6-1-1972

A Sociological Analysis of the Cartage Truck Driver's Occupation

Robert Miller
Western Kentucky University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses
Part of the Sociology Commons

Recommended Citation
http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses/1004

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by TopSCHOLAR®. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses & Specialist Projects by an authorized administrator of TopSCHOLAR®. For more information, please contact topscholar@wku.edu.
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CARTAGE TRUCK DRIVER'S OCCUPATION

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Robert D. Miller
June 1972
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CARTAGE TRUCK DRIVER'S OCCUPATION

APPROVED 9-26-72
(Date)

Director of Thesis

Clifton D. Bryant

Dean of the Graduate School
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is indebted to Dr. Kirk Dansereau for his direction of the thesis, and to Dr. Clifton Bryant and Dr. Raytha Yokley for serving on the examining committee. He is further indebted to his wife Bonnie for her endless patience, love, and understanding.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>ENTRANCE INTO AN OCCUPATIONAL STUDY</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>THE INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>THE STATUS AND AUTHORITY SYSTEM</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>THE CAREER</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>THE WORK GROUP</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table  | Description                                                                 | Page
--- | --- | ---
1.    | Trucking Companies, Employee Designations, and the Number of Employees Interviewed for the Study of the Cartage Truck Driver in Bowling Green, Kentucky                      | 34
2.    | Motor Carrier Tonnage for General Freight (1957-59=100) Class I and II Intercity Carriers | 45
3.    | Minimum Base Wage Rate for Drivers                                  | 52
4.    | Vacations Predicated on Years of Employment                       | 54
5.    | Wages for 45-Hour Week Including the Amount of Money Paid by Employer for Benefit Package Effective January 1, 1972 | 55
6.    | Wage Rates for Miscellaneous Occupations in Manufacturing in Bowling Green, Kentucky, in October, 1971 | 56
7.    | Workers Stating that They Had Had Experience in a Previous Job that Helped Them as Cartage Truck Drivers | 62
8.    | Responses Given to the Question of Safety                          | 71
9.    | Relationship Between Motivation to Sanction and Job Seniority     | 72
10.   | Relationship Between Motivation to Sanction and Education         | 73
11.   | Relationship Between Motivation to Sanction and Job Seniority: Controlled for Education | 75
12.   | What Might Happen to the Company Driver Who Is Obnoxious, Insulting, and Generally Disliked by Most of the Other Men | 77
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Why Did You Want to Become a Cartage Driver Rather Than Enter into Another Occupation?</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Assistance That Was Given to Cartage Drivers in Finding Their First Job</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Occupation of Individuals Who Assisted Cartage Drivers in Getting Their First Job</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Why Wives Were Pleased with Their Husbands' Occupation</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The Greatest Advantage in Being a Cartage Driver</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Relationship Between Sources of Job Satisfaction and Job Seniority</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Relationship Between Sources of Job Satisfaction and Education</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>The Disadvantages of Being a Cartage Driver</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Question Pertaining to the &quot;Tough Guy&quot; Image of the Truck Driver</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Wives' Knowledge of the Names of Drivers with Whom the Husband Works</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Responses Concerning the Drivers with Whom the Husband Works</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Responses Concerning the Number of Drivers and Their Families that the Husband and Wife Know Socially</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem and the Setting

This is an occupational study of the cartage truck driver in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Webster defines cartage as "the act of carrying by cart or truck, usually within a city." Bowling Green contains a flurry of diversified trucking activities. For this reason, the study has been narrowed to those drivers involved in the government-regulated transportation of mixed freight. It is believed that an occupational study of the cartage truck driver has never been attempted.

Interest in the study of occupations, particularly that of the cartage truck driver, was developed through personal driving experience. This experience consisted of three and a half years driving straight trucks and tractor trailer trucks for cartage trucking companies in Bowling Green, Kentucky and Cleveland, Ohio. The importance of such a study of a particular occupation may be clarified through an overview of occupations as a whole. In addition, one must delve into historical background in order to understand why an occupation is studied independently.

An occupation provides a man with a center of influence in the development of his interactive patterns with other men.
From the Hawthorne studies, began in 1924, it became apparent that there is a close correlation between work efficiency and group interaction. Follow-up studies from the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration gave rise to increased interest in the study of industry by sociologists. Thus, a new field of study came into being, that is, industrial sociology. Occupational sociology, or the study of specific occupations, is but one area of study for the industrial sociologist. Occupations are studied independent of one another because the world of work is a complex field of study, perhaps comparable to a giant jigsaw puzzle. The sociologist attempts to put the puzzle together; however, in order to do so, he must familiarize himself with each independent piece of the puzzle.

The Hawthorne Study

In 1924, at the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric plant in Chicago, a study was begun to determine the effects of lighting on worker efficiency. The failure of certain experiments used in the study marked the rise of industrial sociology.¹

The Hawthorne study was carried out from 1924 to 1927 in cooperation with the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences. Before the study began, efficiency and morale were critically low. It was thought by efficiency experts that increased lighting would be instrumental in reducing these problems.

An experimental and a control group were picked consisting of women assembly workers. Each group occupied a workroom. Lighting in the control group's room was kept constant but was gradually increased in the room of the experimental group. Efficiency was to be measured vis-a-vis the number of relays assembled by each girl per week. Efficiency increased for the experimental group as expected, but what was not expected was that efficiency also increased for the control group.

More tests were conducted in cooperation with M.I.T., Harvard, and the Ford Foundation. This time, two girls were chosen and allowed to pick the other four themselves. Miller and Form, in describing the experiment, mention an observer who worked with the girls; he represented the research staff. This observer was to make note of significant occurrences, act as the girls' counselor and friend, and welcome their comments and complaints. The base rate of output was determined by having the girls work as they ordinarily did and by counting the relays.

After a base rate of output was established, certain changes in working conditions were introduced. It was assumed that positive changes in working conditions would bring about positive results as evidenced by increased production. Coffee breaks, hot lunches, and decreased working hours were gradually introduced; and as expected, the production rate rose. However, when these changes were eliminated and the work schedule returned to its original state, production continued to rise.
The investigators, after having realized that production was not determined by the state of working conditions introduced, offered what E. V. Schneider considered an interesting interpretation:

... the experiment they had planned to conduct was quite different from the experiment they had actually performed. They had not studied the relation between output and fatigue, monotony, etc., so much as they had performed a most interesting psychological and sociological experiment. In the process of setting the conditions for the test, they had altered completely the social situation of the operators and their customary attitudes and interpersonal relations.²

The girls felt important because they were part of an experiment designed to aid the company. They were given much attention, especially by the observer. In addition, they belonged to an informal work group. They formed "a team wholeheartedly committed to the project."³

The group originated through the design of those conducting the experiment. As the girls proceeded through the experiment, the function of the group became a culmination of social, as well as economic, activity. In the following passage, Miller and Form describe the group's activities:

The girls moved about as they pleased. Nobody shushed them. They discovered they were having a good time, and said so. They remarked also that they felt as if they had no boss.


With this sense of freedom came a sense of responsibility, and they began to discipline themselves. They worked as a team, helping each other, making up each other's work when one of the group was not feeling well, giving parties for one another outside the factory. They squabbled a bit but underneath they were members of the same gang. They had found here some of the clan unity which the machine age has stripped away from so many workers.  

