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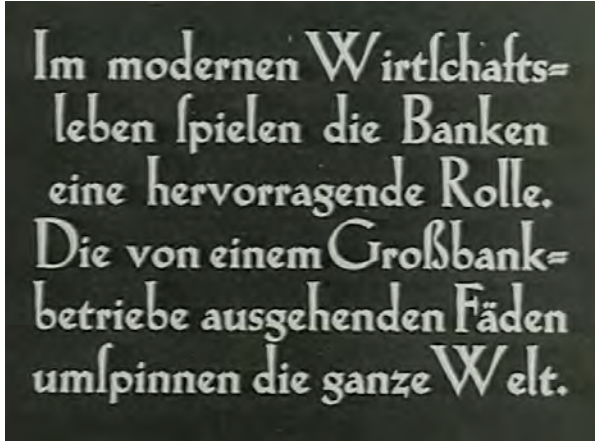
World turned upside down? Culture and society in the Weimar Republic



Although hyperinflation was seared into the Germans' collective memory 100 years ago, any lasting recollection of the decade following the First World War must include cultural renewal. And, not least, the banking sector underwent a technical and societal transformation in the 1920s. This is described in the following essay by historian Nadine Rossol, who teaches at the University of Essex.

Winners and losers of the new era

In 1927, Disconto-Gesellschaft – an influential bank at the time¹ even though it is virtually unknown nowadays – produced a film about modern day-to-day working life at a major bank. The benefits of new equipment designed to simplify banking operations played an equally important part in this inhouse production as the leisure activities that the bank offered to its employees.



Opening sequence of the film *Der moderne Bankbetrieb* ('Modern-day banking business'), the first advertising film of a German big bank, which was produced by Disconto-Gesellschaft in 1927.



Even though the film did not resonate much with the national press, banks' in-house publications did cover it. Disconto-Gesellschaft's staff newspaper wrote at the beginning of 1928: "... every single image vividly conveys the pace and tempo at which the staff of modern big banks work nowadays."² And, indeed, 'tempo' – which suggested modernity and progress – had become a buzzword that was on everyone's lips in the 1920s. A leading newspaper for young people in the Weimar Republic was called *Tempo*, and its title alone signalled the desire for a new beginning.³ Not everyone, however, welcomed such rapid change. A magazine entitled *Bankwissenschaft. Halbmonatsschrift für Banken, Börsen und Finanzierungsfragen* (Fortnightly Periodical for Banking, Stock Market and Financing Issues) noted critically: "The film should have made clear to bank employees that, despite all the new machines, their field of activity remains as large and their expertise must be as wide-ranging as it has always been [...] and that the machine is their assistant but they are not a slave to this machine."⁴ The rather conventional film produced by Disconto-Gesellschaft meant progress and modernity for some, while it embodied the opposite for others.

Irritation at the developments unfolding during this new era was not just directed at working life. The eminent historian Detlev Peukert wrote more than 30 years ago about the Weimar Republic: "Uncertainty is the hallmark of this era."⁵ Much felt wrong and contradictory to some contemporaries.⁶ The First World War had caused a degree of suffering and devastation that German society, among others, had never previously experienced. The supposedly so firmly established German Empire, its institutions and its personalities disappeared almost overnight.

Germany had become a parliamentary republic at a speed that had surprised even its supporters. Whether the revolution of 1918 was seen as the beginning of something new or the end of something old was not always clear.

Worried customers at Deutsche Bank's Frankfurt branch during the hyperinflation of 1923.



Female staff working in the canteen kitchen at Deutsche Bank in Hamburg in 1929.



For example, a chronicler from Gelsenkirchen wrote in 1919: "Friday, 8 November 1918 will go down in the history of Gelsenkirchen as the dawn of a new era." His editor changed this sentence to "end of a bygone age."⁷ The new democratic rules particularly irritated those who had something to lose. The hyperinflation of 1923 turned the civic virtue of saving on its head.

