

# The Labor of Women: Domestic Spaces and Social Transformations in Industrial Bucharest during the Interwar Period

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## Industrialization and Social Disparity. The "Necessity" of Domestic Staff

The Union of 1918<sup>1</sup> and the transformation of Bucharest into the political, administrative, economic, and cultural center of Greater Romania led to a significant increase in the number of workers, driven by the growth of industry, trade, and transport. Playing a key role in the country's modernization, prominent domestic industrialists became politically influential figures, often supported by post-1918 government policies.<sup>2</sup> Around them, a bourgeois class comprising major traders, bankers, landowners, engineers, and economists emerged, alongside a new layer of "pseudo-bourgeoisie" composed of various categories of civil servants.<sup>3</sup>

Amid this unprecedented urban development, a wave of rural-to-urban migration emerged. This movement was largely spontaneous and driven by economic necessity, rather than by state planning.<sup>4</sup> Peasants sought to improve their income, as rural life was marked by hardship, often requiring them to accept poor working conditions imposed by landowners and resource holders. In some cases, men would leave temporarily while women remained to work the land; in others, entire families would relocate to the city with the intention of settling permanently. As first-generation urban migrants, they faced a deep cultural and occupational divide: accustomed to agricultural labor and a lifestyle shaped by seasonal rhythms and the natural day-night cycle, they struggled to find employment in factories and to adapt to the demands of urban work schedules and conditions. Working hours varied between enterprises, and conditions were frequently harsh.<sup>5</sup> A typical scenario saw women employed as domestic servants, while men found work in the police, as doormen, ushers, or railway workers.<sup>6</sup>

1 Modern Romania took shape after World War I through the Union of 1918, when the regional assemblies of Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia voted to join the Kingdom of Romania, forming Greater Romania.

2 After 1918, Romanian governments took various measures to encourage domestic industry, notably the 1919 Law for the Encouragement of Industry, granting tax exemptions, customs protection, and priority in state procurement; the 1924 Customs Tariff, which raised import duties considerably with the purpose of protecting local manufacturers; and preferential state credit granted through the Industrial Credit Bank.

3 The term "pseudo-bourgeoisie" belongs to Mihail Manoilescu, who refers to it in *Rolul și destinul burgheziei românești* [The Role and Destiny of the Romanian Bourgeoisie] (Bucharest: Cugetarea, 1942). Manoilescu acknowledges that this category involves a significant degree of relativity in terms of the occupations that define it. It could include people working in industry without directly participating in the production process, engineers, economists, lawyers, but also doctors, university professors, officers, magistrates, writers, and others.

4 Ioan Scurtu, *Viața cotidiană a românilor în perioada interbelică* [The Daily Life of Romanians During the Interwar Period] (Bucharest: Rao, 2001), 144.

5 Sunday and holiday rest was only introduced in 1925, while the 8-hour workday, along with the protection of minors and women, was established in 1928.

6 Conclusion based on personal research regarding the presence of servant occupations in the classified

Women compelled to enter the labor market often found little opportunity in industry, instead relying on their household skills to work as maids for the newly formed bourgeoisie that had arisen through urban industrialization. In doing so, they sustained and enabled the bourgeois lifestyle, taking on domestic tasks that allowed middle-class housewives to enjoy increasing social emancipation and leisure time.

Domestic servants occupied a distinct category within the labor market, separate from salaried employees, and were governed by the Law of Servants, first enacted in 1891 in the Old Kingdom,<sup>7</sup> which established the legal framework for domestic employment. According to the 1930 population census, domestic staff, classified under “Public institutions, miscellaneous and undeclared: domestic personnel (servants),” accounted for approximately 15% of the active population, ranking just behind industry and agriculture. Strikingly, 89% of these workers were women, making domestic labor the most gender-representative occupational field of the period.<sup>8</sup>

