Along with technology and urbanization, the industrial revolution augmented the importance of formal education. In a place – such as it was the city – “it appeared that shared norms and expectations eroded, and familiar social controls lost their significance. As a result, more formal systems of socialization and discipline, like the school and police, gained new significance. A new institutional culture began to take shape in the largest cities because of these developments”<sup>279</sup>. “The central question was the link between schooling and the growing complexity of the social structure, an outcome of industrialization and urbanization. As the social division of labor became more complicated, the issues of schooling and training people for productive careers in the new urbanizing society grew in importance”<sup>280</sup>. So, by inventing and by promoting new social roles, education itself became a vector of social change or, more accurate, of social differentiation, a phenomena accelerated by the increasing development of urban life, requiring a widely division of labor and through this leading to tendencies toward specialization in the production of goods and services. Shortly, the urban life created and imposed new social and economic roles, for women and men as well. “The life in the biggest cities was characterized by a loss of community”, in which “social relations became more impersonal. Given this, it is conceivable to say that social capital was dissipated. In highly urbanized areas people were known by their social roles than as individuals. [...] As the cities expanded, it was possible for the individual to feel lost in a sea of humanity”<sup>281</sup>.

So, for the developed societies, as it was the case of USA, education meant instruction, allocation of a certain social role and strengthening of a civic consciousness. In other words, education had the role to inoculate to

---

<sup>279</sup> John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change. Contours in the History of American Schooling*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, New York – London, Routledge Publishing House, 2009, p. 7.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 139-140.

every single individual the senses of membership to a national community, social responsibility and economic initiative.

This was not the case of the Romanian education system. In fact, for the Romanian state education meant only instruction, in this manner the Romanian instruction ministers continuing to promote a pedagogical approach specific for the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Eventually, this is the reason why intellectual activities and theoretical preparation prevailed in the school curriculum<sup>282</sup>. The alphabetization became an end in itself by ignoring the practical and entrepreneurial capacities of the individuals.

A proof that neither the education promoted a social change, nor the economics required specialized labor force is the structure of Romanian population in economic fields (see Table 3). Although the institutional development of the Romanian state apparently expressed a modernization phenomenon, the population's economic structure emphasizes the insignificant feature of the social change. If in the western societies social change was required by the economic development, in Romania it is the state that tried to demarche and sustain social change<sup>283</sup>. But the modernization effort of the Romanian state ended up into an oversizing of the bureaucratic apparatus, dependent of the state from the financially point of view. In other words, social change in Romania meant administrative roles allocated by the state, but that couldn't bring any *added value* for the economy; instead, sustaining this administrative apparatus shifted the majority of investments toward the urban medium by ignoring the village. So, it was no mistake for any foreign observer to describe Romania as a "country of increasing contrasts".

*The secondary education as source of inequality between males and females*

The agrarian reform of 1920 (that led to the extinction of the landlords) and the electoral reform (that granted the right to vote to all major males) both contributed to an increasing importance for education. Because the peasant farming became one of subsistence, the economic deprivations could easily have led to a political radicalization. This is why the state chose

---

<sup>282</sup> Ștefan Bârsănescu, *Politica culturii. Studiu de pedagogie*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2003, p. 70.

In the west economics dictated to politics, but in Romania (as in most peripheral societies) politics dictated the conditions of economic life". Andrew C. Janos, *Modernization and Decay in Historical Perspective: the Case of Romania*, in Kenneth Jowitt (ed.), *Social Change in Romania 1860-1940*, University of California, Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, 1978, nr. 36, p. 89.

to extend the compulsory education to 7 years and to liberalize the access toward the secondary level of education. On the other hand, the population became aware of the significant role education could have in social promotion and economic liberation<sup>284</sup>.

The state reformed the secondary level of education, by giving-up the old system (classic, modern and sciences branches – as a matter of fact all were theoretical oriented) and by developing three distinct directions: theoretical (the high-school), vocational (*ecoles normales*, theological high-schools or *seminarium*) and professional (industrial schools, housekeeping schools, cottage industry schools, etc.).

Nevertheless, the great majority of the pupils from the secondary education would choose to graduate the theoretical high-schools, a reason for this propensity being that the theoretical high-school was designed as a “selected school” and as a nursery of the country’s intellectual elite<sup>285</sup>. So, by graduating theoretical high-school the pupil could achieve a social capital, otherwise necessary to become a university student. This is how we can explain that the curriculum of the high-school was supposed to assure a certain degree of “general culture”. The reform of 1932 tried to change this state of things, by establishing “a rational equilibrium between humanities and sciences”, the differences becoming more significant during the last class. The legislator’s motivation was not concerned not uselessly overcrowd the curriculum and, by this, to encourage an “intellectual trend” among students. The purpose was to “prepare the country’s useful elements through labor and through a solid general culture”<sup>286</sup>.

A characteristic of the secondary education from this period was the gender segregation. Nevertheless, the mixt high-school existed, especially in towns where locative spaces for educational purposes were missing.

Despite of some public reactions against female presence in the secondary education, their presence increased significantly (see Table 5). More than this, there were no significant curriculum differences, due to the fact that the graduation exam (the *baccalaureate*) required the same theoretical and practical notions. Unfortunately, we could not find any centralized statistical data in order to capture the graduation rate of this exam by each gender (see Table 6).

In 1937-38 scholastic year, the male population from the state secondary schools represented 58.8% (96.868 male pupils of 164.603), while females represented 36.8% (60.555). The 4.6% difference represented

<sup>284</sup> See Calypso Botez, *La prolongation de la scolarité*, Bucarest, f.a.

<sup>285</sup> Ş. Bârsănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>286</sup> *Programele analitice pentru învăţământul secundar (gimnazii şi licee de băieţi şi fete)*, Bucureşti, Imprimeriile Statului, 1941, p. 3.



the pupils of the mixt high-schools, which we were unable to split on gender criteria (see Table 7). The evolution of females in the secondary schools was very rapid: if in 1920-21 there were registered 5.646 female pupils in high-schools, in 1937-38 there were 28.957, that is six time more female pupils than in the 1920-21 scholastic year. An interesting clue that may capture the amplitude of this phenomenon is the alphabetization ratio. According to the 1930's census, the ratio of secondary graduates' women in the total female alphabetized population was 10.1% (that is 338.639 of 3.356.236). Meanwhile, the ratio of the secondary graduates' males in the total male alphabetized population was 7.55% (that is 369.945 of 4.893.947). In fact, this is the only statistical pattern regarding education and instruction where women population was superior.

