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THE YOUTH OF THE UNIFIED NATION: SOCIAL CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE IN ROMANIAN INTERWAR HIGH SCHOOLS

Abstract

In post-1918 national states, cultural and educational policies were subordinated to the strengthening of the nations. Romania also implemented thorough cultural and educational reforms by extending the school network and by unifying the education systems in the new provinces. Youth became an important link in the state actions designed to transform the profile of Greater Romania from a heterogeneous multi-ethnic state to a consolidated national entity. High school youth was assigned with strategic roles, as it represented the recruitment pool of the middle class, contributing to the formation of the bureaucracy, and even of the intellectual, political and economic elite. Thus, starting from the idea that the adolescent society was the future adult society, the state strived to prepare the youth in the spirit of discipline and nationalism. This study analyzes high school youth and educational policies in interwar Romania, from the perspective of the power relation between school authorities and adolescents. By using a great amount of laws, regulations, and archives, the aim of this demarche is to show how discipline worked as an instrument connecting nation building process in a multiethnic state, educational policies and youth.

Keywords: secondary education, adolescents, interwar Romania, *Straja Țării*, discipline.

The Birth of Adolescents

At the turn of the 19th-20th century, adolescence rose as a distinct age category within the youth. Youngsters of 14-15 to 17-18 years old were no longer perceived as incomplete adults or individuals depending on adults, but as a category with a distinct identity and social role. The prehistory of teenagers is rooted in modern European societies and is related to literary constructs (19th century narratives written on teenage life) and social phenomena (juvenile delinquency as a developmental consequence of industrialization).¹ The social perspective of class, race, age and gender

show that industrialization and the migration towards the cities, together with the transformations of the modern education are the main catalyst for adolescence, as a cultural and ideological category.² In behavioural sciences, psychologist G. Stanley Hall is credited as the scientific “discoverer” of adolescence.³ His monumental volumes connect in fact the main themes of 19th century ideologies with the idea of age and deviance. After the First World War, the ideological instrumentalisation of teenagers revealed its great potential, so states started to mobilize adolescents through national policies. At the same time, youngsters developed self-conscience and tendencies to disobey and to live by their own rules. “Rebellion and disengagement from the family of origin” are peculiar sides of adolescence no matter the epoch and space.⁴ The dawn of the prehistory of teenagers is recorded at the end of World War II. After 1945, in the Western world, youth culture got connected to the post war consumerist wave. At the same time, in the Eastern bloc, state authorities deployed youth policies, in order to consolidate the new far-left totalitarian political regimes.

19th century educational reforms were designed to cultivate intellect, discipline behaviour and social responsibility. Education and school became the most important actor in modelling individuals. In the new national states created after World War I, secondary education, and later, the extra-curricular organization of youth converted their previous elitist character to mass organizations, as a national strategy of progress and nation strengthening. This was also the case for Romania. The traditional function of education performed before by families, schools, or church was transferred to the state. The state had now “to determine what youth should believe and what youth should do”. National governments considered that their political future depended on the education of youth according to a certain ideology.⁵

The 20th century was modelled by processes of modernization and transformations of geopolitics and societies following the Great War. Highlighting the role of youth in modern and contemporary history, the 20th century was called the century of the young people.⁶ Teenagers’ needs, behaviour and role started to be scientifically explored, with a special focus on adolescent as high school student.

Teenagers as Obedient Bodies

Adolescent identity was also shaped by the relation with authority, in close connection with youngsters’ tendency towards disobedience. Exuberance and the need for action were always ideological manipulated

by authorities according to their historical purposes. When failing this task, other political structures took control of the vigour of youth.⁷ But no matter who was in charge of youth management, one basic instrument was essential: discipline.

I refer to discipline by using the Foucauldian perspective, i.e. a new type of power developed at the rise of the modernity, implemented by specialized institutions (i.e. prisons) and institutions with specific objectives (i.e. educational establishments). Discipline became a form of domination stating that the more obedient a body, the more useful it becomes.⁸ This approach was implemented by states, administrating the citizens formed by its own educational institutions. Aiming to consolidate the new post-Versailles state order and to strengthen the nations, policies spiced discipline with the touch of nationalism: it was not only about creating useful citizens, but also individuals with a high national conscience.

In Romania, the Ministry of Education was the agency in charge of modelling the youth. The official purpose was to build a strong unified nation, by instructing the youngsters to become good Romanian citizens, sometimes to the detriment of society's needs. In fact, this was one of the weaknesses of the secondary education in interwar Romania, developed as an anti-chamber of the universities. In the 30s, the emphasis was placed on the fidelity towards King Carol II who tried to engage the youth in the national project through a paramilitary youth organization called *Straja Țării* [Sentinel of the Motherland]. In times when far-right regimes in Europe build their support by indoctrinating youngsters, *Străjeria* had the purpose to redirect the youth exuberance from anti-establishment extreme political movements to the strengthening of the royalty. The disciplinary kit for both curricular and extra-curricular programs varied from regulations that implemented discipline, to codes of activities, behavior, looks, rituals consecrated by the institution of scouting, which was the main source of inspiration for youth organizations or movements during the 20th century.

High School Youth in the Statistics

The interwar high school constituted the upper stage of secondary education and it was conceived as a place of strengthening the national unitary culture. For the regulation of high school, the period between 1918 and 1925 was mainly one of legislative harmonization. The post-war context raised a series of issues about the construction of school buildings, reorganizing the school teacher's body, unifying education at all levels,

and opening access to education for rural youth and female population. The unified provinces had educational structures according to the model of the former empires, so the statistical data was distinct for each province. After 1925, the yearbooks tended to harmonize the statistics of schools, but they still did not record all the information about pupils.

The main category of state schools comprising teenagers was the upper course (grades V – VIII)⁹ of the theoretical secondary school: high schools for boys and secondary schools for girls, regulated through the Secondary school law of 1928.¹⁰ The focus was on providing general knowledge, preparing and encouraging in fact the attending of universities. Other branches of the theoretical secondary school (upper level) included teacher training schools¹¹ and theological orthodox schools.

