

Agata Stanisz*

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

**REGIMES OF LOGISTICS, PAUSES IN THE FLOW,
STILLNESS IN (NEAR) INDUSTRIAL NON-PLACES
AND MOBILITY INFRASTRUCTURE**

The article is based on the ethnographic mobile fieldwork carried out among Polish tractor unit drivers employed in West European forwarding companies. It is focused on truck drivers' mobility, whose inherent quality is the contradiction between movement and stillness, multi-sitedness and specific localisation, and access to protected and monitored industrial zones as opposed to spatial exclusion. The starting point of the reflections are the categories of a non-place and mobility, which in practice appear to be less obvious and one-dimensional in the context of trans-local and cross-border activities of tractor unit drivers. It is the stillness a phenomenon that reveals the regimes of distribution and transport logistics.

Keywords: anthropology of freight, logistics, non-places, mobile ethnography, stillness

This article is based on the mobile fieldwork I have been carrying out for more than three years among tractor unit drivers employed in West European forwarding companies who are responsible for cross-border transport in Denmark, Germany, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway. The research has been conducted in accordance with the principles of mobile ethnography with the use of autoethnographic elements, which in this case has been inevitable. In other words, I have conducted this research from the perspective of a co-participant in long-haul transport operations carried out by a given driver, sharing a three-metre space in a tractor unit cab and taking part in their activities. I started the research in 2011. My aim was to find a new field which I could study from a long-term perspective and whose specific features would allow me to use new research techniques connected to, among others, the assumptions of multi-sited ethnography. The reason why I started this study was not strictly academic. It was my personal fascination with landscapes that provide the context for the work of tractor unit drivers as an occupational group: road infrastructure, roadside spaces and industrial areas such as harbours, foundries, processing plants and warehouses where loading and unloading of goods takes place. These are spaces

* Corresponding author: Agata Stanisz, Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej, Collegium Historicum Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu; e-mail: stanisz@amu.edu.pl.

which I am particularly fond of due to their visual and acoustic features. Academically, the studies I started were supposed to be pilot studies aimed at finding some specific observable socio-cultural phenomena to later analyse and interpret from an anthropological perspective. As a result, the main subjects of my research are (trans)locality and multi-sitedness, as well as (trans)nationalism and economic migration dynamics which are related to them, and finally transport policies and processes of creating infrastructure for mobility.

Everyday lives of HGV drivers are often led in spaces which, from an anthropological point of view, can be described as Augéan non-places (Augé 1995). Staying in such spaces does not only generate specific experiences stemming from the perceptive intensity of multisensual impressions, but also calls into question the obviousness of mobility and movement assigned to objects responsible for transport and supposedly embodying speed and flow. Other non-places that channel and constitute the specific features of tractor unit drivers' work and leisure time are the spaces characteristic of mobility infrastructure: all types of roads (including motorways and national roads), transport service centres, car parks, shoulders and outskirts of both European metropolises and smaller cities, towns and even villages (which often serve as industrial zones) (see also Normark 2006: 241–252).

The article focuses on 'on truck drivers' mobility, whose inherent quality is the contradiction between movement and stillness, multi-sitedness and specific localisation, and access to protected and monitored industrial zones as opposed to spatial exclusion. The starting point of my reflections are the categories of a non-place and mobility, which in practice, after I experienced them in a multisensory way, appear to me much less obvious and one-dimensional in the context of trans-local and cross-border activities of tractor unit drivers. I would like to treat the 'stillness' of the title of this article as a phenomenon that reveals the regimes of distribution and transport logistics¹ (see also Koźlak 2009: 33–37).

