



W O R K E X H I B I T I O N 1 .

P H O T O G R A P H S F R O M

T H E V O L K S W A G E N P L A N T

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MANFRED GRIEGER, DIRK SCHLINKERT
WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY SONJA MELDAU

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P H O T O G R A P H S F R O M T H E
V O L K S W A G E N P L A N T

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CONTENTS

- 004-015 Dirk Schlinkert
Between documentation,
communication and representation:
Photographs from the Volkswagen plant
1948 – 1974.
- 016-024 Manfred Grieger
Boom along the Mittelland Canal:
Growth and development at Volkswagen, 1948 – 1974.
- 026-055 Dirk Schlinkert
ARCHITECTURE Modernity and Monumentality.
- 056-083 **OBJECTS** Form and Functionality.
- 084-107 **REPORTING** Series and Stations.
- 108-139 **PORTRAIT** The Part and the Whole.
- 140-144 Notes

004 005

Between
documentation,
communication and
representation:

photographs from
the Volkswagen
plant 1948 - 1974.

A photo opens doors to the past. It tells a tale of what has once been and transcends the rules of time. The focus of the camera rests on a set point, "a tiny and constantly shifting moment in the never-ending expanse of time; a moment, which passes no sooner than it arrives".¹ The medium of photography is therefore the art of capturing a moment, holding onto the past and appearing to produce an exact reproduction of reality as it was in that spilt second. A photo is regarded as an incorruptible witness to the past, as it represents an outline of reality and provides viewers, both past, present and future, with "an aura of the authentic".²

A PHOTO OPENS DOORS TO THE PAST

This book is not a comprehensive album of the photographs taken in the Volkswagen plant in Wolfsburg between 1948 and 1974. It provides a kaleidoscope, a visual collection, ordered according to the four traditional categories of the photographic trade: architecture, object, reporting and portrait. The pictures are a representative selection from the rich collection of around 160,000 negatives registered by 1970 and included in the extensive collection

bequeathed by the photographic centre at the Volkswagen plant. The collection amounts to "works photography" in the truest sense of the word. The anthology consists of photographic assignments, carried out either by photographers employed at the factory or external freelancers acting on behalf of the company. They depict images from both inside and outside the factory, as well as the city of Wolfsburg.

This kind of applied photography was an important part of communication work in the Volkswagen plant. The pictures were used for public relations, with the intention of creating a positive company image, credibility and trust both outside the company and among employees and their families. This formed the foundation for the rapport that developed between Volkswagen and its workers.³ To this end, photography was used to create illustrative inserts for press releases, articles in the customer magazine "VW Information" and the company's own brochures. Photography was also a visual means of product communication, securing commercial success on national and international markets and helping to raise sales even further.⁴ Finally, photography also played a part in documentary work, serving as visual evidence. The photographic image enabled the firm to create a

record of a current situation, document changes in the factory buildings and capture technical matters in pictorial form, which were then used mainly for internal documentation.

PHOTOGRAPHY WAS ALSO A VISUAL MEANS OF PRODUCT COMMUNICATION

Photography in the Volkswagen plant in Wolfsburg dates back to the company's reconstruction period under British management.⁵ At first, professional photographers based in the region were employed by the factory to capture the rapid take-off phase of the company, which began with the series production of the Volkswagen saloon in December 1945. However, the company continued to view the employment of external photographers as a mere interim solution. With the foundation of a "Photo Centre" in September 1949 under the "general administration" division, which also encompassed post and printing, an organisational unit was created with its own personnel and budget to produce, reproduce and distribute photographs.⁶ In doing so, the Volkswagen plant combined its photographic activities under the institutional umbrella of a "Photo Centre", complete with laboratory and studio – unlike, for example, the Hoesch Hüttenwerke post-1945.⁷ (→ 001)

This sense of organisational independence within the company was a privilege which was a direct result of the job in hand: Unlike visitors and external press or advertising photographers, photographers employed by the Photo Centre were not confronted with an "air-tight system" designed to prevent breaches of security and industrial espionage⁸, and did not need a special permit from the factory management to take their photographs. The photographers even had almost unlimited access to the hall where the automobile prototypes were kept, a kind of high security zone on the Volkswagen premises. The commission to photograph for the firm gave them special permission to practice their trade. The licence, which bypassed all of the firm's internal security regulations, also reflected the enormous amount of trust placed in the photographers, which presupposed a high level of confidentiality and responsibility from them in dealing with their pictures. It also sheds light on the internal procedure, in which the photographs produced by the Photo Centre were subjected to special controls before they left the Wolfsburg factory and could be made public.⁹

THE LICENCE ALSO REFLECTED THE ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF TRUST PLACED IN THE PHOTOGRAPHERS



→ 0 0 1 Beetle carbody in the studio, 1963



→ 0 0 2 Preparing to take a catalogue photo

The first manager of the Photo Centre was Willi Luther (1909–1996) who took up the position in January 1953. He put his stamp on the department and headed the internal photography team for more than 20 years, until his retirement at the end of July 1974. Luther was originally a ship construction engineer, not a qualified photographer. As far as photography was concerned, he was a "self made man" who had turned his hobby into a profession. He learnt how to use the tools of the trade in Hamburg in the late 1930s on training courses run by Willi Beutler (1903–1968), the head of the photography department at the regional photographic service.¹⁰ Luther replied to a job advertisement, which clearly outlined the future profile of the Photo Centre in the Wolfsburg factory. The company was looking for a multi-talented individual with specialist training, technical understanding and a broad photographic background: The advertisement in the Hamburger Abendblatt in November 1952 called for a "works photographer with a solid grounding in all relevant aspects of architecture, technology, genre pictures, image reporting, photo journalism and colour photography".¹¹

The Photo Centre was involved mainly in public relations work for the management, works council, the construction department, technical development, client services¹² and the "advertising department", which had been part of the "sales and clients services" field since 1948.¹³ Although some work was generated by individual initiative, most of the photographs were produced in response to orders. In most cases, therefore, commissioned photographers were told the desired result of their work by a third party. The way in which this was to be achieved was usually left up to the photographer, although they usually approached the client for approval beforehand. The photographer was free to choose his own subject and realise it with the camera and in the laboratory.¹⁴ Individual creativity and originality had their place within this structured context, although these were sometimes reduced to a minimum where the photographer allowed or even asked a client to look over his shoulder as he pressed the shutter.¹⁵

MOST OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS
WERE PRODUCED IN
RESPONSE TO ORDERS

The range of orders dealt with by the Photo Centre¹⁶ was extremely diverse; day-to-day business activity was often hectic. Photographers were required to do a lot of travelling.¹⁷ As well as developing photos in the laboratory, other typical duties included taking passport photographs for workers' identity cards and reporting on important events such as the annual press conference, AGMs, international car exhibitions, works meetings and company celebrations such as production launches. This varied mix of routine activity included photographic work for communication and product advertising as well as documentation work for technological developments and the construction department, which resulted from the expansion and restructuring of the factory halls and premises in Wolfsburg and other locations. The photographers' schedules reflected the speed of growth at the Volkswagen plant. The demands placed on the photographers as chroniclers of current events and activities in the company increased. The company reacted to this increase in demand with an expansion of personnel in the Photo Centre to more than 20 in total, 10 of whom were employed as laboratory workers. Five studio photographers worked exclusively in the studio on product photos, while the remaining photographers took care of other orders.¹⁸ (→ 002)

The source, location and date of photographs is usually clear. However, the place of publication for individual subjects or whole picture series sent out to the press or used as illustrations in publications or sales brochures is often disputed or unclear. It was also virtually impossible to ascertain copyright. Photographers delivered pictures according to order, fulfilling their professional duty. The photographer's name never appears again, so we can no longer be certain in each case who operated the Rolleiflex medium format or the Linhof, not to mention who developed the negatives in the laboratory.¹⁹

THE DECISION OF THE MANAGEMENT AT THE PHOTO CENTRE WAS FINAL

The decision of the management at the Photo Centre was final. Together with the head of the laboratory Willi Luther, with the trained eye of the technically proficient photographer, checked that photographs meant for publication were in line with the high quality stipulated by the publications and the image of the company and its products. As a manager with budgetary responsibility, Luther also played a key role in carrying out orders, directing the process from order receipt to the shooting and final delivery of the photo.²⁰ In short, the picture business at

the Photo Centre revolved around Luther. He therefore maintains a silent but constant presence throughout this collection, if not as an active photographer, then as the expert at the head of the Photo Centre taking decisions on the use of photographs and advising organisational units within the company on the use of images both internally and for public relations purposes.

The product photographs produced in the factory intersect with the pictures taken by external freelance photographers, who were charged with the same communicative and commercial tasks²¹ and whose products were used by relevant target groups. Some photographs by Johann Albrecht Cropp, for example, broadened the spectrum of the factory photos considerably.²² Cropp had been working freelance for the Volkswagen advertising department since 1958. For over 40 years, this photo journalist and globetrotter continuously produced photographs for the annual Volkswagen wall calendar. In content terms, these photos reflect the export slogan "Volkswagen around the world". Cropp therefore continues a tradition employed in early Volkswagen advertisements as the subject of advertisements in German newspapers and magazines and 'Deutsche Wochenschau' film reportage.²³

What characterised the style and quality of the pictures produced by the Photo Centre? The Volkswagen plant demanded high quality from its photographers and their products – just as it did from technicians, sales people and engineers – in order to develop, make and sell a high quality automobile capable of holding its own in a competitive market. This was also reflected in the broad set of qualifications stipulated in the job profile for the first manager of the Photo Centre. When Willi Luther won the race for the position of head photographer at the Volkswagen plant in winter 1952, he was a man seeking a change of career whose roughly 1950 photographs had already received many awards from the professional association and more than fulfilled the artistic demands of the trade in the eyes of the specialists.²⁴ For the manager and photographers at the Photo Centre, quality meant more than simply complying with the product-related standards imposed by the company on its organisational units: quality meant that photographers created contemporary images on a daily basis that could stand alongside the professional photography of freelancers or the artistic photography of the time²⁵, and feeding these into the communication channels of the firm.²⁶

The photographers at the Volkswagen plant displayed an astounding affinity for "subjective photography" in the fields of architecture and object photography, reporting and portraits. They were the artistic trendsetters of photography in the 1950s and early 1960s in West Germany. Taking its cue from the avant-garde leanings of the "Neues Sehen" movement and the Bauhaus tradition of the 1920s, the "foto-form" group formed by Siegfried Lauterwasser, Wolfgang Reisewitz, Otto Steinert, Ludwig Windstosser, Peter Keetman and Toni Schneiders had an enormous impact on the photographic scene, both in Germany and internationally.²⁷ Traces of "subjective photography" are frequently evident in this selection of applied photography, which was produced in the Photo Centre of the Volkswagen plant over 26 years of operation. "Work exhibition 1" supplements the stock of images from the Volkswagen plant built up over decades portraying unknown subjects and views of the factory, the VW Beetle, the Volkswagen Transporter, employees at the factory and the city of Wolfsburg.²⁸

THE PHOTOGRAPHERS AT THE
VOLKSWAGEN PLANT DISPLAYED
AN ASTOUNDING AFFINITY FOR
"SUBJECTIVE PHOTOGRAPHY"

The pictures of "Work exhibition 1" enhance and expand associations of the present time, with the Volkswagen plant synonymous with the West German economic miracle and the VW Beetle firmly established as something of an era-defining symbol for the young Federal Republic.²⁹

THE ILLUSION OF A REALISTIC PORTRAYAL OF A PAST REALITY

The collective memory of the present is fed mainly by visual sources, including the photographs produced and distributed in the period between 1948 and 1974 in the Volkswagen plant and published both internally and among the general public. They awake in the observer the illusion of a realistic portrayal of a past reality and play a part in maintaining the status of photography as a highly authentic source of information into the future. This remains the essence of the fascination and seductive appeal of photography. But is the "authentic version and interpretation" of photography itself not something of a yesterday's child? Today, we view photographs from a perspective different to that of earlier producers, users and viewers.³⁰ This photographic "work exhibition" aims to pinpoint



→ 0 0 3 Linhof



→ 0 0 4 Repair equipment in the photo studio



→ 0 0 5 Rolleiflex

the "reality effect" provided by the factory photography at Volkswagen GmbH.³¹ An examination of example photographs shows how different intentions (documentary, communicative and representative) lay behind the pictures created by the Photo Centre and thus informed the reality or realities at the Volkswagen plant that they portrayed.