Only in 1936, after the social phenomena of intellectual unemployment generated by the over-theoretical branch of education became a strong issue and a factor of youth radicalization, the Ministry of Education took some delayed measures, introducing industrial education and commercial education. Before the communist regime, the interest and attendance of practical schools was low. In the first half of the 20th century, the candidates for these schools were those who failed the admission for theoretical schools or those with scarce material resources. The problem of choosing a career for a primary school graduate translated as: “Will he be a craftsman, a teacher or a priest; will he be the elite of the nation?”.¹² The correspondence between the type of school and social classes reflected in fact the social hierarchies in an agrarian country and the propensity of middle/high class families to transfer their capital to their children through means of education. Furthermore, even after the practical schools started to develop, the lack of interest for autochthonous entrepreneurship or for agriculture was still the rule, since schools had no proper teaching materials, while the respective job areas could not offer proper work logistics. The inner structure of secondary education favoured the attending of theoretical instruction, while attracting students to high school became also a local business. For instance, in the 30s, a high school 13 km away from Bucharest advertised with “a sports ground, a park, a flower garden, a garden, electric light, a bathroom, a radiator”; other high schools offered fee reductions; another gymnasium had no admission exam.¹³

In 1925, private schools have also been regulated.¹⁴ However, most of these schools had no legal personality so the graduates had to pass the final exams at state schools. Finally, youngsters engaged in education

included also the teenagers that were preparing at home, with private teachers, holding their exams at state schools.

Secondary school in Romania was not compulsory. For those few who attended high schools, the access¹⁵ involved not only intellectual capacities, but also pecuniary issues related to accommodation, tuition fees,¹⁶ school uniforms or handbooks. In certain cases, students were admitted with a tuition exemption (those with very good results or those in need, and the descendants of the war veterans). According to correlated data, between 1925 and 1938, the average of teenagers in Romania was around 407,000.¹⁷ The most complex and complete yearbook on school attendance was issued in 1926 and showed that only 32,019 youngsters (the 12th part) were enrolled in upper-secondary education. Although a precise number cannot be provided for all the other years in the interwar period, estimations show that the attendance of high schools continued to be low. This situation shouldn't surprise as it also reflects a developmental problem of interwar Romania: the low proportion of the literate population (in 1930: 57%), with only 705.108 secondary education graduates (8.6%).

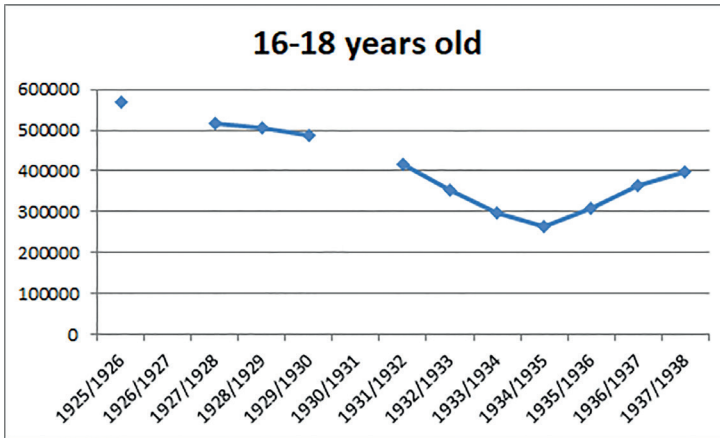


Fig. 1 – Adolescents in Romania, 1925-1938

Source: processed data from *Statistica învățământului public și particular din România pe anii școlari 1919-1920, 1920-1921*, Tip. Curții Regale, București, 1924; *Anuarul statistic al României pe anii 1937 și 1938*, Imprimeria Națională, București, 1939.

It is even harder to estimate the proportion of minorities among the Romanian teens (age categories are not correlated with ethnicity in the statistics), but as available data showed, Jews were the 2nd ethnic group in Romanian schools, a situation facilitated by their higher degree of urbanization (the proportion of Jews in urban areas: 13.6%). A general image of ethnic proportion in high schools shows that at the national level, Romanians formed the majority (75%), followed by Jews (16%) well detached from the other main minorities, Germans and Hungarians (2%). In certain high schools from Moldavia and Bessarabia, the number of Jews was in fact almost equal or outnumbered the number of Romanians.

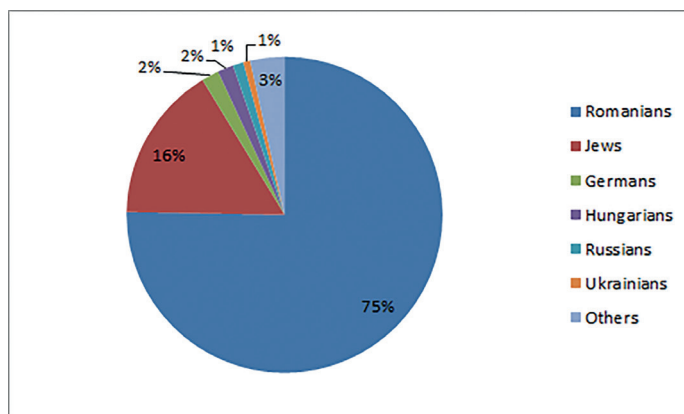


Fig. 2 – high school population, 1926 – ethnic criteria

Source: processed data from *Statistica învățământului public și particular din România pe anii școlari 1919-1920, 1920-1921*, Tip. Curții Regale, București, 1924.

Through Education and Discipline, to Good Romanian Citizens!

The upper secondary school system. Organization and discipline in laws and regulations

Until 1928, the secondary schools in the Old Kingdom followed the regulation of 1898 Secondary and Higher education Law (Spiru Haret Law). They included gymnasiums (starting with the ages of 11) and high schools for boys (grades I – IV for lower level, grades V – VIII for upper level) and 1st

and 2nd level secondary schools for girls. For those enrolled, the Regulation of secondary schools in 1911 imposed the regular attendance of classes. Only one re-attention/repentance was allowed during high school. In the upper level (VI-VIII), no more than 40 students could be enrolled. The graduates of the lower level had to have passed the graduation exam and to opt for one of the three branches: classical, real or modern classical.

The opening ceremonial at the September 1, introduced by the blessing of water, marked the clerical strong component of instruction.¹⁸ Most of the holidays followed also the Christian celebrations, while the national holidays triggered the celebration of the Principalities Union (January 24), the date of the independence and of the kingdom (May 10) the birth of King Carol (April 7), the name day of Queen Elisabeta (April 24). The national conscience was thus consolidated through school curricula and outside school, during public celebrations. The study of religion was compulsory for all Christian orthodox students, while those pertaining to other confessions had to bring attendance certificates from their churches (1911 Regulation, art. 42).

The major reform¹⁹ of the secondary education was introduced by the liberal minister C. Angelescu in 1928,²⁰ adopting the French model of education. The purpose of the new high school was established in the 1st paragraph: a theoretical educational system for general culture and a transitory level towards university (1928 Law, art. 1) taught in public or private schools. By implementing this system, the authorities hoped to readdress the low level of instruction, the low involvement of family and society in the youth education, the materialist tendency, the lack of respect for work, and the overwhelmed curricula. The three branches were abolished and secondary schools were reorganized in two levels: the lower level (gymnasium – grades I – III) and the upper level (high school – grades IV – VII)²¹ (1928 Law, art. 3). The law introduced the option for extra-budgetary classes sponsored mainly by the school committees with parents among the members. This provision led to a tendency of wealthy parents to control and influence the process of education and also to prioritize investments in theoretical schools to the detriment of practical education. Co-education was still not allowed, but now the school for girls had also the nomination of high school. The only language of instruction was Romanian, while other languages could have been taught as study disciplines (1928 Law, art. 10).

