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**THE SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF THE WOMEN’S UPPER
COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS IN HUNGARY, IN THE FIRST HALF
OF THE 20TH CENTURY; IN THE LIGHT OF PRESS PRODUCTS**

Thesis of Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

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Introduction of the topic

In the 18th and 19th centuries, several changes started throughout Europe and also in our country. Due to the unfolding and accelerating technical, social, economic changes and the alterations of the educational policy, the role of the culture and education rose in value in both national level and increasingly wide layers of the society. As a result, the range of educational institutions which could be attended by women started to expand: we could see a qualitative development in both the number of schools and the level of education available.

Education came to the fore thanks to a number of factors. The central idea of the Enlightenment was the unfolding of reason and intellect: “*man's release from his self-incurred tutelage*” (KANT, 1980). As a result of the Enlightenment, a system of institutionalized elementary education began to be established in some parts of Europe and also in our country. Maria Theresa's decree published in 1777 (the first *Ratio Educationis*) played a major role in this process, as well as its enhanced version by I. Francis. This latter one, called the second *Ratio Educationis*, already provided education for girls. In the 19th century, the development of education continued: in 1845, the “*Rules for the Elementary Schools of Hungary*” (*Magyarország elemi tanodáinak szabályai*) was published, which aimed to reform primary education.

Article 38 of 1868, which bears the name of József Eötvös, is undoubtedly one of the most significant laws in our country from the aspect of the history of education. As a result, girls and boys were able to – and indeed had to – participate in institutionalized education without any discrimination¹. While the first *Ratio Educationis* only made a recommendation, Eötvös' law on public education declared compulsory education. Year by year, the number of students was increasing while illiteracy was decreasing. This progression continued in the following decades and also in the first half of the 20th century. In addition to improving general knowledge and public elementary education, there was also a need to develop and improve the vocational training system. However, this area did not see such dynamic progress for some time.

During several centuries, vocational education took place in the framework of the guilds; institutional initiatives proliferated after the guild system had been ceased, and the modern vocational education system dates back to the period of dualism.

¹ People with disabilities could study according to different criteria.

The theses of doctoral dissertation focuses on the commercial branch of vocational training, particularly women's vocational education in the commercial sector. The dissertation puts a special emphasis on the women's upper commercial schools in Hungary, in the first half of the 20th century; considering the wide-ranging research possibilities on the topic. Our research goal is to explore the social perception of the school-type for women, the reception of the institution, and its position in the institutional hierarchy. First, we provide a historical overview of the ideological and social history of the period, and then we map how women's educational and cultural opportunities evolved. In the further parts, we explore the development of the institutional system of vocational education in Hungary, with a special focus on the upper commercial schools. Then, with the analysis of the articles published in the press products, we attempt to find out what image the authors gave about the women's upper commercial schools in these articles. Our aim is to explore new perspectives and opinions of the era from the printed press through the lenses of different groups of society. Our another objective is to incorporate the opinions expressed in the press into the concept of woman of the first half of the 20th century. This comparison is intended to shade the changes in the social processes, and the transformation of the female roles and the expectations towards women in the examined period. Finally, we offer an insight into the functioning of this school type and the recruitment base of its students through a concrete example from Pécs.

Relevance of the topic

The number of studies on women's history and women's education started to grow from the beginning of the 20th century. In the recent years or even decades, the number of researchers performing researches in the field of women's history has been increasing in both Hungary and international levels. Thanks to the spreading inter- and multidisciplinary approaches, the examined topics are extremely various (work, rights, female roles, education, body, fashion, prostitution, etc.)

As part of research on the history of education, relatively little attention has been paid to the different branches of vocational training (industry, agriculture, and commerce). Exploring of the establishment and development of the upper commercial schools has been partially performed, but the women's institutions have received still little attention; and research has neglected to examine their social perception.

Therefore, the research examines the social perception of the women's upper commercial school in the light of the press products in a stopgap way, so it contributes to the deeper understanding of the history of women's education and vocational training. Our work aims to reveal the missing links between the history of education and women's history, with a particular focus on the social resonance of women's institutions and the social role of schools in the context of the concept of woman in the period. This neglected area can open up new perspectives for understanding the history and social effects of women's vocational training.

