

VOLKSWAGEN

AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT



HISTORICAL NOTES | 5

Work Exhibition 1.

Images from the Volkswagen aus dem Photo Centre 1948 - 1974

HISTORICAL NOTES

A series of publications from Volkswagen Aktiengesellschaft, Corporate History Department

Work Exhibition 1.

Images from the Volkswagen Photo Centre 1948-1974

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Between documentation, communication and representation.
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Between documentation, communication and representation.

Images from the Volkswagen Photo Centre



001 Beetle body in the studio, 1963

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 no sooner arrives than it passes”.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

This book is not a comprehensive album of the photographs taken at 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 art: architectural, object, photo-reportage and portrait. The pictures are a representative selection from the rich collection of around 160,000 negatives registered up to 1970 and included in the extensive archive bequeathed by the Volkswagen Photo Centre. The collection amounts to “works photography” in the truest sense of the word. The anthology consists of photographic commissions, 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 town of Wolfsburg.



002 Beetle rear light, 1967

This kind of applied photography was an important part of communications work at Volkswagen. 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 at 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 mass production of the Volkswagen saloon in December 1945. However, the company viewed 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 the mail-room and printing shop, an organisational unit was created with its own personnel and budget to produce, reproduce and distribute photographs.⁶ In doing so – unlike, for example, the Hoesch Hüttenwerke post-1945 – Volkswagen combined its photographic activities under the institutional umbrella of a “Photo Centre”, complete with laboratory and studio.⁷ [001]



003 Linhof, 1955

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 great 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 procedures, 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



004 Repair aids in the photo studio, 1951

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 shipbuilding 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 Will Beutler (1903–1968), the head of the photography department of the State Picture Archive.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, photo-reportage, photo-journalism and colour photography”.¹¹



005 Rolleiflex, 1955

The Photo Centre was involved mainly in public relations work for the management, works council, the construction department, technical development, customer service and¹² the advertising department, which had been part of the sales and customer service function since 1948.¹³ Although some work was generated on the photographers' own initiative, most of the photographs were taken to order. 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 normally approached the commissioning party 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

The range of commissions dealt with by the Photo Centre¹⁶ was extremely diverse; day-to-day 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, shareholders' meetings, international car exhibitions, works assemblies and company celebrations such as production launches. This varied mix of routine activity included photographic work for communications 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 Volkswagen's speed of growth. 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 staff. Five studio photographers



006 Boot of the VW 1600 Variant, 1962

worked exclusively in the studio on product photos, while the remaining photographers handled other commissions.¹⁸ [002]

The provenance, 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 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, let alone who developed the negatives in the laboratory.¹⁹

The choice of motifs was at the discretion of the Photo Centre management. 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.



007 Rear end of the VW 1600 Variant LE, 1969

The product photographs produced in the factory combine with the pictures taken by external freelance photographers, who were charged with the same communications 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 without interruption, this photo-journalist and globetrotter produced photographs for the annual Volkswagen wall calendar. In content terms, these photos reflect the export theme: “Volkswagen around the world”. Cropp therefore continued a tradition employed for motifs in early Volkswagen advertisements in German newspapers and magazines and ‘Deutsche Wochenschau’ newsreel reports.²³

What characterised the style and quality of the pictures produced by the Photo Centre? Volkswagen 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 contest for the position of head photographer at the Volkswagen plant in Winter 1952, he was a man seeking a change of career, whose photographs shot around 1950 had already received many awards from the professional body and who, in the eyes of the specialist jury, more than fulfilled the artistic demands.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 on a daily basis created contemporary images for application in the company’s various communication channels²⁵; images which could stand alongside the professional photography of freelancers or the artistic photography of the time.²⁶

The Volkswagen photographers displayed an astounding affinity for “subjective photography” in the fields of architecture and object photography, photo-reportage 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” [new way of seeing] movement and the Bauhaus tradition of the 1920s, the “fotoform” 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 Volkswagen’s Photo Centre over 26 years of operation. “Work Exhibition 1” supplements the Volkswagen image archive built up over decades with unknown motifs and views of the factory, the VW Beetle, the Volkswagen Transporter, employees at the factory and the city of Wolfsburg.²⁸ The pictures of “Work Exhibition 1” enhance and expand present-day memories, in which Volkswagen is synonymous with the West German “Wirtschaftswunder” [economic miracle] and the VW Beetle is firmly established as an epoch-defining symbol of the young Federal Republic.²⁹

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 by Volkswagen and published both internally and among the general public. They arouse 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 vision 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 the “reality effect” provided by the factory photography at Volkswagen.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 Volkswagen reality (or realities) which they portrayed.



Boom on the Mittelland Canal. Growth and change at Volkswagen

The growth cycle

which 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 factory, situated in the state of Lower Saxony, can be regarded as both the driving force and the high-point of this unparalleled economic rise. The starting point for this development was the German currency reform in June 1948, as a result of which the car factory on the Mittelland Canal was able to cross the high threshold into world markets. In 1947, the Volkswagen factory, under the control of the British military government, manufactured a total of 8,987 saloons, of which 56 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 chief executive since January 1948, a trump card, which he was able to play for more than two decades. Sustained economic success imbued Nordhoff, and the development he instigated, with iconic status in West German society.³⁴ Upon assuming his post, the former Opel manager Nordhoff identified the fundamental keys to success. As early as the Summer of 1945, the British military government had paved the way for the transition to civilian production. The British representative at the factory, Major Ivan Hirst, had implemented a quality policy which made the Volkswagen saloon saleable on world markets. Despite all difficulties encountered, the service network was put in place and export operations were underway. With the election of works councils and the establishment of employee partici-

pation by company agreement, internal labour relations were likewise exemplary in their modern outlook – a success to which the first chief executive and main trustee Dr. Hermann Münch also contributed.³⁵

The Wolfsburg-based car-maker had everything it needed to become an economic powerhouse for West Germany. In his first speech to the workforce over the factory public address system on 5th January 1948, Heinrich Nordhoff called Volkswagen “a groundbreaker in the cause of 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 “key factor in Germany’s peacetime economy”.³⁷ Nordhoff knew that with the Volkswagen he had the world’s “most modern small car”. Given the material shortages everywhere and the bureaucratic obstacles, his vision of Volkswagen being able to develop into “the most effective foreign currency earner for the German economy” appeared presumptuous. Yet that was precisely where the future lay.

As part of the move to launch marketing operations, in July 1948 a dedicated advertising department was created within the sales and service function.³⁸ The transfer of the company's headquarters from Berlin, where the Volkswagen company had been founded on 28th May 1937 by two economic organisations 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 location in eastern Lower Saxony.