→ 0 0 6 Boot in the VW Variant



→ 0 0 8 Export limousine, 1959



→ 0 0 7 Rear section of the VW Variant LE

Boom along the
Mittelland Canal:

Growth and
development at
Volkswagen,
1948 - 1974.

The growth cycle that characterized the global economy, as well as that of the Federal Republic of Germany, lasted for almost three decades after the Second World War.³² The Volkswagen plant, situated in the Land of Lower Saxony, can be seen as both the driving force and the focal point behind this unparalleled economic take-off. The starting point for this development was the German currency reform in June 1948, as a result of which the automobile factory on the Mittelland Canal crossed the high threshold and found its way into world markets. In 1947, the Volkswagen factory, under the control of the British Military Government, manufactured a total of 8,987 Volkswagen saloons, of which 56 vehicles were exported; within one year, production climbed to 19,244 saloons, of which more than 22 percent were sold abroad.³³

This growth dealt Heinrich Nordhoff, acting General Manager since January 1948, a trump card, which he was able to play for more than two decades. The unstoppable economic success gave Nordhoff, as well as the path of development he chose, indubitable status as a social reality.³⁴ Upon assuming his post, the former Opel manager identified the fundamental keys to success. As early as the summer of 1945, the British Military Government had paved the way

for the changeover to the civil economy. The British representative at the factory, Major Ivan Hirst, implemented a quality policy, that made the Volkswagen saloon marketable throughout the world, and the customer service network, despite all difficulties encountered, was on tenterhooks when export commenced. With the election of a Works Council and a participative shop floor agreement, even internal labour relations assumed a modern face, an image that the company's first General Manager and principal trustee during the period of British control, Dr. Hermann Münch had also helped to develop.³⁵

A PACESETTER FOR PEACE AND RECONSTRUCTION

Wolfsburg's automobile manufacturer had everything it needed become an economic locomotive for West Germany. In his first speech to the workforce over the factory radio system on 5 January 1948, Heinrich Nordhoff called the Volkswagen factory "a pacesetter for peace and reconstruction".³⁶ Ten days later, as the twenty-thousandth Volkswagen rolled off the assembly line, he took the opportunity, in front of media representatives, to promote the car factory – the largest in Germany in terms of production – as a

PRODUCTION GREW, WINNING OVER CUSTOMERS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD

"key ingredient in Germany's peacetime economy".³⁷ Nordhoff knew that with the Volkswagen he had the world's "hottest small car" on his side. Given the prevailing material shortages everywhere and the bureaucratic obstacles, his vision of the Volkswagen factory's ability to become the "most effective foreign currency earner for the German economy" appeared presumptuous, but that was precisely where the future lay. As part of the move to initiate market relations, a separate "Advertising Department" was created in the "Sales and Customer Service" division in July 1948.³⁸ The transfer of the company's headquarters from Berlin, where the Volkswagen company had been founded on 28 May 1937 by two commercial enterprises of the National Socialist "Deutsche Arbeitsfront" [German Labour Front] to Wolfsburg in the summer of 1948 was also central to this reorientation of the company to its East Lower Saxony location.

KEY INGREDIENT IN GERMANY'S PEACETIME ECONOMY

The eastern part of West Germany saw the successful establishment of a focal point for economic development and sustained growth. Here, the economic potential could be exploited in

order to attract a permanent employee base for the up-and-coming company, and a larger workforce was, in turn, a prerequisite for an increase in production. Production grew, winning over customers from all over the world as international car markets craved the robust Volkswagen saloons. The greater the economic strength of West Germany's showcase company became, the more the British Military Government withdrew from the company, which had been seized after the end of the war. On 8 October 1949, it placed the ownerless Volkswagen factory under the trusteeship of the Federal Government and transferred administration to the government of Lower Saxony.³⁹ The Volkswagen factory thus became a quasi public enterprise, and its General Manager a powerful person. Alongside the economic success, Nordhoff knew he also had public opinion on his side; his head of public relations, Frank Novotny, had directed everything from behind the scenes. From today's perspective, it is therefore almost impossible to distinguish between what might have been publicity engineering and what was operational reality. In front of everyone's eyes, the public image of Nordhoff became an amalgamation of a larger-than-life personality together with the economic importance of an American-trained manager.

Since neither the German Federal Government nor the Land of Lower Saxony could exercise property rights, the management structure at Volkswagen developed into an ideal model of managerial capitalism, in which specialised top level employees determined and took responsibility the company's development.⁴⁰ Interrupted only by the Korean conflict, which caused a temporary shortage of raw materials and increased supplier prices, the dynamism of the world economy gave Heinrich Nordhoff freedom to move, that he exploited for his clients in Bonn and Hanover in his customary self-assured manner, based on customer preferences which he himself had propagated. His success was vindication for the bearer of the glad tidings and greatly enhanced his reputation. The message was clear: production increased significantly to a total of 179,740 vehicles in 1953, more than a third of which were exported. The growth of the workforce to 20,569 employees also made a clear case for Volkswagen, which was recognized within both the German Federal Government and the government of the Land of Lower Saxony. For the young German Republic, the growing town beside the Mittelland Canal, characterised by the car, was in many respects its blueprint for success, and Heinrich Nordhoff knew how significant Volkswagen was in the eyes of the

public; people were captivated by its export successes and stunning economic growth.⁴¹

THE CREATION OF A SEPARATE TRANSPORTER FACTORY OUTSIDE WOLFSBURG WAS ON THE AGENDA

1953 marked an important turning point for Volkswagen.⁴² With two vehicles – the saloon and the Transporter (that went into production in 1950) – the company rose to national prominence. At the same time, the Wolfsburg-based company reached the limits of its capacity, creating a need for new buildings and modernization of its production facilities. The new factory buildings leapfrogged today's "Mittelstraße" in a northerly direction, thus expanding production capacities.⁴³ The creation of a separate Transporter factory outside Wolfsburg was on the agenda. The building of company-owned accommodations to house the growing workforce in Wolfsburg was, at times, given just as much importance as establishing production subsidiaries abroad. In 1953, both the "VW-Wohnungsbau-Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft mbH" and "Volkswagen do Brasil Ltda." were established to help expansion to continue.

NUMEROUS PROGRAMS TO IMPROVE THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE WORKFORCE

The fact that Volkswagen was given an almost overstated significance as the German economic miracle was apparent in the staging of the festivities to mark the production of the one millionth Volkswagen in August 1955. The workforce had time off to meet and greet those visiting Wolfsburg from around the world and to celebrate their own success – spurred on by samba clubs from Brazil and military bands. Germany's economic resurrection, the heralding of collective prosperity and the combination of a benevolent policy with the personality of a kind-hearted, but demanding boss – all the factors in German success could be exemplified against the background of the Volkswagen company. The quasi public enterprise embraced the diligence of its hard-working employees and its early Americanization like amber surrounding a fossil. When the supplier market was extended, and later also replaced, by market demand, the importance of advertising and marketing grew.

SYSTEM OF ENTREPRENEURIAL SUBSISTENCE WELFARE WITHIN A DECADE

Indirectly through its involvement in North America, Volkswagen learnt to exploit the power of visual messages, and the company began to support its activities with a real flood of

images. DDB, which beginning in 1962 also created advertising for Volkswagen in Germany, significantly changed the concept of advertising and also turned the manufacturer of automobiles into a mass producer of images.

The company on the Mittelland Canal had by then long been a successful proponent of Fordism, combining Taylorist mass production with a specific labour relations model. It became a prime example of Catholic Social Doctrine that was fundamentally reestablished in the early years of the Federal Republic of Germany, the company – under the influence of its General Manager, Heinrich Nordhoff – developed numerous programs to improve the social position of the workforce. Above and beyond the relatively high wages, offered to entice a sufficient number of employees to the economically depressed eastern part of the country, Volkswagen introduced a wide range of employee benefits after 1949, including pension programs, payment wages in case of illness, for example, which grew into a system of entrepreneurial subsistence welfare within a decade.⁴⁴ The profit-related bonus, awarded for the first time in 1950, which just a few years later became a fixed component of the collective bargaining agreement, also offered a participation benefit

to the workforce, unusual for that time. Against this background, the participation of the employees, both in the advisory council established in 1951 and through the supervisory board set up in 1953, developed both cooperatively and successfully. The counterpart of the outwardly kind General Manager on the employee side was Works Council chairman, Hugo Bork, who calmly sought a fair share for the employees, while others in the metal industry clashed with one another more sharply.⁴⁵

THE SUCCESS OF THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

Given the social significance of the company and its vehicles, it was obvious that Volkswagen was also subject of federal and provincial politics. Every VW New Year's Eve statement, which provided a summary of the company's success to German newspapers every year, also illustrated the success of the social market economy, which the Federal Minister of Trade and Commerce, Ludwig Erhard, himself a trademark, did not tire of propagating. Therefore, intentions of privatising the car trust were already entwined in the Adenauer government at an early stage. The decision-making process picked up additional speed after Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer,

in his inaugural speech of 29 October 1957, described the objective of a wide distribution of so-called "Volksaktien" [public shares] as "the most important objective" of the parliamentary term.⁴⁶ In order to create "property for all" through the issue of shares, the negotiation of an agreement between the Federal Government and the Land of Lower Saxony was required, which was signed on 11/12 November 1959. On the basis of this compromise, the Bundestag passed the "Law on the Regulation of the Legal Position with regard to Volkswagenwerk GmbH" on 9 May 1960 with the votes of the government coalition and the FDP. On 21 July 1960, the "Law on the Transfer into Private Ownership of the Shares in Volkswagenwerk Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung" came into force, which regulated the privatization of the company and its transformation into a joint-stock company.⁴⁷

An exceptional German company, at least in economic terms, had thus become a simple joint-stock company, in which profit and dividend payments were given increasing importance. However, the Federal Government and the Land of Lower Saxony each kept 20% of the share capital in their showcase factory, through which the influence of the largest individual shareholders could continue to be exercised.

VOLKSWAGEN ENTERED THE AGE OF CONSUMER DEMOCRACY

As a joint-stock company, Volkswagen continued its previous expansion course. After moving into the new thirteen-storey administration building in the summer of 1959 – as a foretaste of the new AG age, so to speak – the company further consolidated its positions on international markets. The inauguration of the Emden plant on 8 December 1964, built especially for exports to North America, served this purpose well. In 1965, the acquisition of the Ingolstadt-based "Auto Union GmbH" made a multi-brand group out of the already heavily internationalised company.