The ratio between male and female population is almost the same in the secondary education's graduates – inferior and superior cycle: 14.713 males (that is 57% of 25.566) and 9.873 (38.7%). The gender ratio among high-schools graduates was for the 1937-38 scholastic year the following: 4.835 males (that is 60% of 7.960 graduates) and 3.117 females (39%).

*The higher education system during interwar period in Romania*

1. *Institutional development and legislative aspects*

After 14 years from the Great Union, in 1932, a new law for organizing higher education in Romania was promulgated. Also known as the *Iorga law*, this legislative improvement sanctioned universities' autonomy principle. But the law also imposed the homogenization of the university curriculum, and, in order to accomplish this desiderate, an inter-University Council was founded.

As far as cultural politics were concerned, the university defined its mission as the “*instruction* of the students by two classic ways – the lecture and the practical work”<sup>287</sup>. So, the cultural purpose of the university was – as Ion Petrovici put it – “the professors' scientific creation and the acquiring of scientific methods and spirit by the students”. Petre Andrei added also students' preparation for a certain profession<sup>288</sup>.

Interwar period meant for the university a development of all its branches: the scientific branch, the technic and the vocational ones. By this, in 1936 there were 29 higher education institutions in Romania, while in 1914 there were 25 in the geographical area of Greater Romania, under different state authorities (Bukovina, Transylvania).

<sup>287</sup> Ş Bârsănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 214.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215.

2. *The numeric evolution of student population in Romania – by higher educational institutions and by gender*

The rapid growth of the student population after 1919 concerned Romanian educational authorities. Because of this growth in 1925 the *baccalaureate* exam was implemented, as a mechanism to moderate this phenomenon. But, despite this, the student enrollments continued to increase. And, because of this rapid growth, higher education became a mass education, affecting the quality of the educational act itself and the students' preparation, too. In 1925, Constantin Stoicescu, professor at the Law Faculty of Bucharest, revealed the students' weak theoretical acquisitions, an aspect imputable to the secondary educational institutions, especially those of the province. As a way to solve these impediments, Stoicescu proposed a new admission methodology in the higher educational institutions. According to him, the secondary graduates should continue to study at faculties linked to their secondary followed branches. By this, the theoretical and practical acquisitions during high-school would have stopped being in vain, while students' performance would have risen<sup>289</sup>. Eventually, the educational authorities accepted the insertion of the so-called "preparatory class", designed to have a "propaedeutic role", in order to channel student's interest toward a certain university specialization<sup>290</sup>. Although it was supposed to be an improvement measure, it was not clear whose attribution was to systemize the preparatory class. This was why in 1932 this project was abandoned although in 1929 the 8<sup>th</sup> class from the secondary schools was removed (it will be reintegrated in 1935). But there were certain faculties that organized and maintained during the entire interwar period the preparatory class, as were the human medicine faculties, polytechnics and faculties of sciences.

The statistical landmarks we chose to analyze the student population growth's amplitude are: the 1924-25 academic year (as the first "normal" one after the Great War; the probability of overlapping student promotions is very low), 1929-30 and 1932-33 (the debut and the end of the *great depression*), 1934-35 (the reimplementing of the 8<sup>th</sup> class in secondary schools) and 1937-38.

---

<sup>289</sup> Constantin Stoicescu, *Din lipsurile și neajunsurile Facultății de Drept din București*, in *Revista generală a învățământului*, an XIV, nr. 4, aprilie 1926, pp. 237-243.

<sup>290</sup> Raul Teodorescu, *Anul pregătitor*, in *Revista generală a învățământului*, an XV, nr. 5, mai 1927, pp. 294-301. Eugeniu Speranța, *Destinația anului preparator de la universități*, in *Revista generală a învățământului*, an XVII, nr. 8, octombrie 1929, pp. 451-457.

Table 8 reveals the numeric evolution by university branch and by gender to all higher educational institutions from Romania. According to these statistical data, women ratio in the total student population varied between a quarter and a third of the entire student population. In universities, the women ratio's evolution is the following: 1924-25 – 24.4% female, 1929-30 – 30.1%, 1932-33 – 26.5% female, 1934-35 – 28.3% female, 1937-38 – 24.6%. In special higher education institutions: 1924-25 – 10.6% female, 1929-30 – 14% female, 1932-33 – 19.3%, 1934-35 – 17.5% female, 1937-38 – 12.6%. Total general: 1924-25 – 22.8% female, 1929-30 – 27.8 female, 1932-33 – 25.2 female, 1934-35 – 26.3 female, 1937-38 – 21.9 female.

The statistical data allow us to depict some certain patterns regarding the faculties females preferred to attend. At this point, we shall focus the statistical analyze on universities and deliberately the theological faculties.

The faculties of Letters and Philosophy were structured in three different branches: history, philology and philosophy, time license period being of three years, while PhD preparation lasted 2 years. The faculties of letters were the main mechanism of intellectual preparation and pedagogical training for the secondary teachers. So, taking into consideration the economic finalities for graduating from these faculties, it becomes easier to explain the female prevalence, with an average ratio of 60% (see Table 9).

During the entire interwar period, the Law faculties' students represented 40% of the total students' population. According to Constantin Kiritescu, until the 1934-35 academic year the average of Law faculties' students were: for Bucharest University (1920/21 – 1934/35) – 45%, Iași University – 37%, Cluj University + Law Academy of Oradea – 52%, Czernowitz University – 32% (see Table 10).

This great number of aspirants pursuing to become lawyers began to create some economic difficulties, as it was the insertion in the labor market. It is true that at the end of the first world war, the Romanian state needed an extended bureaucratic apparatus, so the Law graduates – and not only them – could easily find a job. But the economic crisis led to severe budget adjustments, affecting the public servants' wages and the number of employed public servants. More than this, the great number of Law graduates could lead to lawyer inflation and by this – because lawyers were freelancers – to reduced incomes. This is the reason the public authorities chose to interfere. Such an interfering measure was in 1935, according to which, in order to be able to provide lawyer activities, the law license was no more sufficient. From that moment to become a lawyer, one had to have a PhD in judicial sciences. Proceeding like this, the state could only delay, but in no way to solve the problem.

