



**BRITISH ACADEMY
OF MANAGEMENT**

BAM
CONFERENCE

3RD-5TH SEPTEMBER

ASTON UNIVERSITY BIRMINGHAM UNITED KINGDOM

This paper is from the BAM2019 Conference Proceedings

About BAM

The British Academy of Management (BAM) is the leading authority on the academic field of management in the UK, supporting and representing the community of scholars and engaging with international peers.

<http://www.bam.ac.uk/>

Flexibility Is Just Another Word for Nothing Left to Lose: Transformations in the Cultural and Social Meanings of Independence in American Trucking since Deregulation

Shane Hamilton (University of York)

When Kris Kristofferson wrote “Me and Bobby McGee” in 1969, he understood it as a meditation on the “two-edged sword that freedom is.” The memorable line, “freedom’s just another word for nothing left to lose,” according to a 2015 interview with Kristofferson, was inspired by a character in the Fellini film *La Strada* whose urge to ramble offers freedom from social ties yet ultimately undermines his sense of purpose in life.¹

Nine years later, Kristofferson starred in the Hollywood film *Convoy*, playing a rebellious owner-operator trucker. Known as the “Rubber Duck” on citizens’ band radio, Kristofferson’s character declares early in the film, “I’m independent.... There ain’t many of us left.” The hundreds of truck drivers who join him in the film’s eponymous convoy of nameless protest admire Rubber Duck’s commitment to freedom, his willingness to simultaneously challenge the sexual norms of respectable society, the class-based collectivism of the Teamsters Union, and the regulatory structures of the trucking industry. Yet in the explosive climax of the film, the ragtag band of rebellious truckers are dispersed by powerful forces beyond their control, and Rubber Duck’s truck is destroyed. Escaping the explosion, Rubber Duck sneaks off, and with no livelihood left to lose, stages his own funeral.²

Kristofferson’s critical engagement with the uncertain meanings of *freedom* and *independence* built upon the sensibilities of the American counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. Kristofferson’s early successes as a country music singer and songwriter in Nashville, Tennessee, did not come through following the norms of the industry; he dressed more like a hippie than a Hollywood cowboy, he dated countercultural icons including Janis Joplin (whose recording of “Me and Bobby

¹ Lydia Hutchinson, “Kris Kristofferson’s ‘Me and Bobby McGee,’” *Performing Songwriter*, Sep. 25, 2015, <http://performingsongwriter.com/kris-kristofferson-bobby-mcgee/>.

² *Convoy*, dir. Sam Peckinpah, 110 min., EMI Films, 1978, videocassette.

McGee" immortalized the song), and many of his lyrics evoked Beat poetry by dwelling on mystical themes, the bittersweet loneliness of the open road, and a wholesale rejection of the conformist attitudes of mainstream society. The casting of Kristofferson as the star in the most significant Hollywood film about trucking could thus be seen as jarring, given the social conservatism of most real-life truckers of the time, many of whom openly despised the campus protests spearheaded by politically engaged members of the counterculture. Yet Kristofferson's country-counterculture meditations on freedom and independence nonetheless clearly resonated with the tens of thousands of American truck drivers who protested—on several occasions, violently—in the 1970s against the regulatory structures and business practices of an industry that seemed much less free than moviegoers and country music listeners liked to imagine.³

Among the outcomes of the real-life trucker protests of the late 1970s was a profound shift in the regulatory landscape of American trucking. The Motor Carrier Act of 1980 implemented a number of significant changes intended to spur competition for freight and thus drive down shipping costs. Supported by a coalition of consumer activists, neoliberal policymakers, and independent truckers, the deregulation of the industry in 1980 set in motion a series of wide-ranging changes to the nature of work on the American highways. The once-dominant Teamsters Union lost 43 percent of its long-haul trucking members between 1976 and 1985. Non-unionized firms such as J. B. Hunt increasingly took market share from the unionized firms that had anchored the industry since the onset of economic regulation in 1935 during the New Deal. Many small firms, including individual owner-operator truckers, who had been unable to establish positions in some markets in the regulated era, were able to expand their scale of operations significantly after deregulation. But the average truck driver, who had been among the best-paid of blue-collar workers in America in the 1960s and 1970s, continually