MOBILE ETHNOGRAPHY METHODOLOGY

The specific nature of cross-border transport and thus the mobility of truck drivers as its main performers required me to use appropriate research techniques which go beyond the standard participant observation associated with traditionally understood fieldwork. Most importantly, the research field in this case did not only have a multi-sited and trans-local character, but was literally the context for daily work and leisure time of the drivers. Although drivers as an occupational group are not the subject of my study, they do constitute a very crucial foundation of my research. Due to logistical reasons, I conducted my studies mainly among Polish drivers employed in international companies located in Western European countries. Owing to them, I had a chance to get to know drivers of other nationalities or ethnic

¹ Distribution logistics encompasses the processes of developing, controlling and monitoring all distribution policy processes that are necessary to transport goods from a trading or production company to its customers, whereas transport logistics is connected to the use of logistic concepts and tools in the transport of goods and people.

origins and a diversified community of migrants who are directly or indirectly associated with the flow of (mainly industrial) goods manufactured in Western Europe and people who provide services in the mobility infrastructure. These are, among others, workers employed in harbours, steel mills, foundries, factories, processing plants, warehouses, petrol stations, motorway service areas, roadside shops, bars, restaurants, hotels and other various places where all types of travellers can stay en route.

Since I want to keep my ethnographic work smooth and safe, I conduct my studies by cooperating with a trusted driver employed by a specific Western European forwarding company, whom I accompany each time on a journey lasting 3–4 weeks. Throughout the trip I live in a three-metre tractor unit cab. The method that I use is first and foremost participant observation. However, the traditional approach to this method does not suffice, mainly because my immersion in the field is very deep and fast. I place this intensive type of participation founded on the intimacy established with my key informer in mobile ethnographic methodology, a term first mentioned in the paper *The New Mobilities Paradigm* by Mimi Sheller and John Urry (2006). Naturally, this methodology is developed on the basis of traditional ethnographic methods, which in such studies conducted on the move are specifically combined. Hence, observation, audiovisual methods and interviews (from those without a particular structure to biographical and narrative ones) are used interchangeably. The key premise of this methodology is the fact that the researcher follows people. Depending on the type of their mobility, this activity can be seasonal, periodical or circular. In this sense, it resembles so-called shadowing, consisting of a plethora of ways in which I follow people and move with them, whether by taking a walk or moving within urban conurbations and between cities, or cross-border movement in different transport systems (Czarniawska 2007).

Mobile ethnography is closely related to multi-sited ethnography methodology, which emerged in the 1980s and ultimately undermined the traditional understanding of ethnography as specifically localised geographically. Generally, multi-sitedness means that researchers can carry out their work in various ethnographic locations (Marcus 1995: 95–117). This is in answer to the needs of migration studies, which initially focused on the consequences of migratory movements, both in the places of origin and in the destinations of migrants. This trend has its great theoretician, George E. Marcus, who searches for the ways of interpreting the flow of cultural meanings, things, and identities that cannot be further explained by single-sited research (Marcus 1998: 80). However, his approach still includes spatial analysis of mobility based on the reproduction of traditional and localised methods. The ethnographer studies a few places and then conducts comparative analyses. Thus, what is happening during the movement and flow process between two points remains unknown (Cresswell 2006: 2). Of course, ethnography has always assumed that a researcher sets off to some place (regardless whether it is a journey to the end of the world or to the next block in the city where the researcher permanently resides) and concentrates on the local context for a long period of time. Therefore, it might be stated that traditional ethnographic research can be perceived as immobile and rooted in a characteristic context or a single local site (Adey 2010: 70). In the case of research whose starting point is the mobility of tractor unit

drivers, providers of cross-border transport (one of the most important elements of a free market), this approach is non-applicable. There is no local context to be discussed, even though the drivers' identities are constructed to some extent on the basis of their national or ethnic "localness", which they constantly refer to and to some degree take with them on the road (Seabra Real Sampaio da Nóvoa 2014: 78–132; Stanisiz 2012).