The Sciences faculties had three important branches: Mathematics, Physics-Chemistry, and Biology. The bachelor studies period was 3-4 years, while the PhD studies lasted 2 years. The significant female ratio is due to the economic finalities of these studies – teacher in the secondary schools (see Table 11).

The duration of studies was 6 years in human medicine, while in pharmacy the studies lasted 5 years (including 2 preparatory years). Also, the human medicine faculties granted the academic title of *doctor*, while at pharmacy the academic title was licensee. The issues caused by the high presence of foreigners (especially Jewish students) determined the authorities to merge the pharmaceutical education in Bucharest starting with 1935, as a way of mitigating the increasingly violent and anti-Semitic student protests (see Tables 12 & 13).

#### *Licensees of the higher educational system by gender*

The statistics of licensees in interwar period are scarce and often contradictory. Also, for many academic years the statistical data concerning graduates evolution are missing. Moreover, only seldom the data are aggregated by gender, ethnicity or confession. That's why in order to depict some tendency's patterns we will invoke some study cases.

The first item to highlight is the percentage of licensees among student's promotions. In this respect, we chose the University of Iaşi as a sample, with reference to the graduates of the 1933/34 academic year. Setting the years of bachelor's level for each faculty, we picked from statistical data the students enrolled in the first year of study who should have obtained the degree in 1933/34 academic year, by a sequential promoting (see Table 14).

In terms of proportion of gender among the licensees we have the following situation:

Law Faculty – 259 licensees (100%), of which 217 males (83.8%) and 42 females (16.2%)

Letters Faculty – 96 licensees (100%), of which 22 males (23%) and 74 females (77%)

Sciences Faculty – 129 licensees (100%), of which 51 males (39.5%) and 78 females (60.5%)

Human Medicine Faculty – 93 doctors (100%), of which 78 males (83.9%) and 15 females (16.1%)

Pharmacy Faculty – 68 licensees (100%), of which 34 males (50%) and 34 females (50%)

Total – 645 licensees (100%), of which 402 males (62%) and 243 females (38%).

However, women prevailed in terms of higher education graduation. The ration of those enrolled in university and those who are licensed is favorable to women:

Law Faculty – 33.5% licensee males and 25% licensee female

Letters Faculty – 25.5% licensee male and 38.1% licensee female

Sciences Faculty – 16.4 % licensee male and 49% licensee female

Human Medicine Faculty – 64% male doctors and 68% female doctors

Pharmacy Faculty – 92% licensee male and 50.8% licensee female

Total – 33.4% licensee male and 40% licensee female.

The percentages proposed by Constantin Kiritescu are about the same. For instance, for the 1933/34 academic year, when calculating the ratio of graduates from all institutions of higher education by gender, the results are as following: 72.5% males (3330 licensees and doctors) and 27.5% females (1268 licensees and doctors), out of 4598 academic titles granted. But if we extract only the faculties we only referred to on the above tables, the ratios are almost the same, with a margin of error of 2-3% (see Table 15).

#### *Socio-economic integration of women in the interwar labor market*

Despite the fact that in the interwar higher education women represented 25-30% of the student population – proportion extended among the holders of a university diploma – women faced many obstacles during the process of economic and professional emancipation. In fact, the male establishment created an interdependent relationship between the economic and politic empowerment. If the first one could be accomplished, then granting the right to vote and eligibility would have been an automatic consequence. From this point of view, education – and especially the university – becomes an education for disillusion. Thus, although education prepared the frames of a social change, the society was blocking the rise of woman. As in the prewar period, the public discourse legitimated the image of women as a key player in domestic space, but as a “silent” outsider in the public space. In these circumstances, the large presence of women in the faculties of letters and sciences reveals the main economic outlet that was designed for women, that is education. In fact, education was supposed to become an outsourcing of another domestic attribution considered to be pending of women: the raising of a child.

Nevertheless, the Romanian society stands out by some premieres. Vera Myller became the first professor at university in Romania in 1918, at Iași, where she began to teach algebra. A few years later, Chaborski

Gabriela became the first woman as an associate professor at the Sciences Faculty of Bucharest (since 1924, when she began to teach chemistry). Ella Negruzzi was a distinct case, as we said before, becoming the first Romanian lawyer woman. The interwar period brought to light an electoral premiere: in 1930 Luiza Zavloschi (1883 – 1967) became the first woman major in Romania, elected in march 1930 (she took advantage of the 1929 law)<sup>291</sup>.

The singularity of these feminine figures in social life should be considered in the light of the development degree of the Romanian society. In 1923, “after settling the national issue and along with the universal suffrage, peasants’ land allotment, the widespread of public education and the geographical expansion of higher education, we can say that we have entered a convenient modernity”<sup>292</sup>. Though, it was a modernity that had settled sharply in society. The imbalances caused by 50% illiterate population and the right to vote granted to males overturned the Romanian political environment. This is how we should interpret the 1926 electoral law, by which the party who obtained at least 40% of the total votes gained automatically 70% of the parliamentary mandates, providing a reliable legislative support to the government. By this, the 1926 electoral law became a mechanism of restricting the extension of demagoguery and populism in the Romanian interwar society. For Romanian politicians engaging women in the political decision-mechanism would have made the political evolution more unpredictable. In other words, the refusal for political rights to women meant the limitation of the social revolution started by agrarian and electoral reforms. In fact, it was the “available modernity” that the Romanian society could afford. The two major ideological mainstreams developed during interwar period – the Europeans and the traditionalists – created a synonymy between national accomplishment and modernity. By confusing modernity with national unity, modern values as individual liberty or equality of chances passed in the background. What prevailed was the community, and in order to preserve its cohesion the limits of modernity should be strongly emphasized. Ignoring women was part of this model of modernity misappropriation.

---

<sup>291</sup> See George Marcu, Rodica Ilinca, *Dicționarul personalităților feminine din România*, București, Editura Meronia, 2009.

<sup>292</sup> Liviu Antonesei, *Polis și paideia. Șapte studii despre educație, cultură și politici educative*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2005, p. 31.