A great emphasis was now placed on the pre-eminence of the Romanian students. Most of the students paid tuition fees,²² while the

sons from poor families of Romanian citizenship could be scholarship holders, if having good grades (1928 Law, art. 116). 10% of scholarships were allocated for war orphans, disabled or Romanians from abroad, while 40% went to the students from rural areas²³ (1928 Law, art. 117). The recruitment pool extended also for raising the education level of Romanians: high school was open to gymnasium graduates who passed the admission exam, but also to the graduates of the complete primary cycle (7 grades) or graduates of the practical school lower level, if they passed certain differentiating exams (1928 Law, art. 19). A similar situation was regulated referring to transfer of students from teacher training schools and theological seminars to theoretical high schools (1929 Regulation, art. 151, 152). The students coming from private or confessional schools had to pass the baccalaureate exam for further university studies (1928 Law, art. 21). 1925 law regulated the compulsory baccalaureate exam. Over time, the exigencies of the reform decreased. A student had the possibility to enrol for the baccalaureate exams for 8 sessions. (1928 Law, art. 21)

The principle of schooling was issued by the Romanian liberals in power, based on the integral education theory²⁴ including morals and discipline among the fundamentals of high school: “moral education will be accomplished by special training, in order to cultivate the proper qualities of the soul, teaching students an honest, orderly and disciplined life...” (1928 Law, art. 81) The 1929 Regulation had a distinct section dedicated to this matter, indicating several concrete methods for teachers and class masters for “teaching” morals: the appeal to real events, life stories and lectures for explaining virtues like duty, character, temperance, dignity, gratitude, sincerity, friendship, patriotism (1929 Regulation, art. 200). The queen of the virtues seemed to be the idea of duty, also hierarchical taught and inspired by the Christian precepts: 1. The idea of duty translated through the obligation of students to obey the school rules; 2. The duty towards the student himself expressed by care for hygiene and sports, and spiritual-religious and aesthetic life; 3. The duty towards intellectual life; 4. The cult of work counterweighted by the danger of laziness; 5. Self-respect; 6. Courage; 7. The cult of truth; 8. Social solidarity. (1929 Regulation, art. 201) The liberals’ views on education encountered several critiques. At the debates for the new 1928 Law, N. Costăchescu (a Peasant Party politician) questioned the methods for moral education, fearing that the practical methods will only work in theory, while students will take that as a mean of entertainment. In fact, Costăchescu was correctly pointing out that moral education was the result of the influence of

environment:²⁵ “it is an unrelenting optimism, an excessive demand, to repair all the diseases of school through legislation. The straightening of education will rise when the environment will provide proper conditions for its development”.²⁶

Another component of integral education, religion, was a part of the curricula for all confessions. In the explanatory statement of the law, the religious character of the Romanian people was especially highlighted. All the more, the permanent role of the Orthodox Church was restated suggesting thus a more non-secular character of the state. As for its role in education, religion was expected to consolidate morals, and not to be taught as a science.²⁷

As mentioned before, educational strategies were tributary to the French model of schooling and education. Functionalism represented by the French sociologist Émile Durkheim stated that education was the main instrument for preserving the future of societies, while morals represented the main condition for national survival. Discipline, attachment to social groups, and individual autonomy were supposed to work together for strong morals. Unlike the later approach of M. Foucault, É. Durkheim eliminates any trace of violence in discipline, considering it a “condition of our happiness and moral health [...] By means of discipline we learn the control of desire without which man could not achieve happiness”.²⁸ The cultural transfer of educational views from France was added with autochthon elements. É. Durkheim pleaded for secular morality, excluding the clerical influence from schools,²⁹ while in Romania, the Ministry of Education and the Orthodox Church acted as partners in educating youngsters for becoming citizens attached to religious Christian values.

Discipline was also correlated with physical education/sports. 4 hours/week, for both boys and girls, were allotted for practicing sports (1928 Law, art. 33). The 1929 Regulation had practical instructions regarding gymnastics and sports. The national sport – oina – (an ancestor of baseball) was to be practiced only in the last three grades of high school. The new accent on physical education was a provision inspired by the Anglo-Saxon education systems that cherished the new type of healthy man, strong enough to fight the enemies. Physical culture as a social and cultural product became thus a milestone of modernization.³⁰ Physical education was in fact regulated since 1923, as a form of pre-military training, for young men before the age of conscription. The National Office for Physical Education was in charge with the coordination/creation of sports societies conducted by Prince Carol. The training of instructors

and teachers involved in programs was to be provided by the National Institute for Physical Education.³¹

Means of surveillance and discipline

As a disciplinary institution, the school developed a complex set of techniques in order to create “the docile bodies”. In other words, modern strategies of surveillance, developed in the last decades, were applied to metamorphose teenagers attracted by the dangerous temptations of adult life, into obedient, responsible adults serving the country. The power relation between school authorities and pupils represent an applied model of disciplinary power characteristic to modern institutions, which is described by Michel Foucault by following the model of Panopticum. The methods included the distribution of seats in the classroom, the maintaining of monotony, or the strict control of pupils’ activity and time.³² In fact, as researchers have shown, similar techniques of power are still performed in pedagogy and can be revealed by systematic processes of categorization.³³

In Romanian schools, several instruments served as control devices managed by teachers, class masters and school principals. For instance, the grades for behavior and the evidence of attendance constituted the subject of a distinct special register. The principal of the school was in charge of the transfer of information from these registers to the individual transcript of records. Also, each class had its own book as a centralized register of the students’ behavior. 1929 Regulation described in detail the sections of the registration sheet containing all personal data, grades, attendance.

Class masters kept track of the attendance using marks: very regular (with no absence), regular (1-10 absence), less regular (11-20 absence), irregular (21-30 absence). A student with 21 absences was to be expelled, having though the conditioned possibility to re-enrol (1929 Regulation, art. 134). The progressive rule of punishments was implemented as an upgrade of the previous legislation: after the first class skipping, the class master contacted the parents and only some disciplinary measures were applied (1929 Regulation, art. 45). In a similar manner behavior was awarded: very good, good, pretty good, poor. The student had the chance to compensate for a bad mark with good behavior. 1925 Regulation introduced numerical grades instead of marks: very good=10, good=8, quite good=6 (1925 Regulation, p. 12).