Being a peripheral element of academic research, mobility itself was for a long time conceptualised as a product of relations and social activities. This approach changed when a new mobility paradigm was formed. It placed movement and flow among the most important social activities and, consequently, in the centre of an academic debate. Place, territory and roots are not the only research fields in social studies anymore. The new trend has forced ethnography to adopt mobile study methods, though of course they will never replace the traditional ones completely. Mobility as an inevitable social practice evokes mobile ethnography ontologically, hermeneutically and epistemologically. According to Mimi Sheller and John Urry, there exist a few emerging mobile ethnography forms which require participation in movement patterns during a study (Sheller, Urry 2006: 217). In his book *Mobility* John Urry explains that mobile ethnography can require travelling with people, because this is the only means by which a researcher can experience their ways of living. Owing to coexistence and immersion, researchers move in the same way as their study objects do. On the road, they conduct interviews, make observations and use other research techniques. Hence, this is a form of participating in and, most of all, experiencing certain movement patterns (Czarniawska 2007; Urry 2007: 40). In my opinion, this methodology allows for a new translation of the traditional participant observation into the context of mobility. This means that an ethnographer's work does not only consist in observation of what is happening, but most importantly, experiencing and feeling through multisensory participation. Therefore, it should also validate extravisual dimensions of reality, for example, textures, smells, sounds and all types of motor sensations. A similar approach can be found in the book *Mobile Methods* by Monika Büscher, John Urry and Katian Witchger (2011). They describe new possibilities in the studies of mobile phenomena which are based on sensory, emotional, kinaesthetic, fleeting – and not necessarily cause and effect – experiences. Thus, such studies are actually investigations on the move: following along, shadowing, ethnographic stalking, and participant intervention, which make it possible to ask questions about what is changing, what remains the same, how objects, spaces, people and pieces of information are arranged and rearranged (Büscher et al 2011: 1–13; see also Fincham et al 2010: 5).

Applying mobile ethnography, where experience and deep immersion play a crucial role, entails autoethnographic elements: what is subjective due to participation in the mobility of a selected group of people becomes a determinant of the final research product. Being on the road with somebody (an individual or a group of people) always means spending 24 hours a day with them. Whereas localised study practice allows for negotiating, creating and defining one's privacy (whether it is in a room, a flat or a tent), mobile ethnography does not provide the researcher with such a possibility. Nothing can be hidden (Czarniawska 2007: 56–57; Stanisiz 2015).

TOWARDS NON-PLACES AND STILLNESS IMPERATIVE

Regulation (EC) No 561/2006 of the European Parliament and the Council of 15 March 2006 on the harmonisation of certain social legislation relating to road transport established the norms of long-haul truck drivers' work, which are still valid and applicable². According to it, the drivers' work is performed on the basis of a legally regulated schedule, which theoretically does not provide any possibility to go beyond a given timeframe. The drivers' working and driving time (regardless whether it is measured in days or weeks) is complex. The law states that drivers can work up to 90 hours per two weeks unless they exceed the limit of 56 hours in the first week (this means that if they drive more than 56 hours in a given week, they can work no longer than 34 hours in the following week). Consequently, one can drive no more than 9 hours between the end of one daily rest period and the beginning of another, or between one daily rest period and a weekly rest period. However, it is allowed to prolong this time to no more than 10 hours, no more than twice a week. After 4.5 hours, there must be an obligatory uninterrupted break when a driver cannot drive a vehicle or carry out any other work. This break has to be used exclusively for rest and it has to last at least 45 minutes³. Then, there is a regulation on a daily rest period when drivers can do whatever they want. It includes a regular and a reduced daily rest period. The former includes uninterrupted rest for at least 11 hours; the latter is at least 9 hours of rest, but less than 11 hours. The situation is similar with a weekly rest period. It has to start no later than at the end of six 24-hour periods, starting from the end of the previous weekly rest period. A regular weekly rest period should last at least 45 hours. If it gets reduced, it should be compensated with an equivalent period of rest taken en bloc before the end of the third week following the week in question. The rest is used to compensate for the reduced weekly rest period and is attached to another rest period of at least 9 hours.

The resolution does not define where a driver should rest or what he or she should be doing during this time. It only states that a properly equipped cab allows for the so-called "rest receipt" (mostly sleep). Drivers who provide road transport services often struggle with the problem of finding an appropriate place to park in order to take the obligatory breaks, especially at weekends or before national holidays when car parks are heavily congested. Due to that, drivers are often forced to exceed their driving periods in order to arrive at a car park with free places, or they reach the desired location at the last minute. Oftentimes, they are forced to park in undesignated places. All of the driver's movements, breaks and activities, such as loading and unloading, are registered and coded by a tachograph⁴. Any breach of those strict timeframes or any attempts to falsify them is punishable by fine.