The up-and-coming company's ability to attract a permanent workforce to this eastern border area of West Germany enabled it to become a focal point for economic growth, and a larger workforce was, in turn, a prerequisite for an increase in car manufacturing volumes. Production grew many times over, attracting customers from all around the world as international car markets clamoured for 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 business, which had been seized at the end of the war. On 8th October 1949, it placed the ownerless Volkswagen company under the trusteeship of the Federal Government and transferred its administration to the state of Lower Saxony.³⁹ Volkswagen thus became a quasi-public enterprise, and its chief executive became the focus of authority on the Mittelland Canal.

As well as delivering economic success, Nordhoff knew he also had public opinion on his side; his head of PR, Frank Novotny, had done his job superbly. From today's perspective, it is therefore almost impossible to distinguish between what might have been public relations spin and what was business reality. In the public perception, Nordhoff combined a strong personality with the economic drive of an American-trained manager.

Since neither the Federal Government nor the state of Lower Saxony could exercise ownership rights, the management structure at Volkswagen developed into an ideal model of managerial capitalism, in which elite specialist staff determined and took responsibility for the company's development.⁴⁰ Interrupted only by the Korean War, which caused a temporary shortage of raw materials and increased supplier prices, dynamic global economic growth gave Heinrich Nordhoff the freedom he needed to act. In his customary self-assured manner, he was able to exploit that new-found power in relations with the government authorities in Bonn and Hanover, citing customer demand as his justification. Success vindicated his optimism, and greatly enhanced his reputation. Production increased nine times over, 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 strengthened Volkswagen's hand – a fact recognised within both the German Federal Government and the state of Lower Saxony. For the young Federal Republic, the car-making town on the Mittelland Canal was in many respects a blue-

print for economic prosperity, 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 year 1953 marked an important stage in Volkswagen's development.⁴² With two models – the saloon and the Transporter (put into production in 1950) – the company had risen to national prominence. At the same time, the Wolfsburg-based factory was reaching its capacity limit, creating a need for new buildings and modernisation of the production facilities. The new factory buildings leapfrogged the present-day central road in a northerly direction, thus expanding production capacities.⁴³ The creation of a separate Transporter factory outside Wolfsburg was also on the agenda. The building of company-owned accommodation to house the growing workforce in Wolfsburg was, at times, assigned just as much importance as establishing manufacturing subsidiaries abroad. In 1953, both the "VW-Wohnungsbau-Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft mbH" community housing corporation and Brazilian subsidiary "Volkswagen do Brasil Ltda." were established in order to sustain the company's expansion.

The fact that Volkswagen was seen as a key symbol of West Germany's economic miracle was demonstrated not least by the festivities to mark the production of the one millionth Volkswagen in August 1955. The workforce was given time off to meet and greet people visiting Wolfsburg from around the world, and to celebrate their own success, spurred on by Samba schools from Brazil and the music of military bands. Germany's economic resurgence, the heralding of collective prosperity and the benevolent policy embodied by the kindly yet demanding company boss – all the factors of German economic and social success – were highlighted against the background of the Volkswagen factory. The quasi-public enterprise embraced the diligence of its hard-working employees and its early Americanisation like amber surrounding a fossil.

As the seller's market was gradually supplanted by a buyer's market, the importance of advertising and marketing grew. Indirectly through its involvement in North America, Volkswagen learnt to exploit the power of visual messages. The company began to underpin its activities with a veritable flood of imagery. The agency DDB, which beginning in 1962 also created advertising for Volkswagen in Germany, fundamentally changed the advertising industry, and also turned the car manufacturer into a mass producer of images.

The company based on the Mittelland Canal had by then long been a successful proponent of Fordism, while also combining Taylorist mass production with a specific labour relations model. It became an exemplary embodiment of Catholic social doctrine fundamentally renewed in the early Federal Republic of Germany. Under the influence of its chief executive Heinrich Nordhoff, the company developed numerous programmes to improve the social welfare of its workforce. Above and beyond the relatively high wages, offered to attract sufficient numbers of staff, after 1949 Volkswagen introduced a range of employee benefits including a company pension and sick pay, which within a decade grew into a complete corporate welfare system.⁴⁴ The profit-related bonus, awarded for the first time in 1950 and just a few years later made a fixed component of the collective pay award, also offered employees a share in the company's success which was unusual for its time. Against this background, employee participation – both in the advisory council established in 1951 and through the joint economic committee set up in 1953 – developed both collaboratively and successfully. The counterpart of the benevolent chief executive on the employee side was the works council chairman, Hugo Bork. His measured approach to assuring a fair deal for the company's employees was in sharp contrast to the industrial relations conflict seen in other parts of the metal-working industry.⁴⁵

Given the social significance of the company and its vehicles, it was obvious that Volkswagen would also become a key player in federal and state politics. Every annual New Year statement issued by Volkswagen detailing the company's success to German newspapers also reflected the success of the social market economy propagated so untiringly by Federal Minister of Trade and Commerce, Ludwig Erhard, who himself was increasingly becoming a talisman of the new prosperity. In view of this, the Adenauer government began seeking to privatise the car-making trust from an early stage. The decision-making process gathered additional momentum after Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, in his inaugural speech of 29th October 1957, described the broad distribution of so-called "Volksaktien" [public shares] as "the most important objective" of the parliamentary term.⁴⁶ In order to create "ownership for all" through the issue of shares, the negotiation of a treaty between the Federal Government and the state of Lower Saxony was essential, and the treaty was duly signed on 11th/12th 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 9th May 1960 with the votes of the government coalition and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). On 21st July 1960, the "Law on the Transfer into Private Ownership of the Shares in Volkswagenwerk Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung" came into force, regulating the privatisation of the company and its transformation into a joint-stock corporation.⁴⁷ An exceptional German entity had thus – at least in economic terms – become a publicly quoted corporation, in which profit and dividend payments were assigned increasing importance. However, the Federal

Government and the state of Lower Saxony each kept 20% of the share capital in their showcase enterprise, thereby retaining their influence as the largest single shareholders.

As a joint-stock company, Volkswagen continued on its previous expansion course. After moving into the new thirteen-storey administration building in the south-west of the building complex in the Summer of 1959 – as a landmark symbol of the new corporate age, so to speak – the company further consolidated its position on international markets. The inauguration on 8th December 1964 of the Emden plant, built especially for exports to North America, contributed to the company's growth. And in 1965, the acquisition of the Ingolstadt-based "Auto Union GmbH" transformed the already international-scale business into a German multi-brand group.