*Women in foreign higher education institutions*

After the Great War ended, the states' leaders become concerned about the women's social role and impact. Under the impact of the Soviet model – whose charisma haunted throughout Europe in 1919/20 – many states made concessions towards making education an opened-mass public service. For those leaders, such a concession should have been without negative consequences in medium term. Unfortunately, social peace does not resume itself to what people achieve. Instead, social peace means to shrink the distance between expectancies and realities that is a continuous process of acquisitions, but maintaining adherence to a common project in which individual initiative is continuously stimulated.

Among the developed countries, France had the most significant growth of female students (612.6%) during 1913-1933. Meanwhile, Germany had the lowest ratio of women in universities (14.52%). In USA, the student population growth rate is very close to the one of the female student population (297.5%, and 356%).

In the successional states, the growth rate of the female student population is very high, while in Austria and in Hungary (the former leader states of the Central Europe) the percentage of female population is very low (19.4% and 13.9%).

The huge growth of student population in Romania was also determined by the doubled population as a consequence of the 1918 Union. So, in this case, it is proper to relate these figures to the 1924/25 academic year, when 22379 students were enrolled, out of which 5101 were female students. The result is that the growth rate of the female population was 165%, which proves an increasing growth of student female population in universities, along with the general growth of student population (see Table 16).

*Overcrowded universities and intellectual unemployment.  
International debates and internal measures*

The increasing student population during interwar period led to a problem that many states had to face with: the overcrowded universities, seen as a direct cause of the intellectual unemployment phenomenon. The International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation tried to figure out solutions for these problems, by collaborating with the International Labor Office and International Federation of Students. The first step was taken in 1929, when these institutions demanded for statistical data from all the member-states, in order to quantify the phenomenon of overcrowded universities. Meanwhile, the International Labor Office (especially the

Advisory Committee of Intellectual Professionals) should have achieved statistics including intellectual professionals and unemployed intellectuals. The final achievement should have been the implementation of new educational policies, among them the most important being that of professional orientation.

The great depression of 1929-1933 emphasized the intellectual unemployment phenomenon, brought into the League of Nations' attention. In 1935, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of April, the General Secretariat of the League of Nations hosted the University Youth Unemployment Conference<sup>293</sup>. The debates of this phenomenon were justified as following: „*Les dangers résultant de l'inoccupation de cette catégorie de jeunes gens peuvent finir par atteindre sérieusement non seulement l'ordre social, mais aussi l'avenir des professions libérales et de la vie intellectuelle tout entière*”.

The solutions proposed for mitigating the effects of the intellectual unemployment were divided into three categories:

a. Negative measures – eliminating overlapping jobs (the solution involved also a raise of the payroll of the intellectual work); rejecting foreign workers; limiting intellectual labor market for women)

b. Positive measures – encouraging emigration of intellectual professionals abroad, especially outside Europe<sup>294</sup>; setting up placement offices; reducing the work period for intellectual professionals.

c. Selection measures – admission contests for university and for labor market; professional orientation<sup>295</sup>.

An interesting statement was presented by *Fédération Internationale des Femmes Diplômées*<sup>296</sup>, who advocated for non-discriminatory access of women both in education and labor market. Although access to higher education was no longer a legislative problem,

---

<sup>293</sup> The full debates of this conference were published in *La Coopération Intellectuelle (revue de l'Institut International pour la Coopération Intellectuelle)*, 1935, no. 53-54, pp. 325-428.

<sup>294</sup> Among possible destinations there were the *new countries* (pays „neufs”), whose economies lacked intellectual professionals: Latin America, Canada, Philippines, China, Australia, the south states of the north-American federation; colonies etc. Nevertheless, a frequent problem was that of recognition and equivalence of diplomas.

<sup>295</sup> *International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation* sustained such an idea, considering to have a decisive impact in stopping the intellectual unemployment phenomenon. The *Comittee of Representations of International Student Organizations* (1926-1940) proposed in 1935 the development of the classification of intellectual professions that should lead to the recognition of new professions through legislation.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 363-371.



the work legislation still permitted gender discrimination. Thus, the intellectual unemployment was considered to be caused by women's presence on the labor market, concluded the delegate of this federation. Furthermore, the Federation was disapproving the idea that housework was an economic activity. Because of this discriminatory idea the effect was that „la place des femmes est dans leur intérieur”. In fact, the goal of any economic activity was profit, that is housework could never be considered an economic activity. A final aspect was that of legislative measures adopted in various countries that captured the extension of women discrimination in labor market. The final resolution stipulated that the *Fédération Internationale des Femmes Diplômées* opposed measures that could limit women's access to intellectual careers out of gender or marriage reasons.

*From the intellectual unemployed people toward the law for compulsory social service*

In attempting to find solutions to the problem of overcrowded universities and of intellectual unemployment, the Romanian state developed a census unique in the entire Europe of that time: the census of unemployed intellectuals, organized by the Institute of Statistics pending the Ministry of Interior, on 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1937.

The results of this census revealed the existence of 6075 unemployed intellectuals (see Table 17), but the number of the licensee unemployed intellectuals was very small (652, that is 10.7%). Among the licensee unemployed intellectuals, the number of female was of 235 (36%), many of them being letters, sciences and economic licensees (see Tables 18 & 19).

During interwar period, the presence of women in the Romanian higher education was an issue addressed only tangentially. The main issue was the one of the overcrowded universities, in Romania and elsewhere. This was the reason for which states tried to impose new methods of social and economic control over university youth. For instance, in totalitarian states – such as Germany and Italy – mass youth organizations were conducted by the state itself, while in France the youth had a great contribution to the success of the socialist and communist parties.

Although Romania was a half-illiterate society (43%, according to the 1930's census), with small number of secondary education enrolled pupils, still the number of students to university was growing, despite the economy structure's lack of jobs for graduates. In this context the university became the breeding ground for Iron Guard, because “in an agrarian society, the university was one of the few places where people could gather. In

Romania the university became a center of extremist political turmoil, where the Iron Guard had found a fertile ground. Thus, many students have played a key-roll as propagandists in 1937 elections<sup>297</sup>.

