Since the publication of its first volume in 2009, the Yearbook of the International Association for the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility (T²M) has published review articles by 63 scholars working in all six populated continents. Their studies of scholarship cover 20 countries and review themes of historical mobility studies that have not received sufficient attention elsewhere. Readers will find reviews not only of scholarship centering on vehicles such as planes, trains and automobiles, but also on less prominent topics in mobility history, such as pedestrians, bicyclists, international mobility policy, gender and mobility, carpooling, mobility and social exclusion, and tourism. The present volume includes articles reviewing scholarship from four countries not represented in previous Yearbooks (Colombia, France, Portugal and Sweden) and a new thematic article (on car sounds). Following a precedent established last year, this volume offers readers a close reflection on a classic study in mobility history, Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s *The Railway Journey* (1977). Readers can also get an inside look at the state of the art of mobility history from the unique perspective of one of its central figures, Gijs Mom.

**Peter Norton** is assistant professor in the history of technology at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *Fighting Traffic: The Dawn of the Motor Age in the American City* (MIT Press, 2008), and of “Street Rivals: Jaywalking and the Invention of the Motor Age Street” (Technology and Culture, 2007), which won the Usher Prize of the Society for the History of Technology.

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**Liz Millward** is associate professor of Women’s and Gender Studies at the University of Manitoba. Her interests are in the history and geography of women’s spaces, with a particular focus on the role of transportation and mobility in the development and spread of feminist community. Millward is the author of *Women in British Imperial Airspace, 1922-1937* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008).

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MOBILITY IN HISTORY

REVIEWS AND REFLECTIONS

T’M Yearbook 2012
MOBILITY IN HISTORY

REVIEWS AND REFLECTIONS

T’M Yearbook 2012

Edited by:

Peter Norton
Gijs Mom
Liz Millward
Mathieu Flonneau

Éditions Alphil-Presses universitaires suisses
In 2007 T²M backed an initiative from Gijs Mom to publish a yearbook. The goal was “to develop a first-class, peer-reviewed periodical publication,” which, though published in English, would, over time, pool reviews of scholarship from several continents and many countries, contributed by authors from around the globe. (Readers will find more about the T²M Yearbook’s origins in Mom’s contribution to this volume.) Most articles in the yearbooks were to review scholarship from specific countries and regions, with the intent of conveniently gathering historiographical reviews from around the world, including areas too often neglected in academic forums and publications. Other reviews would be more thematic in approach, bringing together scholarship on various aspects of mobility. Given practical constraints on the yearbook’s size, no single volume could claim a comprehensive scope. Yet the hope was that together, a few recent volumes would come close.

The project was launched as a three-year experiment, beginning with volume I in 2009. Now, with its third volume, it is fitting to look back and assess where we’ve come. First I think the Yearbook can make a just claim to extraordinary success at widening the geographic scope of mobility studies by bringing attention to research from and about countries and regions that too often fail to get their due. Articles by 63 scholars have cleared peer review—a number that is by itself remarkable. These authors work in all six populated continents. Their reviews of individual national historiographies cover 20 countries on all continents; a few more review articles cover transnational regions (Latin America, Africa, and the Pacific Islands).
By itself this would be a creditable record for the first three volumes. But the Yearbook has also broadened mobility history in other ways, by reviewing themes of historical mobility studies that have not received sufficient attention elsewhere. As heirs of more traditional transport history, many mobility historians—often in innovative ways—have concentrated their work on important but predictable vehicles, especially the ubiquitous trinity of planes, trains and automobiles. But the first three volumes of the Yearbook will help its readers find pathbreaking work on topics such as pedestrians, bicyclists, maritime mobility, international mobility policy, gender and mobility, carpooling, mobility and social exclusion, tourism, and car sounds. Thus the Yearbook has already helped to broaden both the geographic and the topical boundaries of mobility history.