³ Mary G. Hurd, *Kris Kristofferson: Country Highwayman*, Lanham 2015; Shane Hamilton, *Trucking Country: The Road to America's Wal-Mart Economy*, Princeton 2008, pp. 214-231.

faced severe pay cuts in the late 1980s and 1990s. Deregulation, in other words, was a “two-edged sword” of freedom, enabling new modes of competition and entrepreneurship for some drivers and firms, but undermining the industry’s stability that had previously provided many drivers with both pride and steady paychecks.⁴

Although the economic consequences of deregulation in American trucking have been well-studied, much less attention has been paid to how the cultural and social meaning of the work of driving a truck in America has changed since the deregulatory legislation of 1980. The work of truckers clearly captured a cultural mood in the 1960s and 1970s, the heyday of country trucking songs and popular movies and TV shows featuring truck drivers bantering on CB radios. The broader cultural appeal of trucking seems to have lessened since 1980, however, suggesting that shifting meanings of *freedom* and *independence* for truckers have made the presumed appeal of the open road less resonant both for professional drivers and for the broader public.

To begin exploring the nature of these changes, it is worth considering what “independence” meant in American trucking culture in the period before deregulation. One place to start is *Overdrive* magazine, “The Voice of the American Trucker,” a periodical launched in 1961 by Mike Parkhurst explicitly aimed at a readership of independent truckers. In an early editorial explaining the magazine’s mission, Parkhurst defined the independent trucker as “a combination small businessman and adventurer.” Soon afterward, however, Parkhurst noted that the “adventurer” aspect invited derogatory epithets such as “gypsy,” a racial slur widely used in the industry since the 1920s—especially among Teamsters union leaders and managers of large common carrier firms—to describe drivers who hauled loads on irregular contracts over irregular routes. According to Parkhurst

⁴ Michael H. Belzer, *Sweatshops on Wheels: Winners and Losers in Trucking Deregulation*, New York 2000; Hamilton 2008, pp. 224-231; Michael L. Pettus, “The Resource-based View as a Developmental Growth Process: Evidence from the Deregulated Trucking Industry,” *Academy of Management Journal* 2001: 44:4, pp. 878-896.

(who bore a lifelong grudge against the Teamsters Union), such derogatory language belittled the important business function of truckers who neither belonged to a union nor worked for wages on fixed contracts for firms owned and managed by non-drivers.⁵

Thus for Parkhurst, to be an independent trucker entailed romance and adventure, though it was not the open road that made it so, but instead the appeal of proprietary capitalism. In this understanding, to be an independent trucker was to own and operate a small business, and thus to challenge on a daily basis the corporate consolidation of American capitalism. For Parkhurst this was what linked “independence” to a broader notion of “freedom,” which he made explicit in 1962 when he founded a trade group, the Independent Truckers Association (ITA). “If you believe in private enterprise,” *Overdrive* announced, then “join the ITA.” Parkhurst advanced this vision consistently during the 1970s and 1980s, including a statement before Congress in 1976 demanding a “rebirth of free enterprise” to allow independent truckers to “legally compete with the large monopolies” and thus prove that “we truly live in the free society we advertise around the world.” This conceptualization of independence as a matter of small business ownership in a system of “free enterprise” resonated widely for the tens of thousands of truckers who participated in violent shutdowns in 1973-1974 and again in 1979. As one protesting trucker explained in a 1973 letter to *Overdrive*, freedom was “the reason for this country in the very beginning,” but it had become increasingly costly for individual drivers to compete with larger firms, which for him suggested that “a three or four day shutdown is a good, very good, place to start to get what is ours.”⁶

Yet implicit in the protests of the truckers of the 1970s was a recognition that even drivers who owned and operated their own rigs remained deeply dependent

⁵ “Who We Are, Why We Are, Where We Are,” *Overdrive* (Feb. 1962), p. 25; *Overdrive*, “Let’s Quit Calling Independent Truckers ‘Gypsies,’” *Overdrive* (May 1962), p. 18.