² <http://www.copernic-avocats.pl/publikacje-artykuly/2006-03-15-Rozporzadzenie-561-2006.pdf> [10.02.2015].

³ Alternatively, a driver can have a break of at least 15 minutes followed by a break of at least 30 minutes, each distributed in such a way as to comply with the provisions.

⁴ A tachograph is a measuring tool functioning as a clock and a speedometer at the same time. It registers in time the distance covered by a vehicle, its speed at any moment and also the driver's activities. Tachographs became obligatory equipment in the EU on the basis of Regulation No 3821/85 of 20 December 1985 on recording equipment in road transport, which entered into force on 29 September 1986. The AETR convention regulating tachograph use came into effect on 31 July 1985 (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31985R3821:EN:HTML> [10.02.2015]).

The above legal regulations almost exclusively refer to the mobility of tractor unit drivers in terms of time, whereas geography and types of channelizing are regulated by various European conventions and national legislations, which have to be observed by drivers and depend on the type of transport that they provide (e.g. transit, direct or indirect), and the carried goods. Theoretically, geography, although marked by constant mobility, can be perceived as permanent and certain. The other certain elements are driving and working times and, to some extent, a certain schedule (although it is usually established on an ongoing basis and without the driver's involvement). On the other hand, it is never certain how transport services will be carried out since it depends on many unpredictable elements: fluctuations on the forwarding market, the transport seasonality of some goods, constant changes in road infrastructure (road extensions, repairs, traffic jams, accidents), weather conditions, unannounced inspections, robberies, and individual acts of dispatchers or employees in companies where the goods are taken from and transported to. In other words, only a relative permanent legal framework regulating transport exist (see also Seabra Real Sampaio da Nóvoa 2014: 92–103).

In most European countries, HGVs cannot enter some parts of cities and small towns. Areas where they are allowed to move in are mostly industrial zones, most often located on the outskirts, hidden in forests, between fields and meadows, in harbours and along river banks. Such areas also include all types of car parks, parking spaces, parking bays in forests and shoulders. Drivers' mobility is not only monitored with tachographs, but also GPS devices and probes, which are standard equipment on trucks. There is also the ubiquitous monitoring and supervision inherent to industrial zone and mobility infrastructure organisation. As a result, drivers are eliminated from some places and strictly controlled in others. Most of all, however, they are directed to non-places while their mobility is characterised by stagnation.

NON-PLACES: MOBILITY INFRASTRUCTURE AND INDUSTRIAL ZONES

I went on my third journey with my key informer, a tractor unit driver employed by a German-Danish-Norwegian forwarding company located in Denmark. It was a 19-day trip between 1st and 19th July 2012. I spent 456 hours in an HGV cab. On the one hand, I experienced a lack of a permanent geographical location and a constant presence on the road and, on the other hand, much more often I experienced stillness, i.e. taking what the drivers call a "pause". We never knew when the pause would happen or how long it would last. My driver's employer established the routes on an ongoing basis, sometimes overnight and sometimes even from hour to hour. This time the route went through Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and France. The company deals with logistics of carried goods, mostly in industrial objects, according to a territorial key. Generally, the area where the orders are received is divided into three large regions: Denmark and Germany; the Netherlands, Belgium and France; and Norway. They are supervised by three dispatchers responsible for creating the drivers' schedules and controlling their activities. Dispatchers contact drivers by email, text messages and, very rarely, when some serious problems occur,

by phone. Drivers work cyclically: they go on 3–4 week journeys and then they come back home for a weekly rest period (this is when they prepare for the next cycle gathering food provisions and washing their clothes). After the rest period, they have to get to the company's headquarters in southern Denmark, which often requires covering 2,000 kilometres. One or two days before the departure, drivers can only presume which of the three regions they are going to be sent to on the basis of which dispatcher has contacted them. Drivers never use the same tractor unit they did before so each time they have to re-establish their own order in the cab by filling it with the possessions they take with them (sheets, carpets, electronic equipment, family photos, stuffed toys, etc.). The cabs are not only their workstations, but also a kind of mobile home which also function as a space where the drivers can manifest their national and ethnic identities (Stanisz 2012).