Introduction to Industrial Sociology

The Western Electric studies opened the door to a new field of study for the sociologist, that is, industrial sociology. As defined by Miller and Form, industrial sociology is "the study of (1) work groups and work relations, (2) the role the worker plays in work groups, and (3) the social organization of work plant society."  

Elton Mayo, the director of the Department of Industrial Research at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and his departmental colleagues, T. N. Whitehead, F. J. Roethlisberger, and B. M. Selekman, were instrumental in developing the groundwork for further research in this area. Although few sociologists concerned themselves with industrial and labor problems at first, pioneer research workers stirred interest. Among these pioneers were Arensberg, Bakke, Blumer, Chapple, Harbison and Dubin, Form, Gardner, Scott and Homans, Hughes, Meadows, Miller, Moore, Warner, and Whyte. A section on

---

4 Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 6.
5 Ibid., p. 16.
6 For a list of publications, see Mayo, op. cit., pp. 135-139.
Industrial sociology was created by the American Sociological Society in 1946.

**Theoretical Framework**

**Introduction to Occupational Sociology**

Occupational sociology is an area that has contributed a wealth of information to industrial sociology. The two areas are closely related. As Gross has pointed out, in the sociology of occupations attention is focused on a given type of work and consideration is given to the manner in which social relationships among practitioners of the type of work are defined; in industrial sociology, one may focus attention on the manner in which different occupations are related within a given work organization such as the factory. A factory is nearly always comprised of different occupational groups.

Occupational sociology can be traced back to the writings of Adam Smith, Marx, and Engels. Smith was concerned with "the impact of the division of labor on productivity," Marx and Engels with the living conditions of the worker. Durkheim and Weber devoted much of their talents to occupational interests. As Bryant points out:

> A few years prior to the turn of the century, the young French sociologist Emile Durkheim was to choose as a topic for his doctoral dissertation the division of labor in society, an undertaking in which he

---


examined the relationship of social solidarity to the complexity of the division of labor in a society. Quite early in the twentieth century, the German sociologist Max Weber published his monumental *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. His remarkable analysis of the interrelationship between Calvinism as a religious movement and capitalism as an industrial and economic development served to provide new understandings of the nature of work motivation and ideology in Western societies.9

Occupational sociology gained momentum in the United States through the efforts of Robert Park whose work originated from the University of Chicago in the 1920's and 1930's. The primary interest for him and his associates was with the segregated nature of certain low-status groups in the city of Chicago. Some of the first groups studied were the hobo, the jack roller, the prostitute, the saleslady, and the waitress. After the groundwork of occupational study had been laid, higher-status occupations were studied. Interest in the high-status occupations increased with a corresponding decline in interest in low-status occupations. Erwin Smigel researched theses and articles dealing with specific occupations for the years 1946-1952 and concluded that sociologists showed "an interest in professionals out of proportion to their numbers in society. The clergy, the teacher, and members of the medical profession received the most attention."10

---


It would be an injustice to define occupational sociology merely as attention focused on a given type of work and consideration given to social relationships therein. More elaboration on the subject should be made. For this reason, it is necessary to define the modern meaning of work and to demonstrate its meaning to the sociologist in the pursuit of occupational study.

Since John Calvin's day, work has perhaps lost some of its meaning, that is, work for work's sake. On the other hand, it cannot be considered a foregone conclusion that man works only to earn a living. Morse and Weiss used a national sample of employed men in studying the meaning of work and came to the conclusion that for most men, a job has a greater function than merely providing a living. According to Morse and Weiss, even if men had enough money to support themselves they would still want to work. "Working gives them a feeling of being tied into the larger society, of having something to do, of having a purpose in life."11 On this same topic, Miller and Form declare that work still comprises the most important part of an adult's life, even though there has been a recent cultural inclination to emphasize having a good time rather than hard work. To strengthen this point, they continue by saying that "work is not a part of life, it is literally life itself."12


12 Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 115.
Occupational study has become a major field of endeavor for the sociologist. Man spends over a third of his life working or in work-related activities, such as preparing to go to work, looking for work, or talking, worrying, or thinking about work. Work provides a man with an income and what Gross terms "one of the major bonds through which we are united with our fellows." The sociologist, if he wishes to record the regularities of a man's interaction with other men, cannot ignore this fact.

Individual occupations are studied because each is an intricate part of the "work plant society." There are over twenty thousand occupations in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. Each could be studied in and of itself. Gross states that the first task is "to reduce this great welter of occupations to manageable proportions, and to do it in a meaningful way that will bring out the relations of occupations to each other and to other parts of society."

Framework for Study of an Occupation

In his book Work and Society Gross has suggested a framework for the study of an occupation. The framework is closely followed in this thesis. It can be useful to the sociologist studying occupations because (1) it can be used to describe any occupation from the most menial to the most sophisticated and

---

13 Gross, op. cit., p. 5.
15 Gross, op. cit., p. 53.
(2) it considers the total occupation. The suggested framework is a product of Gross' background as a student of E. C. Hughes at the University of Chicago. Hughes worked with Robert Park in studying the previously mentioned lower-level occupations in the city of Chicago. What occurred over a period of time was an unwritten diagram of occupational study evolving into a social systems framework. Another reason that this framework is useful is that present data can be compared to studies of the past.

The framework is listed below.

I. THE INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM
   A. The work complex
   B. The work structure
   C. The economic complex

II. THE STATUS AND AUTHORITY SYSTEM
   A. The status system
   B. Teaching and learning
   C. Systems of control

III. THE CAREER
   A. Social selection
   B. Mobility
   C. Career contingencies
   D. Work and the self

IV. THE WORK GROUP
A. Inclusion and exclusion
B. Informal relations

Survey of Literature

The Institutional System

The work complex.--The shipment of goods by cartage drivers in Bowling Green is vital to the economic well-being of the city. Tractor trailer loads of goods hauled by common carrier are brought into the city. They are then broken down and distributed by cartage drivers. There is an interdependence between cartage drivers as members of the transportation industry and the community at large. Each must rely upon the other for growth and/or survival. Through the years, jobs for cartage truck drivers in the United States have steadily increased due to increased use of mass transportation.

The work structure.--The duties of the cartage driver are regulated by the terms of his union contract. When management calls upon the driver to perform various tasks, he does so with the knowledge that the rights and privileges governing the type of work to be performed by the driver are guaranteed. If a driver files a grievance against his employer for a breach of contract, the matter is brought to the attention of the union business agent. In explaining the role of the business agent in the building trades, Richard R. Myers states that "the

16See Gross, op. cit., p. 45, for an abbreviated form of his framework for the study of an occupation."
successful journeyman looks upon the business agent as a kind of policeman, who by means of personal qualities or aggressiveness or shrewdness may be able to keep the employers 'in line'.'

There is a tendency for cartage drivers to look upon their business agent in a like manner.

In addition to the duties performed by the cartage driver, it is necessary to describe the formal range of interaction between him and those with whom he works, that is, the dispatcher, the office personnel, the equipment servicemen, and the terminal managers. All are members of a division of labor within the company but, according to Gross, are divided by two classifications—the authority system and related specialists. The dispatcher and the terminal manager are members of the authority system. "Their function is to evaluate the activities of the specialists and to coordinate their separate activities so as to carry out the purposes of the organization." The office personnel, the equipment servicemen, and the cartage drivers are "related specialists in the division of labor." 

The division of labor extends to all occupations, even prostitution. Greenwald, in his study of the call girl, describes the relationship between the prostitute and those with whom she works. The pimp is a member of the authority system. He may act

---


18Gross, op. cit., p. 84.