### The Role of Women and Domestic Staff

The roles of women in urban society were closely shaped by the home and family to which they were intimately tied. When the man’s financial situation was stable and sufficient to support the entire household, the woman assumed the role of housewife. Her activities revolved around the central figure of the man and the care of the home and children: she shopped for groceries, prepared her husband’s lunch for work, washed and mended clothes, cooked for the children, and kept food warm for her husband’s return.<sup>9</sup>

As the *petite bourgeoisie* expanded, the perceived need for women to rely on domestic staff spread beyond traditionally bourgeois households and became increasingly widespread. The woman of the household remained responsible for maintaining the home, managing relationships with the rest of the domestic staff, and ensuring their well-being. In particular, she bore a degree of responsibility<sup>10</sup> for those tasked with caring for and educating the children, over whom she exercises discreet supervision.<sup>11</sup> This partial delegation of domestic responsibilities co-existed with growing trends of emancipation and women’s increasing participation in public life.

Various regulations issued by local authorities, together with the Servants’ Law of 1891, sought to define and control the status of domestic workers. These measures aimed both to set standards for behavior and conduct and to prevent abuses, while also facilitating the collection of taxes through employment registers and fines, which contributed directly to local budgets, a pressing necessity for the modernizing state. For example, Article 10 of this law addressed the termination of employment and issues of vagrancy, stipulating a maximum of fifteen days after the return of the employment register for a servant to find new work; neglecting to do so classified them as “vagrants” who should be reported to the authorities<sup>12</sup> unless they could demonstrate sufficient means of subsistence. This provision encouraged the labor force continuity and, by extension, consistent contributions to local revenues. Although the law was intended to regulate employment relations and hold both parties liable to fines for violations, the servants, being in a structurally weaker position, were more frequently unable to pay, which often led to imprisonment or, in the case of foreign workers, even deportation.

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advertisements of *Universul* newspaper, as part of an ongoing doctoral research study.

7 Old Kingdom refers to the Romanian state prior to World War I, consisting primarily of Wallachia and Moldavia, which unified in 1859 and formed the Kingdom of Romania in 1881.

8 N.N. Constantinescu and N. Petrovici, “Situatiunea clasei muncitoare din România în timpul crizei din 1929-1933” [The Situation of the Working Class in Romania during the 1929–1933 Crisis], *Anale de istorie* (1936): 50.

9 Scurtu, *Viața cotidiană*, 144.

10 “Dômn’a casei, - femeia,” [The Lady of the House] *Familia* 23 (1870): 23-24.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Eduard Dioghendie, “O lege infamă!” [An Infamous Law], *Adevărul* 1137 (1892): 1-2.



Fig. 1: Job advertisements for domestic staff, extracted from “Mica Publicitate” [classified advertisements section] of *Universul* newspaper. The hiring notices published from the early twentieth century until shortly before the section disappeared from *Universul* newspaper in 1950, offer valuable insight into the circumstances of female domestic workers, whose opportunities were closely shaped by their marital status, their maternal responsibilities, and their physical appearance. (From top to bottom: “A 16- or 17-year-old housemaid is requested, honest and beautiful, for a wealthy gentleman. A serious matter, potentially leading to marriage.” (*Universul* 161 (June 14, 1900)); “A good cook is sought, without children or husband in service.” (*Universul* 118 (May 1, 1906)); “I am looking for a cook, with a husband working in the yard and their daughter for the house.” (*Universul* 60 (March 1, 1916)); “A maid is sought, with full salary and good food.” (*Universul* 118 (March 2, 1918)); “An unmarried widow, hard-working, skilled in ironing and mending.”; “A woman is sought, skilled and very presentable, serious, who has only worked in aristocratic households. She may be married, provided she has a separate room. Only those with proper documentation will be hired.”; “A servant widow, with certificates, without a husband, is sought.” (*Universul* 48 (March 1, 1921)); “I offer a heated room, electricity, water, half-day service for everything, a woman with a husband, documents, low salary.”; “I am looking for a serious woman, skilled in the kitchen, who can go home in the evening.” (*Universul* 60 (March 1, 1944))