⁶ “If You Believe in Private Enterprise Then Why Not Join the ITA?” *Overdrive* (Nov. 1963), p. 16; House Committee on Small Business, *Regulatory Problems of the Independent Owner-Operator in the Nation’s Trucking Industry, Part 1, Hearings*, 94th Cong., 2d sess., May 19, 20, 26, Jun. 5, 1976, p. 195; Mike Funkhouser to the Editor, “A Shutdown Is a Place to Start,” *Overdrive* (Nov. 1973), pp. 16-17.

on economic and political structures largely beyond their control. Most drivers who hauled freight on contract rather than for wages depended on either freight brokers or larger common carrier firms to gain access to loads. The work of delivering freight over the highways was not only firmly enmeshed in the machinery of corporate capitalism, but it was also bound by multiple layers of regulation, covering everything from allowable driving hours to licensing to taxation to weight restrictions. The cost of fuel and the lost time of delays at shipping and receiving docks remained almost entirely out of the control of individual truckers. One trucker wrote to *Overdrive* in 1973 to share his frustration at a common experience of owner-operators. Having contracted with a carrier to haul an empty trailer across Pennsylvania and then deliver a load to Port Elizabeth, New Jersey, the driver expected to be paid \$100, but was given only \$50, despite having spent four unpaid hours loading the trailer bound for New Jersey. Independence, the trucker realized, was often fraught with powerlessness, as he had no organizational backing for recourse.⁷

In wider American society and culture in the 1970s, however, truckers were routinely thought of as modern-day cowboys, traversing the “open road” without a care. Within the industry, to call a trucker a cowboy was to denigrate the driver’s skills, but for non-truckers there seemed an obvious parallel between the cattle-herding horsemen of the Old West and the “diesel-doggin’, truck drivin’ asphalt cowboy,” as Clark Bentley and Lawton Williams’s 1970 country song put it. From this outsider perspective, the freedom and independence of trucking was a matter not of engaging in proprietary capitalism, but of a daily work experience unconstrained by factory or office walls, unhampered by the constant supervision of managers. This perception was exaggerated in country music songs such as Jerry Chesnut and Mike Hoyer’s 1968 “Looking at the World through a Windshield,” in which singer Del Reeves bragged of making other drivers choke on his smoke as he

⁷ J. Gonzalez, to the Editor, “Flexibility,” *Overdrive* (Jan. 1973), pp. 17-18.

roamed effortlessly across the nation. Yet letters in *Overdrive*, as well as oral histories, memoirs, and journalists' interviews with truckers who drove in the period make clear that being alone in a tractor cab, viewing sunrises and sunsets over mountains and plains while traveling at high speed, really could be a profoundly liberating experience. Drivers were of course routinely subject to inspections and government and managerial oversight of their work, such as through tachographs and logbooks intended to prevent driving too fast or too long, but truckers often prided themselves on their skill in finding ways to meet regulatory and managerial demands on their own terms.⁸

Importantly, notions of freedom and independence in American trucking were coded as almost exclusively male and white in the 1960s and 1970s. Throughout both decades, more than 90 percent of owner-operator drivers were white. In the overall trucking industry as of 1970 only two percent of drivers were women, and in 1980 only three percent. More than just a demographic fact, the assumption of white manhood in trucking pervaded the culture of the industry both from internal and external perspectives. Workers in the industry routinely laughed at the mere notion of women drivers, while country music songs celebrated the masculine exploits of drivers who spent their days far removed from the domestic sphere.⁹