But that was not all. The former outsiders had come to power – especially the workers and their political representatives, the Social Democrats.⁸ Women were also among the beneficiaries of this new situation. The introduction of female suffrage at the end of 1918 met one of the women's movement's long-standing demands. Women soon realised, however, that they would have to wait some time for social and legal equality under civil law, which would have been a major step towards more equal rights.⁹



Cleaning women at Deutsche Bank's head office in Berlin around 1930.

The bourgeoisie were unsettled by the “impudent” behaviour of soldiers, workers, youths and women during the first few months after the war. The 17- and 18-year-old middle-class pupils at the Lutheran teacher training college in Essen were visibly irritated by the new self-confidence of the lower classes. Karl Leicht, writing about his impressions of the revolution in Essen, commented that there, suddenly, every “young apprentice turner was strutting around with his head held high and beaming with joy because he too had been demonstrating.”¹⁰

Indeed, his classmate Adolf Schmidt likened the situation to “mob rule” because the revolutionaries even went as far as “tearing the epaulettes off dignified elderly officers and shouting abuse at them in public.”¹¹ Conservative nationalist teachers in the south of the country were forced – to their immense displeasure – to discuss the possibility of pupils’ councils with Bavarian high-school students. The Catholic Association for the Education of Neglected Children complained that “everywhere there was an urge for a misconceived form of freedom.” And the author Thomas Mann dared not venture out in his fur coat any more for fear of the workers.¹² Meanwhile the Romanicist Viktor Klemperer noted in his diary that the whole of Munich had been overcome by a kind of romantic, pleasurable carnival atmosphere.¹³ Oscar Wassermann, one of the leading men at Deutsche Bank, wrote at the beginning of 1919 how people in Berlin were becoming accustomed to the fact that “when they entered or exited the bank, a bullet would occasionally land nearby.”¹⁴

The political upheaval also made an impression on bank employees. Their salaries had deteriorated during the war and were well below those paid in the armaments industry.¹⁵ The revolution brought new civil rights and liberties that were subsequently written into the Weimar Constitution. These included the right for professional groups to form trade unions. The winter of 1918 saw bank employees setting up new pressure groups, and they were not alone in this endeavour. Richard Müller – a contemporary and socialist – joked that there were already “homeowners’ councils” and there would probably soon be “millionaires’ councils” as well.”¹⁶ The new staff council at Deutsche Bank demanded, among other things, the right to be consulted on the recruitment and the termination of employee’s contracts – a demand that horrified the bank and was rejected. In April 1919, staff at the big banks in Berlin took part in a general strike, which was eventually settled by arbitration.

Deutsche Bank’s senior management also found that the world had been turned on its head when, in 1920, it became legally obliged to give the staff council a vote on the bank’s Management Board and Supervisory Board. The staff council’s influence remained small in practice because many decisions were delegated to committees to which the employee representatives had no access.¹⁷

What irritated some and delighted others is now – a hundred years later – considered to be among the many achievements of the modern welfare state. The Weimar Republic laid fundamental foundations that far outlasted it.



Soldiers standing guard outside Deutsche Bank in Hamburg during the general strike in 1919.

These included employees' rights, collective bargaining, the eight-hour working day, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, and the expansion of political participation rights. In addition to the introduction of women's suffrage, lowering the voting age from 25 to 20 hugely expanded and rejuvenated the cohort that was able to participate in the political process. In 1919, in the first National Assembly elections in which women voted and could be elected, they accounted for 54 per cent of the electorate. Far more than half of all voters were casting their ballots for the first time in January 1919.¹⁸ These new rights and freedoms totally redefined the relationship between state and citizens in 1918/19.



Female employees at Norddeutsche Bank in Hamburg in 1920.



Bank employees in the Weimar Republic: challenges and fear of losing status

Those who feared losing their privileges included the banks' permanent workforces. They had considered themselves to be the superior class of employees back in the days of the German Empire.