With the advent of the "Beetle", Germany – and Volkswagen – entered the age of consumer democracy, characterised by prosperity, abundance and increasing leisure time.⁴⁸ The Volkswagen saloon and the Transporter born in the era of the German economic miracle negotiated the arduous road onto global markets with ease, thereby contributing substantially to the modernisation of West German society. The transport infrastructure geared towards personal mobility was a product of the "Volkswagenisation" of West Germany, just as the Americanisation of the business in the 1950s had been an exemplary success.⁴⁹

By 1966, almost 1.1 million of the Type 1 had been built. As the "Beetle", it was the top earner of foreign currency in the USA, and had become an integral emotional part of American car culture. The model continued to form the economic backbone of the group, though the company had in fact already begun to diversify its range of vehicles in 1961 with the lower mid-class saloon, the Volkswagen 1500, referred to internally as the Type 3. Nevertheless, for many in Germany, as well in other countries such as Brazil or later also in Mexico, their first experience of motoring was the unique and unusual Beetle, and it continued to charm and delight individual users and entire cultures. At the same time, the absence of product innovation indicates that Volkswagen can in many respects also be regarded as a successful embodiment of the social and economic expansion of the established Federal Republic. On 11th March 1968, in response to a question raised by the supervisory board regarding prospects for 1968, Heinrich Nordhoff gave the clear reply: "nobody knows".⁵⁰

Heinrich Nordhoff died on Good Friday 1968. His successor, Kurt Lotz, took office on 1st May. Reflecting the radical socio-political and cultural change which the Federal Republic of Germany was undergoing at the time, Kurt Lotz 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, rationalising and saving costs”.⁵² Against that background, 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 model to come on to the market as part of the new product initiative was the K 70, which between 1970 and 1975 was manufactured at the new plant in Salzgitter.⁵³ Against that background, 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 model to come on to the market as part of the new product initiative was the K 70, which between 1970 and 1975 was manufactured at the new plant in Salzgitter.⁵⁴

Today the whole world is familiar with Volkswagen and its first success, the saloon referred to internally as “Type 1”, but which has gone by many another pet name. Famed for its silhouette, praised for its reliability and great practicability, and beloved as an automotive icon, with more than 21.5 million vehicles produced, the Beetle has become indelibly imprinted on the collective memory.⁵⁵ Together with the Transporter, this transformation of sheet metal into emotion enabled the global expansion of a car manufacturer 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 whose workforce, in Wolfsburg and beyond, rose from 8,700 to 215,000 people in the same period. The Golf, launched in 1974, has become the Beetle’s legitimate successor as a classless car, with production now having significantly outstripped its illustrious predecessor.⁵⁶ As already seen with the Beetle, the associated activities have extended to new buildings and new imagery.

Architectural Photography

Modernity and monumentality

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 of the plant and the town of Wolfsburg resulting from the boom in business during the economic miracle era. The pictures work as narratives, documenting permanent transformations and growth periods as well as the size and uniform appearance of the factory facilities. 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 portray 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 an elevated level offering 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 picturesque countryside. This picture conveys a sense of ordered unity and speaks volumes about the harmonious co-existence of the factory and the town.

Panoramic shots of the factory from the west [015] and the east [012] show the South Extension running parallel to the Mittelland Canal. Demarcated by prominent stairway towers and high, narrow windows, they depict the factory complex as a self-contained 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 [013].⁵⁸ The key architectural elements of the dark clinker brick facade are dramatically highlighted by the artistic worm’s-eye view lighting. The illumination from the street lamps, the spotlights aimed exactly at the end faces of the stairway towers and their light reflections all converge at a single 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 factory as a compact unit, this effective night shot also highlights the symmetry in the architecture of the building, which chimes with the sequential 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 is 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 “Neue Sachlichkeit” [new objectivity] 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, stairway 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 [015] is anything but window-dressing. The camera is focused on the Volkswagen as the final product of the production line, positioned in the centre of the picture against a Spring-time factory backdrop. The series depicting the stairway towers protruding from the South Extension tapers to a vanishing point in the east formed by 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 sequential 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 areas. Together, they accentuate the complex, well ordered and efficient large-scale business taking place in both areas. The open-plan 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; 058] is reminiscent of the conveyor belt production of vehicles in the factory halls. The open-plan office with its equipment is waiting to start work; steel rolls and piles of sheet steel delivered on the tracks are also ready for use [018].

The photographs echo the relationship between factory and town, 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 the night shot of the buildings at the western end of the South Extension, taken from the east [016]. The ruins of the former administration wing, in the course of being demolished, provide 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 echoes the themes of “rubble-clearance photography”.⁶⁵ Through its use of contrasting light and dark, it conveys an uplifting mood of industrial progress, and testifies to the development of the plant as new buildings come into operation.

The initiatives of Volkswagen in creating living space and leisure-time activities outside the factory gates are reflected in numerous photographs documenting the construction progress made in the town of Wolfsburg. The key message for the viewer is that living standards in the relatively young town have been improved significantly thanks to the investments made by Volkswagen in the town 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 construction works by the Volkswagen subsidiary which meet the needs and wishes of employees and their families.⁶⁶

This impression of an attractive and modern residential settlement is enhanced by the interior view of the “VW baths” [020], built by Volkswagen and opened at the end of July 1951.⁶⁷ The arc of the water slide leads the gaze to the left side of the picture and defines a detail. This creates 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 leisure-time activity open to the employees of the factory and their families. Volkswagen 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.