Under these circumstances, after 1933 the Romanian state was increasingly threatened by the rise of the Iron Guard. The negative consequences of the economic crisis and the intellectual unemployment generated the success for the radical discourse performed by the Iron Guard leader, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. By creating OETR (The Office for the Romanian Youth Education, converted later into Straja Tarii – The Sentinel of the Motherland) the Romanian authorities copied the Nazi model of HitlerJugend. After the electoral success of the legionary movement in 1937, King Charles II implemented legislative measures of controlling university youth. It was the case of the social service law proposed by Dimitrie Gusti, a law which stated that higher education graduates had to contribute to the work of “raising” the Romanian village. In the same time, the law purported to decongest the cities of the university graduates and to diminish the gap between the cities and the villages.

Although it represented the first authoritarian regime, King Charles II regime’s measures represented the first concerted policy of social change in Romania. Until 1937 the role of the Romanian state was that of taxes collector for the maintenance of the most important institutions like army, administration, church or school. Because of the lack of social pressure capable to induct a bottom-up change, the platforms of all political parties were pragmatic, not ideological<sup>298</sup>. This might have been the reason for the extremist parties’ success, because these movements were the one to propose a dramatic social change. It was also true that this change was supposed to be implemented on nationalistic and xenophobia criteria. But, it was also true these movements were the only ones pursuing to “penetrate the society”, that was to design and to follow the implementation of the designed plan.

From this point of view, the presence of Romanian women in higher education appears less and less a mechanism of social change promoted by the state. If we take into account the woman’ socio-economic, judicial, and political status, her image of *unequal of the equals* becomes more and more pertinent. In a society in which education had almost no communitarian dimension, the presence of women in higher education was in fact the last step in the process of social promotion.

---

<sup>297</sup> Mattei Dogan, *Sociologie politică. Opere alese. Antologie*, Bucureşti, Editura Alternative, 1999, p. 159.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 152-153.

*From the absences of history toward the unequal of the equal.  
Women in the higher education of Romania  
1919-1939*

(Summary)

**Keywords:** *Greater Romania, higher education, women, gender education, social promotion*

In 1905, at the initiative of the Romanian Women Society, historian Nicolae Iorga held a conference on the woman's role in Romania's history. The metaphor chosen to describe the woman's contribution was that of *the absences of history*. It should be stated that at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the woman's state was not very different from that described by Nicolae Iorga, despite the efforts of the feminist movement. But the shift occurred at the end of the First World War. The women's contribution to the war effort behind the front lines, the sacrifice they made was sufficient to claim equal rights with men. But, although some pieces of progress were visible, the gender discrimination was maintained during the entire interwar period, namely the woman became more or less *the unequal of the equal* (Mihaela Miroiu).

The aim of this study is to emphasize the women's ratio in higher education during 1919-1939. The statistical data were extracted especially from the official yearbooks of the Romanian universities (Bucharest, Iași, Cluj, Czernowitz) and subsidiary from the Romania Statistical Yearbook. Proceeding like this, I was able to establish some educational trends, on gender criteria (the women's propensity toward certain faculties or specializations), or on numeric criteria. This last one was the so-called phenomena of the *overcrowding of the universities*, an issue that provoked a reverberant debate regarding the role of the university and the social finalities of the higher education. It should be stated that this debate was not peculiar for Romania, because it was a very important issue internationally, too. Finally, I tried to propose an interpretative scheme for the measures implemented by the authoritarian regime of King Charles II – as the law of the *social service* or the establishment of *Straja Țării* (The Sentinel of the Motherland). From my point of view these two measures might have been designed as social mechanisms for controlling and positioning the higher education graduates.



## ANNEX

Table 1. The evolution of alphabetized population in Romania – The Old Kingdom

	1899			1912			1930		
	M	F	total	M	f	total	m	f	Total
<b>Total population</b>	3.026.639	2.930.051	5.956.690	-	-	7.230.418	4.299.834	4.486.688	8.786.522
<b>Population 8 years old or more</b>	2.400.000	2.300.000	4.700.000	2.900.000	2.800.000	5.700.000	3.200.000	3.400.000	6.600.000
<b>Alphabetized population</b>	800.000	200.000	1.000.000	1.600.000	700.000	2.300.000	2.300.000	1.400.000	3.700.000
<b>% Alphabetized population</b>	33%	11%	22%	54%	23%	38,5%	69,2%	45,5%	57%
<b>Gender distribution of 8 years old population</b>	51%	49%	100%	51%	49%	100%	49%	51%	100%
<b>Gender distribution of the alphabetized population</b>	76%	24%	100%	71%	29%	100%	63%	37%	100%

Reference: S. Manuilă, D.C. Georgescu, *Populația României*, București, Imprimeria Națională, 1937.

Table 2. The Romanian population after the instruction level (29 of December 1930 census)

Level of instruction	Total		Males		Females	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
<b>Total alphabetized popul.</b>	8.250.183	100%	4.893.947	100%	3.356.236	100%
<b>Informal instruction</b>	126.078	1,5%	73.059	1,5%	53.019	1,6%
<b>Primary level</b>	7.018.263	85,1%	4.172.988	85,3%	2.845.275	84,8%
<b>Secondary level</b>	708.581	8,6%	369.945	7,6%	338.636	10,1%
<b>Professional schools</b>	263.579	3,2%	170.749	3,5%	92.830	2,8%

<b>University</b>	91.139	1,1%	69.844	1,4%	21.295	0,6%
<b>higher education institu.</b>	42.543	0,5%	37.362	0,8%	5.181	0,9%

Reference: *Bréviaire statistique de la Roumanie 1940*, Bucarest, Institut Central de Statistique, p. 20.

**Table 3. Romania – the evolution of professional categories 1860-1930**

Categories	1860	1912	1930
<b>ECONOMIC</b>			
<b>Agriculture</b>	82,2%	75,5%	72,4%
<b>Industry, trade, credit, transport</b>	7,3%	17,2%	16,3%
<b>Non – ECONOMIC</b>			
<b>Public institutions, Public health, retired , annuitant, freelancers</b>	10,5%	7,3%	11,3%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Reference: Paul Sterian, *Idealul panromânesc și dezvoltarea economică a țării*, București, Imprimeriile Statului, 1938, p. 25.