Historian Imke Thamm summarises the situation aptly with the following comment: "Bank employees found themselves caught in the tension between traditional ideas, new challenges and growing demands."¹⁹ In the 1920s they were still clinging to old status symbols from the supposedly good old days of



Trading & sales office and book-keeping department at the Frankfurt branch of Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft in 1930.



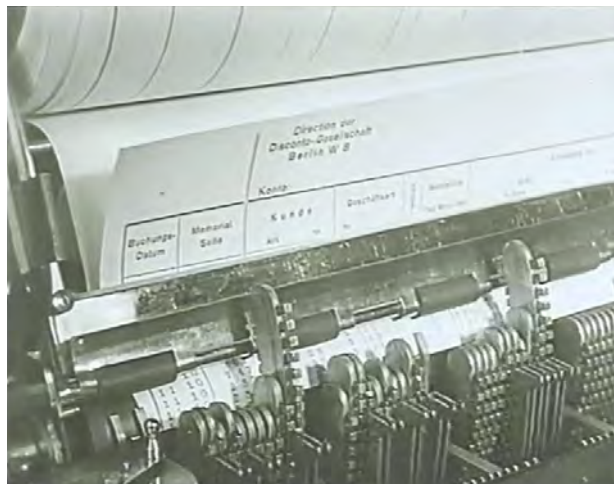
the German Empire. In that respect they were not alone in Weimar society. This glorification of the German Empire was based on the misconception that the reference point used here was the prewar period. The fact that the German Empire too would have been a different one after the First World War was not considered to be relevant in people's memories of a supposedly glorious past.

The period spanning the First World War and the inflation of the postwar years provided bank employees with much more work, which could only be managed with the assistance of temporary support staff.

At the end of 1919, Deutsche Bank's workforce numbered approximately 13,500 people; by the time of the hyperinflation in 1923 it had grown to 40,000. Long-serving bank employees now had to defend and differentiate their professional self-image from that of messengers, shorthand typists and temporary staff. 1924 saw the start of a brief economically and politically stable phase in the Weimar Republic. This stability meant that many banks needed to reduce their excess headcount. Although Deutsche Bank's senior management stressed that these redundancies would be restricted to temporary staff, the bank had only 15,000 employees by the beginning of 1927.²⁰ Regardless of who was affected by these job losses, this dramatic shrinking of the workforce impacted on the working atmosphere at the bank.

In addition to reducing their staffing levels, banks implemented other rationalisation measures and innovations in an attempt to cut costs. This included the introduction of new bookkeeping and calculating machines, although it was some time before these innovations yielded any financial benefits.

Use of bookkeeping machines at Disconto-Gesellschaft in 1927.