010 Town and works on Heinrich-Nordhoff-Straße, 1972



011 Work on the foundations of Hall 12, 1954



012 South Extension and power plant with port installation on the Mittelland Canal, September 1966





013 Works at night, 1953



014 North side Hall 12 with delivery yard, February 1955

015 Samba Bus in front of South Extension, May 1954



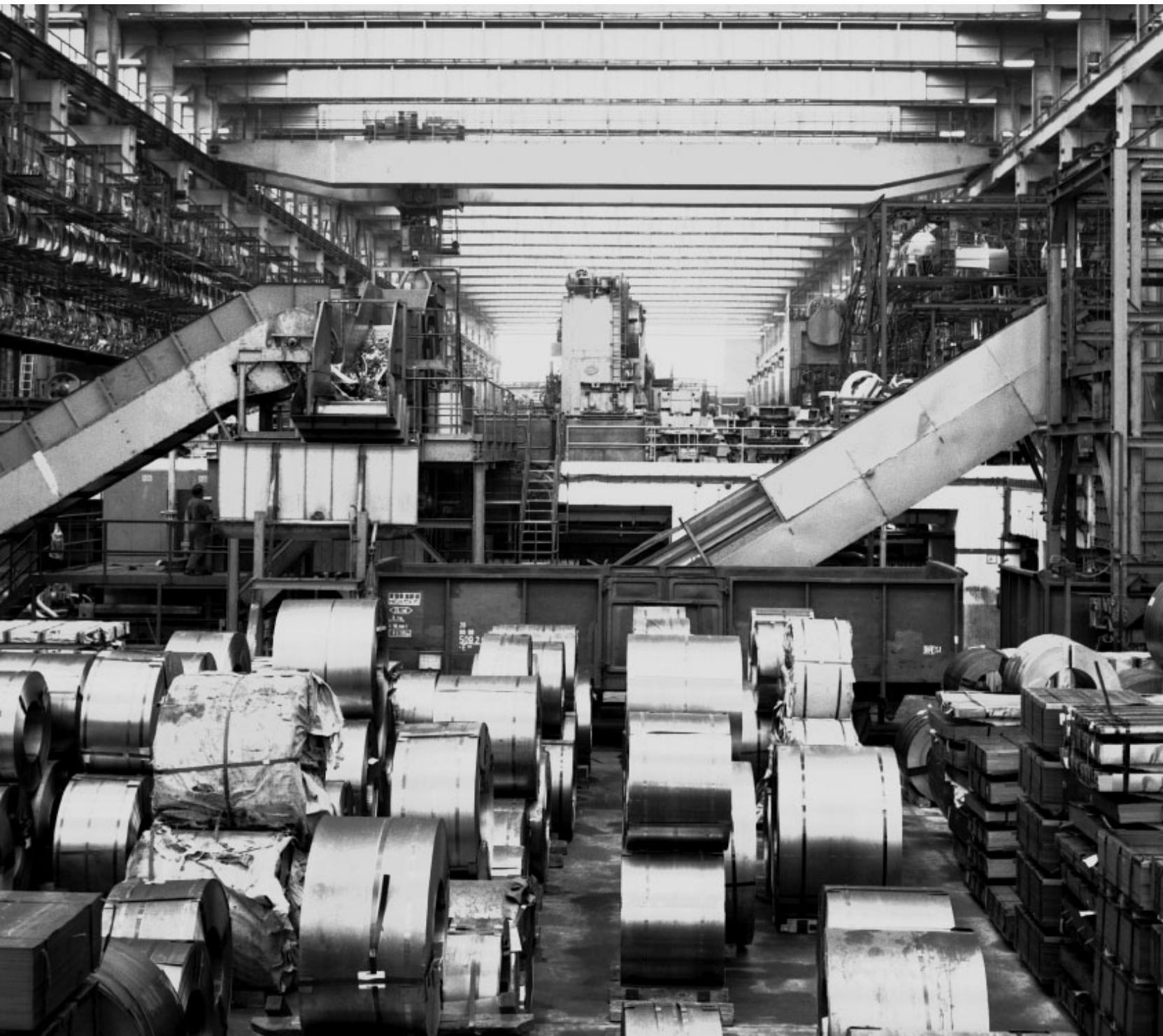
016 Administration blocks, old and new, November 1959



017 Open-plan office in the administration block, May 1959



018 Sheet metal store at the press plant, 1970



019 Construction shell on Braunschweiger Straße, 1954



020 Water slide at the VW baths, Summer 1953



021 New residential housing estate in the Detmerode district, Ernst-Reuter-Weg, August 1966



Object Photography

Form and functionality

“Factual evidence”

is irrefutable.⁶⁸ The photographs used for internal documentation or communication 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 commissioning party or customer, taking account of lighting using direct or indirect light sources. These photographs were shot 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 owners' manuals for the Volkswagen models. Five photographers were devoted to this major work task on behalf of the service function.⁶⁹

In the studio environment, working with the high potential offered by artificial lighting, a thorough and critical eye for detail is needed to prepare the fine grooving and precisely cut edges of a gearwheel [029]. Detailed shots of this kind rely on the effect on the viewer of the apparently direct, cool and precise presence of the objects in the picture, acting as irrefutable proof of the technical standard and quality of workmanship.

This point is underlined by these shots of the rear wing [024] or of the Beetle chassis turned on its side showing the engine [025]. The pressing 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. Delicate structures of the metal sheeting after having been pulled through the large press, and the vertical and horizontal ribs of the floor panel, are revealed by the reflection of the artificial light. The wings and chassis are pin-sharp, in a photo which 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 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 chose a perspective which would present 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 with both B-pillars of the Beetle.⁷⁰ In the studio photo [027], the 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 styling. These additional visual devices serve as product marketing and inspire customers 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 advertising 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 advertising photography, product design ranks above vehicle functionality and thus above any pictorial portrayal of the specific utility value of the Volkswagen for work, leisure or lifestyle purposes.

The materiality and constructional form of components in the production process or prior to delivery are captured in detailed images or medium shots with selective zoomed 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 approach to that of 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 motifs are removed from the production environment by multiple enlargement. This enables the camera to capture traces of light on metal; the viewer can almost feel the surface of a cut, edged and drawn wing [033]. The light subtly emphasises the texture of the stacked wings or the hub caps lined up on a pallet after being polished in the electroplating shop [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 sequence and the large number of Volkswagens are essential elements of the pictorial 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 sequential aspects in both the productive and administrative areas.

Atmosphere, emotion and lifestyle aspects certainly feature in the product advertising photography of the latter half of the 1950s. The backdrops to the Volkswagen models and the attributes highlighted are focused less on communicating the perfect form than on the functionality and additional benefits of the vehicles that correspond to the various lifestyles of potential customers. The images reflect a general trend in German advertising, beginning around 1960, which brought a shift in focus from “standard of living” to “lifestyle”.⁷⁷ As one example, a fashionably dressed woman with a friendly smile leans on a saloon in a moorland 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, symbolic attributes positively hint at the better lifestyle open to customers who choose to buy and run a Volkswagen.