With the advent of the "Beetle", Germany and the Volkswagen entered the age of consumer democracy, that was characterised by prosperity, abundance and increasing leisure time.⁴⁸ The Volkswagen saloon and the Transporter from the era of the German "Wirtschaftswunder" knew how to negotiate the long path onto world markets with ease, and this contributed a fair amount to the modernisation of West German society. The traffic infrastructure, that was gearing up for personal mobility was a product of the "Volkswagenising" of West Germany, just as the Americanizing of the factory in the 1950s had been an overwhelming success.⁴⁹

Even though the Type 1, as the "Beetle" was formally known, became the best earner of foreign currency in the U.S. and a emotional part of the American culture, still formed the economic backbone of the group in 1966 (with almost 1.1 million vehicles), the company had in fact already begun to diversify its range of vehicles in 1961 with the manufacture of the lower middle-class saloon, the Volkswagen 1500, referred to internally as Type 3. For many in Germany, as well in other countries such as Brazil or later also in Mexico, their first experience with personal mobility was with the Volkswagen saloon, thus societies and individuals were, however, still under the spell of the very unique and unusual car. At the same time, the absence of product innovation indicates that Volkswagen, in many respects, can also be regarded as a successful representative of the social and economic expansion of the established Federal Republic. On 11 March 1968, in response to the question raised by the Supervisory Board about how things were to go on in the year 1968, Heinrich Nordhoff gave the clear reply – "nobody knows".⁵⁰

BRINGING OUT NEW MODELS,
BECOMING MORE EFFICIENT
AND REDUCING COSTS

Just as 1968 brought radical changes in the Federal Republic of Germany in the socio-political and cultural spheres, on 1 May 1968 Kurt Lotz, succeeded Heinrich Nordhoff, who died on Good Friday, sought to push the reorganisation of the company to the best of his ability, especially as the end of the Beetle boom had become apparent.⁵¹ Under his aegis, the company focused on the task of "bringing out new models, becoming more efficient and reducing costs".⁵² Under these circumstances, Volkswagen made a comparatively late transition from air-cooled engines to water-cooled engines and from rear-wheel drive to front-wheel drive. The first vehicle to come on to the market as part of the new product offensive was the K 70, which between 1970 and 1975 was manufactured in the new plant in Salzgitter.⁵³ The Passat, Golf and Polo reorganised the product range entirely and secured the company's future. To a certain extent, the new vehicles embodied appropriate contemporary and market-oriented responses to the changed social, economic and cultural conditions after the far-reaching world economic crises during the early to mid 1970s, which found expression in the oil price shock and in the waning growth, amongst other things.⁵⁴

Today the world knows Volkswagen and its first success, the saloon has many pet names. Famous for its silhouette, praised for its reliability and the high service value and loved as a cultural icon, the Beetle, of which more than 21.5 million came off the assembly line, became indelibly imprinted in everyone's memory.⁵⁵ Together with the Transporter, the emotion formed in sheet metal created the impetus for world economic alignment of an automotive group, whose annual production between 1948 and 1973 exploded from just under 20,000 to more than 2.3 million units, whose turnover rose from DM 89.2 million to just under DM 17 billion, and which as a result employed 215,000 people both in and outside Wolfsburg, as compared to 8,700 people in 1948. In the meantime, the Golf introduced in 1974 has become the Beetle's legitimate successor as a classless car; in the production figures, it has significantly overtaken its predecessor.⁵⁶ As with the Beetle, the Golf has become a part of our collective consciousness and has made its own way onto film sets and into images of all kinds.

ARCHITECTURE Modernity and Monumentality.

OBJECTS Form and Functionality.

REPORTING Series and Stations.

PORTRAIT The Part and the Whole.

A R C H P H

I T E C O T

MODERNITY AND
MONUMENTALITY

T U O G R A

R A L P H Y

A R C H I T E C T U R A L P H O T O G R A P H Y

Every photograph has its own documentary character. The authority of photographs as irrefutable records of certain moments dominates the commissioned images, portraying the physical state of factory buildings and the expansion to the factory and the city resulting from the boom in business during the economic miracle. The pictures work as **narratives**, documenting permanent transformations and growth periods as well as the size and uniform appearance of the factory plants. Alongside the pure reference value, reflected particularly clearly in the documentary photos of hall 12 (→ 011, 012), the **representative dimension** is also of crucial importance.

Using plate cameras, wide angle lenses and unusual tripod angles, the **photographers** portrayed the Volkswagen plant as a **symbol of modern industrial architecture** growing organically into its natural surroundings (→ 011). Against the setting of the South Extension with the high-rise administrative building on the horizon, the viewer can regard the



whole scene from a higher level that offers a view of the point at which town and factory meet on Heinrich-Nordhoff-Straße. In the midsummer atmosphere, the people and cars on the street and in the car park appear to be extras, conveying an impression of the hustle and bustle of business and the easy pace of everyday events unfolding before a backdrop of charming countryside. This **picture conveys** a sense of ordered unity and speaks volumes about the harmonious coexistence of the factory and the city.

A panoramic shot of the factory from the west (→ 015) and the east (→ 012). The South Extension, demarcated by prominent staircases and narrow raised windows, runs parallel to the Mittelland Canal and shows the factory building as an enclosed edifice. The pictures emphasise the "outstandingly monumental character" of the plant, which was unusual during the period of reconstruction.⁵⁷ The element of monumentality is captured again in a carefully prepared night shot (→ 014).⁵⁸ The key architectural elements of the dark surface of the clinker are dramatically extenuated by the artistic lighting from the worm's-eye view. The illumination from the streetlamps, the beams from car lights aimed exactly at the first lines of the staircase towers and their **light reflections all converge at a vanishing point**, giving depth to the picture. The various light sources lift the South Extension out of the darkness of night and the immediate environment. Alongside the monumentality of the compact unit of the factory, this effective night shot also highlights the symmetry in the architecture of the building, which chimes with the serial nature of the production process within the factory halls.⁵⁹

The structure of the panoramic shots does not follow the structure of the facades and building constructions in the same way as the modern industrial photography of Bernd and Hilla Becher, which are based mainly on frontal perspectives⁶⁰; instead, it follows diagonal perspectives. Despite this, the horizontal and vertical architectural lines remain the dominant features. This creates panoramic shots of the factory in the style of the "Neuen Sachlichkeit" of Albert Renger-Patzsch and Werner Mantz⁶¹; shots with an intense depth of field, encompassing the typical physiognomy of core architectural elements such as the high rise building, power plant, the South Extension with clinker brick facade, staircase towers and high windows. These photographs tell a story of the monumentality and modernity of the rapidly expanding Volkswagen plant. By focusing on the main architectural characteristics, these panoramas portray the factory as an icon.⁶² In doing so, the language of the picture ties in with a semantic strategy communicated in early Volkswagen graphic advertisements under the title "The Factory and the Car".⁶³

In a variation on this theme, the Samba Bus is anything but window-dressing (→ 015). The camera is focussed on the Volkswagen as the final product of the serial production, positioned before the springlike backdrop in the centre of the picture. The series depicting the staircase towers protruding from the South Extension tapers to a vanishing point in the east through the power plant.⁶⁴ The architecture provides a visual link, creating a connection between the Samba Bus and the eastern border of the factory and confirming "the factory and the car" as a semantic unit.

The aspects of modernity and repetitive order repeatedly occur in the photographs, in the interior shots of the factory and shots of the daily working process. The pictures depict both productive and non-productive fields. Together, they accentuate the complex, well ordered and efficient large-scale business taking place in both areas. The large offices in the high-rise administrative building, filled with functional furniture and flooded with light, promise ideal working conditions for the employees. The precise ordering of the desks, filing cabinets and telephones in this photograph (→ 017; cf. → 058) is reminiscent of the conveyor belt production of vehicles in the factory halls. The large office with its accessories is waiting to commence operation; steel rolls and piles of sheet steel delivered on the tracks are also ready for use (→ 018).

The photographs return to the relationship between **factory and city**, depicting the construction activity of the Volkswagen plant both within the works premises and beyond the factory gates. The contrast between old and new is clear in this night photograph of the buildings at the west end of the South Extension, taken from the east (→ 016). The ruins of the former administration wing, now under demolition, provides a kind of dark template in front of the recently completed, brightly lit administration building, with the VW symbol on the end wall. This picture also takes wreckage as its theme.⁶⁵ Through its use of **contrasting light and dark**, it conveys an uplifting mood of industrial progression and testifies to the development of the plant as new buildings come into operation.

The initiatives of the Volkswagen plant of creating living space and free time activities outside the factory gates are reflected in numerous photographs documenting the construction progress made in Wolfsburg. The key message for the viewer is that the living standards in the relatively young town have been improved significantly by the investments made by the Volkswagen plant in the city centre. The shell construction of a block of residential flats (→ 019) and a residential settlement close to the factory (→ 021) mark the start and end points of the construction activities of the Volkswagen subsidiary firm, which made every effort to fulfil the wishes of employees and their families.⁶⁶ The impression of an attractive and modern residential settlement is enhanced by this interior view of the "VW baths" (→ 020) , built by the Volkswagen plant and opened at the end of July 1951.⁶⁷ The oval arch of the water slide leads the gaze to the left side of the picture and defines a detail. This created a "picture within a picture", which takes on its own meaning. The two children sitting on the edge of the pool in the morning sun and the calm surface of the water create an atmosphere of rest and relaxation, an enticing free-time activity open to the employees of the factory and their families. The Volkswagen plant is portrayed as a partner dedicated to the social, residential and leisure needs of its employees in Wolfsburg. The photo testifies to the close, harmonious relationship between Volkswagen and the town.

034 035



036 037

→ 0 1 1 Construction work on the foundation for hall 12, 1954







↑ 0 1 3 The plant by night, 1953

→ 0 1 4 Northern part of hall 12 with supply depot, February 1955



042 043



044 045



046 047



048 049



050 051



052 053



054 055



O B P H O

J E T O G

FORM AND
FUNCTIONALITY

C R A

T P H Y

O B J E C T P H O T O G R A P H Y

"Factual evidence" is irrefutable.⁶⁸ The photographs used for internal documentation or communicative purposes in the Photo Centre make use of this effect. At the forefront is a **true-to-life depiction** of a Volkswagen and its components in high technical quality and precision, its material composition and above all its **form**. These quality standards place high time and material demands on photographers as they seek to arrange products in an acceptable picture composition which corresponds to the wishes of the contract provider or customer, taking account of lighting using direct or indirect light sources. These photographs were put on view in the Photo Centre studio, which was equipped with the necessary equipment for the lighting of the objects. Large numbers of object photographs were produced in the photo studio. They were used in catalogues and instruction manuals for the Volkswagen models. Just five photographers were involved in this large-scale client services work.⁶⁹



In the studio environment, working with the high potential offered by artificial lighting, a thorough and critical look is needed to prepare the fine grooving and precisely cut edges of a cogwheel (→ 029). Detailed shots of this kind rely on the effect created in the viewer by the apparently direct, cool and precise presence of the objects in the picture, acting as **irrefutable proof** of the **technical standard** and **quality** of production.

This point is underlined by these shots of the rear wing (→ 024) or the Beetle chassis with engine turned on its side (→ 025). The pressed part and the finished assembly kit were placed on a white cloth in the production hall and lit using artificial light. This technique isolates the wings and the chassis from their production context. Filigree structures of the metal sheeting which had been through the large press, and the vertical and horizontal ribs of the floor section, are revealed by the reflection of the artificial light. Wings and chassis are pin sharp in this photo that appears to hide nothing. The direct and intense technique of **object photography** achieves high authenticity through the vividness of the objects.

A high degree of staging is also characterises these advertising photos for the Volkswagen saloon, which were taken on the grounds of the factory (→ 031) and in the studio (→ 027). The VW Beetle was positioned at an acute angle to the facade of the production hall and a special tool was used to manually align the VW logos on the hub caps so that they were upright and clearly legible. In order to avoid unintentional light reflections on the highly polished surfaces, an anti-lustre agent was applied to both chrome hub caps. The photographer

decided in favour of a perspective which would show the viewer the entire side view of the saloon with its large windows. In order to emphasise the size of the side windows, he chose a camera position in direct line to both B-pillars of the Beetle.⁷⁰

In the studio photos (→ 027), the VW Beetle is highlighted with both direct and indirect light reflections in an attempt to underline the special features and the quality of the export model: a spotlight shines on chrome-plated bumpers and hub caps; the light shining on the polished boot accentuates the design of the VW Beetle. These additional, visual product marketing devices inspire the customer to buy.