The time was very strictly set, at both macro and micro level. The school year had four semesters; the daily timetable had two intervals, from 8:00 a.m. to 11:20 a.m., and from 14:00 p.m. to 16:10 p.m. Each class lasted 60 minutes with a 10 minutes break. No exemptions from the schedule were to be allowed without the Ministry's approval. 1929 Regulation changed the time schedule from semesters to 3 quarters (1929 Regulation, art. 23). The new legislation introduced a new instrument of time management: the bell. The noisy object announced the beginning and the ending of class, alternating recreation (free movement) with new classes (sitting still in benches). Any delay after the bell rang was to be registered (1929 Regulation, art. 168). Time had a strict supervision outside school too, as youngsters were not allowed to lose their precious time. Walking in big groups or standing on the streets or in certain squares was also forbidden. Certain streets could be denied the whole access (1929 Regulation, art. 249).

Surveillance outside schools involved other actors, too. Class masters had registers with hosts' name and address (1929 Regulation, art. 83), since most of the students had their families outside cities and towns. The main condition for becoming a host for a high school student was to prove high morals (1929 Regulation, art. 84) and proper hygienic conditions for study. In reality, the situation of hosts was far from being decent.

Roles and actors

The actors performing discipline reflected the hierarchy of school position, with the director on the top of the pyramid. The director was directly involved in the educational process, controlling the activity of teachers, class masters and students. The boarding school was also managed by the director and his/her assistant: "he/she is directly responsible for maintaining order, cleanliness, and the hygiene of the boarding house, for school discipline, for surveillance of their studies" (1911 Regulation, art. 109).

1928 Law reinforces the attribution of the director as "chief-supervisor" in charge of the moral education of students (1928 Law, art. 103).

Every class had its class master (one of the teachers) in charge of maintaining order and discipline. He/she was the main authority actor that modelled the students, individually and as a group. He/she applied the basic rules of obedience, indicating the place for each student; watching on class hygiene, the appearance and look of students; the attendance.

He/she was the one to decide on punishments based on the complaints of other teachers (1911 Regulation, art. 119) and managed complains of parents, tutors or mediated between classmates. At least once a week meetings between class master and students took place in order to evaluate the behavior and apply punishments or grant compliments. Appreciation and commendation manifested thus in a highly antonymic manner against punishment in order to induce the benefits of good behavior and obedience. The class register contained the list with students with bad behavior, the list with absences and the punishments applied by teachers (1911 Regulation, art. 131).

The 1928 Law kept all these provisions, however, emphasizing on the individuality of each student. For all disciplinary activities the class master had to allot at least 3 hours/week (1928 Law, art. 103).

The school council of all class masters represented the next hierarchical authority, in charge of the school regulation of internal order (1911 Regulation, art. 124). 1928 Law added other disciplinary tasks.

Teachers acted as the main guardians of teenagers inside and outside school. They had the obligation to watch on students' morals and to adjust it to the norms. They also had to use any occasion to "strengthen the love of students for their country and nation, and the obedience and respect for laws, institutions, and country authorities". An important duty of teachers was to remove any sign of hatred towards anyone, while, again, "strengthening national pride, trust in the country and its leaders, the sense of duty, and the sense of devotion for the public good" (1928 Law, art. 140). In practice, some teachers fuelled schools with extremist propaganda, one sounding case being the high school for boys in Huși, where a history teacher named Ion Zelea Codreanu transformed the institution into a "school of anti-Semitism".³⁴

Supervision of the free time of students had to be ensured by the correspondent: the parent or the host, actors designated in all legislations.

Although reacting and sometimes contesting the over control, students were considered the beneficiary of this complex system of surveillance. Discipline took into account the diversity of characters among teenagers and tried to uniform and to inhibit behaviors that were considered unfit for the state.

A category that has to be approached from several angles is students pertaining to the national minorities. As mentioned before, the 1925 Law for private education³⁵ allowed private initiatives, including religious communities, to create their own schools for all educational levels, with

the ministry's approval. High schools could apply even their own curricula (1925 Law, art. 9), but the graduates were not entitled to any rights upon the attestation (1925 Law, art. 43). Private schools had legal jurisdiction only in certain conditions, so most of them could not issue diplomas, but only attestation of attendance (1925 Law, art. 27, 63). However, private high schools working with the state curricula had allowed graduates to candidate for baccalaureate, but at a public school (1925 Law, art. 58).

There are no special provisions regarding surveillance within these private institutions. Discipline was to be applied according to the same prescriptions as for the public schools (1925 Law, art. 33).

The 1928 Law raised also several aspects regarding students of ethnic minorities. While the compulsory language of instruction was Romanian, the law approved the study of other languages in schools with a higher minority population, but only as an optional study course (1928 Law, art. 10) and only respecting certain conditions regarding the number of students (at least 25 students/class) (1929 Regulation, art. 15). In regions with an important share of minorities, it was legal to create branches of state schools taught in the minority language. However, only students having the respective nationality and using the respective language could enrol. A minority high school class could be created with at least 25 students (1929 Regulation, art. 11).

The parliamentary debates on the draft raised important questions on the status of minority students. The case of the Hungarian Jews in Transylvania was especially difficult. The criteria of nationality placed them in a category that erased the historical process of affiliation to the Hungarian identity. As a consequence, Jewish pupils were expelled out of Hungarian schools in order to place them in Jewish schools.³⁶ The language of instruction for Jewish students was again a problem authorities had to face during the process of Romanianization. Another thorny debated issue was related to the limited places for enrolment. The possibility of Romanian pupils who did not catch a place in a State school to enrol in private schools pertaining to minorities frightened both Romanian and minority politicians. The former could not ever conceive that Romanians could subordinate to schools conducted by minorities, while the latter were afraid that a Romanian with a higher grade will "steal" the place of a minority youngster.³⁷ Another aspect involving minority students was the baccalaureate exam. The graduates of private/confessional schools, most of them without legal entity, had the same committee as the public schools, with teachers they did not work before with (1929 Regulation,

art. 84). Lots of situations with students that claimed for an unfair treatment were the source of petitions and complain.