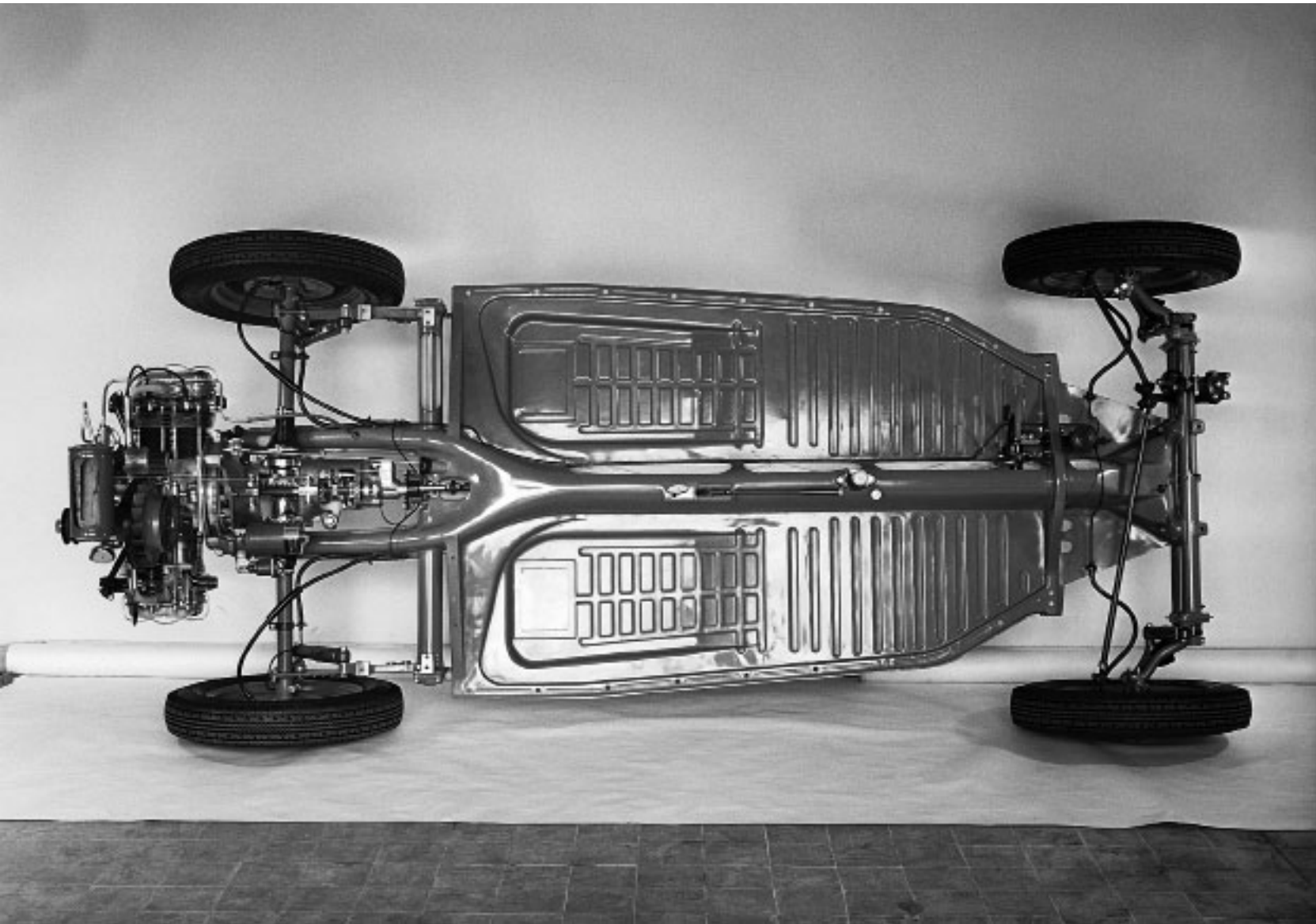
This pattern is followed in advertising photos that portray a Transporter being used for a lakeside camping holiday [026] or the harvesting of grapes in a vineyard [032]. The functionality of the Transporter is emphasised in leisure activity as well as everyday working situations.⁷⁹ Just a few years later, this theme was refined in the pictures taken by photo-journalist Johann A. Cropp for the Volkswagen wall calendar. By presenting the saloon on 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 wave of consumption and travel accompanying Germany’s economic miracle.⁸⁰

023 Beetle in Kairouan (Tunisia), March 1957 (J. A. Cropp)





024 Rear wing, 1957



025 Beetle chassis with engine, 1953

026 Camping by the lake, October 1956



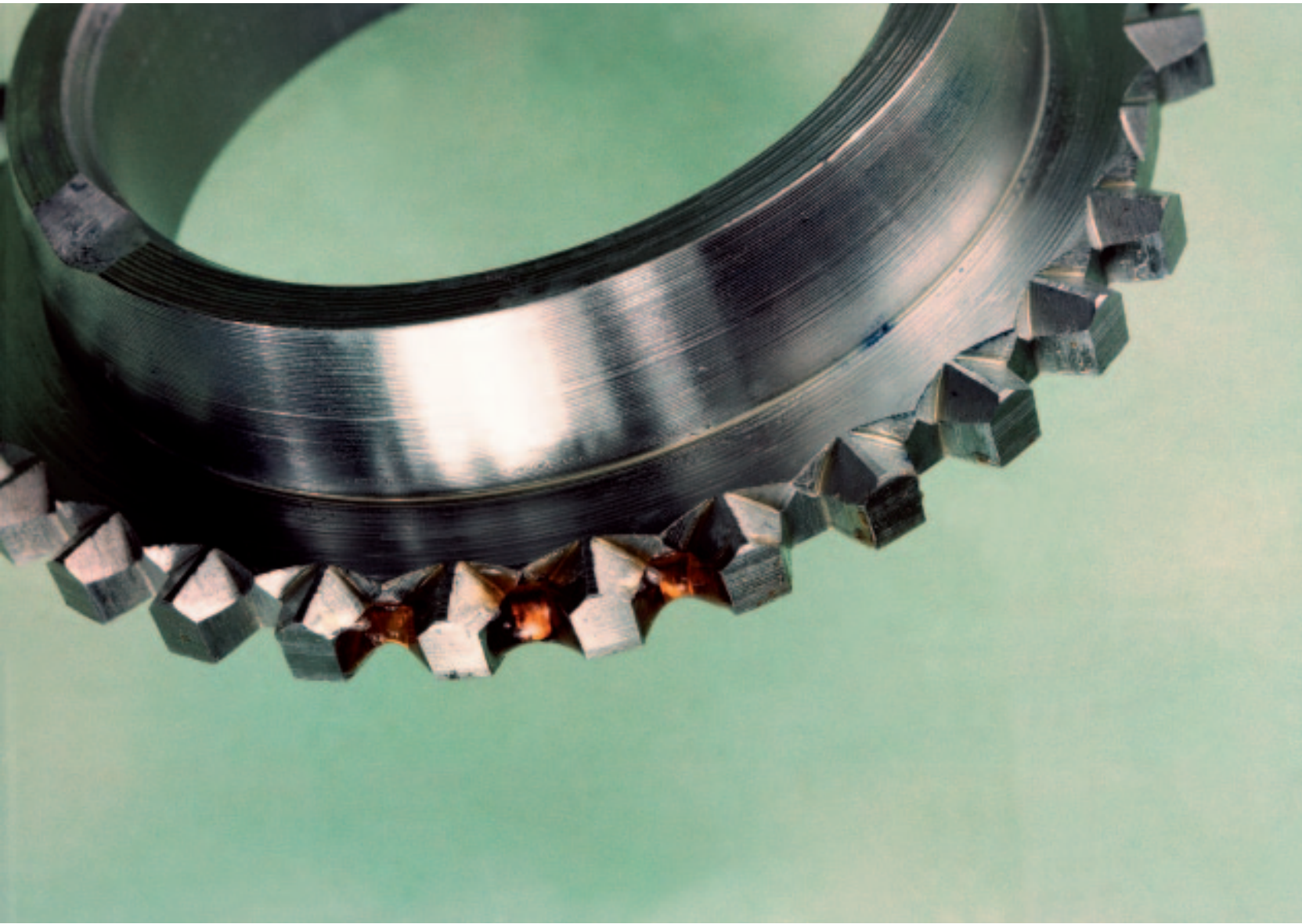
027 Export model in the photo studio, February 1956