There have been significant changes in American trucking culture since 1980, however. First, economic deregulation has led to a significant shift in business practice, making the dream of independent small business ownership ever more chimerical. Long-haul drivers are routinely recruited into the industry through promises of being able to purchase their own tractor-trailers and become independent entrepreneurs. The reality for most long-haul drivers, however,

⁸ Mrs. Wilfred Abernathy to the Editor, *Overdrive* (Jan. 1965), p. 6; Robert Krueger, *A Gypsy on 18 Wheels: A Trucker's Tale*, London 1975; John F. Runcie, "Social Group Formation in an Occupation: A Case Study of the Truck Driver," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1971); Otto Riemer, *Hammer Down*, Winona 1985; Axel Madsen, *Open Road: Truckin' on the Biting Edge*, San Diego 1982.

⁹ Hamilton 2008, pp. 205, 196, 194-207.

particularly for new recruits, is an industry that depends heavily on contract labor. Drivers who consider themselves “owner-operators” often own very little, furthermore, as they operate vehicles financed by lease-to-own contracts that routinely put them under heavy long-term debt burdens. Particularly since the 1990s, such drivers have increasingly witnessed changing understandings of contractor autonomy. Prior to deregulation, it was possible for contractors to seek out only the best loads, refusing to haul freight that did not pay well or that prevented them from exercising control over the geography or timing of their routes. Increasingly in the deregulated era, however, drivers sign contracts committing them to haul for only a single company. Such “independent” contractors find the ability to control the timing, geography, and pay of their work severely reduced, as sociologist Steve Viscelli has clearly demonstrated. One of sociologist Anne Balay’s informants forthrightly declared that trucking was “the most unfree thing I’ve ever done.”¹⁰

A case recently argued before the U.S. Supreme Court highlights the wider social significance of the ongoing shift to contracting in the long-haul trucking industry. The case, *New Prime Inc. v. Oliveira*, originated from a dispute over whether a driver named Dominic Oliveira, who had signed a long-term contract to haul freight for New Prime, was in fact if not in name an “employee” rather than an “independent contractor.” New Prime, an interstate truckload carrier, has in recent years pursued a strategy similar to many of its competitors in relying heavily on independent contractors. In large part the strategy is driven by the nature of the deregulated environment in which New Prime is located. The truckload (TL) segment of the industry has become hypercompetitive since the deregulation of American trucking, with tens of thousands of firms operating in highly volatile shipping markets—such as furniture and agrifood haulage—ridden with endemic uncertainty regarding timing, geography, and volume of demand for services.

¹⁰ Steve Viscelli, *The Big Rig: Trucking and the Decline of the American Dream*, Berkeley 2016, pp. 105-113; Anne Balay, *Semi Queer: Inside the World of Gay, Trans, and Black Truck Drivers*, Chapel Hill 2018, p. 5.

Demand for TL services thus fluctuates widely, as do freight rates. Firms such as New Prime confront this uncertainty in part by shifting risk onto independent contractors, who must cover the fixed costs of their equipment even when carriers cut their freight rates to regain volume. Independent contractors are thus expected to be exceptionally flexible workers, willing and able to accept any load at any time (and often at any price) while also accepting the very real possibility that there may be no loads to haul. The social consequences of this risk-shifting mode is illustrated poignantly by Anne Balay's analysis of a truckstop in southern California where drivers pay to park, sometimes for days or even weeks, bored and dispirited, while they wait on the firms to whom they have contracted their labor for notice of an available load. Firms that rely on independent contractors to bear the risks of fluctuating demand are clearly doing so as part of an intentional strategy for gaining or maintaining competitive advantage; as the American Trucking Associations noted in its brief in support of New Prime before the Supreme Court: "Contracting with independent businesses to supply capacity is, in short, critical to the ability of motor carriers to remain nimble and competitive in the face of inevitable fluctuation in demand for hauling freight." Considered in a longer historical context, it is clear that contemporary trucking firms' demands for flexibility from independent contractors are remarkably similar to conditions in the unregulated era of the 1920s and early 1930s.¹¹