Duties and rules of obedience

The 1st article of the section dedicated to students in the pre-war regulation referred to their obligation to obey the rules: “students have to obey discipline, inside and outside school, as long as they are enrolled. Any deviation from school discipline [...] is to be punished” (1911 Regulation, art. 167). Further obligations included: to respect the director, teachers and any superiors, otherwise, severe punishment would be applied (1911 Regulation, art. 169); lies, fraud, attempts of fraud were to be punished most severely (1911 Regulation, art. 170); regular attendance and punctuality were also compulsory. It was absolutely forbidden to bring any books or journals with content outside the school curricula (1911 Regulation, art. 173). The appearance was also strictly regulated: “students have to be simply and cleanly dressed”, wearing their uniforms with the registration number at the collar all the time, except for the last term in the 8th grade (1911 Regulation, art. 174). One of the most frequent forms of misbehavior, smoking, was said to be punished severely (1911 Regulation, art. 179). No student was allowed to attend public balls, coffee shops, bars, casinos or certain artistic representations (1911 Regulation, art. 180). At the beginning of the 20th century, students associations were unpermitted, except for the lecture societies. Although back then the political activity of youngsters was not yet an issue, students were not allowed, however, to publish anything but scientific or literary papers (1911 Regulation, art. 182).

The new legislation on secondary schools will have important additions to this respect. A decade later since the unification of the provinces, student movements, the growing anti-Semitism, communist propaganda (especially in Bessarabia and Bukovina) and the far-right discourse propagated by some teachers in schools changed the parameters of the youth political temptation. The creation of the Legionary Movement in 1927 started to attract the youth, while LANC (National Christian Defence League) continued to perform radical nationalist propaganda. Thus, in the 1929 Regulation, the rule stated clearly that no attendances to any manifestation organized by students, political parties, professional or public gatherings are allowed (1929 Regulation, art. 247).

In fact, the Regulation connected to the 1928 Law of the secondary education resumes these provisions in a distinct chapter on discipline. The official discourse demanded respect not only towards teachers, but also towards colleagues, forbidding any discriminatory remarks on nationality, religion, social or family status (1929 Regulation, art. 234). The identity card became also compulsory, while the list of forbidden places was now updated with cinemas, theatres, cabarets, hippodromes (1911 Regulation, art. 245).

Punishment

Modern educational theories developed in the 19th century placed the idea of punishment in the center of educational methods, while instruments of punishment were developed by authorities. Many times, punishment became the norm, perceived by teachers as the easy way for conflict management and discipline.³⁸ This approach is reflected in the regulations and practices of discipline in high schools, before and after the legislative updates in 1928.

Fraud at the written papers was considered a serious mistake punished with the lowest grade (1). While being obliged to an objective evaluation of students, teachers were supposed to behave gently: “any corporal punishments are absolutely forbidden” (1911 Regulation, art. 143). Misbehavior in class could have been punished through expelling, including the permanent expelling from school (1911 Regulation, art. 175).

The pyramid of punishments had at the bottom the inscription of the deeds in the class book, followed by admonition, extra-class work for 1-2 hours under teacher surveillance, elimination – permanently, but also for a week/a month/by the end of the school year, with the possibility of enrolment at other public schools or of studying as a private pupil. They could be rejected from enrolment to any high schools/any other schools of the State. The archives show many requests from the parents/pupils to the Ministry asking for the cancellation of the penalty. In fact, as some school debates showed, the authority of the school seemed to have been frequently diminished by the parents.³⁹ With the exception of the last 2 punishments, the other ones granted the youngster the chance to improve his/her conduct (1911 Regulation, art. 184).

The 1928 Law introduced a new situation that could lead to elimination: pupils joining any kind of political manifestation (1929 Regulation, art. 247)

High school encounters specific forms of misbehavior. The relation with teachers manifests also different grades of domination in comparison to the primary school. In the daily routine, the teachers were sometimes bullied by pupils.⁴⁰ At the same time, dramatic gestures of students took a highly turn under the pressure of school. The archives and the press recorded many cases of suicides committed by students who did not pass an exam or who felt mentally oppressed by certain teachers. Although teacher violence against high school pupils was not that spread as it was in primary schools,⁴¹ there were also cases with teachers educating with the fist. Punishment was in fact still a reminiscence of the transformations of modern education. Some pedagogical views stated that the main function of punishment was not to provoke suffering, in order to prevent similar deeds, but to show “disapproval levelled against the given conduct that alone makes for reparation [...] Pain is only an incidental repercussion”.⁴²

Breaking the rules

By formal means of social control (regulations, customs and punishments), high school tried to create the model citizen able to use his/her knowledge for the benefit of state modernization. Adults were telling youngsters what to wear, what to read, how to behave, where and when to go. However, the relationship between youth identity and constraints often resulted in conflict situations. Discipline did not generate only order and conformism, but also disobedience. It manifested not only as an instrument of instruction, but also as a mechanism of neutralizing disobedience. Students challenged the authorities in many ways. According to rich archival material, three main categories of breaking the rules can be depicted as forms of contestation.

Contesting the diversity of the school medium, through physical or verbal violence. These actions involved interethnic relations and they were usually performed as a proliferation of anti-Semitism by adolescents manipulated through the political propaganda of adults (teachers or university students). The historiography regarding anti-Semitism in high schools usually mentions the Falik-Totu episode from 1926, in Czernowitz. But the interwar decades were affected by some other problematic episodes, especially in the Moldavian high schools of Huși, Bârlad, Bacău, Botoșani, Fălticeni, Piatra-Neamț.

Challenging the above-imposed passivity was connected with the contestation of diversity and refers to political engagement and

radicalization usually as part of youth programs of LANC (The National Christian Defence League), the Legionary Movement or the Communist youth cells. Youth and radicalization is a phenomenon connected with modernization which has distinct forms of manifestation in the 20th and 21st century, but also a common motivational and formative base. It is known that political attitudes usually develop during youth years, under the influence of several factors. At the individual level, it is about close fellows or known personalities with a strong public impact. At the mezzo level, family and school usually exert an important influence during adolescence. Nonetheless, national or global phenomena, as it was the economic crisis in the 30s, undoubtedly impact on youth lives.⁴³ Thus, when analyzing the support of youngsters to different forms of radicalization, all these actors should be taken into account. The archives record a rich casuistry on teenagers involved in radical movements. The following examples are added here as samples of a large material under research.

Youngsters acted as party agents or performers of political radicalism during the 20s and 30s. After the instauration of the royal dictatorship, the legionary propaganda of youth was punished as a subversive political act. For instance, a Greek-Catholic high school student named Tiberiu Mărcușiu was identified as the leader of the legionary Brothers of the Cross in Cluj. He was accused of conspiracy against social order and convicted by the Military Prosecutor's Office (4th Army Corps) under the Law of defence of state order. His file shows in detail the activities of legionary high school students in Cluj, having as main duties collecting money for the Legion in Bucharest, propaganda, recruitment.⁴⁴

At the beginning of the 30s, Grün Emerik, a student at Andrei Mureșanu high school in Dej, was permanently expelled for conducting a communist organization and for telling some anecdotes that were perceived as communist propaganda: "a pupil has to provide an example of a complex construction of phrase. *We have a cat and the cat gave birth to 9 tomcats and all tomcats are nationalists. Very good, said the teacher, you should present this example again next week.* The next week, the pupil updates his example: *We have a cat and the cat gave birth to 9 tomcats and all tomcats are communists.* Astonished, the teacher shouts: *But last week you said they were nationalists! Indeed, says the pupil, but in the meantime, the tomcats opened their eyes*".⁴⁵

Violence and breaking the rules had many shapes, not only interethnic connotations. These can be referred to as forms of *contesting the monotony*. The archives of the Police record lots of juvenile crimes.