028 Beetle in moorland, September 1957



029 Oil droplets on a gearwheel, May 1960





030 Loading for CKD assembly, 1954



031 Standard saloon in front of clinker brick factory hall, September 1957

032 Wine harvest on the Mosel, November 1954





033 Rear wing with grinding marks in the press plant, Hall 2, 1953



034 Hub caps after being polished in the electroplating shop in the north section of Hall 3, 1953

035 Karmann Ghia Coupe, July 1956



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





037 Export model in the delivery yard in the north-west of the plant complex, October 1953



038 Beetle in the delivery yard, 1953

Photo-Reportage

Sequences and stations

Photo-reportage

provides visual reporting on the operational processes at the Volkswagen plant in journalistic style. Shot as total or medium views of the production halls, these pictures convey the sequential nature of the manufacturing process. The eye of the factory photographer appears to be dispassionate, business-like and focused on the fundamental elements. The approach is closely related to object photography and “subjective photography”. Photographs reflecting the day-to-day life of the factory, away from the production side, include several genuine “snap” shots. These have a dramatic, emotional, stimulating, sometimes surprising and at times disturbing effect on the viewer.

The image of three car body shells hanging close together from a conveyor 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 conveyor shortly before moving on to the next stage of production. This vividly conveys to the viewer the importance of timing in the assembly line 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 shop [042] present pictorial variations of the assembly line concept highlighting Volkswagen’s rationalised production. The camera’s perspective is oriented to an imaginary vanishing point beyond the bounds of the picture where the conveyors 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 conveyor chains.⁸¹

A 1966 handbook for industrial photographers states that “the worker at the machine is an integral part of industrial photo-reportage”.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 sequential process of assembly line production at Volkswagen, which is centred on high unit volumes and productivity.



A foreman and a worker illustrate the operations typical of the workstation shown within the production sequence, fitting lines 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 sequential 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 conveyor 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 co-ordinated work process. The pattern of sequential 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 diligently 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, in which man and machine carry out their tasks efficiently and reliably.

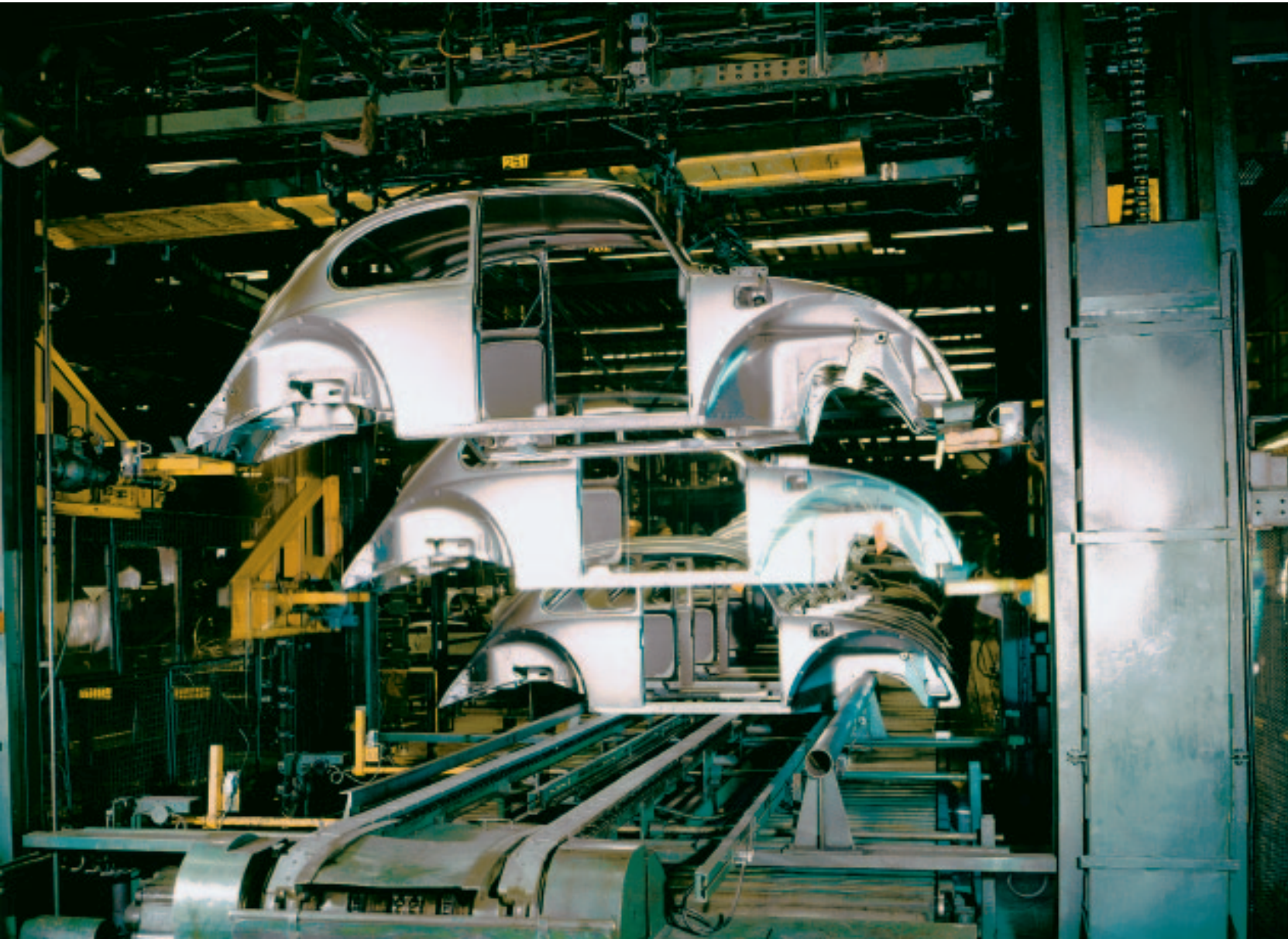
The series of photo-reportage images then moves on from the stations in the Volkswagen plant production halls. Some of the themes recur like stereotypes. The picture portraying the loading of the VW Beetle at the factory train station [045] depicts the serial nature of the Beetle even at the distribution stage, 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].