In the context of my research, I use the notion of “non-place” coined by Marc Augé. According to the original definition of the concept, a non-place is the opposite of “anthropological places”, which I understand as local spaces, important for the sense of belonging and the functioning of identity mechanisms, developed on the basis of, for example, collective memory. It means that anthropological places are historically defined, also in terms of space and time, and their contents create reference points indispensable for deeper social relations. Augé claims that this type of place is more and more often replaced by new, ultra-modern landscapes appearing in the context of increased mobility. For Augé, typical examples of such spaces are supermarkets, airports, large hotels, motorways, seats in front of the TV set, computer terminals and the whole Internet network. Through their features: aesthetic and functional standardisation and virtuality, as well as an ongoing elimination of the sense of temporal linearity, non-places generate a type of human relationship that is deprived of localness and “aboriginality” (Augé 1995: 75–115). Undoubtedly, drivers stay in places which do not have an anthropological nature. This is where human relations are temporal and their only context is being on the move. The most typical non-places are, most of all, car parks: from those in long-haul transport service centres located on motorways, through small car parks at petrol stations or typical passenger service centres, to forest car parks deprived of any infrastructure, which Polish drivers call “dzikusy” (“savages”). During the journey that I am describing, the mandatory pauses in transit were taken on the autohofs in Germany, transport zones in the Netherlands and Belgium, *aires* in France, car parks situated along railway routes, smaller car parks next to motorways equipped only with toilets, and forest car parks located along national roads (which Polish drivers call “landówki” in Germany, “nacjonalki” in Denmark and “departamentalki” in France)⁵. These non-places constitute a part of mobility infrastructure, which according to Augé's definition, also belongs to non-places.

If we interpret mobility as constructed by historic and social processes, we will instantly notice that it is strictly related to the structure and development of infrastructure, which in turn constitutes an expression of political intentions concerning European integration. Mobility infrastructure goes beyond the local. It encompasses motorways, highways and national roads creating a network of international roads (the international E-road network). The development

⁵ Drivers call the rest periods “pauses” and carrying out pauses is called “trzepanie pauz” (informal: “doing pauses”).

of those roads facilitates and accelerates transport, which makes it possible to quickly move between postnational macroregions in Europe. This concerns not only land transport, but also air, rail and water transport (McNeill 2004: 134).

Roads and motorways are now one of the most significant national landscapes, as discussed by, for example, Pete Merriman in his book *Driving Spaces: a Cultural-Historical Geography of England's M1 Motorway* (2007). It is, however, worth analysing the significance of road infrastructure development in the context of the European integration process initiated in the 20th century (Schipper 2008; Van der Vleuten, Kaijser 2006). The E-road system serves as the best example. It is a system of roads in Europe developed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) in order to enable trans-border mobility. The system was designed in the 1940s and fully reorganised in 1975 when the European Agreement on Main International Traffic Arteries (AGR) was created⁶. It consists of agreements concerning communal road traffic, which allows people and goods to easily transport or be transported all over Europe. Infrastructure development and restructuring (i.e. construction of bridges, motorways, viaducts, tunnels, tracks etc.) means making Europe a dynamic space for this flow, the intensity of which is increasing. Infrastructure is only seemingly static with its uniform landscape composed of various elements and solutions, from architectural to ergonomic ones, which are similar to one another owing to the use of the same technologies. It is this spatially monstrous construction that generates, constitutes and channelizes traffic. Paul Virilio writes in his *Open Sky* (1997) that the development of massive mobility infrastructure eliminates the topographic image of a landscape as something that is created from territorial and local landmarks, which have always played a significant role in creating national identities. Consequently, the landmarks are replaced by a mobile landscape, which can generate a completely different identity of a more supranational nature.