19Ibid.
as a manager for the call girl by lining up clients. The related specialists in the division of labor are many. They are aware of the girl's profession, cater to her needs by providing sources, and do so, in many cases, for a higher fee than they would normally charge. Examples of related specialists may be her landlord or her physician. Her landlord may cater to the call girl trade, thereby charging a higher rent for services. The physician, in some cases, may have many call girls as clients and may specialize in treating venereal diseases or in performing abortions.20

The economic complex.--Monetary remunerations are explicitly stated in the union contract. Wage rates and benefits are high as compared to those for others in the Bowling Green area. In fact, the cartage driver is among the highest paid blue collar workers in the city. His most recent contract, ratified in 1970, called for a substantial increase in wages at six month intervals for three years.

Because he is a union member, the cartage driver can expect his wage rate to remain constant with the wage rate for all cartage drivers in the city. They will neither rise above nor fall below those of his fellow workers. Herman P. Miller, in a report entitled "Income and Occupations," concluded that most semi-skilled workers tend to reach their peak of earnings at an early age and

maintain a relative level of earnings until retirement.\textsuperscript{21} This is true for the cartage driver as well, but the primary difference between most semi-skilled workers in Bowling Green and the cartage driver is the wage differential.

\textbf{The Status and Authority System}

The status system.--Job satisfaction is determined to a large degree by the status a man is accorded by his fellow workers.\textsuperscript{22} The cartage driver or, for that matter, men working in most occupations, tend to enjoy a certain amount of positive recognition from fellow workers. It may allow the worker to feel secure in the knowledge that he is part of the team.

Any small work group, be it the women workers at Hawthorne or the truck drivers loading trucks with their fellow workers, has a specific ranking of members in the group. According to Bernard Barber, within these groups there are "patterns of subtle but definite differential ranking."\textsuperscript{23} Referring to Whyte's corner boy groups he notes that ". . . ranking was determined by skill of group members in the various recreational and protective activities. . . ."\textsuperscript{24} It is believed that skill, or the lack of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22}Miller and Form, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 343.
\item \textsuperscript{24}Ibid.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
skill, is the major criterion by which drivers accord status to other drivers in the work group.

**Teaching and learning.**—There are schools for those aspiring to become over-the-road truck drivers, but for the cartage driver most education takes place on the job. There is a lot that must be learned. Dare found that among the over-the-road drivers, new employees are taken under the wing of a more experienced driver.25 The over-the-road driver becomes a journeyman of sorts, teaching an apprentice the skills of the trade. While the driver is learning his trade, he is subjected to a certain degree of harassment from more experienced drivers. He may have his steering wheel greased or be told to look for a non-existent tool or piece of machinery. When the driver becomes proficient at his work, the harassment subsides.

**Systems of control.**—There are official and unofficial sanctions against deviant behavior. Official sanctions are listed in the National Master Freight Agreement. Unofficial sanctions can take the form of physical or mental abuse. Almost anything can happen to the cartage driver who does not conform.

**The Career**

**Social selection.**—There are several reasons why men become truck drivers. Blau and his co-authors point out in "Occupational Choice" that, for many people, entering into an

occupation is not a matter of selection. They needed work and were fortunate enough to be hired. On the other hand, many children are socialized into the occupation of their father, as pointed out by Janet Kern in "A Doctor in the House." The children of doctors are influenced throughout their formative years by the father's occupation. The same occupational influence holds true for the son of the cartage truck driver. If a boy's father is a truck driver, he is likely to be socialized into his father's occupation. For example, if the father looks upon his occupation favorably, he may buy toy trucks for his son in what might be considered an excessive amount; or the son, by listening to his father talk about his occupation, may become more familiar with the jargon of the truck driver than most boys his age. He thinks that he wants to become a truck driver because he has been constantly exposed to the occupation in a favorable manner. The cartage driver has a unique position among semi-skilled workers. The marked advantages versus the disadvantages of being a truck driver help to determine an occupational attitude for his entire family.

The primary advantage in being a cartage truck driver is money. The truck driver earns a good wage and is provided with excellent fringe benefits. In addition, his job is not confining.


Some of the disadvantages in being a cartage driver are hard physical work, exposure to the elements, and the constant aggravation of driving in city traffic. When the father weighs these and other occupational advantages and disadvantages and concludes that he likes his job, the entire family has a tendency to be influenced in a like manner.

**Mobility.**--Due to the nature of the occupation, there is a limit on avenues to advancement. The driver, if he wishes to continue driving, may remain at his present position, drive over the road in a company owned rig, or purchase his own rig. Owning one's own rig is essentially the same as entering into the world of small business or what Berg and Rogers state as being the blue collar worker's dream.\(^{28}\) The only other alternative for the driver, if he wishes to advance in the company in terms of higher pay, is to become a terminal manager.

If the driver wishes to make a horizontal move, that is, if he is laid off or, for one reason or another, wishes to quit his job and work for another cartage trucking company, he will find his previous experience helpful in obtaining a job. Moreover, if he continues to pay union dues, he can usually rely on the help of his local union to find work for him.

**Career contingencies.**--Career contingencies for the city freight driver may fall into five categories: (1) chargeable

---

accidents, (2) disability, (3) layoffs, (4) strikes, and (5) the loss of one's driver's license. After three chargeable accidents, a driver may be fired. One major accident, proved to be the result of negligence on the part of the driver, may result in his being fired. In many blue collar occupations, there is a problem of unforeseen dangers to the worker, clearly seen in Franklin's "The Scandal of Death and Injury in the Mines." The coal miner working beneath the ground is susceptible to all the dangers of his occupation, including the ever present danger of cave-ins.

The cartage driver drives on the highway, loads and unloads freight, and works with heavy equipment. At any time he may be injured or killed. If he is injured on the job, he is given compensation, but it comes nowhere near his wages as a driver. If he is killed, his family suffers a burden that could never be wholly compensated for with money.

The laid-off driver is eligible to receive unemployment compensation, but on the amount given it is difficult to feed a family. If the driver is out on strike, he is ineligible for unemployment benefits. His source of income becomes union strike benefits, again for less than his usual income.

Work and self.--From his own experiences, the researcher has found that cartage drivers look at themselves as skilled and responsible workmen. There is a great deal of occupational pride in being a cartage truck driver. The poor public image of the

---

truck driver, especially the driver as a member of the teamster's union, is gradually changing. Most drivers refer to the "tough guy" image as being out of date.

The Work Group

Inclusions and exclusions.--According to Mayo and Roethlisberger, the worker, while engaged in work activity, usually performs in working groups.30 These groups are most apparent for cartage drivers when they load freight in the morning and unload picked up cargo in the evening. The men prefer to work together, a phenomenon seen in Roy's "Banana Time," wherein he points out that the informal social activities of the work group helped to offset the tedium of working on a production line.31 The major advantages of working with other men when loading and unloading freight are to render assistance to each other when handling heavy or bulky freight and to make the time pass more quickly. In addition, there are marked advantages for the employer when men work together as a team. In accordance with Mayo's follow-up study of a Philadelphia textile mill, management tends to encourage the men to work in groups.

The work group is beneficial to the worker and management; but in the case of the cartage driver, it also gives rise to a number of satellite groups. There is a tendency for work groups


to extend into family relationships. Also, there is usually an informal group relationship between drivers from different terminals, who congregate at the same truck stop. Drivers, because of their mobility, may become members of coffee klatches throughout the city; that is, they may stop to "shoot the bull" and have coffee with dock workers in various companies, especially if they deliver freight to these companies on a regular basis.