The problem of the research

The research problem originates from the fact that only little attention has been paid to the development, evolution, social, and cultural contexts of women's vocational education in commerce, although this form of education played a significant role in promoting women's professional empowerment. A further problem is that the social perception of women's upper commercial schools also requires detailed examinations, because it is still an untouched area of research on this school type. The complexity of the topic required the integration of more disciplines, such as social history and the history of women's education, vocational training, and schools. Through the example of one specific school, the research aimed to understand the local specificities and general trends in women's vocational education in commerce, as well as the composition of the student base and its social determinants. This way, the research can contribute to the enrichment of the historical research on women's education, and also to a deeper understanding of the topic's social embeddedness.

Questions of the research

Our research aimed to analyse the views expressed in the press to understand the image of the school type. We grouped our examinations around several questions.

The first question was about how Hungarian society in the first half of the 20th century perceived women's education, their role, and position in society. In this way, we aimed to explore the historical development of the concept of woman, with a particular focus on how it was influenced by social and economic changes and women's emancipation movements. We wanted to find out how society judged women's educational opportunities and the roles they were expected to play.

The second question concerned the extent to which women's upper commercial schools met the expectations of the period's society. In the first half of the 20th century, creators of schools' curricula had to consider the gender, spiritual, and physical characteristics, taking into account the needs of society. Our study aimed to find out if these principles were applied in women's upper commercial schools, particularly with regard to the presence and form of "female subjects".

Another important research question was to reveal if the press of the time had even addressed the issue of women's upper commercial schools. If so, we analysed the presented image of the school type and the arguments used to support or criticize its existence and functioning. In particular, we were interested in the basis of the supportive and critical views.

During the analysis of the press products, we also examined if the authors of the articles gave their opinions by name and also their relationship with women's education and upper commercial schools. An important consideration was if the known authors had direct experience of the institution or if they expressed their views as outside observers.

Finally, the gender distribution of the authors was also analysed, because in the context of a women's school, it is particularly important if women expressed their views in the press alongside men. We wanted to know if the female authors were present as teachers, students, or other stakeholders in the education, and how they contributed to forming the social perception of the school type.

Methodological bases of the research

In our research, we used the traditional methods of educational science and historiography, with particular attention to combining the diachronic and synchronic approaches.

We performed a chronological overview of the social history, the history of women's education, and also the history of the (commercial) vocational education, in a descriptive form, using primary and secondary sources. Moreover, the synchronic aspects of the research were also considered, and the introduction of the women's upper commercial school in Pécs as a case study received special emphasis as well as the period's dominant concept of woman. The first step was a review of the relevant literature on social history and the history of women's education; followed by an analysis of primary sources.

The sources were processed primarily using qualitative methodological tools, but as a complementary tool, we also used quantitative analysis. Document analysis received a

particularly important role in the evaluation of articles on women's upper commercial schools. During the research, we considered relevant only those articles that expressed an opinion on this type of school, while others that only contained statistical data or information about the schools' advertisements were not examined. In the next step of the analysis, the writings were grouped into three main categories: 'supportive', 'critical', and 'neutral'. Within these categories, we created further subcategories for those authors who substantiated their criticisms or made arguments about the functioning of the schools.

The research used both descriptive and comparative strategies. We presented the girls' educational opportunities and the development of the vocational training in a descriptive way; while during the examination of the history of the school in Pécs, the concept of woman, and the analysis of press products, we used the comparative method.

Sources

The perception of women's upper commercial schools required extensive research, during which we used a wide range of sources. Due to the spatial dimension of the topic, the majority of the sources used are in Hungarian, but for the international embedding, literature in foreign languages was also included in the analysis.

The dissertation used both primary and secondary sources; and during the literature review, we identified a number of nodes that sometimes overlapped.

To understand the socio-historical background, Gábor Gyáni's and György Kövér's (2006) works are essential, as well as László Katus' (2012) summary. They provide a detail description of the society's structure, economy, and culture from the reform era to the Second World War. To describe the school in Pécs, it was indispensable to know the local conditions, based on the work of Angéla Agócs and Zsófia Fehér (2007), and also Zoltán Kaposi's economic analyses (2006, 2007, 2013).

During the research on the field of the women's history and the history of women's education, works of Katalin Kéri (2008, 2013, 2018, 2019) and Béla Pukánszky (2006, 2013) were a great help in mapping the concept of woman, emancipation efforts, and possibilities of women's education in this period.