Apart from those typical non-places related to mobility infrastructure, tractor unit drivers also stay in another type of non-place, industrial zones, which in most European countries are located in the outskirts of cities and towns and near the main mobility channels, such as motorways, airports, railroads and harbours. Locating industrial zones in such places is directly related to the fact that transport of an intermodal nature should be by definition fast and efficient⁷. These industrial non-places are usually situated along the zones or in those fragments of the zones which are excluded from their internal logistic system. These are squares, river banks, side roads and thickets: spaces deprived of any infrastructure which could provide drivers with a similar level of comfort when waiting and pausing to that ensured in car parks. Nevertheless, this is where drivers spend most of their time waiting for loading and unloading, which can last for several hours or several days.

HGV drivers are constantly in Augéan non-places: driving along them and pausing, waiting, being still, spending hours in front of computer screens, TVs, and smartphone

⁶ <http://drogipubliczne.eu/umowy-miedzynarodowe/umowa-europejska-o-glownych-drogach-ruchu-miedzynarodowego-agr> [20.02.2014].

⁷ Intermodal transport is transfer of cargo which uses and combines more than one transport type. Thus, we can talk about the following types of intermodal transport: rail/road, road/sea, road/air, rail/road/sea, rail/road/air, rail/road/river transport.

and GPS interfaces, which contradicts the common image of mobility. However, despite Augé's assumptions, being in those spaces, or even temporarily living in them, does not necessarily result in the feeling of being suspended in time and space and being at the same time everywhere and nowhere. It is not always so that spaces defined as non-places make it impossible to develop relations with the local people or undertake some socially significant activities. In fact, the category of a non-place is markedly ambiguous in the case of a tractor unit drivers' community. Firstly, this is where attempts to appropriate space are made, transnational relations appear, national identities are manifested, and time as a whole (in relation to work) becomes cyclical in nature. Secondly, this type of space reveals specific features of capital flow dynamics present in the relations and interactions between numerous production and logistic systems.

STILLNESS EXPERIENCE

The phenomenon of stillness co-defines the reality experienced by drivers and the pausing does not only constitute an intrinsic feature of this occupational group's mobility, but also of long-haul road transport as a whole. During 456 hours of the journey with my driver, we covered only 5,600 kilometres. Moreover, we were on the move for 82 hours, which amounts to only 18% of the time that we spent in transit. The remaining 374 hours consisted of pausing: obligatory daily and weekly rest periods and unexpected, enforced breaks caused by some factors that we could not influence (lack of orders, badly organised loading processes, fuel economy policies traffic jams – mainly on motorways, and the places of delivery closing earlier than expected). The longest and the most significant breaks took place in Hamburg and Witten in Germany, Bonnières-sur-Seine and Mulhouse in France, Machelen near Brussels and Houyet in Belgium, and Padborg in Denmark. In Hamburg we paused in one of the harbour terminals at O'Swaldkai for 24 hours; in Witten in a car park near route E41 for 17 hours; in Bonnières-sur-Seine by the walls of a carbon steelmaking plant for 66 hours; in Mulhouse on a car park near motorway A36, a part of the E-road system E60, for 57 hours; in Machelen in the industrial zone located between route E40 and an airport in Degier for 21 hours; in Houyet in a car park near route E411 for 16 hours; and in Padborg at a forwarding company base for 17 hours. In total, it was 218 hours, comprising 48% of the time I spent on the 19-day journey.

These were places where attending to regular physiological needs was not exactly possible. Additionally, the weather conditions forced us to stay in one place: sit or lie in the tractor unit cab. This means that those spaces, especially industrial zones, were absolutely not equipped for staying there for more than a few hours. They were squares in the middle of production plants and factories, side paths and zone borders, where walking to other places was impossible. The same pertained to the zones themselves with bans on unrestricted movement within their area, or even outside it, because leaving the zones whenever one wanted was also prohibited. Sometimes it was just the opposite: the spaces were completely exposed and fenceless, which

made everyday functioning difficult, for example, when it comes to physiological needs. This specific stillness and waiting are not only intrinsic to drivers' mobility, but also to the rules that govern distribution and transport logistics.