Realizing the problematic nature of contracting with New Prime, Dominic Oliveira filed a class action lawsuit demanding payment of wages that would have been owed to him had he been classified as an employee rather than an independent contractor. New Prime responded by asking the courts to invoke the Federal

¹¹ Brief of Steve Viscelli, Domingo Avalos, Gabriel Procel, Brion Gray, James Zuber, Hector Zelaya, Desiree Ann Wood, the Wage Justice Center and Real Women in Trucking, Inc. in Support of Respondent as Amici Curiae, *New Prime Inc., v. Dominic Oliveira*, 586 U.S. ____ (2019), 3-6; Balay 2018, pp. 129-130; Brief of American Trucking Associations, Inc., in Support of Petitioner as Amicus Curiae, *New Prime Inc., v. Dominic Oliveira*, 586 U.S. ____ (2019), 6; Peter Scott & Chris Reid, "'The White Slavery of the Motor World': Opportunism in the Interwar Road Haulage Industry," *Social History* 2000: 25:3, pp. 300-315; William R. Childs, *Trucking and the Public Interest: The Emergence of Federal Regulation, 1914-1940*, Knoxville 1985.

Arbitration Act of 1925, because Oliveira’s contract included a clause requiring all disputes with independent contractors to be handled through arbitration rather than litigation. This case ultimately made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court, because Oliveira argued that the 1925 legislation specifically exempted from compulsory arbitration any “contracts of employment of [certain transportation] workers engaged in foreign or interstate commerce.” New Prime and its allies in the American Trucking Associations clearly recognized that if independent contractors could pursue legal action to resolve disputes over pay and working conditions, rather than be forced into arbitration, the strategy of shifting the risks of volatile markets onto “independents” would quickly become prohibitively expensive. Thus New Prime argued that the phrase “contracts of employment” referred solely to waged employees, not independent contractors. The lower courts agreed with Oliveira, however, as did the U.S. Supreme Court in January 2019, declaring that the 1925 exemption from compulsory arbitration applied to Oliveira whether he was considered an employee or an independent contractor.¹²

The narrowness of the legal dispute and of the Supreme Court’s ruling belies the wider significance of a case such as *New Prime*, for at the heart of the dispute is a contest over the meaning of independence and freedom in the trucking industry. A central assumption in New Prime’s argument was the notion that as an independent contractor, Dominic Oliveira was free “all along” to “become an employee of New Prime instead,” and thus had consciously and freely chosen to bear the risks of contracting his labor in a market defined by uncertainty and incessant demands for flexibility. Yet for Oliveira the supposed choice between wage work and contracting was not itself the issue; in fact, Oliveira later decided to end his contract and work as an employee instead. More to the point was the matter of how much control contracted drivers might exercise over the nature of the work process. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Neal Gorsuch, noted in the court’s unanimous decision

¹² Reply Brief of New Prime, Inc., *New Prime Inc. v. Dominic Oliveira*, 586 U.S. ____ (2019); Brief of American Trucking Associations, *op cit.*; *New Prime Inc. v. Oliveira*, 586 U.S. ____ (2019).

supporting *Oliveira* that employers have rights to “control the details of work performance,” but that independent contractors, in distinction to employees, are “entrusted to undertake a specific project but [are] left free to do the assigned work and to choose the method for accomplishing it.” The reality of the contemporary American trucking industry is that both employees and independent contractors are carefully micromanaged, particularly through the use of satellite tracking and monitoring devices—generally referred to as “Qualcomms” in reference to the most popular brand in use. Firms rely on such devices to limit truck speeds, monitor driver compliance with hours-of-service regulations, and determine where and when drivers should be in order to maximize efficiency of deliveries and pickups. Firms can also use the devices to ensure that independent contractors do not break the terms of their lease by hauling for other carriers. And beyond the technological means for micromanaging the driving behavior of independent contractors, contracting firms tend to exercise extraordinary control over which loads drivers will “choose” to accept, for most independent contractors do not have nationwide operating authority of their own and thus must haul under the authority of the firm to whom they are contracted. In short, an independent contractor exercises remarkably little autonomy over the nature of work; rather than be “entrusted” to “choose the method” for accomplishing their work, what independent contractors are expected to do, in the words of the American Trucking Associations’ brief to the Supreme Court, is “provide the flexibility necessary to meet fluctuations in demand for trucking services.”¹³