Informal relations.—There is a tendency for workers with the same background and occupations to be attracted to a central meeting point. For example, certain bars are frequented by specific occupational groups. In Cleveland, Ohio, the industrial flats area contains bars that have practically been taken over by iron and steel workers and truck drivers. In many cases, clubs and secretive organizations are a by-product of specific occupations.

Conclusion

This chapter was designed to familiarize the reader with the topic to be studied by bringing into focus the evolution of the study of occupations and some of the reasons why such study has been important to the sociologist.

The framework used for this study was developed by Gross and is a product of the Chicago school of thought. Although not all aspects of the occupation are studied, the reader surely knows more about the sociological aspects of the occupation of the cartage truck driver than he may have known previously.
CHAPTER II

ENTRANCE INTO AN OCCUPATIONAL STUDY

Initial Learning Process of a Cartage Driver

The author's entree into the occupation of cartage driver took place in 1965. Looking back on those days as a driver, there are fond memories of the trials and tribulations experienced in learning the skills of the occupation. In addition, there are memories of friends and acquaintances who helped him learn the skills. The first segment of this chapter concerns the initial learning process of a single cartage driver. One might hesitate to consider these experiences as normal; but it can be assumed that all new members of the occupation, that is, men without previous truck driving experience, have anxious moments before they feel that they have acquired the degree of skill necessary to do the job properly. Before a decision was made to analyze the occupation of the cartage truck driver as a thesis topic, the researcher was confronted by what he thought to be a major setback. He learned that the local teamster's union, of which all cartage drivers in the sample were members, was unwilling to cooperate in divulging information about its membership or about any facet of the occupation. After overcoming this setback by turning to other sources for information, the study was continued. The second
segment of this chapter is devoted to the setback that occurred, the process of overcoming the setback, and finally, the encouragement that led to the decision to proceed with the study.

For some, the acquiring of truck driving skills is accompanied by a great deal of anxiety and frequently results in lasting memories. The following is an account of those moments as seen through the eyes of the researcher.

In 1965, as an undergraduate student at Western Kentucky University, with the additional responsibility of supporting a wife and child, it became necessary to seek a part-time job. It was soon learned that cartage truck drivers were paid a comparatively high hourly wage. In fact, the wage was more than three times the hourly wage paid to students for most part-time jobs in the city of Bowling Green. The high wage was the deciding factor which led to applying for a job as a cartage truck driver.

The first step was to find a trucking company handling a large volume of freight and to discuss the matter of employment with the terminal manager. The name of the company was Skagg's Transfer. Upon completion of the interview, the terminal manager called in the dispatcher. The dispatcher stated that if there were a need for a driver it would be as an extra man, that is, a man called in to work for one day at a time. The applicant was told to call the dispatcher from time to time to find when and if an extra man was needed. Because he was extremely persistent in his wanting to work as a cartage driver, the applicant called the dispatcher twice a day for two weeks. Towards the end of
the second week, the dispatcher asked him to come in and work for a day. It was at this point that the on-the-job socialization process began.

Initially, the terminal manager and the dispatcher were led to believe that the applicant had had experience in handling freight and driving a truck. In actuality, he was totally inexperienced in both areas. The only truck he had ever driven was a half-ton pickup truck, and his freight-handling experience consisted of moving household goods for his wife. Now that he had been asked to come in to work, he was half afraid to do so.

The first day's work consisted of loading and unloading freight. Inbound freight was unloaded and placed on the loading dock, and outbound freight was removed from the loading dock and placed in trucks destined for a sister trucking terminal. The difficulties that had to be overcome the first day were:
(1) orientation to the operating procedures of the company,
(2) learning occupational jargon, and (3) learning the techniques of operating some of the equipment used in handling freight.

For a newly-hired worker, orientation to the operating procedures of the company must be learned quickly. One must know what freight is to be removed from trucks and placed on the docks and what freight is to be loaded on outbound trucks. In addition, the dock area is divided into sections. Each section pertains to a geographic area of the city of Bowling Green or for neighboring communities. Freight that is consigned to companies in these areas is loaded on the dock accordingly. The sections
may or may not be marked; but, in either case, it is difficult for the newly-hired man to find where freight is to be put on the dock. The newly-hired worker tried to take the course of least resistance in this maze of traffic and followed the man in front of him in and out of trucks and onto the loading docks.

Understanding the occupational jargon of the cartage truck driver presented a great deal of difficulty to the newly-hired worker. To begin with, he was from northern Ohio and had difficulty understanding veteran workers when they spoke in normal conversation. Understanding the occupational jargon compounded the difficulty and frustration. When he first walked onto the dock area, he was directed by the dispatcher to pick up a two-wheeler and follow the lead of the men already working. He suspected, but was not quite sure, what a two-wheeler was. Assuming that the dispatcher meant a two-wheeled pushcart and noting that they were being used by the other men, he did so. The moment, however, was an anxious one. The entire day was filled with the anxiety of not knowing most of the occupational jargon used by men working on the dock and being afraid to show ignorance by asking what it meant.

There are many "tricks of the trade" and techniques of handling freight used by men who work on a loading dock. To the inexperienced worker, however, they may not be noticed. The new worker watched the more experienced workers slip the two-wheeler under a load of freight, "break the freight" or pull it toward them, and walk off. In thinking that the entire movement looked
easy enough, he blundered into a pile of stacked boxes and pushed them forward so that the two-wheeler blade could be placed beneath them. To his surprise and embarrassment, the entire load of stacked boxes fell onto the floor. After struggling in this manner for half the day, he asked one of the dock workers for help and was shown the correct usage of the two-wheeler for the purpose of loading and breaking freight. The day continued with difficulties of this nature. It became necessary to first watch and then, perhaps, to ask what the easiest and most efficient manner was in operating the equipment used for the purpose of handling freight. Many of the "tricks of the trade" and techniques used were learned only after a considerable degree of work experience had been acquired. After having finished with the first day, he was told to report to work for a second and third day.

In the evening of the third day, a real crisis arose. The dispatcher directed the delivery of a load of freight to a warehouse on the other side of town and provided the freight bills to be signed by the customer. The first step taken by the new employee was to shut the door in the rear of the truck. In making certain that the door was securely fastened, he removed the chocks from the rear wheels and climbed into the cab. The dispatcher knew that the new employee could not drive a tractor trailer truck, but feeling reasonably sure from a previous discussion with the man that he could drive a straight truck, he was assigned the load. The new driver sat in the cab of the truck for a moment and said a quick prayer. The only thought
crossing his mind was, "God, what if I screw up!" The truck was old and dirty, adding to the despair of the moment. Upon finding the ignition switch, it was an easy matter to shift into first gear and pull away from the dock; in shifting into second gear, there was a terrible grinding sound. It was then found necessary to stop the truck in the terminal yard, shift back into first gear, and continue on until the truck was out of the terminal yard and onto the highway. Once on the highway, he lit a match so that the shift diagram for second, third, fourth, and fifth gears could be seen. He was able to follow the shift diagram and shift through all five gears. In fact, he was "rolling down the highway" with a degree of confidence. The only problem that then had to be faced was finding the warehouse where the freight was to be delivered. Being totally unfamiliar with the names and locations of city streets, it became necessary to rely on the directions given by the dispatcher. The directions to the freight's destination were given verbally and seemed a bit vague, but at the time he had not wished to show ignorance by pressing for specifics. By a stroke of good fortune, the warehouse was located and the freight unloaded. The return to his home terminal was without further incident.