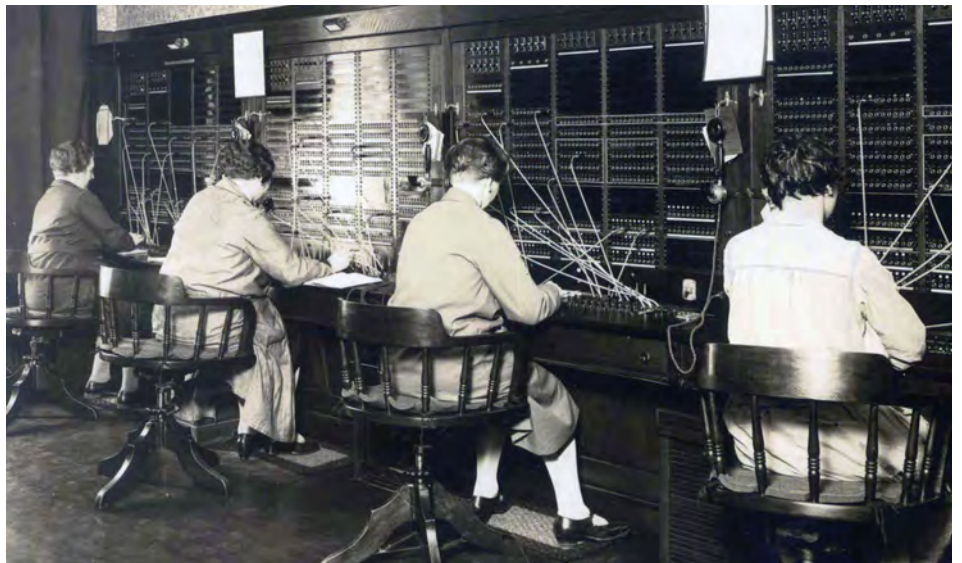
Deutsche Bank's annual report noted in 1927 that the "rationalisation measures implemented to date [...] had not yet sufficiently relieved the pressure on its expense account".²¹ The widely propagated image of the rationalised big banks – which was publicised not only in Disconto-Gesellschaft's film but also in the relevant literature and the press – did not accurately reflect most bank employees' everyday working lives in the Weimar Republic. Nonetheless, the image of a hectic and mechanised workplace dominated the public debate about this professional group.²²

The new middle classes: precarious employment of women in particular

The expanding administrative and service sector created a new class of employees who worked, for example, as clerical staff, shorthand typists, sales assistants, telephonists and secretaries.

The number of women in this employment had tripled to 1.5 million compared with the prewar period. This situation can only to a certain degree be interpreted as a sign of emancipation because these jobs were poorly paid and many young women only regarded them as an interim solution until they married. In 1925, 90 per cent of all female employees were single and two-thirds of them were under 25 years of age.²³ Apart from a preference for short hair and short dresses, these women had nothing in common with the image of the 'new woman' of the 1920s who – stylishly dressed, wearing a bob haircut and brandishing a cigarette – is financially independent and in control of her life.

Women accounted for 100 per cent of the staff working on the telephone switchboard and in the processing of money transfers at Norddeutsche Bank in Hamburg in 1929.



Open-plan office at Deutsche Bank's headquarters in Berlin in the late 1920s.



This image appeared in contemporary fashion magazines just as frequently as it does in today's television programmes about the Weimar Republic.

Contemporary sociologists, journalists and cultural critics wrote extensively about this new class of white-collar workers and were bitterly disappointed. They accused them of lacking class consciousness, being guilty of cultural escapism and unnecessarily clinging to bourgeois status symbols. The journalist Siegfried Kracauer was typical of this arrogant attitude. In his 1928 essay entitled *Die kleinen Ladenmädchen gehen ins Kino* ('The Little Shopgirls Go to the Movies'), which he wrote for the newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung*, he attacked female employees for their choice of leisure activities. Instead of being aware of their precarious situation and showing solidarity with the workers, the 'little shopgirls' spent their meagre salaries on kitschy cinema films and dreamt of marrying their boss.²⁵

Typing pool and bookkeeping at Disconto-Gesellschaft in 1927.



The literature of the time also examined the situation of employees and their experience of working life. Hans Fallada described the precarious situation in which the Pinnebergs, a married couple, found themselves in his 1932 best-seller entitled *Kleiner Mann – was nun?* ('Little Man, What Now?'). The author Christa Anita Brück who, among other things, had worked as a shorthand typist and secretary, appropriately called her debut novel of 1930 *Schicksale hinter Schreibmaschinen* ('Destinies behind Typewriters').

According to Siegfried Kracauer, who reviewed Brück's novel in July 1930, the book describes "a sick colleague's fear of her deteriorating health, a lowly diligent office worker who wins her boss's favour [...] and, at one point, the novel's protagonist is told by her head of department: 'For God's sake, don't forget that any reasonably acceptable marriage is your only hope...'"²⁶

Two years later, Christa Anita Brück published a banking-related novel entitled *Ein Mädchen mit Prokura* ('A Woman with Power of Attorney'), in which the protagonist works her way up the hierarchy in the fictional banking house Brüggeman and, at the end of the book, is preparing not for her wedding but for the next stage of her career.²⁷



Cover of the novel *Schicksale hinter Schreibmaschinen* from 1930.