A Hollywood scriptwriter hoping to draft a screenplay lionizing the freedom and independence of the American trucker would thus find in the contemporary industry very little material worth portraying on the silver screen. Certainly the mythology of independent small business ownership remains a constant in the industry; indeed, as sociologist Steve Viscelli has made clear, trucking firms

¹³ Reply Brief of New Prime, Inc., op cit., 3; *New Prime v. Oliveira*, op cit., 10; Brief of Steve Viscelli, op cit., 10, 14; Brief of American Trucking Associations, op cit., 5.

routinely promote entrepreneurial possibilities as a means for recruiting new drivers into the contracting system. Yet that mythology, as powerful as it is in shaping expectations and behaviors among new drivers entering the industry, clearly contrasts with the daily working experience of truckers whose labor must be “flexible” yet also closely micromanaged.¹⁴

Intriguingly, however, an ongoing cultural and social change in American trucking opens up the possibility that “freedom” and “independence” may be taking on new meanings as trucking becomes less and less a preserve of white masculinity. Statistics indicate that although American trucking remains dominated by men (with 94 percent of drivers in 2014 identifying as male), only 74 percent identified as white while 9 percent and 17 percent identified as Hispanic and black, respectively, a significant departure from the demographics of the 1970s. Culturally, the dominance of masculinity remains prevalent; as one recent analysis of contemporary country music songs about truckers has demonstrated, songwriters continue to “essentialize the occupation as made for males,” such that even songs about women drivers “symbolically preserve trucking as essentially male-centered” by marking female drivers as exceptions or aberrations. Yet as sociologist Anne Balay has discovered, there is an emerging culture of gay and trans truckers who, despite clearly recognizing the limits to economic opportunity and workplace autonomy that prevail in the contemporary industry, nonetheless find meaningful personal value in long-haul trucking. For working-class individuals accustomed to persecution and social scrutiny for being transgender or intersex, the daily work of trucking provides a moving refuge, a means of limiting the possibility of persecution for their identity. Balay’s informants indicate that they feel empowered by driving a truck, considering the machinery a “prosthesis” that through its movement enables a sense of personal

¹⁴ Viscelli 2015, pp. 108-128.

freedom of expression and courageous selfhood that would be notably absent in an office or factory setting.¹⁵

The world of American work, as historian Louis Hyman has aptly argued, has been transformed since the 1970s “from one of security to insecurity,” with firms routinely demanding ever more “flexibility” from workers. In some respects, long-haul trucking is no different from many other occupations that have been subjected to the rise of contracting, temporary employment, and outsourcing that companies large and small have implemented to reduce labor costs and maintain competitiveness. Yet there is something particularly striking about the transformation of American trucking culture, and how the impacts of deregulation have so thoroughly challenged the meaning of independence in the context of work. After all, unlike the steady corporate jobs undermined by temp agencies and consulting firms in Hyman’s study, long-haul trucking has relied on independent contractors from its inception; drivers have always been expected to provide “flexible” labor. But during the decades in which American trucking was subject to economic regulations, that “flexibility” was also closely tied to expectations of autonomy, choice, and individual responsibility on the part of independent truckers. Thus in the 1960s and 1970s, the masculine-coded working-class appeal of independence in trucking conveyed significant social and cultural meaning even when both insiders and outsiders recognized limits to freedom on the “open road.” Since the 1980s, however, and especially since the rise of new forms of lease-contracting and technologically regulated driving in the 1990s to today, long-haul trucking seems increasingly similar to any other form of work—including professional white-collar work—where expectations of worker autonomy and