As for the review of the vocational education's history, István Dániel Sanda's (2016) and Lajos Orosz' (2003) works, and the doctoral dissertation of Adrienn Nagy (2014) are fundamental. This latter one offers a detailed introduction of the history of upper commercial

schools in Hungary. The primary sources for the school in Pécs were the local school notices and jubilee yearbooks.

Press products as authentic historical documents played a key role in the research; which helped us to map the social perception of the institution. Some of the involved press products are: the *Kereskedelmi Szakoktatás (Commercial Vocational Education; 1892-1938)*, *Az Ujság (The Newspaper, 1903-1938)*, the *Magyar Iparoktatás (Hungarian Industrial Education; 1909-1919)*, the *Magyar Pedagógia (Hungarian Pedagogy; 1909-1938)*, the *Nemzeti Nőnevelés (National Women's Education; 1909-1919)*, and the *Pécsi Napló (Pécs Diary; 1909-1938)*. During the research, we had to take into account the subjective nature of the press products and also the identity of the authors.

Sources of our research could be divided into a few groups: paper-based printed sources and online available sources. Digitized press products available on the internet and the Arcanum Digital Library help researchers in targeted search. The part of the research requiring personal presence covered Budapest and Pécs, where we conducted research in several libraries and archives (National Pedagogical Library and Museum; National Széchényi Library; National Archives of the Hungarian National Archives; and the Historical Collections Department of the University of Pécs Library and Knowledge Centre).

Results of the research

About the examination of press products

The research explored the views on the women's upper commercial schools at the era and the discourses related to the operation of the institutions through the analysis of the press products. Different orientation and focus of the press products gave the basis of our analysis, so we mapped the examined papers' characters and the authors' backgrounds to provide a nuanced description about the opinions.

The time frame covers the period 1909-1938, and the press organs were divided into two groups according to their availability: paper-based and digitally accessible. Paper sources were examined by manual sorting, while digital content was searched by keywords. We used both "*felső kereskedelmi*" (*upper commercial*) and "*felsőkereskedelmi*" (*uppercommercial*) terms as search keywords to collect as many relevant results as possible, considering the changes of spelling.

The focus of the research included not only the content analysis, but also the background factors of the authors, such as their attitudes towards women's education and vocational training, which contributed to a more accurate interpretation of the context of their opinions. We paid particular attention to the consistent use of relevant keywords and the different denominations of the type of institution (*women's upper commercial school, girls' commercial school, etc.*), which played an important role in the accurate data collection and the definition of content boundaries.

The research divided the opinions on the women's upper commercial schools published in the press of the age into three categories: supportive, critical, and neutral. In the overview of the press products, we interpreted the evaluation of this educational form in the light of the social and economic conditions of the time.

The Kereskedelmi Szakoktatás (Commercial Vocational Education)

Supportive opinions published in this newspaper highlighted the benefits of this school type, such as the advantages of the high-level professional knowledge and the same curriculum as boys'. The article of Lajos Vargha (1895) urged the development of the women's vocational education, while the report on the opening of the school in Bratislava (Pozsony) underlined the social need of women's vocational education.

Critical opinions were based on the rejection of the same curriculum for the two sexes, referring to women's "natural mission". The critic opinions of Vilmos Szuppán and Gina Szirmai highlighted the importance of the traditional female roles, and they rejected the modernizing efforts of vocational education.

Neutral views presented both the advantages and deficiencies of the training. For example, an article published in 1897 considered the establishment of women's commercial schools a realistic possibility in the future, while Jenő Sebők's article (1931) appreciated the practical usability but identified some gaps in connection with the general knowledge and the spiritual education.

As for the distribution of the articles, the proportion of the opinions published in the press was balanced: 2 supportive, 2 critical, and 2 neutral articles were identified. This distribution reflects well the diversity of discourses around this school type.

Az Ujság (The Newspaper)

The period between 1908 and 1932 brought several supportive opinions on the reason for existence and significance of the women's upper commercial schools. For example, the initiative in 1909, in Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely), highlighted the academic achievements of girls, which proved the viability and necessity of vocational training. A common basic thought in the positive opinions is that the commercial schools provided opportunity for girls to gain practical skills and for the social mobility. According to Blanka Simon and Mrs. Rónay Viktor, commercial schools provided a wide range of job opportunities, and they offered a more cost-effective alternative compared with the university education. Authors of *Az Ujság (The Newspaper)* particularly emphasized the advantages of the practical education and also its role on the labour market.