The first days that a man spends working at a new job can be very anxious ones. In most cases, the new worker feels alone. If he is fortunate, he may know one or two of the men in the work group before starting a new job, but in many cases he knows no one. The new driver discussed in this chapter did not know any of the
men with whom he was working on the loading dock. It was found that there were one or two men who were willing to help him, but even they kept their distance until they were asked a question. For the most part, the men in the work group seemed cold and unsociable. The new driver, sensing this treatment, did not solicit entrance into the group. Instead, he kept silent and tried to work harder than any man on the dock. His worth had to be proved to the dispatcher, the terminal manager, and the men with whom he worked. Through a gradual process taking perhaps two months, he began to feel that he was becoming an accepted member of the work group. At first the men ignored him. Then, after a period of time, they talked to him and, later, played jokes on him. He thought that the moment of acceptance had arrived when he was asked to attend a cock fight with some of the other drivers after work one night.

Setbacks and Encouragement for the Study

As previously mentioned, several setbacks occurred before an attempt was made to analyze the occupation of the cartage truck driver, one of which originated through Teamster's Local 89. As a past member of Local 89, and as the holder of an honorable withdrawal card from the union, the researcher had hoped to obtain a measure of cooperation in the development of his thesis. He had expected to receive a copy of the union contract pertaining to cartage drivers in the Central States area and a bit of encouragement for the task he was about to begin. Instead, he was ignored.
He wanted to discuss his research ideas with an officer of the union local but was never able to go further than the receptionist or the switchboard operator. A copy of the union contract was ultimately obtained from one of the terminal managers in Bowling Green.

Terminal managers for cartage trucking companies in Bowling Green appeared very enthusiastic with the proposal to analyze the occupation of the cartage truck driver. In view of the fact that Teamster's Local 89 had been uncooperative in divulging information about its members, the researcher saw the necessity for discussing the situation with the seven terminal managers who would eventually be involved in the study. It was decided that if the terminal managers were as uncooperative as the union local, the study would be terminated. When the purpose of the proposed study was explained, it became evident that the terminal managers could be called upon in the future to answer many questions about the occupation and its members.

One source proved to be invaluable in providing assistance in the study—the American Trucking Association. An executive assistant to the Local and Short Haul Carriers National Conference, an affiliate of the American Trucking Association, indicated that he and his associates in the organization were interested in the study and would provide all possible assistance until the thesis was successfully completed. They have since provided publications of the American Trucking Association and direction to various government publications.
In addition to the encouragement that was received from the American Trucking Association and the local terminal managers, it was surprising to find that, although a great deal of research had been devoted to the sociological study of occupations, the cartage truck driver as a topic of sociological study, as far as is known, had never been attempted. Using computer techniques to search dissertation abstracts for the years 1950 through 1971, the University of Ann Arbor, Michigan, Microfilm Division, sought to locate any studies related to the occupation of cartage drivers. Among the 100,000 dissertation titles, none was found. Research into other sources likewise suggests that this study of the occupation may be unique.

The researcher feels the above description of the experiences of the new driver set forth in the first segment will help to elucidate the analysis which follows. The second segment of this chapter describes the setbacks and encouragement the author had felt when the thesis study was in its infancy. Although this discussion has been predicated on specific personal experiences, it becomes highly apparent that these are incidents which occur in any effort to crack a work group or other organizational structure.
CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Hypotheses

It has been learned from experience and through personal interviews that cartage drivers take, what appears to be, a great deal of pride in the quality of work that they perform. To go a step further it can be said that for many drivers the work fits the model of craftmanship described by Mills:

The craftmens work is a means of developing his skill, as well as a means of developing himself as a man. It is not that self-development is an ulterior goal, but that such development is the cumulative result obtained by devotion to and practice of his skills.32

The work performed by cartage drivers involves a variety of skills which may take years to perfect, and the driver who has been proficient in developing these skills is thought highly of by his fellow workers. On the other hand, a driver with poor work habits, one who is not occupationally proficient, is looked down upon by other members of his work group.

If a driver deviates from the expected norms of occupational proficiency that have been established by his fellow workers, he is considered deviant and may be sanctioned accordingly.

Carelessness and poor driving habits are forms of deviancy; that is, they are in violation of the norms established by other cartage drivers.

Among the objectives of this study are the offering of an analysis of a blue collar occupation and the testing of selected hypotheses concerning sanctions for deviant behavior. Obviously, sanctions may be imposed against the deviant driver. It seems reasonable to suppose that whether sanctions will be considered and what sanctions will be imposed may be influenced by the amount of education and seniority of the drivers involved, leading to the following hypotheses:

1. There is a relationship between the proposed sanctioning of a driver for carelessness and/or recklessness and the job seniority of the driver who suggests a sanction.

2. There is a relationship between the proposed sanctioning of a driver for carelessness and/or recklessness and the educational attainment of the driver who suggests a sanction.

Job satisfaction is another topic that is worthy of elaboration. The cartage truck driver in this study is a member of an occupation offering relatively high financial rewards and a freedom of movement not seen in most semi-skilled occupations. He belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, one of this country's strongest labor unions. As such, he commands a comparatively high hourly wage and benefits for his services, particularly in the South. In the state of Kentucky, his current
wage and benefit package soar above the wages and benefits earned by other semi-skilled workmen.

A further comparison shows that his duties permit him to enjoy a freedom of movement that eliminates many of the problems of boredom, hence dissatisfaction, confronting the factory worker. The latter is usually confined to a production line, a shop area, or at best, the plant where he is employed. The cartage truck driver, on the other hand, spends most of his time picking up and delivering freight to customers not only throughout the city, but also within a twenty-five mile radius of it.

It is felt that job satisfaction can best be described by examining what the workers consider to be the greatest advantage in being a cartage driver. Monetary gain is obviously one of the chief advantages associated with the occupation, but it should not be considered as the only advantage.

An objective of this study, in addition to that which has been discussed in the preceding pages of this chapter, is to test selected hypotheses concerning sources of job satisfaction. Here it is felt that expressions of job satisfaction may be influenced by the amount of education and job seniority of the driver. The following hypotheses, then, are offered for testing:

3. There is a relationship between the major source of job satisfaction described by the cartage driver and his job seniority.

4. There is a relationship between the major source of job satisfaction expressed by the cartage driver and his educational attainment.
In addition to the above, a number of ideas considered were examined. Examples of these ideas include job satisfaction and socialization of children into the occupation, a comparing of wives attitudes toward their husbands occupations with those found in Dare's study of the over-the-road truck driver, the aspirations of advancement for the cartage driver in terms of buying his own rig, and the tendency for work groups to extend into family relationships.

An interview schedule was used in the interviewing of forty cartage truck drivers. It was administered during a two-week period beginning February 14, 1972. The answers were transferred to IBM data cards. The data were then analyzed using an IBM 360-40 computer.

A. The Population

The population for this study consists of the truck drivers working for cartage trucking companies in Bowling Green, Kentucky. The area of work for all drivers concerned is within a twenty-five mile radius of the city. All drivers in the study are union members belonging to Teamster's Local 89.