Thefts were on a high scale, followed by disagreements with teachers that sometimes took violent forms. Many pupils used fake documents for enrolment or upgraded their marks in the school papers. Misbehaviour also involved smoking, drinking alcohol, going to cinemas or theatres without surveillance, or even to brothels.

Trying to address these situations, the Penal Code “Carol II” in 1936 introduced a distinct section on juvenile delinquency. In 1937, the Ministry of Education reorganized the Offices for pupils’ surveillance. Thus, juvenile delinquency has been brought to discussion when talking about youth policies. Legislators were trying to find solutions to problems signalled even since the beginning of the 1920s, when schools seemed overwhelmed by the consequences of the war.⁴⁶

Restoring the Discipline. *Straja Țării*

In the 30s, the imperatives of youth discipline were marked by a social and political context in turmoil. The end of the 20s stressed the crisis of moral values together with the world economic crises. The great expectations of the new generation collided with the failure of the state and of the liberal policies of engaging youngsters in a coherent social project. The problems of the secondary education, i.e. the low level of instruction, the low level of morals, the high degree of disobedience and, besides all, the rise of candidates for higher education, were thus on the top of the list in pedagogical debates or media. The blame was usually passed from the lack of involvement of families and society to the universities granting diplomas to low prepared teachers. At the same time, high school was perceived as overwhelming and severe; as mentioned before, sounding suicidal cases were being registered among teenagers for failing exams or for being oppressed by teachers.⁴⁷ The incorporation of discipline in the educational strategy of youngsters proved to be relatively efficient in creating good citizens. But a new strategy was yet to be implemented once OETR (The Office for Education of the Romanian Youth) and *Straja Țării* were created. Good Romanian citizens were to be modelled by following the old-new principles of “moral, national-patriotic, social and physical education”.

Youth problem became a worldwide problem in the 30s. As an analysis of the American National youth administration showed, the world raised awareness about its youth, especially since it represented 25% of

unemployment. The youth marches in Italy and Germany indicated the strong political ties with the far-right regime, while in Spain youngsters were among the rebel's armies. Looking at their western neighbours, central and east European states began to mobilize youth in all sorts of activities, acknowledging that "modern youth's difficulties have their roots in idleness".⁴⁸ Pedagogical analysis in Romania had come to the same conclusions. In the conditions of a Europe that smelled of gunpowder, Romania could no longer afford a deceitful, frail, inadaptible youth. *Străjeria* had to take control of youngsters, but without inciting to violence: "the ideal sentinel must be a disciplined enthusiast".⁴⁹

After the restoration in 1930, King Carol II began to develop his plan for organizing youth in order to redirect them to his own support. Following the murder of the prime-minister I.G. Duca in December 1933 and the killing of deputy Eusebiu Popovici, in February 1934, by pupils from Lazăr high school in Bucharest,⁵⁰ Carol II designed new forms of social control on the most exposed category to the dangers of radicalization: the youth. Along with the pre-military training for 18-21 years youngsters, new provisions targeted the teenagers, through the creation of OETR and *Straja Țării* in 1934, using and developing the infrastructure of scouting and creating training centers.⁵¹ It was designed for both male (age 7-18) and female students (age 7-21) and it was compulsory for all youngsters. The rural youth organizations from the provinces (*Șoimii Carpaților* in Transylvania and *Arcașii* in Bukovina) will be later incorporated (1937), together with the Young Men Christian Association⁵² and Young Women Christian Association⁵³ comprising the working Christian youth.

One of the strategically key components was again discipline. The king's discourses stated: "The new education that you are asked for, is an education of love, and an education of discipline. This is the new foundation of the Romanian state".⁵⁴ Petre Andrei, minister of Education emphasised: "Youth belongs to family and state, and no one else has the right to use it".⁵⁵ The reference was clearly inserted in the new legislation that established an exhaustive control on all youth organizations; as a consequence, the legionary Brotherhoods of the Cross for high school students became outlawed.

The events of 1937 marked by the impressive funerals of the legionary heroes Ion Moța and Vasile Marin, killed in the Spanish civil war, created the propitious context for the annihilation of the Legionary Movement. As the king realized that the public support for the legionaries reached higher peaks, while his chances to subordinate the movement and its

leader failed, he decided to remove his competitors from the political stage.⁵⁶ The act represented also a foreign policy strategic move since the Legionary Movement represented the connection with Nazi Germany whose domination Carol was trying to avoid. In addition, he issued the Royal Decree establishing the final norms for the implementation of Straja Țării, and declared the whole autonomy of the institution led by its commander in chief, the king himself.⁵⁷

“Wonderful youth!”

The official discourse promoted the statement that the school has failed morals. Straja Țării assumed thus the role of extra-curricular education based on discipline and physical exercising. A proper management of youth spare time was acknowledged also in the French educational system, since the beginning of the century: “when individual activity does not know where to take hold, it turns against itself. When moral forces of a society remain unemployed, they deviate from their moral sense and are used up in a morbid and harmful manner”.⁵⁸ However, the theory of integral education (morals, religion, physical activity) stated by 1928 Law was reproduced by the doctrine of Straja Țării, using the terms of “moral education, national-patriotic, social and physical”⁵⁹ (Straja Țării Law, 1938, art. 2). The strong religious component was even more visible than in the high school rituals: the oath and any closure form for lectures or official acts ended with the formula “So help me God!” (Straja Țării Law, 1938, art. 6) The motto of the sentinel reinforced the faith: “Faith and work for Country and the King!” (Straja Țării Law, 1938, art. 6)

The implementation of integral education would definitely differ, as the emphasis was on managing the spare time of the youth, with activities outside the school walls and marked by a great dose of formalism “meant to place the sentinel in the frame of discipline”.⁶⁰ School became subordinated to Straja Țării and even the curricula had to be changed in order to allow on day per week for sentinel training. Straja Țării revealed similar techniques of control, with youngsters having particular places in certain divisions, uniforms and distinct signs, hierarchical surveillance, and time management. The pyramid of roles was similar to army organizations with the commander in chief – the king – at the top. The commander (T. Sidorovici) was in fact in charge of the whole management responsibility (Straja Țării Law, 1938, art. 20). He was followed by a Permanent

Committee, chief of state, directors, and chiefs of the independent services, commanders of phalanges, lands or legions (Straja Țării Law, 1938, art. 20).