Among the critical opinions, a critical commentary from 1932 generated the greatest debate. The author was a teacher with -s-s monogram who thought that the curriculum of the commercial schools was not adapted to the special features of the female psyche. This author also criticized the cost of the training. Moreover, he/she thought that general secondary education would be sufficient to develop girls' practical skills. Another main argument of the critics was the lack of the traditional female roles and subjects; and many critical opinion said that similar results could be available with courses and the school-leaving exam at any grammar school.

On the base of the aggregated data, between 1908 and 1932, *Az Ujság (The Newspaper)* published a total of 30 articles in the topic of the women's upper commercial schools. Among them, 29 items were supportive, 1 was critical, and no one was neutral. The chronological distribution of the writings shows a continuous social interest in women's commercial education. However, most publications were written in 1932, when the topic was a subject of heated debate.

The Magyar Iparoktatás (Hungarian Industrial Education)

In the *Magyar Iparoktatás*, altogether three articles were published on the women's upper commercial schools during the researched period. One of them was supportive, and the other two were neutral, because they pointed out the advantages of that school type and also the areas which should be improved.

Among the authors of the paper, János Turczer had a positive attitude towards this kind of education. In his first article, he praised the women's upper commercial schools, highlighting the modernity of the institutions and their emphasis on practical training. Turczer considered a

positive phenomenon that more and more parents had their children enrolled this school, because it reflected the public confidence. Public education for girls was a breakthrough, which was made possible by the outstanding results achieved by schools and the unity of society. Béla Schank also supported the role of these schools, underlining that these institutions combined the general knowledge and the professional skills, so students received a throughout education in both fields.

The articles did not contain explicitly critical opinions on the schools, but János Turczer criticized the school bulletins. He thought that these documents did not reflect the outstanding work of the institutions. During his school visits, he also experienced some gaps in education, such as the poor progress in girls' logical thinking and mathematical skills. Articles published in the paper aimed the objective description of the institute; they highlighted the practical and social significance of the education, but were not silent about the insufficiencies.

The Magyar Pedagógia (Hungarian Pedagogy)

The *Magyar Pedagógia* did not publish any articles which supported the women's upper commercial schools. Because of the conservative views of the journal, this type of school did not fit the roles and educational principles of women that it favoured. All the articles published in the journal contained critical opinions on the women's upper commercial schools. Vilmos Szuppán thought that different curricula would have been needed because of the biological, physical, and psychological differences between the two sexes. According to him, the schools did not prepare adequately the women for their roles as mothers and housewives; moreover, girls were burdened with too much "useless" information. He emphasized that subjects (e.g. the housekeeping and parenting) related to the traditional female roles should be involved the education.

Alajos Loczka had similar views. According to his opinion, the fault of the women's upper commercial schools was that they educated girls for a career as clerks rather than for housewife's role and family life. He believed that training forms based on maternal and female qualities (such as teacher's college or schools for housewives) would serve the women's role in the society better. Although he later acknowledged the need for self-supporting for girls, he continued to criticize the shift in educational emphasis towards competition with men.

In the *Magyar Pedagógia (Hungarian Pedagogy)*, between 1914 and 1938, a total of four critical articles were published on the women's upper commercial schools. These articles

represented conservative values, and urged the strengthening of the traditional female roles, while they criticized the current form of education.

The Nemzeti Nőnevelés (National Women's Education)

The majority of writings published in the *Nemzeti Nőnevelés* supported the existence and role of the women's upper commercial schools. Arguments of these articles were clustered around the higher level of education and employment opportunities for women. Janka Dörfler highlighted that schools prepared girls for the modern social and economic challenges, and she emphasized the importance of the idea of "equal education, equal work, and equal salary". Relkovič Mita also supported the reason for existence of the new school type, underlining that the courses were outdated so they couldn't meet the modern requirements of the labour market. The article about the opening of the school in Bratislava (Pozsony) emphasised that the new type of institute had a special significance from the aspect of commercial life, women, and career choices, with a particular focus on women's language skills and the necessity for self-supporting. Mária Schmidt drew attention to the dual function of the schools: professional vocational training and general knowledge were equally important because they helped the success in both the labour market and the family life.