Sport bus outside Deutsche Bank's head office in Berlin in 1927. It transported the members of the sports club to the sports facilities located on the edge of the city, such as the rowing club in Rahnsdorf set up in 1924. The bottom two photographs show athletics events organised by the sports clubs at Disconto-Gesellschaft and Deutsche Bank.

Mass culture, sport and leisure activities: the weekend

The popular portrayal of the Weimar Republic often varies between two extremes: on the one hand, Weimar is a symbol of a democracy under threat while, on the other, it epitomises outstanding cultural achievement. Ultimately, however, the Weimar Republic was much more nuanced than these labels suggest and stood for more than just disastrous politics, wild nightlife, modern architecture and avant-garde art. The focus on standout aspects of high culture has little to do with how most Germans spent their leisure time in the 1920s. More than that: many citizens did not even like the Modernist landmarks of the era.²⁸

The Germans consumed nonetheless, although popular music, adventure films, period dramas, magazines, cheap novels and mass sporting events easily outsold the films of Fritz Lang, the theatre of Bertolt Brecht and the Expressionist art of Otto Dix and George Grosz. In 1926 the publisher Samuel Fischer complained about his fellow citizens' consumption habits and leisure activities: "They play sport, they dance, they spend their evenings listening to the radio or going to the cinema [...] but they don't find the time to read a book." This mentality was alien to Fischer not only because he wanted to sell books to his fellow Germans; he and other members of the educated classes considered this mass culture to be superficial, shallow and trivial.²⁹

It was still the printed word that reached most people. However, this happened not exactly as Samuel Fischer would presumably have wished but in the form of newspapers, cheap paperbacks and serialised novels in magazines.



Poster advertising the International Workers' Olympiad held in Frankfurt am Main in 1925.

In the 1920s, Germans were able to choose from what today seems like an overwhelming number of newspapers and magazines, which provided information and news as well as offering entertainment and distraction. 70 per cent of households in late 1920s Hamburg had a subscription to one of the six local newspapers. Equally popular were book clubs because they provided inexpensive access to books.³⁰

Even though not all firms complied with the recently introduced eight-hour working day, many citizens now had more leisure time than they had previously had, and this time needed to be organised, planned and utilised. One option here was offered by modern spectator sport in the form of football matches, boxing bouts and cycling races.

Famous sportsmen and -women became stars, fuelled by the press, which had realised that they could boost their circulation by reporting on sportspeople and film stars. More people were familiar with the boxing champion Max Schmeling, than with leading politicians of the day.³¹ Spectator sport was a predominantly male pastime, while membership of sports clubs remained divided along class lines.³² Workers' sports clubs, however, enjoyed a tradition that was equally as long as middle-class ones. Frankfurt am Main was chosen as the city to host the International Workers' Olympiad in 1925. This international sporting event was attended by 45,000 spectators and cemented Frankfurt's reputation as a modern sporting venue and city.³³

Many cities enlarged their sports facilities and stadiums during the Weimar Republic. But it was not only cities that promoted infrastructure for mass sport: firms were also interested in improving their employees' fitness. Deutsche Bank started investing in sport in the mid-1920s by buying sports facilities, promoting sporting events and staging competitions.

Disconto-Gesellschaft's choir rehearsing in 1927.



Der
FESTAUSCHUSS DER HAUSVEREINE DER DEUTSCHEN BANK
lädt hiermit alle Kollegen nebst Angehörigen, Freunden und Bekannten zu dem am
Sonntag, dem 20. Oktober 1928, stattfindenden
HAUSBALL DER DEUTSCHEN BANK
in der PHILHARMONIE, Bernburger Straße 22-23, ergebenst ein.