A characteristic trait of these early product photographs created for advertisement purposes is the **static presentation** of the Volkswagen. The Beetle, with its unmistakable design is the undisputed star of this form of advertisement photography, which utilises the tradition of the "Neues Sehen" movement by emphasising the abstract and formal qualities of the model.⁷¹ In the compositional technique used in this form of advertisement photography, product design ranks above vehicle functionality and thus above any pictorial portrayal of the specific utility value of the Volkswagen for work, free time or personal lifestyle.

The materialistic and constructive form of components in the production process or before delivery are captured in detailed images or medium shots with selective extracts (→ 033, 034, 037, 038). These photographs, taken at the Wolfsburg

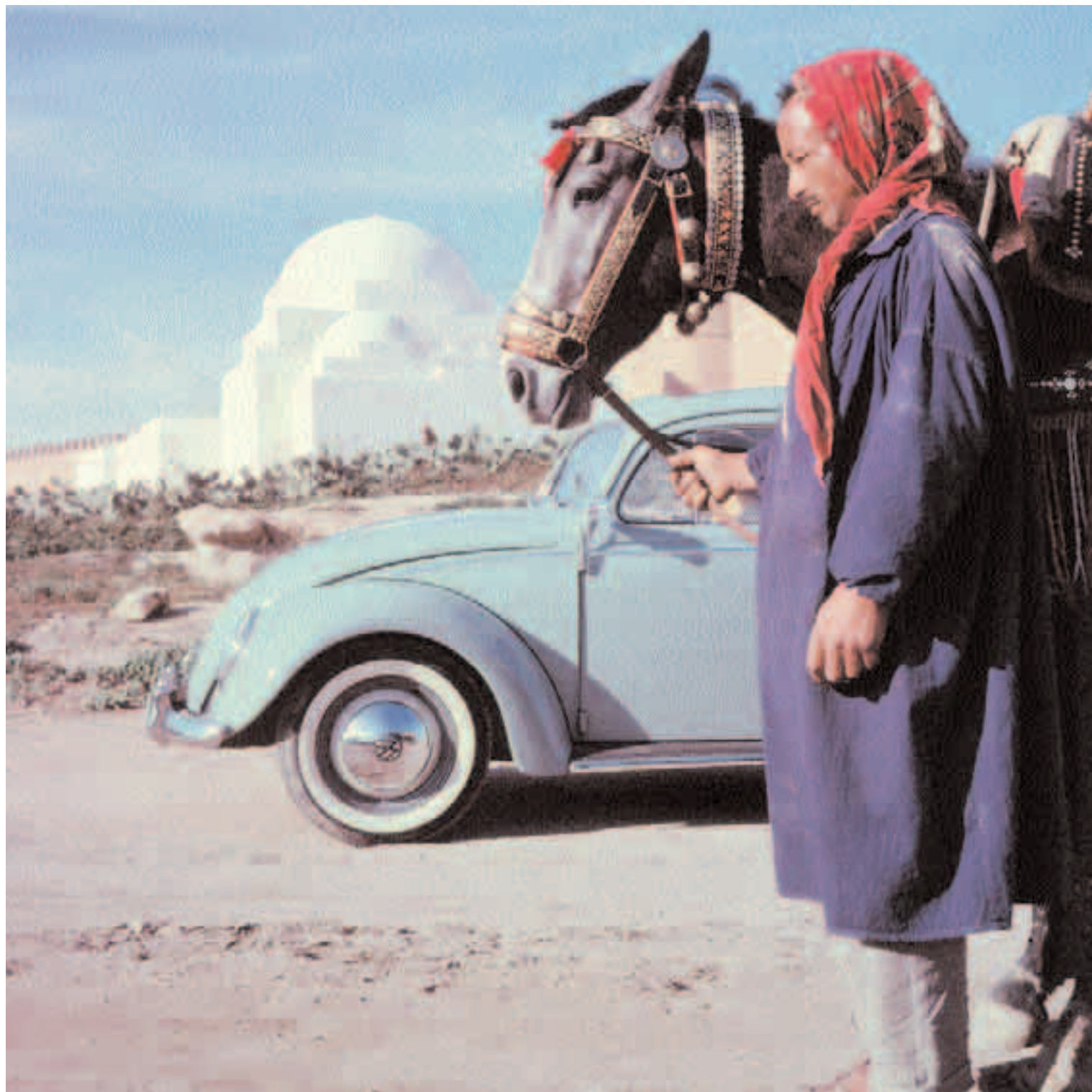
factory in autumn 1953, create a connection with the **subjective photography** of the "fotoform" artists' collective, whose founding member Peter Keetman produced a series of 71 images in April 1953 at the factory on the Mittelland Canal.⁷² A comparison of these pictures, taken at intervals of only six months, shows that Willi Luther and the factory photographers had adopted a very similar stance to the artistic avant-garde of the time.⁷³ The focus of the camera is on small details, such as stacks of steel or half-finished building sections.⁷⁴ These subjects are removed from the production environment through considerable enlargement. This enables the camera to capture traces of light on metal; the viewer can almost feel the surface of a cut, canted and stretched wing (→ 033). The light subtly emphasises the structure of the stacked wings or the hub caps lined up on a pallet after being polished and electroplated (→ 034).⁷⁵ Two pictures lead the viewer out onto the delivery yard in the north-west section of the factory (→ 037, 038). In a medium shot perspective, these show the final stage of the production process: The ordered series and the large number of Volkswagens are essential elements of the picture language, as in the work of Peter Keetman.⁷⁶ This composition has clear similarities to images portraying the working process within the factory in architectural photography (→ 017, 018), which focus on serial aspects in both the productive and administrative areas.

Atmosphere, emotion and lifestyle aspects certainly feature in the product advertisement photography of the latter half of the 1950s. The backdrops and attributes framing the Volkswagen models are focused less on communicating the perfect form than the functionality and additional

features of the vehicles that correspond to the various lifestyles of potential clients. A **general trend** becomes apparent **in German advertising**, which introduced the shift "from standard of life to lifestyle" around 1960.⁷⁷ For example, a fashionably dressed woman with a friendly smile leans on a saloon in a heathland setting (→ 028).⁷⁸ In line with the established technique for object photography deployed at the Photo Centre, the young woman stands behind the vehicle in order not to obscure the view of the Beetle's design. Although the product remains centre stage, **other symbolic and positive attributes** have come into play, alluding to a better lifestyle for customers, who purchase and use their own Volkswagen.

This pattern is followed in advertising photos that show a Transporter being used for a camping holiday at the Badeseelake (→ 026) or the harvest of grapes in a vineyard (→ 032). The functionality of the Transporter is emphasised in leisure activity as well as everyday commercial situations.⁷⁹ Just a few years later, this theme was developed in the pictures taken by photo journalist Johann A. Cropp for the Volkswagen wall calendar. By presenting the saloon during a family holiday in the Swiss Alps (→ 036) or in the North African desert (→ 023), Volkswagen associated itself with **visions of individual mobility** and rode the rising waves of consumption and travel in economic miracle-era Germany.⁸⁰

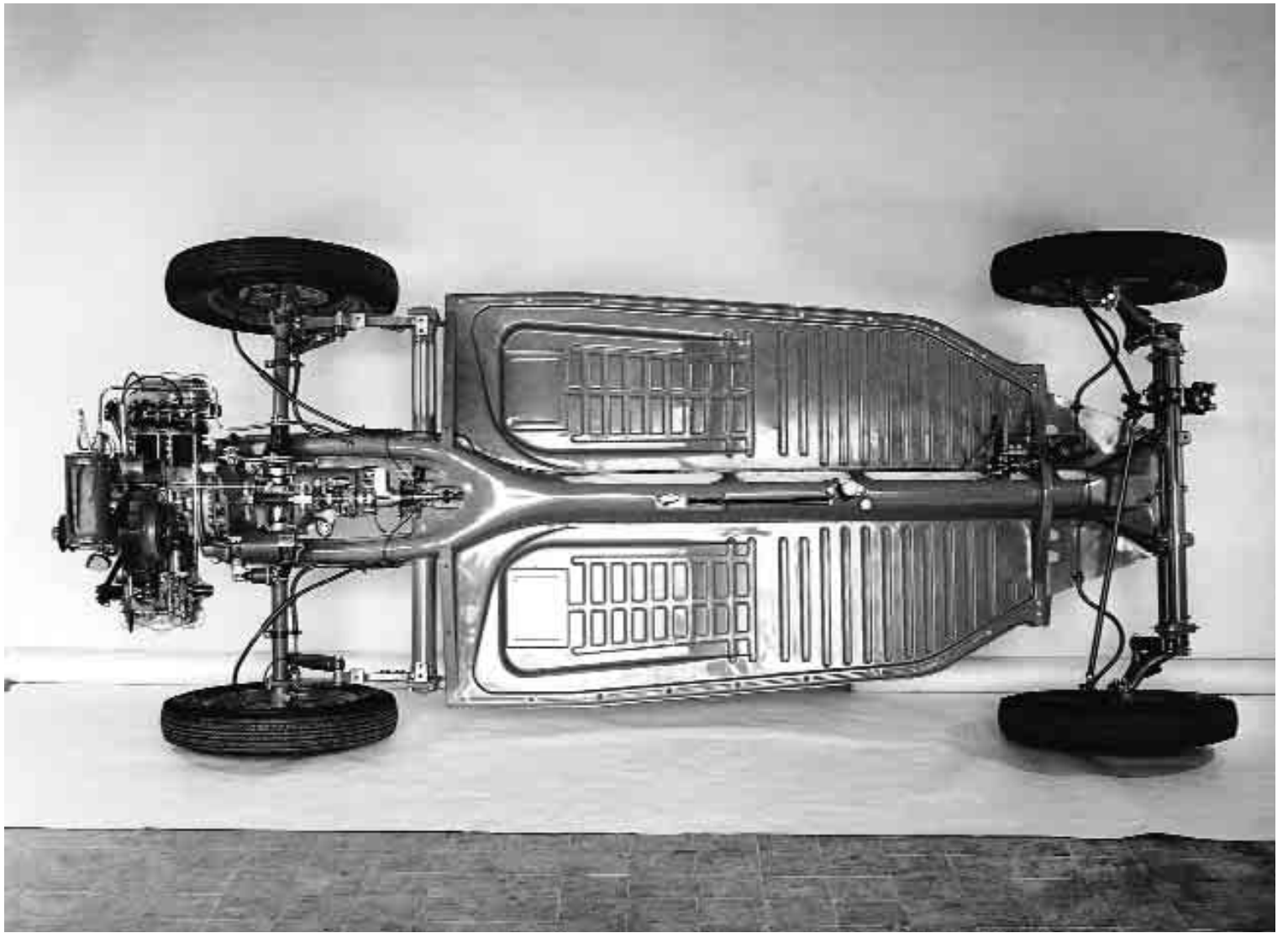
064 065





↑ 0 2 4 Rear fender, 1957

→ 0 2 5 Beetle chassis with engine, 1953



068 069



070 071





↑ 0 2 8 Beetle in a heathland setting, September 1957

→ 0 2 9 Drops of oil on the gear, May 1960





↑ 030 Shipment of parts for CKD assembly, 1954

→ 031 VW Standard in front of the clinkered assembly hall, September 1957



076 077





↑ 033 Rear fender with grinding marks, in the press shop, assembly hall 2, 1953

→ 034 Hub caps after polishing and electroplating in the north of assembly hall 3, 1953





↑ 035 Karmann Ghia Coupé, July 1956

→ 036 Family holiday in the Swiss Alps, 1959 (J. A.Cropp)





↑ 037 Export model on the awaiting shipment in the North-West of the plant, October 1953

→ 038 Beetles awaiting shipment, 1953



REPHO

PORTOG

SERIES AND STATIONS

TIRRA

NGPHY

R E P O R T I N G P H O T O G R A P H Y

Reporting provides visual reports on the operational processes at the Volkswagen plant in journalistic style. Exposed as full or medium views of the production halls, these pictures convey the serial nature of the manufacturing process. The eye of the factory photographer appears to be dispassionate, businesslike and focused on the fundamental elements. The approach is closely related to object photography and "subjective photography". Photographs conveying the day-to-day life of the factory, away from the production side, include several genuine snapshots. These have a dramatic, emotional, stimulating, sometimes surprising and at times disturbing effect on the viewer.