Nevertheless much work remains. In the first three volumes, of the 20 articles reviewing scholarship in a single country, only four review work in a country outside of Europe and North America. This clear imbalance is mitigated somewhat by the fact that some of the attention within Europe has gone to countries (e.g. Bulgaria, Greece, Portugal) that have seldom shared in the wealth of attention that continent receives. Transnational regional articles on Africa and Latin America also offer some compensation. Yet if the Yearbook (or any descendent periodical) is to retain its claim to a truly global scope, editors will have to try harder to attract more articles reviewing work in countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. While we must admit that we cannot review mobility historiography where such work scarcely exists, we can encourage such scholarship by seeking it out and drawing attention to it. By the same token, they should also continue to challenge authors to dispense with habitual attention to predictable vehicular modes by soliciting innovative thematic articles—for example on subversive and “subaltern mobilities” (as Mom has suggested), on unconventional uses of conventional modes, or on the non-vehicular human and material components of mobility systems.

Since the first edition of the T²M Yearbook, its founder, Gijs Mom, has had a consistent message for contributors: to forsake the “encyclopaedic approach” in favor of “reasoned argument and opinion.” Albert Einstein and Niels Bohr were famous for enjoying each other’s intellectual company in proportion to the depth of their disagreements. Their case illustrates how academic communities, at their best, thrive neither from rancorous disputes nor from stultifying consensus, but from spirited debates in which participants can oppose each other productively because they know how to disagree without being disagreeable, and how to fault an argument while admiring its exponent. Many of the 63 contributors to the first three Yearbooks have demonstrated these academic virtues—to the benefit of their readers.

The editors of the first three yearbooks (Georgine Clarsen, Mathieu Flonneau, Liz Millward, Gijs Mom, Gordon Pirie, Laurent Tissot and myself) have hoped that the Yearbook would be a valuable guide to scholars in and beyond T²M, and particularly to newcomers to mobility history. Now we must consider whether we should continue along this path. If we agree to press on, we intend to cover
a fixed selection of countries and topics each year. This, as the editors explained in the preface to the second edition, would demand special skills of reviewers, so that the Yearbook does not evolve into a narrowly conceived collection of book reviews. Any reader who wishes to contribute to this goal is cordially invited to join in.

As if to make up for lost time, the first two volumes of the Yearbook were very ambitious in scale and scope. Volume I includes 24 articles; volume II has 25. These two volumes got the Yearbook off to a very strong start, but one that was little more sustainable than a sprint in a marathon. To find a more durable pace, the editors this year offer a smaller Yearbook of 13 articles. Despite its more limited scope, however, volume III breaks valuable new ground by including articles reviewing scholarship from four countries not represented in volumes I or II (Colombia, France, Portugal and Sweden) and a new thematic article (on car sounds). Following a precedent established in volume II, this volume offers readers a close reflection on a classic study in mobility history (see George Revill’s article on Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s *The Railway Journey*, first published in 1977). Readers can get an inside look at the state of the art of mobility history from the unique perspective of one of its central figures, Gijs Mom. And those articles that look again at topics included in earlier volumes offer new perspectives and review work not considered before. Finally, the editors would like to ask our readers to help us help them. George Revill plans to continue his reflection on Wolfgang Schivelbusch with a personal interview, which may appear in the next Yearbook. We would like to supplement that interview with personal reminiscences by scholars who have known or worked with Professor Schivelbusch, or who have used his work extensively and would like to comment on its usefulness as well as its lacunae. We invite readers to send such statements—however brief—to Gijs Mom, to me, or to any other Yearbook editor, for inclusion in such a piece.

This volume marks the culmination of the three-year experiment T2M launched with volume I in 2009. As the editor of the latest of these volumes, it is not for me to judge the project overall, but I think I can fairly make some more limited claims. Thanks to Gijs Mom’s initiative and T2M’s foresight, mobility historians now have, for the first time, a place to go to find important scholarship in the field—work from all over the world. Through innovative subjects and approaches, many of the authors reviewed are reanimating legacies from transport history with techniques from other social sciences, giving the field a new creative vitality. Authors whose valuable work might have been overlooked are finding readers who need their publications. I am grateful to be associated with such an enterprise.