F · E · S · T · F · O · L · G · E
8 Uhr: Beginn des Balles / 10.30 Uhr: Vorführungen der Vereine:
Eröffnungslied Gefangverein
Ansprache
Rhythmischer Reigen Damen-Riege der Sportvereinigung
Begleitung: Orchester-Vereinigung
Zwei Konzertsstücke Orchester-Vereinigung
Schaufechten Fechtklub
Saal-Rad-Reigen Sportvereinigung
Schlußlied Gefangverein

Die Ballmusik stellt die bekannte Kapelle KERMBACH unter persönl. Leitung von Herrn Otto Kermbach

Eintrittskarten à 1,50 RM einfhrl. Steuer sind nur im Vorverkauf zu haben: bei den Vorstandsmitgliedern der Vereine, ferner bei Herrn Dippy, Hauptexpedition, Kasse der Beamten-Abteilung, Depoliten-Abteilung, Schalter Nr. 22-23, Herrn Maenecke, Personal-Verwaltung, Klubgarderobe, und in der Wirtschaftsgenossenschaft.

The sumptuous inhouse balls organised by Deutsche Bank's head office were held in the Berliner Philharmonie. The performers were recruited from among the bank's various staff clubs and societies and they included the Black-and-White Girls, who appeared in 1928.



The bank offered not only an inhouse fencing club – founded back in the days of the German Empire – as well as its own regatta but also, in addition to sport, various activities for staff members such as training courses, dance events, choir practice, orchestra rehearsals and inhouse balls.³⁴

What was an innovation for Deutsche Bank in terms of its approach to staff welfare had been widespread for some time in the close-knit culture of clubs and societies enjoyed by organised workers. But even large industrial companies in sectors such as mining and steel had been much quicker than Deutsche Bank to use staff incentives as a means of retaining their employees.

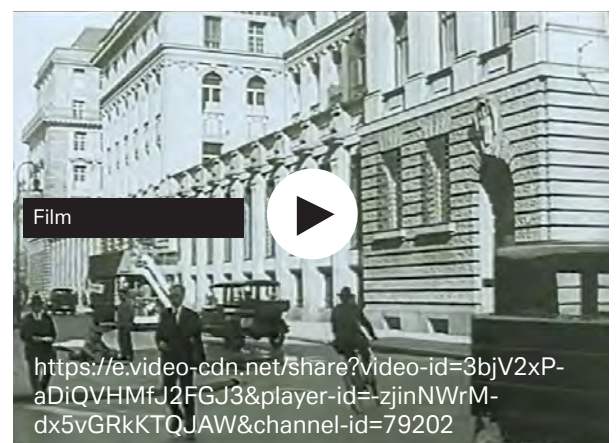
Outlook: the rise of the National Socialists – panic among the middle classes?

The sociologist Theodor Geiger, who had studied the new class of white-collar workers, coined the term ‘panic among the middle classes’ in 1930 to explain the political success of the National Socialist Party (NSDAP). Fear of losing their social status, according to Geiger, was driving the middle classes into the arms of the National Socialists.³⁵ Although it was true that the middle classes voted for the NSDAP more than average, they did so not out of a sense of hopelessness or panic but because they saw the National Socialist Party as a progressive – albeit not a democratic – force for the future.³⁶ Germany’s citizens no longer wanted to be governed as they had been during the German Empire, and they made avid use of their new rights. Voter turnout never fell below 75 per cent. But from 1930 onwards they voted for parties that were no longer in favour of democracy.³⁷ The Nazis’ offer was a racially defined *Volksgemeinschaft* (people’s community), one of whose main appeals was that it claimed to eradicate all social differences and class barriers. Combined with a strong leader, the National Socialist *Volksgemeinschaft* appeared to offer a compelling solution to the problems of a divided society. Right from the outset, this promise did not apply to all Germans. Complexity, plurality and diversity characterised Weimar society and its culture. These are exactly the values which – both then and now – were the first to come under fire.