In the early decades of the 20th century, newspapers such as *Fulgerul*, *Adevărul*, *Viitorul*, and *Timpul* continued to report on abuses committed by employment offices, including violations of the Servants’ Law under the tacit tolerance of the police. Rather than protecting domestic workers, these institutions often contributed to their marginalization. The high fees, lack of guarantees for employers, and abusive practices led many women to avoid these offices; in some cases, they were pushed towards prostitution, where earnings were significantly higher. In the capital city, especially, private domestic worker agencies frequently moved servants from one household to another to collect more fees, a practice deeply embedded in local custom.<sup>13</sup>

Lacking the education and resources necessary to improve their circumstances independently, servants could rarely envision a complete life beyond depending on their employer. In this constant state of servitude, establishing or maintaining a family was often impossible—a situation that only began to improve around the mid-20th century. Job advertisements for domestic workers frequently stipulated that female applicants should be unmarried and childless, conditions presented as both normal and necessary for the proper fulfilment of their duties (Fig. 1). Marriage or motherhood reduced a domestic worker’s market value, limiting their employment opportunities. In such cases, domestic service was often available only to couples, in which both partners could provide labor within the same household—an arrangement that required larger homes and more demanding work, which in turn made such positions comparatively rare.

13 An early 20th century investigation by the newspaper *Adevărul* – Emil D. Fagure, “Servitorii și stăpânii” [The Servants and the Masters], *Adevărul* 4872 (1903): 1-2 – encourages empathy toward the disadvantaged class, frankly exposing the reality behind domestic service under the guise of readers’ testimonies: lack of food, rest, or even a single hour of freedom; unceasing labour; poor wages (which often led to theft or even criminal acts among servants); and even sexual relations between masters and maids, with the consequences of refusal proving especially damaging. The recording of “inappropriate behaviour” in a servant’s employment register, or the complete removal of the register in cases of misconduct, thus created a vicious cycle of abuse.

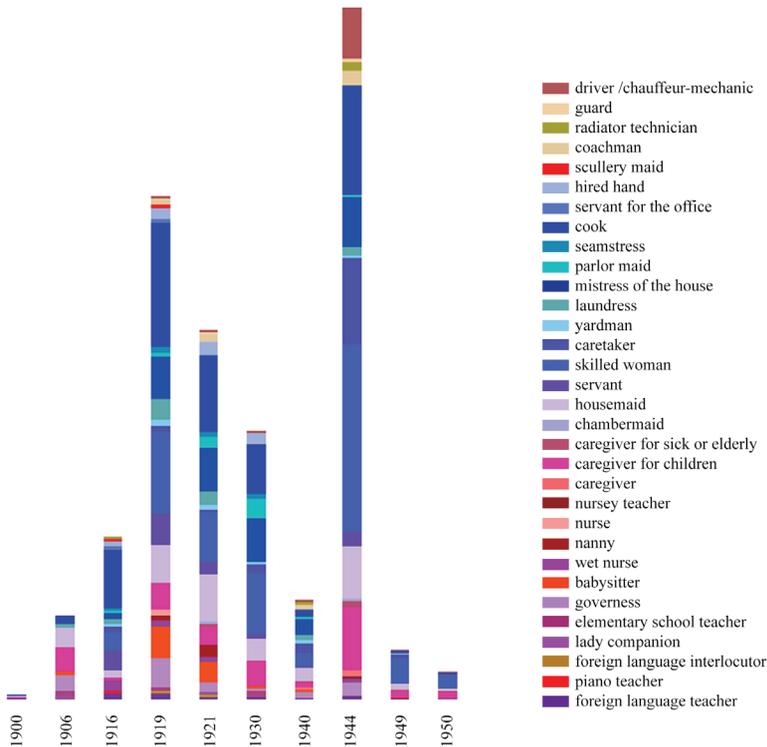


Fig. 2: Graphic representation of the types of occupations of domestic staff found in the requests and job offers for domestic staff published in the *Universul* newspaper

### Servants in the Universe of the Home

Domestic labor provided the safe space of the home, protected and nurtured by women's work. Whether performed by women of more modest households or by domestic personnel (most of whom were also women), this practice expanded during the interwar period. The servants' place within the house was strictly determined by their role. They were assigned at least one room dedicated to their specific task, particularly in the kitchen; for more general duties such as housekeeping, they had access to and responsibility for the entire home and courtyard.