As editor of this year’s Yearbook, my debts to others are substantial. Above all I thank Gijs Mom, whose editorial work on volumes I and II set the standard to which I aspired, and on whose advice I constantly depended. I thank the assistant editors, Liz Millward of the University of Manitoba and Mathieu Flonneau of Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, whose professional help
and friendly support were indispensables. I thank Alain Cortat and his publishing team at Éditions Alphil, whose professionalism insures that the Yearbook’s readers have a superbly presented volume. I thank the 30 referees, whose expertise and thoughtful advice helped us to maintain high scholarly standards. I thank the Yearbook’s readers, whose interests and needs justify the entire project. Above all I thank this year’s 14 authors, who were consistently obliging with my requests and patient with my delays, and who are responsible for all the value between the covers of this year’s T’M Yearbook.

Peter Norton, Editor

and on behalf of the associate editors:

Gijs Mom
Liz Millward
Mathieu Flonneau
List of Referees

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Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo  University of Lisbon
Janet Bednarek  University of Dayton
Georgine Clarsen  University of Wollongong
Tim Cole  University of Bristol
Hans-Liudger Dienel  Technical University Berlin
Peter Engelke  Georgetown University
Mathieu Flonneau  Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne
Margaret Grieco  Edinburgh Napier University
Anders Gullberg  KTH Royal Institute of Technology
Olle Hagman  University of Gothenburg
Carl Ipsen  Indiana University
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Elizabeth Jewett  University of Toronto
Lisa Kane  The Open University, Cape Town
Nanny Kim  Heidelberg University
Steve Koerner  independent scholar
Ana Leal de Faria  University of Lisbon
Liz Millward  University of Manitoba
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Donald Sutton  Carnegie Mellon University
Mark Tebeau  Cleveland State University
William H. Thiesen  United States Coast Guard
Erik van der Vleuten  Eindhoven University of Technology
Timothy Walker  University of Massachusetts Dartmouth
Thomas Zeller  University of Maryland
TOWARD A CULTURAL HISTORY OF CAR SOUND(S)¹

Stefan Krebs
Maastricht University

In March 2011, German newspapers reported that experts from the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development had been discussing safety problems of future electromobility. They argued that pedestrians have become so accustomed to automobile noise as a means of orientation in urban traffic that they might overlook—or better, overhear—silent electric vehicles. As a solution, electric vehicles should be equipped with some sort of noise generator to artificially produce acoustic information for other road users.² This is a rather odd idea, considering the technological potential of electric vehicles not only to contribute to more sustainable traffic but also to solve one of the major noise problems of our time.³ Recent surveys conclude that road traffic is perceived as the most annoying noise source in urban areas.⁴ Ironically, car manufacturers propose that their cars’ “whisper silent” interiors offer the quietude that

¹ The plural indicates the different facets of car sound, e.g. engine noise, car radio, acoustic cocooning or car sound design.
² Daniel Baumann, ‘Wir brauchen Lärm!’, Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 March 2011.
³ Already back in the 1890s, the quietness of electric vehicles was recognized as a principal advantage over conventional petrol cars. Gijs Mom, The Electric Vehicle: Technology and Expectations in the Automobile Age (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007), 25, 103, 174.
is lacking outside.\textsuperscript{5} In their advertising campaigns they claim that superior sound insulation and careful sound design convert the car body into a place to unwind. Both stories highlight the general importance of sound in automobile culture. Furthermore, a brief study of historical trade journals and consumer magazines quickly reveals that complaints about traffic noise as well as car sound design have a long history. While protest against car noise is probably as old as the automobile itself,\textsuperscript{6} car manufacturers started to praise the quietness of their makes in the 1920s. A 1928 magazine advertisement affirmed that the new “valveless Peugeot is silent on the road like a swan on the lake.”\textsuperscript{7} After the war the quest for the silent car interior continued: in 1966, American coachbuilder Fisher, an operating division of General Motors, invited car drivers to “escape … into the quiet world of Fisher.”\textsuperscript{8} These examples, despite their random character, point at the historical relevance of car sound (design) and automobilists’ listening practices, yet both fields and other sound related topics have, so far, attracted little attention in the historiography of mobility.