**Table 4. The high-school curriculum. Number of courses for each discipline by week.**

1.	Discipline	5th grade	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade
2.	Religion	2	2	1	1
3.	Romanian language	3	3	3	3
4.	Latin language	3	3	2	4
5.	Greek language	0	0	1	4
6.	French language	2	2	2	2

7.	2 <sup>nd</sup> foreign language (German, English)	3	3	3	3
8.	Native language (Hungarian etc.)	3	3	3	3
9.	History	2	2	2	2
10.	Geography	2	1	1	2
11.	Civic instruction	0	0	1	1
12.	Humanities	0	2	2	2
13.	Mathematics	3	3	1 (humanistic orientation) or 3 (sciences or.)	5
14.	Physics – Chemistry	3	3	3	3
15.	Biology	2	2	2	2
16.	Hygiene	0	0	0	1
17.	Draw art	1	1	1	1
18.	Musical education	-	-	-	-
19.	Sports	-	-	-	-
20.	Housekeeping course	-	-	-	-
21.	Moral education	-	-	-	-
22.	<b>Total</b>	26	27	25	36

Reference: *Programele analitice pentru învățământul secundar (gimnazii și licee de băieți și fete)*, București, Imprimeriile Statului, 1941

**Table 5. The gender evolution of secondary level of education's population 1904-1937. Statistical references.**

Scholastic year	Male high-schools		Female high-schools	
	Registered pupils	Promoted pupils	Registered pupils	Promoted pupils

<b>1903/1904</b>	8.177	6.028	1.223	960
<b>1910/1911</b>	9.749	7.955	2.242	1.848
<b>1920/1921</b>	23.605	19.523	5.646	5.021
<b>1930/1931</b>	46.874	36.039	27.377	22.545
<b>1936/1937</b>	51.746	42.942	27.811	24.500

Reference: Anca Filipovici, *Cărturarii provinciei. Intelectuali și cultură locală în nordul Moldovei interbelice*, Iași, Editura Institutul European, 2015, p. 80.

**Table 6. The graduation ratio at the *baccalaureate* exam 1925-1938.**

Session Scholastic year	June			September		
	Registered pupils	Graduated pupils	Graduated pupils %	Registered pupils	Graduated pupils	Graduated pupils %
<b>1925</b>	3887	1187	48.5	2768	987	35.7
<b>1926</b>	4997	2631	50.7	674	1720	46.8
<b>1927</b>	5584	2795	50.1	4219	1865	44.2
<b>1928</b>	6538	2870	43.9	9883	3823	38.7
<b>1929<sup>1</sup></b>	11111	6104	54.9	8039	3911	48.7
<b>1930</b>	8815	4938	56	7019	3377	48.1
<b>1931</b>	9357	6497	69.4	5224	3234	61.9
<b>1932</b>	8508	6531	76.8	4563	3256	71.4
<b>1933</b>	7815	6005	76.8	4532	2917	64.4

<sup>1</sup> In 1929 the highschool was comprised to 7 classes (until 1935), so in this year we encounter the graduates of 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> classes represented at the graduation exam (*baccalaureat*).



<b>1934</b>	6015	3182	52.9	5549	2182	39.3
<b>1935</b>	2847	1070	37.6	2176	563	25.9
<b>1936</b>	4789	2428	40.7	3460	1578	45.6
<b>1937</b>	5212	2777	53.3	3573	1506	42.1
<b>1938</b>	6270	3820	60.9	3440	1562	45.4
<b>Graduation average</b>			<b>55.17857</b>			<b>47.01429</b>

Reference: *Anuarul statistic al României 1939/1940*, București, Institutul Central de Statistică, 1941, pp. 282-283.

**Table 7. The number of registered and graduated pupils in secondary schools in 1937 – 1938 scholastic year**

Secondary school	Registered pupils	Graduates		
		Inferior cycle	Superior cycle	Total
<b>1.Male high-schools and pedagogical seminaries</b>	52757	6390	3162	9552
<b>2.Female high-schools</b>	28957	3690	1810	5500
<b>3.Male gymnasium</b>	3087	509	0	509
<b>4.Female gymnasium</b>	3575	605	0	605
<b>5.Mixt gymnasium</b>	7044	972	0	972
<b>6.Male <i>ecoles normales</i></b>	8046	0	601	601
<b>7.Female <i>ecoles normales</i></b>	6948	0	641	641
<b>8.Economic male high-schools</b>	14340	939	836	1775
<b>9. Economic female high-schools</b>	3714	170	268	438
<b>10.Economic evening-classes high-schools</b>	136	0	8	8
<b>11.Economic male gymnasium</b>	2139	269	0	269

<b>12. Economic female gymnasium</b>	626	95	0	95
<b>13. Industrial male high-schools</b>	6341	486	236	722
<b>14. Industrial female high-schools</b>	9406	1115	279	1394
<b>15. Industrial male gymnasium</b>	9295	1204	0	1204
<b>16. Industrial female gymnasium</b>	4087	627	0	627
<b>17. Industrial male workshop</b>	863	81	0	81
<b>18. Housekeeping female school</b>	3242	454	119	573
<b>Total</b>	<b>164603</b>	<b>17606</b>	<b>7960</b>	<b>25566</b>

Reference: *Anuarul statistic al Romaniei, 1939/1940*, pp. 268-269.

**Table 8.**

Higher Institution	Education of	1924-1925			1929-1930			1932-1933			1934-1935			1937-1938		
		Male	Female	total	Male	Female	total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	total	Male	Female	total
<b>University of Bucharest</b>		10225	300	<b>132</b>	141	644	<b>205</b>	113	429	<b>156</b>	123	541	<b>177</b>	103	393	<b>1427</b>
<b>University of Iaşi</b>		2136	130	<b>343</b>	352	183	<b>536</b>	420	198	<b>618</b>	397	177	<b>574</b>	245	864	<b>3320</b>
<b>University of Cluj</b>		1722	390	<b>211</b>	286	827	<b>369</b>	331	920	<b>423</b>	314	850	<b>399</b>	248	672	<b>3155</b>
<b>University of Czernowitz</b>		627	115	<b>742</b>	149	532	<b>203</b>	250	737	<b>324</b>	230	585	<b>289</b>	235	278	<b>2630</b>
<b>Law Academy of Oradea</b>		188	7	<b>195</b>	331	28	<b>359</b>	697	67	<b>764</b>	0	0	<b>0</b>	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Total Universities</b>		<b>14898</b>	<b>481</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>966</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>862</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>2338</b>