The range of services offered by domestic staff was highly diverse (Fig. 2), carried out by more or less specialized servants, whose numbers depended on the employer's social status. Among the domestic staff, a distinct category consisted of those responsible for the care and education of children, teaching foreign languages, or accompanying upper-class women on journeys abroad. These persons often came from countries such as Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Switzerland, or France, and they typically enjoyed a special status within the household, with a dedicated, comfortable room, usually located near the children's room. By contrast, maids responsible for cleaning and housekeeping generally came from disadvantaged backgrounds, migrating from rural areas on the outskirts or from slums in Bucharest, where they lived in unsanitary conditions. They owned no property and sought to improve their situation by entering domestic service. One of the main advantages of this employment was the opportunity to secure a lodging in the household, even though this often meant being separated from their own family and children.

As a rule, servants' place in the houses where they were employed reflected their distinct status in relation to the master. This lasting aspect/segregation is evident in all types of dwellings, from the luxurious to the modest, from the traditional to the more modern, as they developed over the city's history. Even in the traditional typology of modest single-story "wagon dwellings,"<sup>14</sup> where each family occupied only a few rooms and the courtyard was shared among them, the rear part of the building was associated with women's domestic activities and, in more elaborate versions of the typology or when the family could afford it, with servants' quarters as well.

The residences constructed around 1900 by foreign architects for the upper bourgeoisie possessed a complex internal service world in which the servant's place was located outside the main living quarters, either in a separate service wing or within the basement or attic level, in the case of a multi-story house. As an exception, the kitchen was connected directly to the dining room usually situated on the upper floor; still, even in such cases, meals could be delivered via a *monte-charge*, a lift from the basement kitchen, thus maintaining the servants' spatial separation. The sleeping rooms were small, oriented towards the less visible side of the house, and varied in size and placement according to the servants' role and the building configuration on the plot.

In the new residential areas of "villas" and "affordable housing,"<sup>15</sup> both provided after WWI in the modern Master Plans of the city, the dwellings, regardless of their declared modernity, remained indebted to a persistent traditionalism in the conception of interior space. The role of women, both within the domestic sphere and in society, essentially remained unchanged. The houses were designed with a secondary entrance providing access to the kitchen, which was situated in the basement alongside the dining room and cellar<sup>16</sup>—a layout comparable to that of the servants' areas.

The interwar modern multi-apartment building typology (probably influenced by the Haussmannian typology) kept the physical distance and spatial position of servants' area within the dwelling, thus revealing the distinction between the servant's status in relation to the master. A separate entrance and staircase were typically provided, along with a range of concealed rooms for servants. A significant difference in these buildings is that the servant was no longer confined to the basement but was instead situated on the same floor as the single-level apartments. The progressive modernization of society has also led to the rationalization of the building's functional and spatial configuration: the secondary circulation tended to come nearer the main vertical circulation, and access to apartments via the service zone was more carefully designed and often received natural light through light wells. At the same time, the servants' rooms became progressively smaller and standardized, sometimes reduced to the size of a niche, occasionally without natural ventilation. Likewise, the kitchen and the entire service area of the dwelling were minimized and concentrated on a single level. An additional service zone was often retained in the basement and, more commonly, in the attic, where supplementary spaces for servants and building maintenance were organized. Nevertheless, their relationship with the principal rooms of the house retained its character: discrete in presence, yet indispensable. (Fig. 3)

14 "Wagon dwelling" is the local name given to a peculiar traditional typology of dwellings, born from the adaptation of the rural house to the narrow plots of the city. The name comes from the arrangement of rooms as train wagons, moving from one room to another perpendicular on the street, along a deep, narrow courtyard. Usually, the house is attached to one of the long edges of the plot and to the blind walls of the neighboring houses. It develops in the depth of the plot, along the common courtyard, as the number of dwellers / families increases on the property. The daylight comes only from two sides of the house: the narrow street façade, only with windows, and the long courtyard façade that becomes the "main façade" as the entrance is there.