The new generation of sentinels was to be remarked through its orthodoxy and faith in the destiny of the country, in contrast to the post-war individualistic and violent generation. However, the virile docile bodies couldn't have been created only through sports, discipline and morals. The poor diets and the unhygienic conditions in which most students lived became an issue for authorities belatedly, although, paradoxically, even the official salute of the sentinels was "Health!".⁶¹ Furthermore, school doctors had to recruit pupils for the parades of June 8, on the basis of health and physical fitness. Consequently, those considered physically or psychologically unfit were rejected.⁶² The Law of Straja Țării, as amended in 1939, introduced the obligation of supervising the nutrition and health of the young people (Straja Țării Law, 1939, art. 8).⁶³ However, in 1940, the medical staff of Straja Țării have found "a high proportion of sentinels affected by different deformations of the spine or of the thorax, and also by breathing failures, with severe consequences on their growing".⁶⁴

Teachers have sometimes protested about the involvement of school youth in Straja Țării, considering that their attention is distracted: "With these celebrations, students waste a lot of time, they do not have time to prepare the lessons, or they miss from classes."⁶⁵ For parents, Straja Țării meant new financial burdens. A memo addressed to King Carol II showed the daily life difficulties of youngsters overwhelmed by activities.⁶⁶ As for the sentinels, some were fascinated by the shiny world of uniform and parades, others were just happy to go outside the sober school walls, while the young legionaries considered it as an offensive parody to the Brotherhoods of the Cross: "Together with our teachers and other students, we've done everything to compromise this nasty parody [...] Great foolishness of those who stood up, imagining that in this way the youth would turn to this surrogate, forgetting the Legionary Movement".⁶⁷

The rise of the World War II put an end to the royal dream. In September 8, 1940, Straja Țării was closed down, before the royal social project could have reached its goals. The far-right regime that followed after the short national-legionary power transferred the goods, knowledge and instruments of Straja to the newly created State Department for Extra-curricular Education. Low level of morals and discipline were again in the debates, thus new strategies for a military, patriotic and physical education were being developed.⁶⁸

Some Final Remarks

Discipline became a part of the modern institutions, including the educational ones, as it was considered that individuals maximize their input for the benefit of political powers when acting under close guidance and restraint. It is no doubt that modern societies could not function outside power relations. It is a difficult task for those implementing discipline to ensure order, but also proper spaces of liberty. The case of high school students in interwar Romanian was illustrative to this respect. It showed that power tends rather to generate counter-power; discipline tends to generate disobedience.

School regulations in 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century introduced discipline in the educational process aiming for responsible, useful citizens. The updated legislation implemented at the beginning of the 30s maintained many previous provisions, showing thus that the age of adolescence had certain constants no matter the regime. However, many regulation updates took into account the new forms of disobedience whose main resorts were political activism, radicalisation and anti-Semitism.

Straja Țării did not appear unexpectedly. As mentioned, this state organization responded to international trends on youth matters, to personal interests of the king and also to the alarm signals of school professionals regarding disobedience. But the uses of discipline were distorted: Straja was not only about creating good citizens, but mostly modelling the fidelity of youth towards royalty; not only about redirecting youth from vices, but mostly redirecting teenagers from competing elements. The short period of functioning can not prove the efficiency of this project, but it stands for sure as a solid background for similar youth organisations that were developed later, in the communist regime.

NOTES

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- 2 Christine Griffin, *Representations of Youth. The Study of Youth and Adolescence in Britain and America*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1993, p. 13.
- 3 G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence. Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education*, vol. I, II, D. Appleton and Company, New York, London, 1914.
- 4 Christine Griffin, *Representations of Youth...*, p. 21.
- 5 W. Thacher Winslow, *Youth. A World Problem. A Study in world perspective of youth conditions, movements and programs*. With a foreword by Aubrey Williams (executive director). National Youth Administration, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1937, p. IX.
- 6 Rogers R. Stainton, "The making and moulding of modern youth: a short history", in J. Roche and S. Tucker (eds.), *Youth in Society*, Sage, London, 1997, p. 1–19.
- 7 Erik H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crises*, Norton&Co., New York, 1994, p. 243-244.
- 8 Michel Foucault, *A supraveghea și a pedepsii. Nașterea închisorii*, Humanitas, București, 1997, p. 205.
- 9 Secondary schools also included exclusively lower course gymnasiums and secondary schools for girls – grade 1.
- 10 Until that point, the structure of high school corresponded with the regulations of Spiru Haret law of 1898 (lower level of 4 years, upper level of 4 years; 3 study branches: classical, modern and scientific).
- 11 Teacher Training Schools were regulated by the Primary Education and Teacher Training Law of 1924 (with amendments in 1934 and 1937) (7 years of training (later 8 years): 3 years (later 4 years) lower course + 4 years upper course) preparing Romanian speaking young teachers for primary schools and kindergartens. Some of the graduates also continued their studies in universities.
- 12 Gheorghe Adamescu, *Problemele învățământului secundar*, Imprimeriile Independența, București, 1923, p. 8.
- 13 Grigore Clujan, *Impresii din lumea învățământului*, Cartea Românească, Cluj, 1938, p. 29.
- 14 Private and confessional education also included teacher training schools in Transylvania (not applying for Judaic religion) and professional schools for girls, lower level.
- 15 According to *Statistica învățământului public și particular din România pe anii școlari 1919-1920, 1920-1921*, Tip. Curții Regale, București, 1924, there were 120 high schools for boys and 67 high schools for girls.