Fifty-eight full-time cartage drivers work for seven trucking companies in the city of Bowling Green. From the total, fifty-three drivers are employed as ninety percenters, and five are employed as ten percenters. The terms "ninety percenter" and "ten percenter" are argot from the Teamster's union used to
distinguish differing terms of employment. In addition, four employees in two trucking companies worked as casual labor, and five employees from two trucking companies were unemployed. Only ninety percenters and ten percenters were included in the study.

Names of cooperating trucking companies, a breakdown of cartage truck driver employee designations, and the number of employees interviewed from each company are listed in Table 1.

**TABLE 1**

TRUCKING COMPANIES, EMPLOYEE DESIGNATIONS, AND THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INTERVIEWED FOR THE STUDY OF THE CARTAGE TRUCK DRIVER IN BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trucking Companies</th>
<th>Ninety Percenters</th>
<th>Ten Percenters</th>
<th>Casual Labor</th>
<th>Laid Off</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McLean Trucking Co.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixie Ohio Express, Inc.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Forwarding Co.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowling Green Express, Inc.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper-Jarrett, Inc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renner's Express, Inc.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated Transport, Inc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N=40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Extreme right column, N=40, represents number interviewed from respective companies.

33 According to Central States Area Local Cartage Supplemental Agreement Covering Employees of Private, Common, Contract
B. The Interview Schedule

The instrument used in collecting data for this study was a combination of fixed-choice and open-ended questions. Fixed-choice answers to questions were used as a time-saving device for the interviewer as well as for the respondent. It was deemed necessary to hold the time used in asking questions and recording subsequent answers to a minimum. The length of time used in interviewing each respondent lasted anywhere from twenty minutes to one hour; normally the interview lasted about thirty minutes. Open-ended questions were used to record conversation originally thought to contain a variety of unforeseeable answers. Only during the course of interviewing did the author begin to realize that many of the open-ended questions could have been of the fixed-choice variety. The answers given for these questions were, for the most part, surprisingly similar.

Some of the questions called for specific responses; for example, "How old are you?". However, several questions required the respondent to display a degree of technical knowledge. In addition, there were thought provoking questions based on attitude. The respondent was asked in one question if there was a driver with whom he worked that he admired. If he

and Local Cartage Carriers for the Period of April 1, 1970 through March 31, 1973, Article 61, Section 1: "The ninety per cent (90%) employees may be scheduled Monday through Friday, or Tuesday through Saturday" (p. 123), and "the ten per cent (10%) of the men who do not receive the forty (40) hour guarantee may be scheduled to work a flexible work week--any five (5) days, Monday through Saturday" (p. 124). Casual laborers are not necessarily union members but may be used in time of need. From Article 43, Section 3, the latter "shall not be used to deprive regular employees of overtime" (p. 99).
answered affirmatively, he was then asked why he admired this man. Questions of this type may be considered highly personal, and care had to be shown in phrasing them so as to elicit a response. It is doubtful that the researcher would have been successful in asking this type of question or, for that matter, been granted an interview at all, if he had not made it clear from the beginning that he once had been a cartage driver in the same city. Several of those interviewed stated in the vernacular that they would have delighted in leading the unknowing and unsuspecting researcher awry with false information.

Questions were arranged under subheadings in the interview schedule; each subheading corresponded to a segment of Gross' framework for the study of an occupation. The questions under each subheading were then arranged in a manner providing continuity of thought for the respondent. For example, the first question under the subheading Social Selection asked why the respondent had wanted to become a cartage truck driver rather than to have entered into another occupation. Subsequent questions referred to how the respondent had entered into the occupation, his attitudes toward the occupation, his wife's feelings toward the occupation, and how he felt about his sons' (if he had any) entering the occupation.

In addition, the subheadings were arranged in a sequential order. The first series, representing control questions, was headed Personal Information. The respondent was asked his
age, weight, height, years of experience, length of residence, property value, marital status, number of children, education, and military service. The next section of the interview schedule was headed Social Selection and pertained to entrance into, and attitudes toward, the occupation. This was followed by Teaching and Learning, The Status System, Systems of Control, Work and the Self, Mobility, Informal Relations, Inclusions and Exclusions, and finally, Career Contingencies.

C. The Administration of the Interview Schedule

Interviews with the subjects were granted on a voluntary basis. In addition, the terminal managers for each of the seven companies involved in the study were instructed as to the purpose of the study and the means by which the study was to be conducted. Six of the seven terminal managers responded by submitting lists of names and addresses for current employees. One terminal manager did not submit a list of names because of company policy. He did, however, approve of the obtaining of a list of names from another source and the subsequent interviewing of his employees. This list was ultimately obtained through other cartage drivers.

Nearly all respondents were telephoned the day prior to the proposed interview and informed as to the purpose of the study and the approximate length of time that would be needed to answer questions. Interviews were held in the homes of the respondents. There were, however, exceptions. By prearranged agreement four respondents living in hard to find locations were
interviewed in local restaurants; three were interviewed over the telephone.

D. The Sample

During the two week period that interviews were conducted, there were fifty-eight cartage truck drivers actively pursuing their trade in Bowling Green. The total represented ninety percenters and ten percenters. Employees who were laid off and casual employees were not interviewed because they could not be located.

From a total population of fifty-eight cartage truck drivers, forty--or sixty-nine percent--were interviewed. The sample was smaller than had been anticipated originally, but it was found that many of those who were to be interviewed lived in out of the way places around the countryside. In spite of the small sample, one aspect of the interviewing process was noteworthy. Not a single respondent who had been asked to be included in the study declined to grant an interview, thus giving the study a rare measure of success in terms of participant cooperation.

The selection of cartage truck drivers to be included in the study was not random. All cartage drivers in the city of Bowling Green were interviewed with the exceptions having been noted. Since the researcher is aware that the sample may not be representative of cartage truck drivers elsewhere, he will not make generalizations to that effect.
In addition to interviewing the drivers in Bowling Green's seven trucking companies, the terminal manager for each company was asked a series of questions related to Gross' framework for the study of an occupation subheaded Career Contingencies and The Work Group. Under the subheading Career Contingencies, questions were asked concerning the number of job-related accidents, deaths, current disabilities, and firings of cartage drivers in Bowling Green. One question was directed toward the study of the work group, that is, the tendency of terminal managers to encourage or discourage the men to work as a team when they are loading and unloading freight. Answers to this question were varied and will be discussed in a later chapter. The seven terminal managers cooperated one hundred percent in answering the questions asked and gave assurance that, if need be, they could be called upon in the future to give additional information.

E. Analysis of Data

The interview schedule contained a total of seventy-five questions from which answers to fifty-three questions were precoded; answers to twelve questions were postcoded, and answers to ten questions were not coded at all. The responses to coded questions were punched on I.B.M. data cards. However, it was found that fourteen open-ended and precoded questions contained answers that were similar enough to eliminate the need for punching. All punched data were fed into the computer, programmed for counting and determining percentages for marginal data.
Following the appropriate collapsing of cells, four hypotheses were tested using $\chi^2$ Chi square and Fisher's Exact tests of significance and Gamma as a measure of association.
CHAPTER IV

THE INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

The institutional system discussed in this chapter is divided into three subheadings—the work complex, the work structure, and the economic complex. The work complex deals primarily with an evaluation of the trucking industry and the part it plays in the growth of the city of Bowling Green. The work structure involves duties and interactions within the occupation and the effect that they have on other members within the organizational structure of the company. Finally, in the economic complex, the wages and fringe benefits of the cartage driver are examined in detail.