In comparison, significantly more research has been done on the visual dimension of (auto)mobility: scholars of various disciplinary backgrounds have published excellent studies how car driving co-constructed the ‘tourist gaze’ or how the emergence of the system of automobility altered the ‘world beyond the windshield’—to name only two strands of research.\textsuperscript{9} The visual bias is all the more remarkable because sound played another prominent role in early automobile culture. Until 1932, the German road traffic act (RKVO), for example, compelled automobilists to give audible warning signals whenever demanded by traffic safety. Section nineteen of RKVO was quite unspecific about where and when motorists had to sound their horns. Still, whenever an accident happened the first question of attorneys and judges was: \textit{Did you honk?} Thus, to avoid subsequent reproaches, car drivers frequently sounded their horns. Finally, when the concerning section was amended a public education campaign urged

\textsuperscript{5} Toyota, Chrysler, Daimler Benz and Volkswagen commercials and magazine ads. See the examples given by Karin Bijsterveld, ‘Driving Away from Noise: On How the Car Became a Place to Unwind’, in Karin Bijsterveld (ed.), \textit{Science and Technology Studies at Maastricht University: An Anthology of Inaugural Lectures} (Maastricht: Universitaire Pers Maastricht, 2010), 123-146.

\textsuperscript{6} For early protest against car noise see the classical study of Michael Berger, \textit{The Devil Wagon in God’s Country: the Automobile and Social Change in Rural America, 1893-1929} (Hamden: Archon Books, 1979); for Germany see Uwe Fraunholz, \textit{Motorphobia: Anti-automobilier Protest in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik} (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2002).

\textsuperscript{7} Peugeot, ‘La sans-soupapes Peugeot’, \textit{La Vie Automobile} 24 (1928), XXX.


automobilists to “drive with the eyes, not with the ears.” During the interwar period, similar shifts from audible to visual attention can be observed in other European countries too. Still, the story of the motor horn questions the visual bias of driving and shows that dominance between the senses was not stable in automobile history.

In the case of section nineteen of RKVO, rising complaints about traffic noise, including the yawp of motor horns, led to its amendment in 1932. The history of traffic noise and its abatement is the only aspect of car sound that has been analyzed in a considerable number of historical studies. For the most part car noise abatement has been embedded into the general historiography of anti-noise campaigns. Various movements were active in the United States and in several European countries from the second half of the nineteenth century until the 1940s—and again in the 1960s. To understand these campaigns they need to be placed into the wider context of societal concerns about industrialization and modernization. Many early complaints about (traffic) noise came from intellectuals. They associated noise with (social) disorder and, accordingly, quieting the city was meant to reestablish order and civilization. The symbolism of sound, as Karin Bijsterveld has named these cultural meanings of noise and silence, is crucial to understand anti-noise crusaders like philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, or Dan McKenzie—author of The City of Din: A Tirade Against Noise. Moreover, Karin Bijsterveld has shown how certain symbolisms of sound changed over time. Engine noise, for example, was at first a sign of power, but then mechanical engineers found that noise was often a sign of wear and tear and, thus, mechanical silence became a sign of engineering excellence. However, the historiography of anti-noise movements cannot be assigned to

11 For Belgium see Donald Weber, De blijde intrede van de automobiel in België 1895-1940 (Gent: Academia Press in collab. w. AMSAB-ISG, 2010).
12 For the importance of the senses see David Howes, 'Introduction: 'To Summon All the Senses'', in David Howes (ed.), The Varieties of Sensory Experience; A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 3-21.
mobility history in the strict sense. It rather seems that car sound and listening practices have not yet profited from the ‘cultural turn’ in mobility history.\textsuperscript{16} This is all the more true for other aspects of car sound.

Meanwhile, a new field of research is emerging: that of Sound Studies.\textsuperscript{17} In recent years, a (still growing) number of handbooks, readers and anthologies have been published.\textsuperscript{18} Sound Studies as a field is dedicated to the investigation of hearing, listening and auditory culture. Scholars come from various disciplinary backgrounds: cultural history, cultural studies, sociology, ethnography, media studies or musicology. While they study a wide range of topics, less attention is given to science, technology and the car—with the exception of Michael Bull. He has explored the “experience of privatized movement to the sound of communication technologies in the automobile.”\textsuperscript{19} Using interviews with ‘everyday motorists’ Bull has shown how these drivers use sound technologies to control the aural space of their automobiles. He has called this private aural space a “sonic envelope” that is perceived as “a safe and intimate environment in which the mobile and contingent nature of the journey is experienced precisely as its opposite, in which the driver controls the journey precisely by controlling the inner environment of the automobile through sound.”\textsuperscript{20}