- 16 According to the 1911 Regulation, tuition fee was 80 lei/year for upper level, paid in 3 instalments.
- 17 *Statistica învățământului public și particular din România pe anii școlari 1919-1920, 1920-1921*, Tip. Curții Regale, București, 1924; *Anuarul statistic al României pe anii 1937 și 1938*, Imprimeria Națională, București, 1939.
- 18 Reinstated by the 1929 Regulation, art. 19, completed by the mentioning of the religious celebration for each confession (art. 21).
- 19 Three decades after the last reform on secondary education, schools confronted with deficiencies outlined during the debates for the new legislation proposed by minister C. Angelescu. "Parliamentary debates, the meeting in March 16 1928, M.O., Partea a II-a, no. 74/1928", in Paul Negulescu *et all.*, *Codul învățământului (primar, secundar, superior)*, Ed. Librăriei Pavel Suru, București, 1929, p. 347-350 (the discourse of N. Costăchescu).
- 20 Lege pentru învățământul secundar, M.O., Partea I, no. 105, 15 mai 1928.
- 21 Students attended the preparatory year after the baccalaureate, in order to continue their studies in universities (1928 Law, art. 22). The new configuration received many complaints during the debates on the draft, as it was considered that a 3 years gymnasium is incomplete and inefficient, in *Codul învățământului...*, p. 67-68.
- 22 Together with the fee for renovating the school building (1929 Regulation, art. 190).
- 23 During the parliamentary debates, deputy N. Costăchescu (Peasant Party) questioned the practical application of this provision, stating that the chances to get admitted to high school (upper level), for pupils coming from primary rural schools, are very low, as they have to compete with urban graduates of the gymnasiums. So, before they could obtain the scholarship, they have to face the challenges of admission with unequal chances. His proposal of creating gymnasiums at the countryside couldn't pass though the shortage of teachers, in *Codul învățământului...*, p. 358.
- 24 Cristu N. Negoescu, *Educația integrală în școala de azi și în cea de mâine. Probleme didactice și pedagogice cu soluțiuni practice*, Tip. Universală Viața românească, București, 1921.
- 25 *Codul învățământului...*, p. 354.
- 26 *Ibidem*, p. 356.
- 27 *Ibidem*, p. 408.
- 28 Émile Durkheim, *Moral education. A study in the theory and application of the sociology of education*, The Free Press, London, 1973, p. 48.
- 29 *Ibidem*, p. xv.
- 30 *Codul învățământului...*, p. 407 – the explanatory statement of the 1928 Law.
- 31 Lege pentru educația fizică, M.O., Partea I, no. 59, 17 June 1923.

- 32 Michel Foucault, *A supraveghea și a pedepsi...*, p. 210-215.
- 33 Jennifer M. Gore, "Disciplining Bodies: on the continuity of power relations in pedagogy", in Thomas S. Popkewitz and Marie Brennan (eds.), *Foucault's Challenge. Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, London, 1998, p. 232.
- 34 Anca Filipovici, "Adolescent political turmoil: a review of anti-Semitism in interwar Romanian high schools", in *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România*, no. 3(19) / 2018, p. 307-309.
- 35 Lege asupra învățământului particular, in M.O., Partea I, no. 283, 22 December 1925.
- 36 *Codul învățământului...*, p. 375, the parliamentary debates on the draft, with interventions of minority politicians Iosif Willer, Franz Krauter.
- 37 *Ibidem*, p. 384.
- 38 Ramona Caramela, „Un instrument pentru disciplinarea elevilor: pedeapsa școlară între teorie și practică (sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului XX)”, in Nicoleta Roman (coord.), *Copilăria românească între familie și societate (secolele XVII-XX)*, Nemira, București, 2015, p. 366-367.
- 39 Grigore Clujan, *Problema învățământului secundar*, Cartea Românească, Cluj, 1936, p. 4.
- 40 ANIC, Fond *Ministerul Instrucțiunii*, d. 485/1936, f. 464.
- 41 For an applied case study see Petru Negură, „Educația ca violență. Învățământul primar rural din Basarabia interbelică: de la pedeapsa corporală la violența simbolică”, in *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. X, no. 1, 2010.
- 42 Émile Durkheim, *Moral education...*, p. 167.
- 43 Cas Mudde (ed.), *Youth and Extreme Right*, Introduction, IDEBATE Press, New York, 2014, p. 8.
- 44 ȘJAN Cluj, Fond *Ministerul de Interne. Direcția Generală de Poliție*, d. 4259 – dosar personal al legionarului Tiberiu Mărcușiu. A similar case on how legionary networks worked involving high school students is documented in Roland Clark, *Sfântă tinerețe legionară. Activismul fascist în România interbelică*, Polirom, Iași, 2015, p. 158-159.
- 45 ANIC, Fond *Ministerul Instrucțiunii*, d. 308/1932, f. 6.
- 46 Ludovic Kerner, „Jurisdicțiunea asupra infractorilor minori și patronajul lor”, in *Revista Poliția*, I, no. 4, Cluj, 15 July 1920.
- 47 See, for instance, ANIC, Fond *Ministerul Instrucțiunii Publice*, d. 357/1924, f. 25-35; also, ANIC, Fond *Ministerul Instrucțiunii Publice*, d. 437/1934, f.72.
- 48 W. Thacher Winslow, *Youth. A World Problem...*, p. XI.
- 49 N. N. Crețu, *Pregătirea tineretului în noul spirit al vieții de stat*, Imprimeriile Independența, București, 1939, p. 17.

- 50 „Prinderea asasinilor lui Eusebiu Popovici”, in *Dimineața*, 18 April 1934, p. 1.
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- 52 ANIC, Fond *Ministerul Muncii, Sănătății și Ocrotirilor Sociale*, d. 149/1939, f. 364.
- 53 *Ibidem*, f. 356-363
- 54 „Cuvântările M.S. Regelui în legătură cu Străjeria. 8 iunie 1935. Serbarea tineretului străjer”, in *Straja Țării. Cinci ani de activitate. 1935-1940*, Vreimea, București, 1940, p. 6.
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- 56 Dragoș Sdrobiș, *Limitele meritocrației într-o societate agrară. Șomaj intelectual și radicalizare politică a tineretului în România interbelică*, Polirom, Iași, 2015, p. 227.
- 57 Decret regal Înființarea Straja Țării, in M.O., Partea I, no. 233, 8 October 1937.
- 58 Émile Durkheim, *Moral education...*, p. 13.
- 59 Lege pentru organizarea și funcționarea Străjii Țării, in M.O., Partea I, no. 292, 15 December 1938.
- 60 „Cuvântările M.S. Regelui în legătură cu Străjeria. 3 decembrie 1935. Inaugurarea „Orei străjerilor” la Radio”, in *Straja Țării. Cinci ani de activitate...*, p. 9.
- 61 ANIC, Fond *Ministerul Educației Naționale*, d. 571/1937, f. 41.
- 62 *Ibidem*, f. 195.
- 63 Lege pentru organizarea și funcționarea Străjii Țării, M.O., Partea I, 3 June 1939.
- 64 ANIC, Fond *Ministerul Educației Naționale*, d.739/1940, f. 22.
- 65 *Ibidem*, f. 38.
- 66 ANIC, Fond *Ministerul Educației Naționale*, d. 622/1938, f. 294.
- 67 Ion Gavrilă Ogoranu, *Brazii se frâng, dar nu se îndoiesc*, vol. V, *La pas prin Frăția de Cruce*, Ed. Mișcării Legionare, București, f.a., p. 66-67.
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