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The film *Der moderne Bankbetrieb*
(‘Modern-day banking business’) from 1927
is available at
www.bankgeschichte.de.



- ¹In October 1929, Disconto-Gesellschaft merged with Deutsche Bank, which until then had been its strongest rival. The merged institution bore the name 'Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft' until 1937.
- ²Disconto-Gesellschaft's staff newspaper, No. 1, 10 January 1928, 1st year, *Die Großbank im Film*.
- ³See Jochen Hung: *Moderate Modernity: The Newspaper Tempo and the Transformation of Weimar Democracy*, Ann Arbor 2023.
- ⁴Bankwissenschaft. Halbmonatsschrift für Banken, Börsen und Finanzierungsfragen, 1928/29, 5th year, *Filmpropaganda im Bankgewerbe*.
- ⁵Detlev J. K. Peukert: *Die Weimarer Republik. Krisenjahre der Klassischen Moderne*, Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 266.
- ⁶See the excellent study by Martin H. Geyer, in which he analyses the reversal of many bourgeois norms between 1914 and 1924: Martin H. Geyer: *Verkehrte Welt. Revolution, Inflation und Moderne: München 1914-1924*, Göttingen 1998.
- ⁷Quoted in Wilfried Reininghaus: *Die Revolution 1918/19 in Westfalen und Lippe als Forschungsproblem*, Münster 2016, p. 36.
- ⁸See Peter Gay: *Weimar Culture. The Outsider as Insider*, New York 2001 (1st edition 1968).
- ⁹Kirsten Heinsohn: *Verfassungsauftrag und politische Kultur. Diskussionen und Initiativen zur Gleichberechtigung von Frauen und Männern*, in: Dirk Schumann / Christoph Gusy / Walter Mühlhausen (ed.), *Demokratie versuchen. Die Verfassung in der politischen Kultur der Weimarer Republik*, Göttingen 2021, pp. 259-273.
- ¹⁰Nadine Rossol (ed.): *Kartoffeln, Frost und Spartakus. Weltkriegsende und Revolution 1918/19 in Essener Schüleraufsätzen*, Berlin 2018, pp. 70-71.
- ¹¹Nadine Rossol (ed.): *Kartoffeln, Frost und Spartakus*, p. 202.
- ¹²Martin H. Geyer: *Verkehrte Welt*, pp. 70-71, p. 78.
- ¹³Viktor Klemperer: *Man möchte immer weinen und lachen in einem. Revolutionstagebuch 1919*, Berlin 2015, pp. 28-30.
- ¹⁴Gerald D. Feldman: *The Deutsche Bank from World War to World Economic Crisis 1914-1933*, in: *The Deutsche Bank 1870-1995*, Munich 1995, pp. 160-161.
- ¹⁵Gerald D. Feldman: *The Deutsche Bank from World War to World Economic Crisis 1914-1933*, p. 163.
- ¹⁶Gerhard Engel / Bärbel Holtz / Ingo Materna: *Groß-Berliner Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte in der Revolution 1918/19. Dokumente der Vollversammlung und des Vollzugsrates. Vom Ausbruch der Revolution bis zum 1. Reichsrätekongreß, Vol. 1*, Berlin 1993, p. 153 (19 November 1918).
- ¹⁷Gerald D. Feldman: *The Deutsche Bank from World War to World Economic Crisis 1914-1933*, pp. 163-165.
- ¹⁸Thomas Mergel: *Wahlen, Wahlkämpfe und Demokratie*, in: Nadine Rossol / Benjamin Ziemann (ed.), *Aufbruch und Abgründe. Das Handbuch der Weimarer Republik*, Darmstadt 2021, pp. 200-201.
- ¹⁹Imke Thamm: *Der Anspruch auf das Glück des Tüchtigen. Beruf, Organisation und Selbstverständnis der Bankangestellten in der Weimarer Republik*, Stuttgart 2006, p. 266.