Only Mrs. Sebestyén (Ilona Stetina) had a critical opinion. However, she did not criticize the educational system itself but the lack of the female teachers. She underlined that the presence of female teachers was essential for schools to become truly female. However, we should interpret her criticism in the context of the era, because the first women's commercial school opened in 1909, and the supply of female teachers was still in progress.

Between 1909 and 1918, a total of five related articles were published in the journal. Among them, four were supportive and one contained critical opinion. The articles focused especially on the issue of women's higher-level education and employment, which reflected the journal's more progressive orientation compared to other, more conservative press products.

The Pécsi Napló (Pécs Diary)

The *Pécsi Napló* consistently supported the establishment and operation of the women's upper commercial school, underlining the advantages of this kind of institution. The articles considered foundation of the school necessary because the gaps of women's vocational education and women's education should be filled. Authors highlighted that the school offered

the same curriculum as the boys' schools, which could provide careers offering livelihood. Moreover, these schools prepared girls for their roles in both the labour market and the family.

The articles criticised the courses because they did not meet the requirements of the modern labour market and they provided only a low-quality knowledge. In contrast, the upper commercial school was considered much more suitable for girls to succeed in the labour market due to the longer education time, the language classes, and the greater emphasis on practical skills. Lack of the practical training opportunities made the situation of the girls in private student status in Pécs particularly hard, so the opening of the new school was considered a great step forward.

Both the high enrolment rate and the financial sacrifices made by the parents underlined the social need for the school. The authors thought that the school did not meet the requirements only of the local community but it also served as a model for other cities. Overall, the women's upper commercial school was presented as the key to success in all areas of life, providing opportunities for career choosing and family roles at the same time.

Grouping of the articles

The analysis of the articles of six press products (*Kereskedelmi Szakoktatás, Nemzeti Nőnevelés, Magyar Pedagógia, Pécsi Napló, Magyar Iparoktatás* and *Az Ujság*) (*Commercial Vocational Education, National Women's Education, Hungarian Pedagogy, Pécs Diary, Hungarian Industrial Education, and The Newspaper*) from the period 1909-1938 revealed that the social perception of women's upper commercial schools was mainly supportive. Among the 56 relevant publications, 44 articles were supportive, 7 were critical, and 5 were neutral.

The central argument of the criticisms was that the physical, biological, and psychological differences between the two sexes would require a different educational structure, which was not taken into account by the education policy. Moreover, they highlighted that the school did not prepare girls for their traditional roles, such as maternity or tasks of a housewife. Only one (but significant) critical opinion mentioned that solely men taught in several women's schools.

Supporting opinions put forward a number of arguments in favour of the institution. The school created an opportunity to develop girl's education, improve vocational training, and also ensure mobility between primary and higher levels of education. The acquisition of up-to-date knowledge proved to be essential, especially in the light of social and economic conditions. The school was particularly appreciated for providing the opportunity to acquire professional

knowledge and general knowledge in three years. Many people saw this institute as a place of education which prepared students for all areas of life and which supported both career choosing and family life. The outdatedness and poor quality of the courses were repeatedly underlined, contrasting them with the modern and practical education of the upper commercial school which provided language classes, too.

Some authors wrote that the school provided “weapon” and “lifeline” for the girls, enabling them to achieve financial independence and social esteem. Moreover, they were better suited to women’s physical and mental characteristics than any other form of education. Their studies enabled girls to use the knowledge they had acquired not only in the world of work, but also in family life.

Although the role of the women’s upper commercial schools were controversial, only few (totally 56) publications dealt with the topic in the examined period. Most criticisms mentioned the same curriculum as the boys’ schools and the lack of the feminine character, for which there was no response from education policy. The same curriculum and the lack of subjects which could prepare girls for the female roles had remained until the institution became secondary-level.

Nearly half of the examined articles (46%) were published with the author’s name, and among them, we can read 10 female and 14 male authors’ opinions. The majority of the authors based their writings on their professional experience in the field of girls’ education and commercial vocational training. The proportion of the anonymous articles was high (54%), especially in the *Pécsi Napló (Pécs Diary)* and in *Az Ujság (The Newspaper)*, where the authors’ identities were rarely known.