The image of three car-body shells hanging closely together on a transport belt before being lowered onto the cross belt portrays the efficiency and precision of automated production at the factory (→ 040). Although not a single worker can be seen, the dynamic is created by the car-body shells swaying on the transport belt shortly before moving on to the next stage of production. This vividly conveys to the viewer the importance of the time factor in the serial production process at the Volkswagen plant.

The interior shots of the Transporter shell (→ 041) and the medium shots of the final assembly line in the engine construction area (→ 042) present differing visual images of **series production** that revolve around rationalised production at Volkswagen. The camera is focused on an **imaginary vanishing point** beyond the edge of the picture where the transport belts converge. In this way, the photographer creates a depth that encompasses not only the enormous size of the factory hall, but also the **virtually endless** transportation chains.⁸¹

A 1966 handbook for industrial photographers states that "the man at the machine is an integral part of industrial reporting".⁸² When taking interior shots, however, the factory photographers only followed this advice to a certain extent. These pictures were taken during breaks in production. The workers in the factory are mere bit-part players; the focus of the picture lies in the portrayal of spatial dimensions and the process of serial production at Volkswagen, which is centred on high unit numbers and productivity.

In this picture, a foreman and a worker illustrate the operational process of line production by going through the usual motions of their work station, fitting pipelines on the chassis of a VW Beetle (→ 044). The **perspective switches** to a specific scene in the production process, highlighting an intersection point in the serial production process. In the picture, the viewer sees finishing touches being made before the chassis and car body, created earlier as two separate parts of the saloon, are finally joined together (or "married" in the words of the production technician). The people in the picture are framed by a transport belt and a painted car body, which is lowered by a chain conveyor at precisely the right moment. This composition provides a dynamic portrayal of the moments just before the "marriage" takes place. The identical directions of the conveyor belts and the slightly tilted car body reinforce the impression of a carefully coordinated work process. The pattern of serial production dictates the rhythm and tempo of the final work steps of the fitter and the foreman. Despite the time pressure, they perform their tasks conscientiously and unhurriedly. Their hand movements are precise; thanks to these practised gestures, both factory workers come across as credible witnesses to a production process operating at the highest technical level, where man and machine carry out their tasks in harmony.

The **series of reporting images** then moves on from the stations in the Volkswagen plant production halls. Some of the themes recur like stereotypes. The picture portraying the loading of the VW Beetle at the factory train station (→ 045) depicts the serial nature of the Beetle even at the distribution phase, the last chapter in automobile production at the Volkswagen

plant. The image composition techniques used are the same as those used for the production process (→ 041, 042).

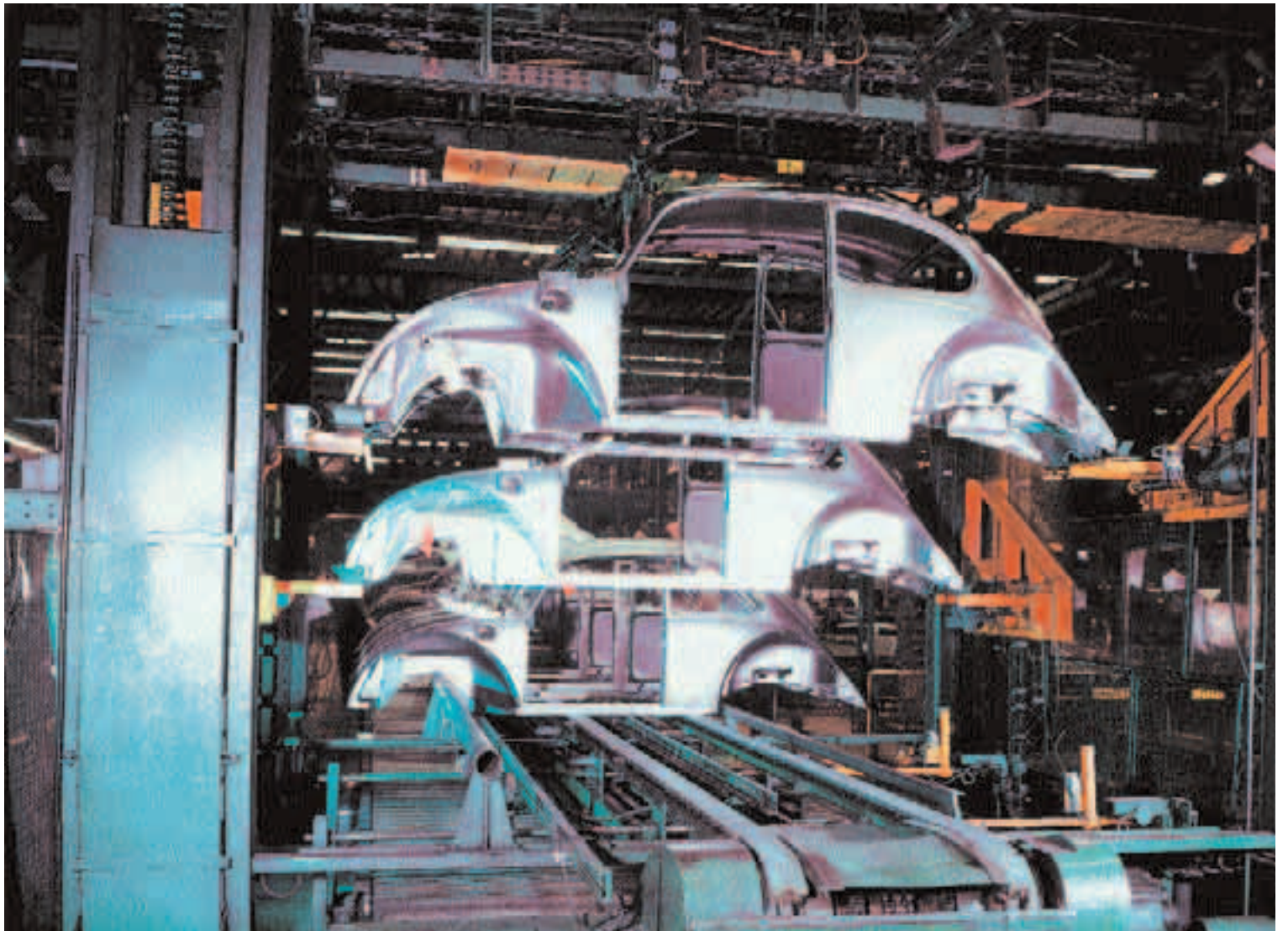
Reporting photos showing the vehicle testing process, quality inspections and the personnel department portray everyday life at the factory. The **snapshot** of a VW Beetle in a curious 'handstand' position will puzzle many modern-day viewers; only someone who was there at the time would be able to explain this (→ 046). Through the position of the camera, the everyday procedure of sound testing a crankshaft is depicted in a dynamic and humorous way in this photo from the Volkswagen Photo Centre (→ 047): The round edge of the hanging light hides the face of the inspector from the nose upwards. Since the viewer cannot identify the person in the frame, the factory worker is reduced to an anonymous inspector, carrying out his assessment armed with his hammer. The work clothing is as it should be, the hands are slightly smudged and a second crankshaft is lying within reach on the clean and tidy workbench. Everything appears to have been carefully arranged to the last detail, particularly the duties of the quality inspector. The photograph depicting payment is far less staged (→ 039), and appears to be a genuine scene from everyday business life.

Seriality, the symbol of order and hierarchy of working relationships, is reflected in this photo report dated 1st May 1965, which shows the management board receiving Volkswagen works council members in Germany (→ 048). Two groups share a single table, laid for a celebration. The line of formally dressed managers on the left and the works council members on the right taper to a vanishing point in the form of Heinrich Nordhoff, standing at the microphone to welcome

the guests. The eyes of the people sitting at the table and listening to the speech intensify the focus on the General Director. The picture not only documents a company event, it also casts the Director as host. Nordhoff appears as the central figure at the vanishing point of the scene. He is the only person to play an active role in the scene, greeting the works council representatives as chief host in a speech on behalf of the company management. This portrayal of Nordhoff as all-powerful General Director forms part of a large collection of photographs that show the company chairman as the successful manager of the Volkswagen plant.⁸³

There is a similar structure to the reporting that depicts the wake held by the management board for Heinrich Nordhoff, who died on Good Friday, 12th April 1968 (→ 049): The General Director's body, kept in the technical development halls, forms the centre of the picture. The body is laid out almost at shoulder height and is flanked by two board members on each side and a line of white candles and wreaths. Within the hall, the photographer was presented with a meticulously arranged scene of mourning. He recorded this with a minimum of creative means at his disposal, making use of the rituals of mourning.

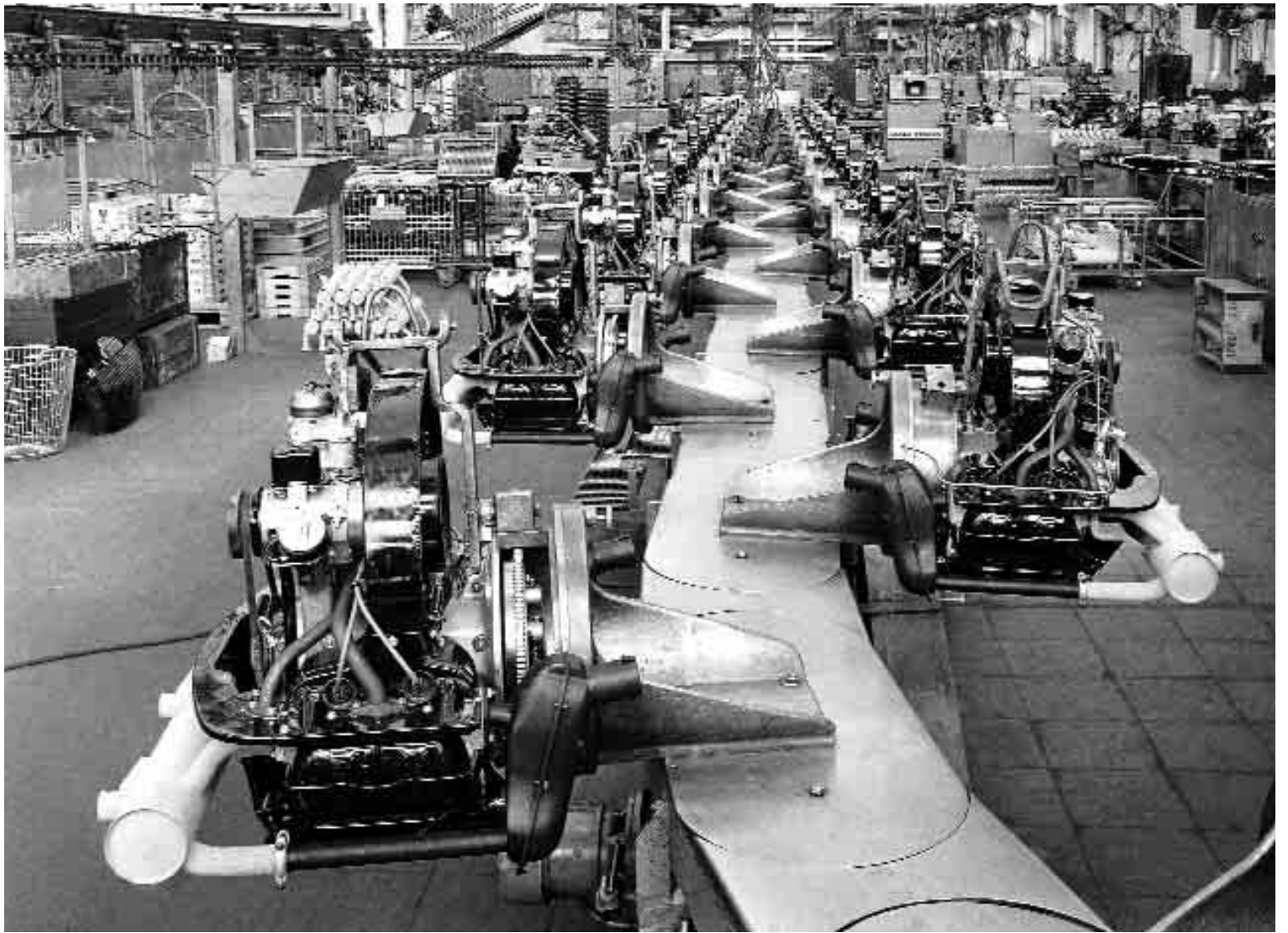
092 093





↑ 0 4 1 Transporter assembly line in the Hanover plant, 1957

→ 0 4 2 Engine assembly, 1959



096 097



098 099









→ 0 4 7 Sound testing a crankshaft
in the spare parts service,
December 1951





P O P H O

R T T O G

THE PART AND THE WHOLE

R A R A

I T P H Y

P O R
T R A I T
P H O T O G
R A P H Y

The range of staff portraits is extensive. The photographers and their clients are interested in three aspects of the lives of plant employees: at their workplaces in the production area, in areas not related to production and in everyday situations and free time. The individual employees appearing in the photos represented the entire workforce, especially in those pictures used by the company for public image purposes. Their personal identity is not clear and, as in the factory photographs, has no communicative relevance. As "members of the factory", they form part of the whole, representative of all workers and company employees in terms of communication. Every "portrait of a worker" becomes a "portrait of work at the Volkswagen plant".