Photo-reportage showing the vehicle testing process, quality inspections and the personnel department portrays everyday life at the factory. The snapshot of a VW Beetle in a curious ‘head-stand’ position will puzzle many modern-day viewers; only someone who was there at the time, or familiar with the practice, would be able to explain it [046]. Through his positioning of the camera, one photographer from the Volkswagen Photo Centre is able to present the everyday procedure of sound testing a crankshaft in a dynamic and witty manner [047]. The round edge of the suspended light hides the face of the tester from the nose upwards. Since the viewer cannot identify the person in the frame, the factory worker is reduced to an anonymous operative, 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 illustrating wage payment [039] is far less staged, and appears to be a genuine scene from everyday working life.

Sequence, the symbol of order and hierarchy in working relationships, is reflected in the photo-reportage image from 1965 which shows the management board receiving Volkswagen works council members from plants around Germany to celebrate May Day [048]. Two groups share a single table; the lines of formally dressed managers on the left and 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 chief executive. The picture not only documents a company event, it also clearly casts Nordhoff as the host. He appears as the central figure of the scene. He is the only person playing an active role in it, greeting the works council representatives as chief host in a speech on behalf of the company management. This portrayal of Nordhoff as the all-powerful company head forms part of a large collection of photographs depicting him as the successful figurehead of the Volkswagen concern.⁸³

There is a similar structure to the photo-reportage on the wake held by the management board for Heinrich Nordhoff following his death on Good Friday, 12th April 1968 [049]. The chief executive, laid out in the technical development hall, forms the centre point of the picture. The body is 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 it with a minimum of creative freedom at his disposal, utilising solely the rituals of commemoration.

040 Placing bodies on the belt in the body shell shop, 1968 (J. A.Cropp)





041 Transporter assembly line at the Hanover plant, 1957



042 Engine assembly, 1959

043 Vehicle bodies on chain conveyors in final assembly, Hall 12, November 1961



044 Fitting lines on the Beetle chassis, 1965



045 Loading at the factory train station, May 1959





046 Beetle crash test, 1952

047 Sound testing a crankshaft in the parts department, December 1951



048 The management board receiving works council members, 1965



049 Senior executives Robert Otto, Theodor Weise, Bernhard Heiny, Karl Nebelung (l to r) provide a guard of honour for the deceased Heinrich Nordhoff, 1968



Portrait Photography

The part and the whole

The range

of employee portraits is extensive. The photographers and those who commissioned them 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 leisure time. The individual employees appearing in the photos represent the entire workforce, especially in those pictures used by the company for public image purposes. Their personal identity is not known and, as in the factory photographs, has no communicative relevance. As members of the factory staff, they form part of a presentation of the whole, representative of all company employees, both shopfloor and clerical. Every “portrait of a worker” becomes a “portrait of work at Volkswagen”.

The portraits show single moments in specific working processes at the Volkswagen plant.⁸⁴ The picture of an employee working at the smelting 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 goggles, protecting the eyes of the metalworker from the intense, potentially hazardous light streaming from the furnace, that create a connection between the two elements of the picture. 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. He faces these workplace hazards with supreme professional assurance.⁸⁵



Images of workers in the foundry [052] and the paint shop [056] reveal more of the interface between man and machine. The actions being carried out by the workers provide the dynamic and flow of the pictures, which offer an insight into the machinery being used. Body movements and gestures are related only to the machines, tools and material being worked. The portraits depict specific actions performed by workers in their function as machine operators within a production process which places high physical and technical demands on them.

The portrait of the transport workers addresses the theme of the sequential 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 brick facade of the South Extension, the group is lined up in working clothes and with tools. The series of people and flat-bed vehicles progressing towards the figure of the foreman at the end of the line depicts internal hierarchies and differences in status. It also shows the position occupied by the individual transport worker within their 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 visual narrative is present in the picture of the

1965 apprentice group, taken for a report in “Stern” magazine [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 sequential order of Volkswagen plant processes in its large numbers and horizontal lines.

The material inspection process, signalling the intensity and high precision levels in quality control at the Volkswagen plant, is vividly captured in a side shot [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.

The short 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 illustrates 24 hours in the life of a Volkswagen employee in Wolfsburg in the photo-journalism style. 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, took part in the rising consumption of the affluent society of the early 1960s.⁸⁶ Although Volkswagen 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 prosperity, social advancement and a modern lifestyle through gainful employment at the factory.⁸⁷

According to an entry in the register at the Photo Centre, the factory photographer documented in a reportage 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 achieves a sense of dynamism

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 Volkswagen to the outside world.



051 At the smelting furnace, 1957

052 In the foundry, 1957





053 Telephone exchange, 1950



054 Workers on electric carts in front of South Extension, 1950

055 Concrete works on the administration block, July 1957



056 In the paint shop, 1955



057 Apprentices on the central road at the plant, April 1965



058 Open-plan office, 1973



059 Fitting a bonnet lock, 24th August 1962



060 Quality control on a crankshaft, 1955



061 Reading at home, 24th August 1962



062 Watching TV with the family, 24th August 1962



063 Playing cards of an evening, 1954



064 On the way to work, April 1961



065 Spectators on the diving board at the VW baths, September 1954



Footnotes

BETWEEN DOCUMENTATION,
COMMUNICATION AND
REPRESENTATION.
IMAGES FROM THE VOLKSWAGEN
PHOTO CENTRE

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: Das Werk der Briten. Volkswagenwerk und Besatzungsmacht 1945-1949, Wolfsburg 1999 (Historical Notes, volume 2); Ralf Richter: Ivan Hirst. Britischer Offizier und Manager des Volkswagenaufbaus, Wolfsburg 2003 (Historical Notes, volume 8); 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. Industriearchitektur und sozialer Kontext bei Krupp, in: Tenfelde, Bilder p. 160 f.