15 In practice, the affordable housing, though intended as socially oriented provision, ultimately benefited low-middle-class residents. See Andrei Răzvan Voinea, *Idealul locuirii bucureștene: familia cu casă și grădină. Parcelările Societății Comunale pentru Locuințe Ieftine – București (1908-1948)* [The Ideal of Housing in Bucharest: The Family Home with House and Garden. The Allotments of the Municipal Society for Affordable Housing – Bucharest (1908–1948)] (Bucharest: Studio Zona, 2019).

16 Andrei Răzvan Voinea and Irina Calotă, *Locuințe pentru muncitori și funcționari: Casa Construcțiilor și parcelarea Vatra Luminoasă (1930–1949)* [Housing for Workers and Civil Servants: Casa Construcțiilor and the Vatra Luminoasă Subdivision (1930–1949)] (Bucharest: Studio Zona, 2021), 159.



Fig. 3: Scenarios of rooms designated for domestic staff. Excerpt fragments. a. the nanny's room, next to the bathroom with a bathtub and the children's room (property of Dobre Nicolau, building on Știrbei-Vodă Street, corner with Berzei Street, architect Thoma Dobrescu, 1892 – privileged residence), b. the coachman's room, next to the stable, barn, and shed (Ibid.), c. the servant's room located in the attic with vertical connection to the kitchen and pantry area on the ground floor and the cellar in the basement (property of the Negustori Church, residential building with an upper floor, Culmea Nouă Street, 1912 – middle-class residence), d. the "generic" room located on the current floor, with access from the open-air corridor, in relation to the service areas – kitchen, pantry, storage, bathroom (Stoianescu and Giurgea apartment building, Știrbei Vodă Street, Bucharest, architect Duiliu Marcu, 1935-1936 – middle-class apartment); e. the servants' rooms and chauffeurs' rooms, located on the 9th floor of an apartment building, opening onto a terrace, next to a luxury apartment developed on two floors (residential building, apartment "A villa on the 9th floor," architects E. Botez – L. Garcia, 1939 – luxury apartment in *blockhaus*)

Across all residential typologies, the spatial organization followed a logic of segregation between domestic staff and owners. This reality produced two parallel systems of rooms with distinct qualities: a representational area (sitting and dining rooms) with a private zone (bedrooms and children's rooms), and a functional area dedicated to the staff, which ensured comfort and facilitated daily routines. This latter zone usually included the kitchen, pantry, laundry room, storage spaces, servants' rooms, service stairs, and a secondary entrance.

The internal separation of movement within the house allowed servants a certain freedom of action, including the possibility of withdrawal or even escape during working hours. Such deviations were anticipated in the legal framework, which included clauses like: "not to be under the influence of alcohol while on duty, not to host relatives, friends or acquaintances under any circumstances without the express permission of the master, not to absent themselves from service for personal matters without the knowledge or consent of the master,"<sup>17</sup> thus indicating an underlying flexibility afforded by the physical layout of the house and a form of ingenuity developed by servants to navigate their limited means. The very nature of their work allowed servants intimate access to the family, making their services indispensable to the master's household. They often enjoyed small privileges: "The maid has little need for new clothes, for she receives gifts from her mistress. Stockings and, in general, linen may be shared. Most ladies hardly notice."<sup>18</sup>

However, for a particularly vulnerable group such as domestic staff, the provision of accommodation represented the most significant advantage, especially given that the majority of the city's population lived in slum-like conditions<sup>19</sup> at the beginning of the twentieth century, and that "unhealthful houses" were formally identified as a separate category in the building regulations of the period. The issue was explicitly addressed in the Servants' Law. One of the master's obligations towards the servant was to provide adequate housing, "a healthy room"<sup>20</sup> within the property, in which servants could keep their personal belongings. This space could, however, be sealed in the event of suspicions of theft.