The portraits show **single moments in single working process** at the Volkswagen plant.⁸⁴ The picture of an employee working at the melting furnace (→ 051) appears highly stylised. The photographer is trying to direct the light effectively onto the face and upper body. The **source of light** is provided by the hot glow of the furnace, bathing the strong profile of the worker in a theatrical light with steam and smoke combining with stark contrasts between dark and light. What the worker is actually doing is, literally, kept in the dark. **In the mind of the viewer**, the tool is in the hand of the worker. Although the furnace provides the light for the partial side profile of the worker, the viewer also imagines the presence of the furnace, which lends the picture an air of danger. It is only the dark protective glasses that create a connection between the two elements of the picture, protecting the eyes of the metalworker from the high, clearly hazardous light streaming from the furnace. The worker has to cope with the difficult conditions created by light, heat and smoke. In order not to place himself in danger, he must stay in control of the machinery and the hot metal, which constantly threatens to burn him. He faces this potentially fatal challenge at his place of work with supreme professional ease.⁸⁵

Images of a work in the foundry (→ 052) and the paint shop (→ 056) reveal more about the man-machine interface. The action carried out by the worker provides the dynamic and the flow of the pictures, which offer an insight into the working appliance. Bodily movements and gestures are related only to the machines, tools and workpieces.

The **portrait** of the transport worker addresses the issue of the monotonous nature of production, distilling this aspect into one example from a department of critical importance to the supply of material (→ 054). Against the backdrop of the uniform clinker facade of the South Extension, this group lines up in working clothes and with tools. The series of people and flatbed vehicles moving towards the figure of the foreman at the end of the line, depicts internal hierarchies and differences in status. This also shows the position occupied by the sole transport worker in his operational department. He is **part of a whole** which, like the architecture of the south face of the building in the background, has a functional order. A similar narrative is present in the picture of the trainees of 1965, taken for a report in the magazine "Stern" (→ 057). The apprentices are completely framed by the factory halls in a carefully posed photo. The female apprentices in their white overalls and the instructors are distributed evenly around the edges of the group. The individual is absorbed into the anonymous mass of young next-generation workers in an image that echoes the volume and serial order of Volkswagen plant processes in its large numbers and horizontal lines.

This side shot **vividly captures** the material inspection process, signaling the intensity and high precision levels in quality control at the Volkswagen plant (→ 060). The open view of the measuring apparatus makes the viewer feel capable of checking the results personally. The posture of the inspector shows concentration; his eyes are focused only on the crankshaft and the measuring apparatus, which clearly requires skilled and careful handling by an experienced expert to identify even the smallest blemish.

This mini series of photographs depicting the everyday routine of an employee at various workplace stations and in his private environment was produced as material for the press in summer 1962 (→ 059, 061, 062). The set of pictures illustrates 24 hours in the life of a VW employee in Wolfsburg in the style of a **journalistic report**. The camera follows the employee along the assembly line at the plant and back to the family home at the end of the shift. It gives an insight into the work and private life of an average employee in Wolfsburg, who, along with his family, played a part in the rising consumption of the affluent society of the early 1960s.⁸⁶ Although the Volkswagen plant features in this series only as a fixed part of everyday life, it is depicted in all photos as an employer that offers its workers material satisfaction, social advancement and a modern lifestyle through gainful employment at the factory.⁸⁷

According to an insert in the register at the Photo Centre, **the factory photographer** documented in a report the "clothing" of employees on their way to the factory (→ 064). The movements, postures and facial expressions of the pair in the centre of the picture radiate single-mindedness and confidence, as other employees at the edge of the picture rush to reach the assembly line in time for the start of the shift. The photographer achieved the **dynamism** in this picture through the position of the camera, which was placed on the factory gate in such a way that workers passed the point on their way to work. **The language of the picture manages** to convey the tempo of footsteps and the rhythm of movements. In searching for a subject,

the photographer not only finds a fashionably-dressed female worker, who stands out from the group of her male colleagues; he also captures a young, attractive couple exuding intimacy and togetherness in the rush before the start of the shift.

The fact that works photographers were commissioned to take photos of employees in a variety of everyday situations in the factory, at home and in their free time (→ 050, 065), reflects the importance attached to "portraits", which were designed to present the **human face of the Volkswagen plant** to the outside world.





→ 0 5 2 In the foundry, 1957

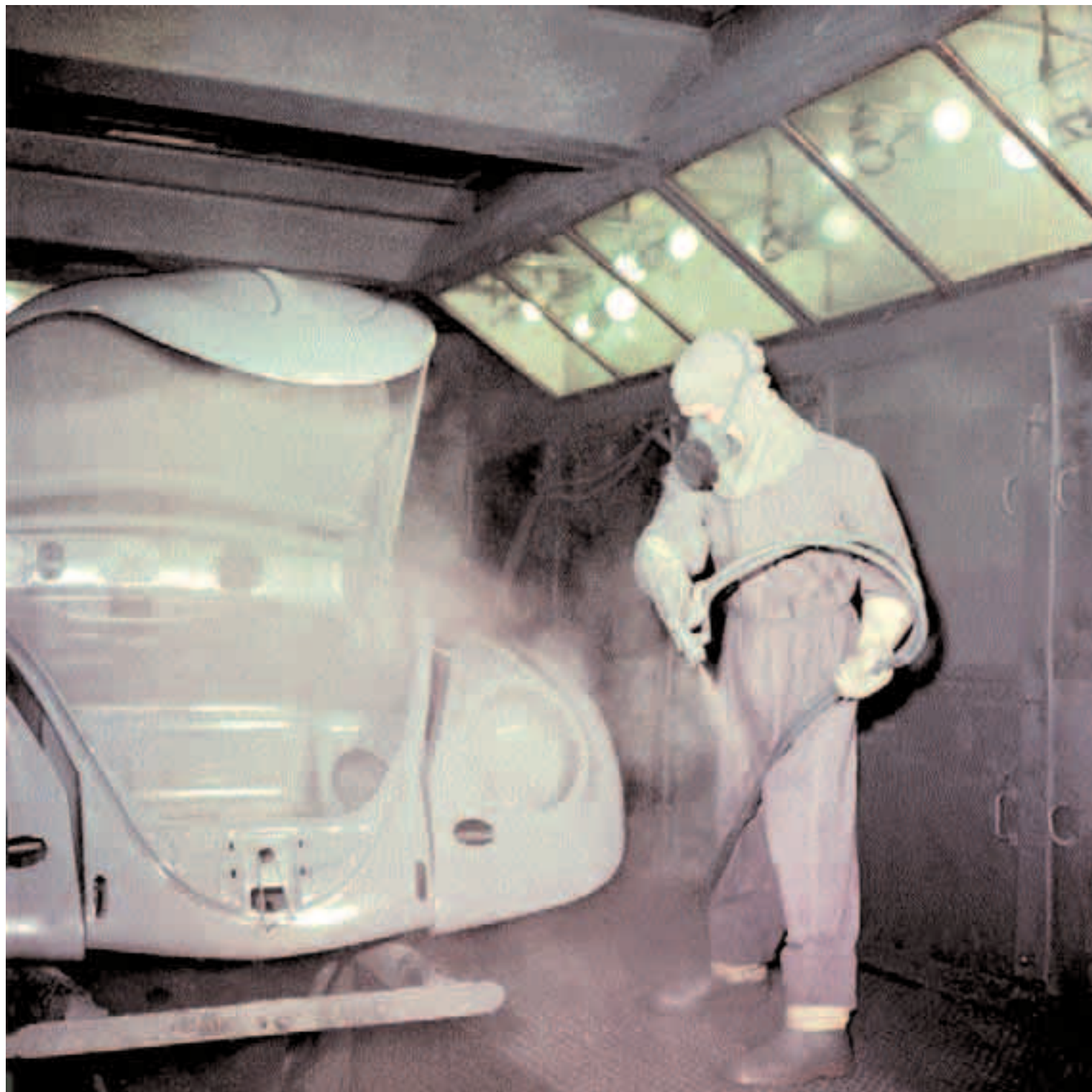


↑ 0 5 3 Employees working on the switchboard, 1950

→ 0 5 4 Workers standing by flatbed vehicles in front of the building on the southern perimeter, 1950























← 0 6 4 On the way to work,
April 1961



↑ 0 6 5 Viewers on the diving platform above the VW swimming pool, September 1954

BETWEEN DOCUMENTATION,
COMMUNICATION AND
REPRESENTATION:
PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE
VOLKSWAGEN PLANT 1948–1974.

001

March Bloch: Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien (posthumous 1949), pp. 90, 229 (quoted from Marc Bloch: Aus der Werkstatt des Historikers, ed. by Peter Schöttler, Frankfurt am Main 2000, p. 46 note 1). Cf. Gisela Ecker, Susanne Scholz: Fundstücke, Inszenierungen, Effekte. Lektüren der Sachfotografie, in: Im Rausch der Dinge, ed. by Thomas Seelig, Urs Stahel, Göttingen 2004, p. 176 ff.

002

Alf Lüdke: Gesichter der Belegschaft, in: Bilder von Krupp. Fotografie und Geschichte im Industriezeitalter, ed. by Klaus Tenfelde, Munich 2000, p. 68. Cf. Katharina Sykora: Splitscreen und Blackbox. Über Metaphern und Brüche in der Ruhrgebietsfotografie, in: Schwarzweiß und Farbe. Das Ruhrgebiet in der Fotografie, ed. by Sigrid Schneider, Essen 2000, p. 148 f.

003

Cf. Klaus Tenfelde: Geschichte und Fotografie bei Krupp, in: id., Bilder p. 305 ff.

004

Cf. Winfried Feldenkirchen: Theorie der Unternehmenskommunikation, in: Unternehmenskommunikation im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, ed. by Clemens Wischermann, Dortmund 2000, p. 13 ff. and Hartmut Berghoff: Die Zähmung des entfesselten

Prometheus? Die Generierung von Vertrauenskapital und die Konstruktion des Marktes im Industrialisierungs- und Globalisierungsprozess, in: Wirtschaftsgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte, ed. by id.; Jakob Vogel, Frankfurt am Main 2004, p. 143 ff.