The Work Complex

The Setting

The city of Bowling Green, Kentucky, has an estimated population of 38,000 and is located 111 miles south of Louisville, Kentucky, and sixty-one miles north of Nashville, Tennessee. The main highway used for commercial transportation purposes and connecting it to these cities is Federal Highway I-65. Other highways leading into and out of Bowling Green from points in Kentucky and containing nearly all of the remainder of the commercial trucking activities are U.S. routes 31W, 68, and 231.
Truck traffic represents the largest single means for the commercial transportation of mixed freight into and out of the city. Although the city is located on the main line of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad at the juncture of its Memphis branch, the railroad remains a secondary means. Wright airlines is the lone airline currently serving the Bowling Green Warren County community. With daily scheduled flights it transports, according to a company employee, an estimated freight load of only 2,500 pounds per month into and out of the area.

The city of Bowling Green has in recent years become a center for industrial and trade activities. It currently has over fifty-five different companies with total employment exceeding 8,000 persons. The five companies employing the largest number of people in the city are Bowling Green Manufacturing Company, Union Underwear Company, Chrysler Airtemp Corporation, Cutler-Hammer, Incorporated, and Dibrell-Burford, Incorporated. In addition to manufacturing facilities, the city contains a large number of wholesale and retail stores providing goods for sale and companies providing customer services. In essence, the city is a crossroads for commercial intercourse in south central Kentucky.34

Bowling Green has been successful in attracting new industry, hence, an increase in population and commercial activity. It has done so with a progressive dependence on

34 The Bowling Green Chamber of Commerce has been helpful in providing the author with information pertinent to this subject.
truck traffic as a mode of transporting finished and unfinished products into and out of the city. In fact, the dependence has become so great that the general consensus among terminal managers for trucking companies in the city is that, without the transportation of goods into and out of Bowling Green, the commercial activities of the city would slowly grind to a halt. This is true for most cities in the United States and can be clearly seen when one looks at the effects that recent strikes have had throughout the country. In 1970, the Teamster's Union called for a general strike for trucking activities in selected cities. Cleveland, Ohio, was one of these cities. During the course of the strike, the people of the city suffered major inconveniences. Grocery shelves became barren, and industries throughout the city, due to a lack of raw materials, began the process of laying off employees en masse. Fortunately, the strike ended before the commercial and trade activities of the city came to a complete standstill, but one could see the potential for this to happen. The power and persuasiveness of striking truck drivers were so great that it was rare for a truck to enter the city from any direction without the driver's being stopped.

Intracity and Intercity Freight Movement

When one speaks of the intercity and the interstate movement of freight and the value of the trucking industry in providing these services, he must not lose sight of the importance
of intracity trucking. The truck drivers discussed in this study conduct local pickup and delivery operations for interstate carriers. They must load trucks destined for intercity or interstate movement. In order to do this, they must first pick up the freight at various points throughout the city. By the same token, when a truckload of mixed freight arrives at the terminal from a distant point, they unload the truck and distribute the freight to the customer. If it were not for the local pickup and delivery services provided by intracity carriers, mixed freight would be very difficult to deliver to the customer. The following is an example of what might happen if intracity carriers in Bowling Green were not in operation.

A truck driver hauling approximately twenty tons of freight arrives in Bowling Green. He has hauled the load of freight from Louisville, Kentucky, and carries with him approximately fifty freight bills. Each freight bill represents the name and number of pieces of freight consigned to a customer within the city. Upon his arrival in the city, he finds that the freight cannot be unloaded and distributed by cartage drivers. He would be then confronted with the task of delivering hundreds of individual pieces of freight to fifty customers within a twenty-five mile radius of the city. The task would be extremely difficult and time consuming.

The Future of Trucking in the United States

The trucking industry has grown tremendously in recent years, and all statistics provided by the American Trucking
Association point to continued growth in the future. This is especially true for motor carriers involved in the transportation of general or mixed freight. The growth of Class I and II intercity carriers of general freight is shown in Table 2, Class II carriers being those companies with an annual gross revenue of between $200,000 and $1,000,000 and Class I carriers being those with an annual gross revenue exceeding $1,000,000.  

TABLE 2

MOTOR CARRIER TONNAGE FOR GENERAL FREIGHT (1957-59=100) CLASS I AND II INTERCITY CARRIERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>92.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>108.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>110.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>118.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>123.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>132.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>144.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>155.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>147.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All trucking companies in the study are either Class I or II common carriers. The gross revenue figures designating the classification do not pertain to revenues earned in the city of Bowling Green. They represent earnings from all terminals owned by all trucking companies. Table 2, then, shows the growth of all Class I and Class II carriers of general freight throughout the United States.

35 American Trucking Association pamphlet, p. 19.
Exact figures describing the growth of the trucking industry in Bowling Green, Kentucky, are not available; however, the general consensus among terminal managers in the study is that the amount of tonnage being handled by each company is steadily increasing. The terminal manager for one of the largest trucking companies in the study estimated that, in terms of the amount of tonnage handled, the combined weight handled by cartage drivers throughout the city exceeds one million pounds per day. This figure is sure to rise in proportion to industrial growth for the city. As it does, more jobs will become available for cartage truck drivers.

The work complex described in this chapter appears to be economically stable. The city of Bowling Green depends on truck traffic for its existence, and the projection for the future is that the city will continue to be highly dependent on truck traffic. The cartage truck driver, as an employee of trucking companies within the city, is responsible for the pickup and delivery of freight brought into the city by over-the-road drivers. The function of the former is to provide a vital link between the long haul movement and the disposition of freight to and from the customer. Due to the nature of the service that the cartage drivers perform and the projections for future growth for the entire trucking industry, the cartage driver's occupation appears to be stable and secure.
The Work Structure

In discussing the structure of the organization for which the cartage driver works, it is necessary first to describe his duties and the primary guidelines that he follows in carrying them out. The second step is to trace the formal range of interaction between him and other company personnel. Because the combinations of duties that are performed by the personnel of a trucking company are virtually unlimited, it has been necessary to select one trucking company in the city of Bowling Green and to use it as an example. This company will be called the XYZ Company. The driver's everyday activities within the confines of the XYZ Company may lead to his interacting with the terminal manager, dispatcher, equipment servicemen, and office personnel.

The driver is guided in his duties by the terms and provisions of his contract and by the rules and regulations that are outlined by the company for which he works. The current contract for the driver is the Central States Area Local Cartage Supplemental Agreement covering employees of private, common, contract, and local cartage carriers. The dates of this contract are from April 1, 1970, through June 30, 1973, and are applicable to fourteen states including the state of Kentucky. Company rules and regulations rarely interfere with the dictates of the contract. If they were to interfere, it would be a matter calling for immediate clarification.
The Driver's Duties

The cartage driver's duties are many and varied, but his primary function as an employee of a trucking company is to engage "in local pick-up, delivery, and assembling of freight within the area located within the jurisdiction of the Local Union, not to exceed a radius of twenty-five (25) miles." In the city of Bowling Green, there is an understanding among terminal managers experienced in dealing with union business agents that cartage drivers are not to be asked to perform tasks that are unrelated to the movement of freight. The union contract does not state specifically what tasks must not be performed by the employee, but it does state that he is to be engaged in freight movement. If, for example, a driver were ordered to perform a task that would otherwise involve the service of a member of another union, he would be well within his rights to file a grievance against the company.