		7	15	80	5	45	15	5	20	57	4	81	29	2	1
<b>Polytechnic Bucharest</b>	856	13	<b>869</b>	123	5	<b>124</b>	802	18	<b>820</b>	102	26	<b>105</b>	186	76	<b>1938</b>
				5		<b>0</b>				8		<b>4</b>	2		
<b>Polytechnic Timisoara</b>	324	0	<b>324</b>	408	0	<b>408</b>	391	3	<b>394</b>	433	3	<b>436</b>	395	2	<b>397</b>
<b>Architecture Academy Bucharest</b>	83	11	<b>94</b>	187	13	<b>200</b>	238	25	<b>263</b>	246	45	<b>291</b>	177	40	<b>217</b>
<b>Trade Academy Bucharest</b>	745	163	<b>908</b>	208	493	<b>258</b>	299	949	<b>394</b>	285	913	<b>376</b>	206	547	<b>2612</b>
				8		<b>1</b>	2		<b>1</b>	1		<b>4</b>	5		
<b>Trade Academy Cluj</b>	238	52	<b>290</b>	223	90	<b>313</b>	370	170	<b>540</b>	793	138	<b>931</b>	750	85	<b>835</b>
<b>Agronomic Academy Bucharest</b>	37	0	<b>37</b>	194	17	<b>211</b>	370	42	<b>412</b>	329	45	<b>374</b>	350	34	<b>384</b>
<b>Agronomic Academy Cluj</b>	60	3	<b>63</b>	128	5	<b>133</b>	234	20	<b>254</b>	313	25	<b>338</b>	309	15	<b>324</b>
<b>Physical Education Institute Bucharest</b>	37	42	<b>79</b>	71	112	<b>183</b>	67	82	<b>149</b>	99	103	<b>202</b>	79	69	<b>148</b>
<b>Total special higher education institutions</b>	<b>2380</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>453</b>	<b>735</b>	<b>526</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>677</b>	<b>609</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>739</b>	<b>598</b>	<b>868</b>	<b>6855</b>
			<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>		
<b>Total general</b>	<b>17278</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>931</b>	<b>368</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>992</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>662</b>	<b>3023</b>
		<b>1</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>

Reference: Constantin Kirişescu, *Problema educației dirijate*, in *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială*, XIV, 1936, vol. 2, pp. 852-855, *Anuarul statistic al României 1939/1940*, pp. 290-291.

**Table 9. Gender evolution of student population. The faculties of Letters.**

	1924-1925		1929-1930		1932-1933		1934-1935		1937-1938	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
<b>Bucharest</b>	900	1282	2892	3860	1007	1604	1125	2335	1194	1841
<b>Iaşi</b>	146	464	240	602	268	538	269	583	126	233
<b>Cluj</b>	220	184	336	400	338	372	325	383	288	294
<b>Czernowitz</b>	117	87	211	297	262	340	208	348	117	157
<b>Total</b>	1383	2017	3679	5159	1875	2854	1927	3649	1725	2525
<b>Total %</b>	40.68%	59.32%	41.63%	58.37%	39.65%	60.35%	34.56%	65.44%	40.59%	59.41%

**Table 10. Gender evolution of student population. The Law faculties.**

	1924-1925		1929-1930		1932-1933		1934-1935		1937-1938	
	male	female	male	female	Male	female	male	female	male	female
<b>Bucharest</b>	5167	623	7749	1076	6050	775	6599	960	5840	786
<b>Iaşi</b>	1578	187	1342	197	2107	470	2257	467	847	149
<b>Cluj</b>	957	10	1444	36	1742	71	2050	134	1234	87
<b>Czernowitz</b>	350	28	656	87	769	117	564	66	872	64
<b>Total</b>	8052	848	11191	1396	10668	1433	11470	1627	8793	1086
<b>Total %</b>	90.47%	9.53%	88.91%	11.09%	88.16%	11.84%	87.58%	12.42%	89.01%	10.99%

**Table 11. Gender evolution of student population. Science faculties.**

	1924-1925		1929-1930		1932-1933		1934-1935		1937-1938	
	male	female	male	female	Male	female	male	female	male	female
<b>Bucharest</b>	1121	431	1918	1249	2003	928	1582	455	1017	557
<b>Iași</b>	631	356	909	653	560	497	516	440	315	215
<b>Cluj</b>	104	110	357	268	305	270	244	159	228	129
<b>Czernowitz</b>	-	-	252	148	383	258	230	164	123	53
<b>Total</b>	-	-	3436	2318	3251	1953	2572	1218	1683	954
<b>Total %</b>	-	-	59.71%	40.29%	62.47%	37.53%	67.86%	32.14%	63.82%	36.18%

**Table 12. Gender evolution of student population. Human Medicine faculties**

	1924-1925		1929-1930		1932-1933		1934-1935		1937-1938	
	male	female	male	female	Male	female	male	female	male	female
<b>Bucharest</b>	1852	349	1342	430	772	290	708	279	832	383
<b>Iași</b>	575	251	494	144	569	180	469	192	513	221
<b>Cluj</b>	444	80	670	97	838	146	830	175	733	162
<b>Total</b>	2871	680	2506	671	2179	616	2007	646	2078	766
<b>Total %</b>	80.85%	19.15%	78.88%	21.12%	77.96%	22.04%	75.65%	24.35%	73.07%	26.93%

**Table 13. Gender evolution of student population. Pharmacy faculties**

	1924-1925		1929-1930		1932-1933		1934-1935		1937-1938	
	male	female	male	female	Male	female	male	female	male	Female
<b>Bucharest</b>	72	125	450	545	408	555	417	631	227	313
<b>Iaşi</b>	140	306	210	315	236	291	59	82	9	10
<b>Cluj</b>	49	17	72	39	219	168	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	261	448	732	899	863	1014	476	713	236	323
<b>Total %</b>	36.81%	63.19%	44.88%	55.12%	45.98%	54.02%	40.03%	59.97%	42.22%	57.78%

**Table 14. Licensees by gender. Study case – University of Iaşi**

	Enrolled in the 1st year of study		Total enrolled in the 1st year	Licensees 1933-1934		Total licensees
	male	female		Male	female	
<b>Law Faculty 1931/32</b>	647	164	811	217	42	259
<b>Letters Faculty 1931/32</b>	86	194	280	22	74	96
<b>Science Faculty 1930/31</b>	312	160	472	51	78	129
<b>Human Medicine F. 1927/28</b>	122	22	144	78	15	93
<b>Pharmacy Faculty 1928/29</b>	37	67	104	34	34	68
<b>TOTAL</b>	1204	607	1811	402	243	645

Reference: *Anuarul Universităţii Mihăilene din Iaşi 1930-1935*, Iaşi, Editura Universităţii Mihăilene, 1936, pp. 580-602.