005

Markus Lupa: The British and their Works. The Volkswagenwerk and the Occupying Power 1945 - 1949, Wolfsburg 2005 (Historical Notes, volume 2); Ralf Richter: Ivan Hirst. British Officer and Manager of Volkswagen's Postwar Recovery, Wolfsburg 2003 (Historical Notes, volume 4); Hans Mommsen, Manfred Grieger: Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich, Düsseldorf 1996, p. 947 ff.

006

Organisations-Richtlinien der Geschäftsleitung der Allgemeinen Verwaltung, 23.09.1949 (UVW 69/550).

007

In the field of photography, Hoesch Hüttenwerke AG (later Stahl AG) had a decentralised organisation with three departments within the group, which had loosely defined responsibilities and task areas: Karl-Peter Ellerbrock: Signatur der Zeit. Visuelle Unternehmenskultur bei Hoesch in den "langen 1950er Jahren", in: Wischermann, Unternehmenskommunikation p. 149 f. Having appointed a photographer within its "literary office" in 1899, AEG also opted for a centralised model: Kerstin Lange: Die Bilder der AEG, in: Die AEG im Bild, ed. by Lieselotte Kugler, Berlin 2000, p. 18 ff. and Jörg Schmalfuß: Zur Geschichte fotografischer Sammlungen bei der AEG, ebda. p. 23 f. Zur "Graphischen Anstalt" bei Krupp: Tenfelde, Geschichte p. 317 ff. Cf. recommendations to "establish an industrial photographic department" in the

Joachim Giebelhausen manual: Industriefotografie für Technik und Wirtschaft, Munich 1966.

008

Axel Föhl: Zum Innenleben deutscher Fabriken. Industrie-architektur und sozialer Kontext bei Krupp, in: Tenfelde, Bilder p. 160 f.

009

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (Volkswagen AG Corporate Archives UVW 300/203), p. 18 ff.

010

Henrike Junge-Gent: Willi Luther, Ausschnitte aus dem fotografischen Werk, Gifhorn 2001, p. 4, 8 f. W. Luther received the "photokina" plaque in Cologne in 1951, 1954 und 1956 and, on three occasions prior to his time as a professional photographer in Wolfsburg, the association certificate of the VDAV für Angewandte Fotografie (1941, 1950, 1952). In 1953, the city of Hamburg awarded him the honorary "Senate Prize".

011

Citation from job advertisement according to Junge-Gent, Luther p. 4.

012

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 203/300), p. 19 f.

013

Dirk Schlinkert: Von der Reklame zum Marketing, in: Es gibt Formen, die man nicht verbessern kann. 50 Jahre Volkswagen Werbung, ed. by Andreas Schilling, Michael Grosche, Manfred Grieger, Hamburg 2002, p. 8 f.

014

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 300/203), p. 22 f. Interview W. Reimer, 26th October 2004 (UVW 300/203). Wolfgang Reimer, born 1942, joined the Photo Centre in January 1962 as a

"Coordinator" – in his own words, the "right hand" of Willi Luther. Having trained as a professional photographer in Bad Doberan, he worked as a portrait photographer in Hildesheim from 1958 to 1960. He then spent a year in the photo wholesale business in Hanover before moving to the Volkswagen plant. Reimer worked as an internal photographer for Volkswagen for over 42 years.

015

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 300/203), p. 18.

016

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 300/203), p. 2, 14 f. Henrike Junge-Gent ascribed an "outstanding, encyclopaedic range" to the photographer Luther (Luther p. 7).

017

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 203/300), p. 23 f.

018

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 300/203), p. 7. Interview W. Reimer, 26th October 2004 (UVW 300/203).

019

Cf. Reinhard Matz: Werksfotografie. Ein Versuch über den kollektiven Blick, in: Tenfelde, Bilder p. 289 f., 302 f.; Tenfelde, Geschichte p. 317 ff. and Lange, Bilder p. 18 f.

020

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 300/203), p. 7 f. Interview W. Reimer, 26th October 2004 (UVW 300/203).

021

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 300/203), p. 15 f.

022

Cf. re. biography and oeuvre: Johann A. Cropp: Zielpunkte. 1956–1996 Kalenderfotos,

Murnau 2003; also Bildpunkte. 1927–1960 text and pictures, Murnau 1999. Cropp is a photo-journalist with a training in both disciplines. He trained at the Süddeutscher Verlag in 1947 and worked for the Münchner Illustrierte until becoming a freelance photographer in 1954. In 1958, he received his first commission for the Volkswagen advertising department from J. Heil, the "creative boss" of the time. Cropp was a service provider for six advertising managers in Wolfsburg who regarded his photography for Volkswagen as a "means of marketing" designed to "assist the product" (Interview, 14th November 2003, UVW 300/188. p. 13).

023

Cf. subjects of the "new year advertisements" rotated at the turn of the year since 1950, in: Schilling, Formen p. 9, 11, 27, 34. SPIEGEL volume 1, 3rd January 1951; volume 1, 2nd January 1952; volume 1, 1958; volume 1, 1964. Schlinkert, Reklame p. 9 f. Rainer Rother: Aus eigener Kraft. Aufbaupathos in Filmen über Wolfsburg und Stalinstadt, in: aufbau west aufbau ost, ed. by Rosmarie Beier, Stuttgart 1997, p. 277 f.

024

Junge-Gent, Luther p. 8 f.

025

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 300/203), p. 2, 18.

026

Wolfgang Reimer, the "right hand" of Willi Luther, modelled his work on people like Siegfried Tautz, Helmut Glocke, Hans Hansen (Hamburg), Hilmar Pabel and Heinrich Heidersberger: Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (UVW 300/203), p. 10 f., 13. Interview W. Reimer, 26th October 2004 (UVW 300/203).

027

Ulrike Herrmann: Otto Steinert und sein fotografisches Werk, Bochum 1999, p. 16 ff.; Thilo Koenig: Otto Steinerts Konzept. Subjektive Fotografie (1951–1958), Munich 1988; Roland Augustin: Die Fotografie unter subjektivem Vorzeichen, in: Zwischen Abstraktion und Wirklichkeit, ed. by Barbara Auer, Heidelberg 1999, p. 19 ff. Toni Schneiders: Fotografie und Form, ed. by Wiebke Ratzeburg, Brunswick 2003, p. 4 ff.; Peter Keetman, Volkswagenwerk 1953, ed. by Gijs van Tuyl, Holger Broeker, Bielefeld 2003; Angelika Bredemeyer: Der Photograph Peter Keetman, Bonn 1995, p. 51 ff.; Rolf Sachsse: Peter Keetman. Bewegung und Struktur, Amsterdam 1996; F.C. Gundlach: Der Fotograf Peter Keetman, in: Industriefotografie – Peter Keetman Preis 2002, ed. by Volkswagen art foundation, Wolfsburg 2002, p. 91–97.

028

Cf. series of 38 black and white photographs of the Volkswagen plant and the city of Wolfsburg taken by James Welling in 1994: James Welling: Wolfsburg. Architectural Photography, Automobile Production, Industrial Photography, Wolfsburg 1994. Holger Broeker: In Light of production. Production in Light, in: Tuyl, Broeker, Keetman p. 165 ff.

029

Christoph Kleßmann: Zwei Staaten, eine Nation. Deutsche Geschichte 1955–1970, Bonn 1988, p. 27; Rudolf Morsey: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Entstehung und Entwicklung bis 1969, Munich 1987, p. 44.; Hans Mommsen: Das Volkswagenwerk und die "Stunde Null". Kontinuität und Diskontinuität, in: Beier, p. 138. Cf. lead article "Deutsche Symbole" by Nikolaus Piper in the Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14th October 2004. "It was no coincidence that at the turn of the

millennium, the Volkswagen ranked as a "site of German remembrance" alongside the Berlin Reichstag, Willy Brandt on his knees in Warsaw and Goethe and Nietzsche": Eberhard Schütz, "Der Volkswagen", in: Deutsche Erinnerungsorte, ed. by Etienne Francois, Munich 2001, vol. 1, p. 352 ff. Cf. Tenfelde, Geschichte p. 305 f.

030

Ellerbrock, Signatur p. 131 ff.; Jürgen Hannig: Fotografien als historische Quelle, in: Tenfelde, Bilder 269 ff.; Cornelia Brink: Ikonen der Vernichtung, Berlin 1998, p. 15 ff.; Bernd Roeck: Visual turn?, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 29, 2003, p. 294–315; Klaus Honnef, Gabriele Honnef-Harling: Von Körpern und anderen Dingen. Deutsche Fotografie im 20. Jahrhundert, Berlin 2003, p. 18 ff.; Wiebke Kolbe: Vielversprechende Strandwelten. Überlegungen zum Umgang mit Bildquellen, in: Werkstatt Geschichte 36 (2004); Habbo Knoch: Die Tat als Bild, Munich 2004, 13 ff.; similarly, Renaissance der Bildanalyse in der Neuen Kulturgeschichte, appearing in January 2004 at the HSozKult Forum "Sichtbarkeit der Geschichte".

031

Cf. David Campany: Tarnglas. Fotografie, Objekte und Objektivität, in: Seelig, Stahel, Rausch p. 261 ff.; Rosalind Kraus: Das Photographische, Munich 1998, p. 222: "Der Effekt des Realen ersetzt das Reale selbst."; Heinz Reif: "Wohlergehen der Arbeiter und häusliches Glück", in: Tenfelde, Bilder p. 117 f.

BOOM ON THE MITTELLAND CANAL: GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT AT THE VOLKSWAGEN FACTORY, 1948 – 1974

032

Example from the wealth of literature, Werner Abelshausen: The Dynamics of German Industry. The German Path to the World Economy and the American Challenge, New York 2005; Steven Tolliday: Enterprise and State in the West German Wirtschaftswunder: Volkswagen and the Automobile Industry, 1945–1962, in: Business History Review 69 (1995), No. 4, p. 275–350.

033

Volkswagen Chronicle. Ed. by Manfred Grieger, Ulrike Gutzmann and Dirk Schlinkert, Wolfsburg 2004, p. 18ff.

034

Heidrun Edelmann: Heinz Nordhoff. Ein deutscher Unternehmer im amerikanischen Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2003; Arthur Railton: Volkswagen. A Most Unlikely Story, Pfäffikon 1985, p. 112ff.

035

Ralf Richter: Ivan Hirst. British Officer and Manager of Volkswagen's Postwar Recovery, Wolfsburg 2003, p. 33ff.

036

Heinrich Nordhoff: Reden und Aufsätze. Zeugnisse einer Ära, Düsseldorf 1992, p. 47.

037

Ibid., p. 49ff.

038

Schlinkert, Reklame here p. 8

039

Lupa, British.

040

See, for example, Alfred D. Chandler and Richard S. Tedlow: *The Coming of the Managerial Capitalism*, Boston 1985; Robin Laphorn Marris: *Managerial Capitalism in Retrospect*, Basingstoke 1998.

041

See, for instance, Reinhard Neebe: *Weichenstellung für die Globalisierung. Deutsche Weltmarktpolitik, Europa und Amerika in der Ära Ludwig Erhard*, Köln; Weimar; Wien 2004, p. 133ff.; Volker Wellhöner: "Wirtschaftswunder" – Weltmarkt – westdeutscher Fordismus, Münster 1996, p. 99ff.; Werner Abelshauer: *Die Langen Fünfziger Jahre. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Bundesrepublik 1949–1966*, Düsseldorf 1987.

042

See Manfred Grieger: *The year 1953 at the German economic miracle company Volkswagen*, in: Peter Keetman: *Volkswagenwerk 1953*, Bielefeld 2003, p. 161–163.

043

In 1954 alone, a timber yard, annexes to Halls 13 and 14, as well as the new Hall 12, with an area of 79,000 m², were completed; *Jahresbericht der Fabrikinstandhaltung für das Jahr 1954* [Annual Factory Maintenance Report 1954] vom 14.1.1955, p. 1 (Volkswagen AG Corporate Archives (UVW), Z 174, Nr. 2039).