- ²⁰Alexander Nützenadel: *Between State and Market 1914-1989*, in: *Deutsche Bank. Global Hausbank 1870-2020*, London 2020, pp. 276-278.
- ²¹Alexander Nützenadel: *Between State and Market 1914-1989*, pp. 277-278.
- ²²See Nadine Rossol: review of Imke Thamm's study: <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=21519>
- ²³Ute Planert: *Körper, Sexualität und Geschlechterordnung in der Weimarer Republik*, in: Nadine Rossol / Benjamin Ziemann (ed.), *Aufbruch und Abgründe. Das Handbuch der Weimarer Republik*, Darmstadt 2021, p. 602.
- ²⁴Moritz Föllmer: *Die bürgerlichen Mittelschichten*, in: Nadine Rossol / Benjamin Ziemann (ed.), *Aufbruch und Abgründe. Das Handbuch der Weimarer Republik*, Darmstadt 2021, pp. 516-517.
- ²⁵See Siegfried Kracauer: *Die kleinen Ladenmädchen gehen ins Kino (1928)*, in: Siegfried Kracauer: *Das Ornament der Masse, Essays*, Frankfurt am Main 1977, pp. 279-294. Siegfried Kracauer also wrote extensively on the subject of employees in his study entitled *Die Angestellten*.
- ²⁶http://www.angestellten.de/rezensionen/rez_brueck01.html
- ²⁷The novel of 1932 was reprinted as a paperback by Rowohlt in 2023.
- ²⁸Nadine Rossol / Benjamin Ziemann: *Einleitung*, in: Nadine Rossol / Benjamin Ziemann (ed.), *Aufbruch und Abgründe. Das Handbuch der Weimarer Republik*, Darmstadt 2021, pp. 17-19.
- ²⁹Jochen Hung: *Massenkulturen*, in: Nadine Rossol / Benjamin Ziemann (ed.), *Aufbruch und Abgründe. Das Handbuch der Weimarer Republik*, Darmstadt 2021, p. 699.
- ³⁰Jochen Hung: *Massenkulturen*, pp. 702-703. See Bernhard Fulda: *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic*, Oxford 2009; Gideon Reuveni: *Reading Germany. Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany before 1933*, New York 2006.
- ³¹David Bathrick: *Max Schmeling on the Canvas: Boxing as an Icon of Weimar Culture*, in: *New German Critique*, No. 51, 1990, pp. 113-136; Eric N. Jensen: *Body by Weimar. Athletes, Gender and Modern Modernity*, New York 2010.
- ³²In 1928 the German Textile Workers' Association launched a writing competition entitled *Mein Arbeitstag, Mein Wochenende* ('My working day, my weekend'), which was aimed at its own members. The idea was for women to write about their daily routines and then to submit their texts. These essays revealed how little leisure time working women had. Alf Lütke (ed.) in collaboration with Isolde Dietrichs: *Mein Arbeitstag, mein Wochenende. Arbeiterinnen berichten von ihrem Alltag 1928*, Hamburg 1991.
- ³³Nadine Rossol: *Performing the Nation in Interwar Germany. Sport, Spectacle and Political Symbolism 1926-1936*, Basingstoke 2010, pp. 35-42.
- ³⁴Gerald D. Feldman: *The Deutsche Bank from World War to World Economic Crisis 1914-1933*, p. 207.
- ³⁵Moritz Föllmer: *Die bürgerlichen Mittelschichten*, p. 516.
- ³⁶Moritz Föllmer: *Die bürgerlichen Mittelschichten*, pp. 533-534.
- ³⁷Thomas Mergel: *Wahlen, Wahlkämpfe und Demokratie*, p. 221.