Prior to Bull, John Urry and Mimi Sheller studied mobile cocooning, yet without emphasis on car sound and sound technologies.\textsuperscript{21} Urry and Sheller argue that driving, especially in urban areas, is perceived as “quasi-private mobility”—the mobile capsule of the car becoming a “private-in-public space”.\textsuperscript{22} In these “cocoons of glass


and metal” motorists insulate themselves—keeping the (urban) environment at a distance. Urry and Sheller recognize that the roots of the automobile system should be traced back to the end of the nineteenth century, still, their own work lacks this historical dimension. The same applies to sound theorist Brandon LaBelle’s look into the “sonic bubble” of automobility, and to other recent studies by Dutch social psychologists and sociologists.

In spring 2008, the research project Selling Sound: The Standardization of Sound in the European Car Industry and the Hidden Integration of Europe has departed to investigate the missing (cultural) history of car sound. The project, funded by the Dutch Science Council, is supervised by Karin Bijsterveld (Maastricht University) and Gijs Mom (Eindhoven University of Technology). It aims to understand how the standardization of the car as consumer product has contributed to the hidden integration of Europe. To unravel the connection between car sound and European integration and to broaden the understanding of automobile listening cultures, the project focuses on four (sonic) topics: car sound as information, acoustic cocooning, standardization of car noise measurement and car sound design.

Scholars active in the project have presented preliminary results at several conferences in recent years. They have, for example, organized sessions on mobile cocooning at the SHOT conference in 2008 and at the T²M conferences in 2007 and 2009. Gijs Mom has described his approach as using belles-lettres literary

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23 Although, the experience of the car as a means of social distancing can be traced back until the interwar period. Andrea Wetterauer, Lust an der Distanz. Die Kunst der Autoreise in der ’Frankfurter Zeitung’ (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 2007).


26 Karin Bijsterveld and Gijs Mom, Selling Sound: The Standardization of Sound in the European Car Industry and the Hidden Integration of Europe (Unpublished NWO proposal, Maastricht 2008). Eefje Cleophas (University Maastricht) and the author work in the project as PhD candidate and postdoc researcher, respectively.


30 Karin Bijsterveld and Gijs Mom have organized the 2008 SHOT panel ‘Techno-Cocooning: Cultural Histories of Mobile Capsules’; Gijs Mom has organized the 2007 T²M session ‘Imaginary
texts, including those written by non-professionals. He argued that these sources help to reveal the inner drives and motives of early car users.\(^{31}\) Furthermore he presented a first periodization of the co-construction process of car technology and the experience of car cocooning: from the protective shell of the open car, to the capsule of the closed body, to the cocoon of the postwar family car. The change in car technology is accompanied by a shift in sensorial experience, user groups and car function patterns.\(^{32}\) Karin Bijsterveld has analyzed the entangled history of the car radio and car sound design. She has shown how in its use and meaning, the car radio shifted from a travel companion for lonely drivers, to an instrument that helped drivers to insulate themselves from their fellows on the road. At the same time, car sound design shifted from reducing interior noise to creating specific target sounds. Both developments emphasize that the process of car cocooning should be understood as a struggle for sonic control.\(^{33}\)

So far, the Selling Sound project has shown that listening to automobiles is an intriguing endeavour. However, more projects in the wider field of car sounds would be desirable. Although we hardly hear the car sounds of the past, written and pictorial sources can tell us how automobilists listened and what they heard.\(^{34}\) The car as sounding object reveals remarkable shifts, breaks and continuities in the cultural meaning of noise and silence. The historical investigation of car sounds and the listening practices which went with them can contribute to the cultural history of mobility. Still, there are a lot more car sounds we can listen to.


\(^{34}\) Historical recordings of car sounds as well as car sounds in news reels, documentaries or feature films are still waiting to be discovered by historians of mobility.
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