009

Interview W. Reimer, 21st June 2004 (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

Quote 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 photojournalist 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: Im Licht der Produktion. Produktion im Licht, 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 'point 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 Roock: 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 CHANGE AT
VOLKSWAGEN**

032

Example from the wealth of literature, Harm G. Schröter: Von der Teilung zur Wiedervereinigung 1945-2000, in: Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Ein Jahrtausend im Überblick. Edited by Michael North, Munich 2000, 351-420; Werner Abelshäuser: Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte seit 1945, Munich 2004.

033

Volkswagen Chronik. Edited by Manfred Grieger, Ulrike Gutzmann and Dirk Schlinkert, Wolfsburg 2004, 18ff.

034

Latterly, Heidrun Edelmann: Heinz Nordhoff. Ein deutscher Unternehmer im amerikanischen Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2003.

035

Ralf Richter: Ivan Hirst. Britischer Offizier und Manager des Volkswagenaufbaus, Wolfsburg 2003, 33ff.; Günther Koch: Arbeitnehmer steuern mit. Belegschaftsvertretung bei VW ab 1945, Cologne 1987, 24ff.

036

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

037

Ibid., 49ff.

038

Dirk Schlinkert: Von der Reklame zum Marketing, in: 50 Jahre Volkswagen Werbung. Edited for Volkswagen AG by Michael Grosche and Manfred Grieger, Hamburg; Wolfsburg 2002, 8-17, here p. 8.

039

Markus Lupa: Das Werk der Briten. Volkswagenwerk und Besatzungsmacht 1945-1949, Wolfsburg 2004.

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, Cologne; Weimar; Vienna 2004, 133ff.; Volker Wellhöner: "Wirtschaftswunder" – Weltmarkt – westdeutscher Fordismus, Münster 1996, 99ff.; Werner Abelshäuser: Die Langen Fünfziger Jahre. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Bundesrepublik 1949-1966, Düsseldorf 1987.

042

See Manfred Grieger: Das Jahr 1953 in dem Wirtschaftswunderunternehmen Volkswagen, in: Peter Keetman: Volkswagenwerk 1953, Bielefeld 2003, 162-164.

043

In the year 1954 alone, a timber yard, annexes to Halls 13 and 14, as well as the new building Hall 12, with an area of 79,000 m², were completed; Jahresbericht der Fabrikstandhaltung für das Jahr 1954 vom 14.1.1955 (Annual Factory Maintenance Report 1954 from 14.1.1955), p. 1 (Volkswagen AG Company Archive (UVW), Z 174/2039).

044

For information on the prior development of welfare provision by local authorities, see for instance Wolfgang R. Krabbe: Kommunalpolitik und Industrialisierung. Die Entfaltung der städtischen Leistungsverwaltung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart; Berlin; Cologne; Mainz 1985; see also Hans Günter Hockerts: Vorsorge und Fürsorge. Kontinuität und Wandel der sozialen Sicherung, in: Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau, 223-241; Edelmann, Nordhoff, p. 151ff.

045

Werner Widuckel: Paradigmenentwicklung der Mitbestimmung bei Volkswagen, Wolfsburg 2004, 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, 492-527.

046

Stenographische Berichte (Stenographic Reports) vol. 39, p. 20, quoted in accordance with Die Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung (Cabinet Protocols of the Federal Government). Edited for the Federal Archive by Hartmut Weber, vol. 12: 1959 adapted by Josef Henke and Uta Rössel, Munich 2002, p. 42.

047

See, for instance, Rainer Nicolaysen: Der lange Weg zur VolkswagenStiftung. Eine Gründungsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft, Göttingen 2002, 285ff.; Manfred Grieger: Die "Volksaktie". Die Privatisierung von Volkswagen, in: Damals 32 (2000), Issue 3, 6-9.

048

The term seems to have been coined by Eric Woldemar Stoetzner, 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 Comments zum Sozialismus, Munich 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; Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau. Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre. Edited by Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, Bonn; Berlin 1993.

049

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

- 050**
Minutes of the 37th Meeting of the Supervisory Board of the Volkswagen Aktiengesellschaft on 11.3.1968 in Wolfsburg, 3f. (UVW, Z 237/790).
- 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*, 21-53; see Wolfgang Kraushaar: 1968 als Mythos, *Chiffre und Zäsur*, Hamburg 2000.
- 052**
Minutes of the Meeting of the Supervisory Board of Volkswagen AG on 18.7.1971, p. 16 (UVW, Z 237/832).
- 053**
Andrea Eckhardt; *Diskutieren, Streiten, Mitgestalten! 30 Jahre Kampf um Arbeit im weltgrößten Motorenwerk Volkswagen Salzgitter*, Hamburg 2003, S. 24 ff
- 054**
Jens Hohensee: *Der erste Ölpreisschock 1973/74. Die politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen der arabischen Erdölpolitik auf die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westeuropa*, Stuttgart 1996.
- 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; Herfried Münkler: *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen*, Berlin 2009, p. 465 ff.
- 056**
Die Golf-Garage. Edited by Manfred Grieger, Ulrike Gutzmann and Dirk Schlinkert, Wolfsburg 2003.
- ARCHITECTURAL PHOTOGRAPHY
MODERNITY AND MONUMENTALITY**
- 057**
Mommssen, 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 and 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, *Industriellandschaft, 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 stairway 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 set-up and technical equipment 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: Lichtspuren auf Metall, in: Tuyl, Broeker, Keetman p. 156 ff.

075

Cf. photographs from the "Volkswagenwerk 1953" series by Peter Keetman: no. 19, no. 23 "Rear wing after edging and cutting with grinding marks in the press plant, Hall 2" and no. 93 "Hub caps after polishing in the electroplating shop in the north section of Hall 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 Volkswagen 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.

PHOTO-REPORTAGE

SEQUENCES AND STATIONS

081

Cf. Peter Keetman, Volkswagenwerk 1953, no. 129 and Otto Gerhard Oexle: Über Vorstellungen vom "Neuen Europa" in Deutschland 1944, in: Nationalsozialismus in den Kulturwissenschaften. Published by Hartmut Lehmann/Otto Gerhard Oexle, vol. 2, Göttingen 2004, p. 29.

082

Giebelhausen, Industriefotografie p. 206.

083

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

PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHY

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

Ibid p. 71. Cf. Lüdke, Industriebilder, p. 413 ff.

086

Schildt, Materieller Wohlstand, p. 26 ff.

087

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

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