The main role of logistics is to manage planning, implementing and controlling processes in order for the flow of raw materials, resources, ready-made products and appropriate information from the point of origin to the consumption point to be effective economically. Therefore, logistics encompasses a wide range of activities, from customer service, demand forecasting, information flow, inventory control, operations handling, order processing, repair and supply of parts, to locating manufacturing plants and warehouses, procurement processes, packaging, reverse logistics, waste management, transportation and storage operations. It is a technology that regulates the rhythm of activities that facilitate flow, which for the general public is almost universally associated with speed and acceleration, just as transport is. However, practice shows that associating flow of goods exclusively with constant transit is mistaken, since flow also involves elements of waiting and stillness.

The interpretation of the stillness of tractor unit drivers and, consequently, some kind of transport standstill, should begin with explaining two types of relationships drivers are involved in. They are based on subordination, supervision and regimes of logistics. The first type is the classical relationship between an employee and an employer (the forwarding or logistics company), while the second type has a contractual nature between two or more business entities: independent drivers who own tractor units and forwarding companies which use their services. In both cases we deal with relations between senders and carriers. Carriers are dependent on the organisation of industrial production, which directly generates the flow of given goods that need to be collected, delivered and distributed. Forwarding companies mainly manage commissioned transport services, known as transport for hire. In order to reduce costs, especially those generated by storage, senders reduce production of goods using a "just-in-time" strategy. The aim of this strategy is to ensure flow capacity, i.e. to provide optimum balance between the amount of produced goods, transport capacity of the vehicles, transport network capacity, handling capacity of warehouses, and the size of orders and inventory. The "just-in-time" rule is transferred onto forwarding companies and then to direct providers of transport services (see also Belzer 2010; Munduteguy 2014). While in small companies, which have permanent forwarders and recipients, transport organisation is integrated with production, in larger companies which commission transport services, transport organisation is changeable, often unpredictable and designed to be carried out just in time. Here drivers' autonomy is restricted not only by production processes of certain products, but also work organisation patterns of both the forwarders and later the recipients, who in the case of the transits I took part in usually turned out to be processors of the goods that my driver delivered. Summarising, the following factors influence drivers' mobility: opening and closing times of loading and unloading sites, quality and efficiency of administrative activities, availability of employees responsible for goods management: their loading, unloading and securing, and even the employees' approach towards drivers of a given nationality. The regime of logistics which governs everyday lives of drivers

consists of continuous optimisation of the use of means of transport. This optimisation is linked to the reduction of empty runs and, due to the mentioned dependence of forwarding companies on industrial production processes, it is also linked to rationalisation and an ongoing establishment of routes coupled with consolidation of orders. In the situations that I experienced, these processes could last even up to a few days since the production was slowed down for the holiday period.

When we take into consideration stillness, slowdown and stagnation, as opposed to the speed of flow that drives the world capital, the question why those elements are a part of logistics seems to be particularly interesting. The answer can be found in the book *Stillness in a Mobile World* (2010) edited by David Bissell and Gillian Fuller, where the authors deconstruct the seemingly simple dichotomy between stillness or stagnation, which generate disorder, and chaos and flow, which generates capital accumulation and drives economies. The forwarding business is first and foremost a complex movement of bodies, goods and machines taking place on a given territory. The main role of logistics is to manage movement of people and goods in order to make communication, transport and economics effective. Therefore, logistics becomes the key to understanding the appearing social configurations (interactions, relations, meanings, values) and the technologies which trigger or even enforce them. At the level of work and flow management, stillness contrasts with the main idea behind transport, which is supposed to consist of moving goods from their production site to their post-production sites and finally to consumers (Neilson, Rossiter 2010: 51–67).