Incorporating views on women’s upper commercial schools into the period’s concept of woman

Opinions on the women’s upper commercial schools can be clustered around two types of concept of woman (the traditional and the modern one); these views represented fundamentally different approaches to women’s roles, abilities, and education. The analysis identified 12 subcategories, which reflected the traditional or modern female roles; sometimes they fit both concepts.

The traditional concept of woman was based on the subordinate position of women, emphasizing the biological and psychological differences which were believed to determinate the roles they could play in the society. According to this approach, women had to be prepared for the role of mother, housewife, and wife; and any other career path, such as a commercial

career, thought to be wrong. Critics argued that schools did not support women's "natural" mission, and even diverted them from it. Moreover, schools did not ensure the proper transmission of the feminine patterns and behaviours, partly because of the predominance of male teachers.

In contrast, the modern concept of woman saw an opportunity to expand the roles of women, which was tried to achieve by improving the quality of education and responding to socio-economic changes. The schools provided both general knowledge and vocational education, enabling girls to be successful not only in the traditional female roles but also in the labour market. From this perspective, the role of education went beyond the transmission of household skills, and it served the promotion of women's autonomy, independence, and financial security. This progression was also supported by the growth of social recognition and the demands of employers.

However, it is important to note that the issue of girls' education and vocational training played a central role in both concepts of woman, albeit in different ways. The traditional view subordinated women's education to preparation for family roles, while the modern view aimed to provide the same level and quality of education for both girls and boys. This debate fundamentally determined the social acceptance and role of the women's upper commercial schools in the education system, contributing to the gradual transformation of women's social status in the early 20th century.

The Women's Upper Commercial School in Pécs City

The aim of the chapter is to give a detailed description about the operation and development of the women's upper commercial schools, using the example of the Women's Upper Commercial School in Pécs City. The history of the school is closely intertwined with the economic, social, and cultural changes in Pécs, which formed the character of the city in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

The school opened in 1912, and started its first year with 64 students. The institution became the symbol of the city's modernization drive, offering girls the opportunity to acquire vocational and general training skills. The teaching staff consisted of mainly men, but Cornelia Zánkay, the first headmistress of the school, played a prominent role in consolidating the institution.

The numbers of students and classes were elevating continuously, which reflected well the school's increasing popularity and the raising of the demand for women's education. The majority of the students arrived from Pécs and Baranya County, but some students enrolled

from the surrounding counties and also abroad. More religious denominations were represented in the school; most students were Roman Catholic or Jewish. The denominational distribution reflected the local social structure, although the proportion of Jewish students at school was higher than the urban average.

During the 20th century, the school constantly adapted to social and economic changes. The example of the Women's Upper Commercial School in Pécs City demonstrates well how the economic and social environment formed the development of the women's vocational education in Hungary, in the first half of the 20th century. The current legal successor of the institution is the Radnóti Miklós Közgazdasági Technikum (Miklós Radnóti School of Economics).

Further possibilities of the research

The research offers a number of possible directions and extension options for the future. One of the main directions is to broaden the range of examined press products, which could further enrich the picture of the women's upper commercial schools. The involvement of newspapers and journals with different themes and target groups can open up new perspectives on the subject.

Another important area is the historical study of individual women's upper commercial schools, which could provide a more accurate picture of the evolution of the institutions, the changes in the composition of the student population, and the challenges which the schools overcame. Such researches can reveal unique and striking cases, which can further nuance the picture of institutional education of the period.

Besides the research on the concept of woman, the study of the concept of man could also be a relevant direction, especially in terms of how men's role changed with women's entry into the labour market, and how they experienced the transformation of their roles as breadwinners. This can contribute to a deeper understanding of social changes between the sexes.

Another possible methodological extension is metaphor analysis, which may be justified by the expansion of press sources and the increase in the number of available materials. This approach can offer new interpretative possibilities for the analysis of discourses of that age.

Other enriching groups of sources should also be included in the research. Among written sources, we could use, for example, diaries, which authentically reflect the personal

experiences of the students at upper commercial schools. Among oral sources, we could use the method of the oral history: interviews could help to explore the social perception of the school type from new, more personal aspects. These directions can all contribute to a more subtle description of women's upper commercial schools and the period's social conditions.

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