044

For information about the preceding development of the existence welfare of the communes, see

for example Wolfgang R. Krabbe: *Kommunalpolitik und Industrialisierung. Die Entfaltung der städtischen Leistungsverwaltung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart; Berlin; Köln; Mainz 1985.

045

Werner Widuckel: *Paradigmenentwicklung der Mitbestimmung bei Volkswagen*, Wolfsburg 2004, p. 14ff.; see also Wolfgang Schroeder: *Industrielle Beziehungen in den 60er Jahren – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metallindustrie*, in: *Dynamische Zeiten: Die 60er Jahre in den beiden deutschen Gesellschaften*. Edited by Axel Schildt, Detlef Siegfried and Karl Christian Lammers, Hamburg 2000, p. 492–527.

046

Die Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung [Cabinet Protocols of the Federal Government]. Edited for the Federal Archives by Hartmut Weber, vol. 12: 1959 adapted by Josef Henke and Uta Rössel, München 2002, p. 42.

047

Rainer Nicolaysen: *Der lange Weg zur VolkswagenStiftung. Eine Gründungsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft*, Göttingen 2002, p. 285ff.; Manfred Grieger: *Die "Volksaktie". Die Privatisierung von Volkswagen*, in: *Damals* 32 (2000), No. 3, p. 6–9.

048

The term seems to have been coined by Eric Woldemar Stoetzer, the advertising manager of the Frankfurter Zeitung, who had fled from the National Socialists, but is also used, in the critical sense, by Norman Birnbaum: *Nach dem Fortschritt. Vorletzte Anmerkungen zum Sozialismus*, München 2003; for information about the entire complex, see for instance Axel Schildt: *Ankunft im*

Westen. Ein Essay zur Erfolgsgeschichte der Bundesrepublik, Frankfurt am Main 1999; *Moder- nisierung im Wiederaufbau. Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre*. Edited by Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, Bonn; Berlin 1993.

049

Thomas Südbeck: *Motorisierung, Verkehrsentwicklung und Verkehrspolitik in Westdeutschland in den 50er Jahren*, in: *ibid.*, p. 170–187; Joachim Radkau: *"Wirtschaftswunder" ohne technologische Innovation? Technische Modernität in den 50er Jahren*, in: *ibid.*, p. 129–154.

050

Niederschrift über die 37. Sitzung des Aufsichtsrats der Volkswagenwerk Aktiengesellschaft [Minutes of the 37th Meeting of the Supervisory Board of the Volkswagenwerk Aktiengesellschaft] am 11.3.1968 in Wolfsburg, p. 3f. (UVW, Z 237, Nr. 790).

051

For information about the relationship of inertia and reform, see for instance Axel Schildt: *Materieller Wohlstand – pragmatische Politik – kulturelle Umbrüche. Die 60er Jahre in der Bundesrepublik*, *Dynamische Zeiten*, p. 21–53; see Wolfgang Kraushaar: *1968 als Mythos*, Chiffre und Zäsur, Hamburg 2000.

052

Niederschrift über die Sitzung des Aufsichtsrats der Volkswagenwerk AG [Minutes of the Meeting of the Supervisory Board of Volkswagenwerk AG] am 18.7.1971, p. 16 (UVW, Z 237, Nr. 832).

053

Der Volkswagen K 70. Ein Meilenstein aus Neckarsulm und Salzgitter, Wolfsburg 2006.

054

Jens Hohensee: *Der erste Ölpreisschock 1973/74. Die politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen der arabischen Erdölpolitik auf die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westeuropa*, Stuttgart 1996; From "Beetle Monoculture" to the "German Model": the transformation of Volkswagen, 1967-1991, in: *Business and Economic History* 24 (1995), No. 2, p. 111–132.

055

Käfer ade. *Das Buch von Volkswagen zum Bandablauf des letzten Käfer in Mexiko*. Edited by the Corporate History Department of Volkswagen AG, Wolfsburg 2003; Schütz, Volkswagen, p. 352–369.

056

Die Golf-Garage. Edited by Manfred Grieger, Ulrike Gutzmann and Dirk Schlinkert, Wolfsburg 2003.

ARCHITECTURE: MODERNITY AND MONUMENTALITY

057

Mommsen, Grieger, Volkswagenwerk p. 256.

058

Since the mid-19th century, the portrayal of factories as "monuments" or memorials to modern industrial facilities has been a traditional subject of industrial photography. Cf. Ulrich Wengenroth: *Die Fotografie als Quelle der Arbeits- und Technikgeschichte*, in: *Tenfelde, Bilder* p. 89 ff. and *Lange, Bilder* p. 15 f.

059

On the subject of the photographic fashion for night imagery of

warehouses, petrol stations, car showrooms and garages during the 1950s, which originated in the United States: Rolf Sachsse: Bild und Bau. Zur Nutzung technischer Medien beim Entwerfen von Architektur, Brunswick 1997, p. 216 ff., 224 ff.

060

Klaus Bußmann, in: Bernd und Hilla Becher, Fabrikhallen, Munich 1994. p. 5 ff.

061

Honnef, Honnef-Harlinger, Körper p. 60 ff. Cf. Albert Renger-Patzsch in "Meister der Kamera erzählen" (1937): "In photography, the aim is to identify and capture the nature of an object using purely photographic means, regardless of whether that object is a person, a landscape, a building or something else entirely" [quoted from Klaus Honnef: Industrielandschaft, Industriearchitektur, Industrieprodukt. Fotografien von Albert Renger-Patzsch, Bonn 1977, p. 129]. Cf. Albert Renger-Patzsch: Architektur im Blick des Fotografen, München 1997, p. 8 ff.

062

On contemporary historical discussions on the term "icon": Knoch, Tat p. 32 ff. and Brink, Ikonen p. 16 ff., 234 f.

063

New year advertisement by Bernd Looser 1950, with the headline "Werk und Wagen – der grosse Erfolg!" ["The Factory and the Car: The Great Success!"]. Cf. Schlinkert, Reklame p. 9 f.

064

Perspectives from the east follow similar rules. In architectural shots, the power plant or the administration building serve as orientation markers, giving the picture a formal structure and drawing the eye of the viewer: the exposed size and dimensions of

the factory and its architecture provide a start point and a finish point. In figure 010, the high-rise building acts as the vanishing point, not only arching above the scenery but also terminating the long facade of the South Extension, regularly punctuated by its staircase towers.

065

Derenthal, Ludger: Bilder der Trümmer- und Aufbaujahre, Marburg 1999, p. 44 ff., 91 ff.; Klaus Honnef: Von der Realität zur Kunst, in: id., Sachsse, Rolf, Thomas, Kathrin: Deutsche Fotografie, Cologne 1997, p. 186 ff.

066

Wulf Tessin: "Was gut ist für das Werk, ist gut für die Stadt". Kommunalpolitik in der Volkswagenstadt, in: Beier, aufbau p. 111 ff.; Claudia Freytag: Neue Städte – neues Wohnen. "Vorbildliche Wohnkultur" in Wolfsburg und Stalinstadt, in: ebda. p. 311 ff.; Ortwin Reichhold: ... erleben, wie eine Stadt entsteht. Städtebau, Architektur und Wohnen in Wolfsburg 1938 – 1998, Brunswick 1998, p. 70 f. Cf. Heidrun Edelmann: Heinz Nordhoff und Volkswagen, Göttingen 2003, p. 151 ff.

067

VW Informationen no. 13, Nov. 1951, p. 57 [UVW 174/1638].

OBJECT PHOTOGRAPHY: FORM AND FUNCTIONALITY

068

Klaus Honnef: Die Sichtbarkeit des Sichtbaren, Erfurt 1998, p. 11; Alf Lüdke: Industriebilder – Bilder der Industrie. In: Historische Anthropologie 1 (1993), p. 408 ff.

069

Interview W. Reimer, 26th October 2004 (UVW 300/203). The setup and technical appliances used to create a catalogue photograph reveal the large quantities of material needed for product photography at the Photo Centre. Cf. Giebelhausen, Industriefotografie, p. 17.

070

Interview W. Reimer, 26th October 2004 (UVW 300/203). Cf. on working with matt paint in the Volkswagen plant photo studio: Giebelhausen, Industriefotografie p. 134, fig. 154.

071

Honnef, Honnef-Harling, Körper p. 58 ff.

072

Tuyl, Broeker, Keetman.

073

Derenthal, Bilder p. 235 ff.

074

Dirk Schlinkert: Light traces on metal, in: Tuyl, Broeker, Keetman p. 156 ff.

075

Cf. photographs from the "Volkswagenwerk 1953" series by Peter Keetman: no. 19, no. 23 "Kotflügel hinten nach Abkanten und Beschneiden mit Schleifspuren im Presswerk Halle 2" and no. 93 "Radkappen nach Polieren in Galvanik im Norden de Halle 3", in: Tuyl, Broeker, Keetman.

076

Cf. photographs by Peter Keetman of the delivery yard, nos. 137, 139, 141, 143, and 145 in: Tuyl, Broeker, Keetman.

077

Siegfried J. Schmidt, Brigitte Spieß: Die Kommerzialisierung der Kommunikation. Fernsehwerbung und sozialer Wandel 1956 – 1989, Frankfurt 1996, p. 174.

078

Cf. on women in advertising: Dirk Reinhardt: Von der Reklame zum Marketing. Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland, Berlin 1993, p. 397 ff. On the "emotional turning point" and the first steps towards customer orientation in sales, which began to be applied in Volkswagen advertising in the early 1960s: Schlinkert, Reklame p. 11 ff. Cf. Schmidt, Spieß, Kommerzialisierung p. 140 ff.

079

These narrative techniques developed in very different ways in Germany and America. In German advertisements, the utility value of the Transporter was stressed in virtually every advertising image, headline and marketing text until the end of the 1970s. In contrast, the lifestyle aspect was far more prominent in Volkswagen product advertising in America, communicated to potential buyers by means of emotive colour photographs. See also: Schilling, Formen p. 129 ff. and Schmidt, Spieß, Kommerzialisierung p. 140 ff.

080

Cf. J. Giebelhausen on the key advertising message of Volkswagen calendar images: "The calendar produced by the Volkswagen plant is an interesting example of the general development of style in industrial calendars. The presence of Volkswagen in all areas of life is fundamental to all Volks-

wagen calendars." (Industriefotografie p. 199, fig. 248).
 Arne Andersen: Der Traum vom guten Leben, Frankfurt 1997;
 Michael Wildt: Privater Konsum in Westdeutschland in den 50er Jahren, in: Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau, ed. by Axel Schild, Arnold Sywottek, Bonn 1993, p. 275 ff.; Wolfgang Ruppert: Zur Konsumwelt der 60er Jahre, in: Dynamische Zeiten, ed. by Axel Schild, Hamburg 2000, p. 757 ff.

REPORTING: SERIES AND STATIONS

081
 Cf. Peter Keetman, Volkswagenwerk 1953, no. 129. in: Tyl, Broeker, Keetman.

082
 Giebelhausen, Industriefotografie p. 206.

083
 Cf. Heidrun Edelmann: "König Nordhoff" and "Wirtschaftswunderzeit", in: Beier, p. 181 ff.

PORTRAIT: THE PART AND THE WHOLE

084
 Jäger, Photographie p. 96 ff.; Kerstin Lange: Photographien aus dem AEG-Archiv, in: Kugler, AEG p. 93 ff.; Lüdke, Gesichter p. 67 ff.

085
 Cf. Lüdke, Gesichter p. 71; id., Industriebilder, p. 419 ff.

086
 Axel Schildt: Materieller Wohlstand, pragmatische Politik, kulturelle Umbrüche. Die 60er Jahre in der Bundesrepublik, in: id. (ed.), Dynamische Zeiten, Hamburg 2000 p. 26 ff.

087
 On the term "modern": Wolfgang Ruppert: Zur Konsumwelt der 60er Jahre, in: Schildt, Zeiten p. 752 ff.

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