Rooms designated for domestic staff were explicitly mentioned in the Regulations for Construction and Building Alignment for Bucharest, in 1928, which also prescribed ratios between servants' rooms and masters' rooms, such as one servants' room for every three masters' rooms, or two servants' rooms for four masters' rooms. This numerical ratio highlights the scale of the phenomenon, embedded in the commonly used terminology of "servant's room" and "master's room."<sup>21</sup> Similarly, a minimum number of latrines was mandated per apartment (for cases with more than four master rooms), to be provided separately for servants and masters. Regulations addressed both substandard dwellings, such as underground lodgings, huts, or lean-to shelters, as well as the proportions and functions of servant quarters in more privileged homes. Rather than exceptions, these quarters were considered a normative condition of urban living, reinforcing social inequality and a double standard in housing provision.

### Towards a Transformation of the Domestic Labor Space

The presence of a generic servant room, repeated on each level of multi-story apartment buildings, reflects the emerging standard of a more organized and regulated way of life and also the increasing demand for domestic staff. The primary beneficiary of domestic labor, work typically carried out by women, was members of the bourgeoisie, whose social position was indirectly

17 Jac Zaharia, "Cum se construște" [How It Is Built], *Lupta* 4426 (1936): 4.

18 *Ibid.*

19 These were extremely unsanitary dwellings, often semi-subterranean adobe huts with earthen floors, accommodating around 12-15 people per structure, and featuring either tiny windows or none at all.

20 "Legea pentru servitori" [The Servants' Law], *Universul* 95 (1892): 1.

21 Primăria Municipiului București, *Regulament pentru construcțiuni și alinieri* [Regulations for Construction and Building Alignment] (Bucharest: Tipografia „Țiparul Românesc” S.A., 1928), article 119, 37.

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Fig. 4: Excerpts from local newspapers featuring advertisements of the time for cooking stoves, mechanical laundries, and dry cleaners. The advertisements illustrate the changing conditions of domestic work from the early twentieth century, when chemical dry cleaners introduced new forms of labor-saving innovation, to the final years of the Second World War, when electric cooking stoves became accessible to a broader public. From top to bottom, left to right: *Universul* 58 (1944): 4; *Timpul* (1937):14; *Timpul* (1937): 14; *Ilustrațiunea Română* 40 (1937): 16; *Universul* 120 (1906): 3; *Dimineața* 299 (1904): 4

reinforced by industrial development. Over time, however, this labor force was gradually absorbed into various sectors of production.

The so-called “servant crisis” was reported repeatedly in the press even before the First World War, intensifying in the years that followed. Contemporary critiques pointed to the lack of organized training for domestic workers, such as household management schools, as well as the scarcity of stable domestic personnel and trustworthy servants’ agencies. These agencies, themselves capitalizing on the existing labor shortage, exploited the situation by reallocating servants to increase their profits, generating public distrust. Concerns peaked around 1911, with the topic becoming increasingly prominent in newspapers. By 1914, *Viitorul* described the issue as the “calamity of servants,”<sup>22</sup> while in 1918, *Evenimentul* lamented the acute lack of domestic workers, noting that “households are forced to manage by all possible means, without the support of servant bureaus, where no servants are to be found.”<sup>23</sup>

Demand exceeded supply. Foreign servants, drawn by higher wages or shorter distances, often preferred employment in countries such as Bulgaria or Hungary rather than Romania. In addition, the Hungarian government began restricting passport issuance, particularly for women up to a certain age. Most domestic workers were deterred by low wages, limited time off, and the submissive status they were expected to maintain within the employer-employee relationship. Increasingly, they opted for employment in emerging industries such as food production, textiles, or garment manufacturing.