The framework of logistics is based on three independent but interacting systems. The first is the physical system of goods transport, which is organised in such a way as to satisfy the dynamically changing mobility infrastructure; the second is a system based on transactions and information flow, which make it possible to deliver and distribute goods; finally, the third is a supervision system, which enforces some rules of legally standardised behaviour and activities. The last system defines the rights and obligations of transport providers (Willis, Ortiz 2004). Control is exercised on a few levels: international and federal law, rules enforced by company owners and the company's representatives (agents), the police and customs supervision, monitoring of loading and unloading sites, and on a strictly technological level (GPS devices, probes and tachographs). Consequently, logistic systems accelerate or slow down transport times by creating hierarchical spaces of mobility where transport interpreted as a progressive, linear movement between A and B is replaced by different forms of flow involving various detours, pauses and waiting (Fuller 2007: 1–5). The components of these spaces of mobility are almost exclusively Augéan non-places: factories, harbours, roads, and car parks. They constitute specific nodes of the logistic system that serve as connection points between movement and stillness. This is where coordination and management of the stored products, coupled with speedy transport, take place. They reflect last minute deliveries in time most accurately. However, this regime undoubtedly does not only generate stillness, i.e. the tension between exercising one's freedom and being controlled. According to David Bissell and Gillian Fuller, the stillness ingrained in distribution and transport logistics can be interpreted as regeneration of capital (2010: 1–18).

SUMMARY

Where the system of goods flow management is concerned, stillness and the waiting which it entails, cannot be interpreted as immobility. In spite of the contrasting experiences that I gained when I was taking part in the transit, I opine that from the perspective of how transit is performed, stillness and stagnation are not only about slowing down the flow and opposing speed and mobility. They are also a starting point of something that lasts, or is supposed to happen, and the necessity to maintain smooth flow and flexibility of transit. At the emotional and psychophysical level, the fieldwork I carried out should have made me interpret the nature of tractor unit drivers' mobility as pausing in the Augéan non-places, whose features generate exclusively the feeling of deprivation, dispersion and endless boredom. Pausing and waiting are inscribed in transit and movement. The community of long-haul truck drivers is not the only one that has to wait within the mobility infrastructure. The lack of clear activity is also characteristic of all the spaces which belong to movement and flow infrastructure. Stillness is a form of anticipation and contract between those waiting and pausing and the events that are supposed to take place (see also Cresswell 2012: 645–653). It is a kind of productive means to reach something that has its own purpose. The promise that this purpose one is waiting for will eventually be fulfilled defines stillness and stagnation (Bissell 2007: 277–298).

In my studies, it was possible to notice this phenomenon owing to an intensive and long-term presence in spaces identified as non-places, even though it often led to sensory deprivation. These non-places, motorways, car parks, and industrial zones, are in this case a kind of waiting landscapes, governed by the rules of law, economic policies and regimes of logistics. Pausing of both carriers and goods transit is not coincidental and belongs to calculated and designed logistic strategies. Drivers cannot predict how long they will be waiting for instructions. They do not take part in the processes of order consolidation and manipulation of the pace of industrial production, so they experience even more acutely the just-in-time strategy, which is supposed to combine flexibility and smooth flow, on the one hand, and precise flow where intervals are inevitable and necessary, on the other.

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REŻIMY LOGISTYKI, PAUZY W PRZEPIŹYWIE, CZYLI BEZRUCH W NIE-MIEJSCACH
(PRZY)INDUSTRIALNYCH I INFRASTRUKTURZE MOBILNOŚCI

Artykuł opiera się na mobilnych badaniach etnograficznych prowadzonych w środowisku polskich kierowców ciągników siodłowych zatrudnionych w zachodnioeuropejskich firmach spedycyjnych. Skupia się na wątku związanym z cechą mobilności kierowców tirów, w którą wpisana jest sprzeczność pomiędzy ruchliwością a bezruchem, wielomiejscowością a konkretnym zlokalizowaniem oraz pomiędzy dostępem do chronionych i monitorowanych przestrzeni industrialnych a wykluczeniem przestrzennym. Punktem wyjścia dla rozważań są kategorie nie-miejsca oraz mobilności, które w praktyce okazują się nieoczywiste i niejednoznaczne w kontekście specyfiki translokacyjnej i transgranicznej aktywności kierowców ciągników siodłowych. Bezruch okazał się zjawiskiem ujawniającym reżim logistyki dystrybucji i transportu.

Słowa kluczowe: antropologia transportu towarowego, logistyka, nie-miejsca, etnografia mobilna, zastój