**Table 15. Licensee ratio by Constantin Kiritescu**

Faculty	Male	Female	Total
Law (Bucharest, Cluj, Iași, Czernowitz, Oradea)	1217 (83,3%)	209 (14,7%)	1426
Letters (Bucharest, Cluj, Iași, Czernowitz)	252 (34,8%)	473 (65,2%)	725
Sciences (Bucharest, Cluj, Iași, Czernowitz)	221 (53,5%)	192 (46,5%)	413
Human Medicine (Bucharest, Cluj, Iași)	356 (83,6%)	70 (16,4%)	426
Pharmacy (Bucharest, Cluj, Iași)	128 (53,5%)	111 (46,5%)	239
<b>Total</b>	<b>2174 (67,3%)</b>	<b>1055 (32,7%)</b>	<b>3299 (100%)</b>

Reference: Constantin Kiriteșcu, *Problema educației dirijate*, p. 879.

**Table 16. The evolution of student population by gender 1912/13 – 1933/34 in Romania and different countries.**

Country	1913			1934			Increase of women students	Increase of total enrollments
	Total	Women	Women %	Total	Women	Women %	1913-1933	1913-1933
France	41044	3830	9.33%	87152	23465	26.92%	612.66%	212.34%
Great Britain	27728	5654	20.39%	50638	12252	24.20%	216.70%	182.62%
Germany	76847	4243	5.52%	106764	15501	14.52%	365.33%	138.93%
USA	33269	10470	31.47%	989757	372914	37.68%	356.17%	297.50%
Italy	28026	1634	5.83%	51003	6115	11.99%	374.24%	181.98%
Austria	18129	564	3.11%	19297	3748	19.42%	664.54%	106.44%

<b>Hungary</b>	18238	475	2.60%	15656	2176	13.90%	458.11%	85.84%
<b>Esthonia</b>	1841 <sup>2</sup>	375	20.37%	3366	914	27.15%	243.73%	182.84%
<b>Denmark</b>	2707	179	6.61%	5405	1276	23.61%	712.85%	199.67%
<b>Romania<sup>3</sup></b>	4890	563	11.51%	36883 <sup>4</sup>	9304	25.23%	1652.58%	754.25%

Reference: Walter Kotschnig, *Unemployment in learned professions (an international study of occupational and educational planning)*, London, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 69.

**Table 17. Unemployed intellectuals by instruction degree.**

<b>Degree of instruction</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Total %</b>	<b>Urban %</b>	<b>Rural %</b>
<b>Total</b>	6075	3554	2521	100%	100%	100%
<b>Licensee</b>	652	525	127	10,7%	14,8%	5,1%
<b>Higher education graduates</b>	519	397	122	3,5%	11,2%	4,8%
<b>Baccalaureates</b>	2544	1513	1031	41,9%	42,4%	40,9%
<b>Ecoles normales</b>	417	81	336	6,9%	2,3%	13,3%
<b>Gymnasium</b>	1943	1038	905	32%	29,2%	35,9%

<sup>2</sup> Year 1920, according to the author of this statistical data.

<sup>3</sup> For Romania, the statistical data for 1912/1913 years were extracted from *Romania Statistical Yearbook 1915/1916*, Bucureşti, Tipografia Curţii Regale, 1919.

<sup>4</sup> Statistical data extracted from C. Kirişescu, *art.cit.*, concerning the 1932/1933 academic year.



**Table 18. Licensee unemployed intellectuals by provinces and by gender.**

Medium	Romania			Old Kingdom			Transylvania			Bessarabia			Bukovina		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
<b>Urban</b>	<b>525</b>	320	205	<b>345</b>	173	172	<b>107</b>	88	19	<b>39</b>	30	9	<b>34</b>	29	5
<b>Rural</b>	<b>127</b>	97	30	<b>47</b>	32	15	<b>46</b>	37	9	<b>17</b>	12	5	<b>17</b>	16	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>652</b>	417	235	<b>392</b>	205	187	<b>153</b>	125	28	<b>56</b>	42	14	<b>51</b>	45	6

**Table 19. Licensee unemployed intellectuals by specialty and by gender.**

Specialty	Romania			Urban			Rural		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
<b>Total</b>	<b>652</b>	417	<b>235</b>	<b>525</b>	320	<b>205</b>	<b>127</b>	97	<b>30</b>
<b>Law</b>	<b>198</b>	121	<b>7</b>	<b>99</b>	93	<b>6</b>	<b>29</b>	28	<b>1</b>
<b>Letters</b>	<b>172</b>	51	<b>121</b>	<b>146</b>	37	<b>109</b>	<b>26</b>	14	<b>12</b>
<b>Sciences</b>	<b>124</b>	56	<b>68</b>	<b>98</b>	42	<b>56</b>	<b>26</b>	14	<b>12</b>
<b>Human medicine</b>	<b>2</b>	2	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	2	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Veterinary medicine</b>	<b>2</b>	2	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	1	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	1	<b>0</b>
<b>Polytechnics</b>	<b>66</b>	65	<b>1</b>	<b>59</b>	58	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	7	<b>0</b>
<b>Economic Academies</b>	<b>79</b>	58	<b>21</b>	<b>65</b>	49	<b>16</b>	<b>14</b>	9	<b>5</b>
<b>Theology</b>	<b>27</b>	26	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>	10	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	16	<b>0</b>
<b>Pharmacy</b>	<b>12</b>	5	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	3	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	2	<b>0</b>
<b>Agronomy</b>	<b>23</b>	21	<b>2</b>	<b>17</b>	15	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	6	<b>0</b>
<b>Belles Artes</b>	<b>17</b>	10	<b>7</b>	<b>17</b>	10	<b>7</b>	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>

Reference: Sabin Manuilă, *Le chômage intellectuel en Roumanie*, in *Affaires Danubiens (revue de l'Europe Centrale et du Sud-Est)*, nr. 2, décembre 1938, pp. 161-174.