This shift in labor dynamics coincided with the introduction of modern household appliances, facilitated by the gradual expansion of Bucharest’s electrical grid. Driven in part by the shortage of domestic staff, these new technologies included in-home plumbing, electric lighting, radiators, lifts, refuse incinerators, vacuum cleaners, electric irons, electric cookers, and telephones.<sup>24</sup> Initially adopted by the bourgeoisie and later by broader urban society (particularly from the 1930s to 1940s), such innovations transformed domestic workflows by supplementing tasks previously carried out by servants. While these appliances did not fully replace domestic workers, they significantly increased efficiency. Some tasks were reduced in scope or disappeared altogether, especially with the emergence of specialized workshops and services such as laundries, ironing shops, tailoring, and linen services. (Fig. 4)

The interwar transformation of the domestic workspace, shaped mainly by the labor of women, was the result of several interlinked developments: the growing shortage of servants, prompted by increased demand following improvements in living conditions; rising urban populations; housing pressures and the densification of the urban fabric; the emergence of vertical housing typologies; and the democratization of household appliances.

The spatial compression of areas allocated to domestic staff, the centralization or outsourcing of services, and their partial replacement by machines led to a diminishing role of live-in domestic workers, or, conversely, to their liberation from longstanding social norms. These shifts were reinforced by the continued, though increasingly outdated, application of the Servants’ Law,<sup>25</sup> which was not officially replaced until the Labor Code of 1950.

22 C. St. Fest., “Calamitatea servitorilor” [The Calamity of Servants], *Viitorul* 2236 (1914): 1.

23 “Lipsa de servitor” [The Shortage of Servants], *Evenimentul*, 273 (1918): 1.

24 Alex F. Mihail, “Slugi și stăpâni” [Servants and Masters], *Realitatea ilustrată* 359 (1933): 27.

25 The law failed to establish clear limits on working hours or rest days, and wages were often replaced or supplemented by non-monetary benefits such as food and accommodation, leaving workers highly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

Taken together, these transformations show how the organization of domestic labor, carried out primarily by women and long embedded in the spatial hierarchies of the bourgeois household, was shaped by the industrialization and modernization of interwar Bucharest, together with the growth of the petite bourgeoisie, which led to the increasing accessibility of domestic personnel compared with earlier periods.

This form of labor, often hidden from public view, was inadequately regulated by the Servants' Law, which failed to establish clear limits on working hours or rest days. Wages were frequently replaced or supplemented by non-monetary benefits such as food and accommodation, leaving workers highly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Domestic service, a predominantly female field, was perceived—from job advertisements to the living spaces assigned to servants and the legal framework regulating their employment—in ways that disadvantaged women compared to men, whose industrial labor received greater economic recognition even though their unseen labor was at least as important.

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#### ILLUSTRATION CREDITS:

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- Fig. 2: Diagram created by the author, based on research on the presence of servant occupations in the classified advertisements of *Universul* newspaper, as part of an ongoing doctoral research. Accessed via Arcanum, <https://adt.arcanum.com/ro/>.
- Fig. 3: Drawn by the author after the authorization plans or architectural publications: a. Archive of the Bucharest Municipality, Technical Fund, Dossier 65, 1892; b. *Ibid.*, c. Archive of the Bucharest Municipality, Technical Fund, Dossier 304, 1912; d. Luminița Machedon and Ernie Scoffham, *Romanian Modernism. The Architecture of Bucharest, 1920-1940* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, 1999), 207, e. "O vilă la etajul IX" [A villa on the 9th floor], *Arhitectura* 1(1939): 84-85.
- Fig. 4: *Universul* 58 (1944): 4; *Timpul* (1937):14; *Timpul* (1937): 14; *Ilustrațiunea Română* 40 (1937): 16; *Universul* 120 (1906): 3; *Dimineața* 299 (1904): 4. Accessed via Arcanum, <https://adt.arcanum.com/ro/>.