¹⁵ Viscelli 2015, p. 219; Jason T. Eastman, William F. Danaher, & Douglas Schrock, "Gendering Truck Driving Songs: The Cultural Masculinization of an Occupation," *Sociological Spectrum* 2013: 33:5, p. 421; Balay 2018, pp. 110-111.

responsibility have been replaced by managerialist demands for workers to be “always working.”¹⁶

Indicatively, it is no longer the “cowboy” but instead the “robot” that receives the majority of attention in media discussions of American trucking. Artificial intelligence is increasingly imagined as a “disruptive innovation” that will transform the trucking industry, particularly the hypercompetitive and exploitative TL segment that is so dependent on independent contractors, enabling “autonomous” or “self-driving” trucks to deliver goods efficiently and flexibly. As one young tech entrepreneur tells the Silicon Valley news hub *TechCrunch* in a 2017 video on YouTube, robot trucks have “an incredibly strong business case.” After all, if a truckload firm needs a flexible workforce, it is hard to beat a non-sentient, non-living entity that has neither individual rights nor expectations for any sort of “autonomy” beyond what is prescribed by its managerially dictated protocols. Yet it is also intriguing, when reading the breathless reporting on the nascent self-driving truck industry, how rampant is the sense of youthful enthusiasm among those involved in the work. Engineering the autonomous truck is a thrillingly difficult technological challenge, providing young techies a chance to explore unknown horizons, talk in strange jargon impenetrable to outsiders, work hard over long hours, and potentially reap the rewards of taking risks in a system of free enterprise. Their media world is one of Instagram and WhatsApp and Twitter, of course, not country music and CB radios. But in a world where trucks are expected to be autonomous and drivers are merely contractors, it would seem we now turn to Silicon Valley and not Red Sovine’s Feather River Canyon to find renegades worthy of wider admiration in a society where the “flexibility” of the modern workplace increasingly loses its appeal.¹⁷

¹⁶ Louis Hyman, *Temp: How American Work, American Business, and the American Dream Became Temporary*, New York 2018, p. 2; Scott & Reid 2000, p. 301.

¹⁷ Conor Dougherty, "Self-Driving Trucks May Be Closer Than They Appear," *New York Times*, Nov. 13, 2017; Dilip Bhattacharjee, Eric Komenda, & John Murnane, "The US Truckload Industry Seeks a Road to the Future," *McKinsey & Company Travel, Transport, & Logistics* (Oct. 2017), <https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/travel-transport-and-logistics/our-insights/the-us-truckload-industry->

seeks-a-road-to-the-future; Kyree Leary, "Tesla's Autonomous Semi Truck Has Its First Official Mission," *Futurism*, Mar. 1, 2018, <https://futurism.com/teslas-autonomous-semi-truck-spotted-california-highway>; TechCrunch, *EMBARC Self-Driving Truck*, Sept. 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mCr7CmrNY-Q>.

Bibliography

Books

Balay, Anne. *Semi Queer: Inside the World of Gay, Trans, and Black Truck Drivers*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

Belzer, Michael H. *Sweatshops on Wheels: Winners and Losers in Trucking Deregulation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Childs, William R. *Trucking and the Public Interest: The Emergence of Federal Regulation, 1914-1940*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

Hamilton, Shane. *Trucking Country: The Road to America's Wal-Mart Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Hurd, Mary G. *Kris Kristofferson: Country Highwayman*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015.

Hyman, Louis. *Temp: How American Work, American Business, and the American Dream Became Temporary*. New York: Viking Press, 2018.

Krueger, Robert. *A Gypsy on 18 Wheels: A Trucker's Tale*. London: Praeger, 1975.

Madsen, Axel. *Open Road: Truckin' on the Biting Edge*. San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, 1982.

Riemer, Otto. *Hammer Down*. Winona, MN: Apollo Books, 1985.

Viscelli, Steve. *The Big Rig: Trucking and the Decline of the American Dream*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016.

Articles and Essays

Eastman, Jason T., William F. Danaher, and Douglas Schrock. "Gendering Truck Driving Songs: The Cultural Masculinization of an Occupation." *Sociological Spectrum* 33, no. 5 (2013): 416-432.

Pettus, Michael L. "The Resource-based View as a Developmental Growth Process: Evidence from the Deregulated Trucking Industry." *Academy of Management Journal* 44, no. 4 (2001): 878-896.

Scott, Peter, and Chris Reid. "'The White Slavery of the Motor World': Opportunism in the Interwar Road Haulage Industry." *Social History* 25, no. 3 (2000): 300-315. 2000.

Government Documents

Brief of American Trucking Associations, Inc., in Support of Petitioner as Amicus Curiae, *New Prime Inc., v. Dominic Oliveira*, 586 U.S. ____ (2019).

Brief for Steve Viscelli, Domingo Avalos, Gabriel Procel, Brion GRay, James Zuber, Hector Zelaya, Desiree Ann Wood, the Wage Justice Center and Real Women in Trucking, Inc. in Support of Respondent as Amici Curiae, *New Prime Inc., v. Dominic Oliveira*, 586 U.S. ____ (2019).

Brief of the Owner-Operator Independent Drivers Association, Inc., in Support of Respondent as Amicus Curiae, *New Prime Inc., v. Dominic Oliveira*, 586 U.S. ____ (2019).

Reply Brief of New Prime, Inc., *New Prime Inc., v. Dominic Oliveira*, 586 U.S. ____ (2019).

House Committee on Small Business. *Regulatory Problems of the Independent Owner-Operator in the Nation's Trucking Industry, Part 1, Hearings, 94th Cong., 2d sess., May 19, 20, 26, Jun. 5, 1976.*

Magazines, Newspapers, and Trade Periodicals

"If You Believe in Private Enterprise Then Why Not Join the ITA?" *Overdrive* (Nov. 1963): 16.

"Let's Quit Calling Independent Truckers 'Gypsies'." *Overdrive* (May 1962): 18.

"Who We Are, Why We Are, Where We Are." *Overdrive* (Feb. 1962): 25.

Abernathy, Mrs. Wilfred, to the Editor. *Overdrive* (Jan. 1965): 6.

Bhattacharjee, Dilip, Eric Komenda, and John Murnane. "The US Truckload Industry Seeks a Road to the Future." *McKinsey & Company Travel, Transport, & Logistics* (Oct. 2017):. <https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/travel-transport-and-logistics/our-insights/the-us-truckload-industry-seeks-a-road-to-the-future>.

Dougherty, Conor. "Self-Driving Trucks May Be Closer Than They Appear." *New York Times*. Nov. 13, 2017.

Gonzalez, J. to the Editor, "Flexibility." *Overdrive* (Jan. 1973): 17-18.

Hutchinson, Lydia. "Kris Kristofferson's 'Me and Bobby McGee'." *Performing Songwriter*. Sep. 25, 2015. <http://performingsongwriter.com/kris-kristofferson-bobby-mcgee/>.

Leary, Kyree. "Tesla's Autonomous Semi Truck Has Its First Official Mission." *Futurism*. Mar. 1, 2018. <https://futurism.com/teslas-autonomous-semi-truck-spotted-california-highway>.

Petersen, Anne Helen. "How Millennials Became The Burnout Generation." *BuzzFeed News*. Jan. 5, 2019. <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/annehelenpetersen/millennials-burnout-generation-debt-work>.

Dissertations

Runcie, John F. "Social Group Formation in an Occupation: A Case Study of the Truck Driver," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971.

Films

Convoy, directed by Sam Peckinpah, 110 min., EMI Films, 1978, videocassette.

TechCrunch. *EMBARK Self-Driving Truck*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mCr7CmrNY-Q>.