Seniority and the Driver's Duties

The driver's duties depend, for the most part, on the type of job that he is to perform. In an area dealing specifically with the rights of drivers, the union has consistently held a hard line on seniority rights. Article 43, Section 3 of the driver's contract reads in part that "... all regular runs and positions are subject to seniority and shall be posted for

36 The Central States Area Local Cartage Supplemental Agreement, op. cit., Article 40, Section 1, p. 91.
bids, . . . Posting shall be at a conspicuous place so that all eligible employees will receive notice of the vacancy, run or position open for bid, . . ." 37 The driver, upon accepting a run or position, cannot be forced by his employer to engage in unrelated work activity. If this were to happen, the employer would have to show just cause to the union for having taken such steps.

Interaction with Co-personnel

In addition to the duties that the driver performs in physically moving freight, his range of activities leads to his interacting with other company personnel. Those with whom he may interact in the XYZ Company and who are members of the authority system are the terminal manager and the dispatcher.

Terminal manager.—The XYZ Company is relatively small, and the terminal manager and the driver generally interact on a non-scheduled basis; that is, the formality of appointments is not observed. The duty of the terminal manager is to maintain the quality and standards of the company. To do this, he must regulate the activities of all company personnel. When dealing with the terminal manager, the driver acts as a functional subordinate; that is, he generally accepts the judgments of the terminal manager when directed in the performance of his job.

Dispatcher.—The dispatcher for the XYZ Company actually assigns work to the driver who, in turn, acts as a functional

37 The Central States Area Local Cartage Supplemental Agreement, op. cit., Article 43, Section 3, p. 97.
subordinate by performing the work. In addition, the dispatcher sometimes acts as a buffer for the terminal manager by eliminating many of the problems that arise in the everyday movement of freight. The driver performs the tasks assigned to him, but he fully expects the assignment of loads to meet the terms of his contract.

**Equipment servicemen.**—The upkeep of all equipment is the responsibility of the equipment servicemen. Each trucking company has its own procedures that must be followed with regard to the communications link between the servicemen and the drivers. For the XYZ Company in Bowling Green, the procedures are as follows. Each time a piece of road equipment is used, the driver must fill out a two-part vehicle condition report. He then turns in both copies to the dispatcher. If he damages a piece of equipment, he must immediately fill out an insurance report; but, if a piece of equipment is not functioning properly, he states what it is that needs repair. Each hour during the working day, single copies of vehicle condition reports are picked up by equipment servicemen. A copy remains with the dispatcher; and, at the end of the day, it is given to the terminal manager. The repair of equipment then becomes the sole responsibility of the servicemen. If there is a failure to repair equipment in a reasonably allotted length of time, the servicemen must answer directly to the terminal manager.

**Office personnel.**—Besides the manager and dispatcher, there are four people in the XYZ Company, who can be classified as office personnel. There are a rate and billing clerk, an
O.S. and D. clerk, a combination rate billing and manifest clerk, and a combination cashier and secretary to the terminal manager. The cartage driver normally does business with only one of these people, the cashier. He may deliver freight to the customer on a cash-on-delivery basis; or, the customer may simply decide to pay his freight bill to the driver rather than wait to be billed by the company. In either case, the driver turns in all money to the cashier. When the driver finds that the freight that he has delivered is either over, short, or damaged, he brings the matter to the attention of the O.S. and D. clerk.

The work structure presented in this chapter is brief, but it serves to illustrate the function of the driver as a union member and as a company employee. The XYZ Company operates with the cooperation of all of its employees. The driver in his day-to-day activities must interact with many of them.

The Economic Complex

The cartage truck driver in Bowling Green is very well paid for the services that he renders. The major reason for this is the bargaining success of his union. Unionization is not as prevalent or as strong as it is in many other parts of the country; hence, the blue collar worker in Bowling Green, who is a member of a strong labor union, will probably receive higher wages than workers without a union affiliation. This is true for the cartage driver. The hourly wage rate that he is to
receive for the current contract period is shown in Table 3.\(^{38}\)

Pay for overtime is calculated at one and a half times the hourly rate for all work exceeding eight hours per day or forty hours per week.\(^{39}\)

**TABLE 3**

**MINIMUM BASE WAGE RATE FOR DRIVERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effective Date</th>
<th>Wage Per Hour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 1, 1970</td>
<td>$4.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1970</td>
<td>$4.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1, 1971</td>
<td>$4.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1971</td>
<td>$5.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1, 1972</td>
<td>$5.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1972</td>
<td>$5.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1, 1973</td>
<td>$5.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to his hourly wage, the cartage driver receives numerous fringe benefits. To explain the details of all the fringe benefits that are mentioned in his contract would mean to reproduce in this chapter the contract itself; thus, for the sake of brevity, only the major monetary remunerative benefits will be mentioned. These benefits are for health and welfare, pensions, and pay for vacations and holidays.

**Health and Welfare**

Each week the employer must pay a predetermined amount to the Central States, Southeast, and Southwest Areas Health and Welfare Fund for each cartage driver on his payroll. At the time of this writing, the amount that must be paid per week is

\(^{38}\)Ibid., Article 60, Section 1, p. 119.

\(^{39}\)Ibid., Article 61, Section 1, p. 123.
$12.50 and increases during the term of the contract. By January 1, 1973, the employer will have to pay $13.50 per person per week to the fund. The cartage driver benefits by the fund in several ways. He pays nothing into the fund, and after a short waiting period, he and his entire family are covered by insurance for medical, dental, and optical care.

Pensions

In addition to health and welfare payments, the employer must pay to the Central States, Southeast, and Southwest Area Pension Fund a predetermined amount of money per week for each cartage driver on his payroll. Effective January 1, 1972, the amount that must be paid into the fund is $13.00, and effective January 1, 1973, the amount will be increased to $14.00. The employee benefits from the pension fund in two ways: (1) he himself contributes nothing to the pension fund, and (2) he is able to retire after twenty-five years of service with a reasonable substantial monthly allotment.

Vacations

The number of weeks of vacation that a driver may take each year is predicated on the number of years of service that he has given to his employer as shown in Table 4.

---

40 Ibid., Article 54.
41 Ibid., Article 55.
42 Ibid., Article 51, Section 1.
TABLE 4

VACATIONS PREDICATED ON YEARS OF EMPLOYMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s) of Employment</th>
<th>Length of Vacation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 or more</td>
<td>2 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 or more</td>
<td>3 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 or more</td>
<td>4 weeks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Holidays

The employee is entitled to eight paid holidays per year. If an employee is called into work for one of the holidays specified in his contract, he is to be paid double time for eight hours.\(^{43}\)

The hourly rate of pay for cartage drivers has been illustrated in detail. In addition to his hourly rate of pay, he receives company paid benefits for health and welfare, pension, vacation, and days off. The true meaning of his hourly wage and benefit package, though, can better be understood by calculating the amount of the driver's gross pay for a typical forty-five hour week. Added to this are the health and welfare benefits that are paid each week by the employer, as summarized in Table 5.

\(^{43}\)Ibid., Article 52, Section 1.
TABLE 5

WAGES FOR 45-HOUR WEEK INCLUDING THE AMOUNT OF MONEY PAID BY EMPLOYER FOR BENEFIT PACKAGE
EFFECTIVE JANUARY 1, 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 hrs. regular pay at the rate of $5.33 per hr.</td>
<td>$213.20 per wk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 hrs. of overtime pay at 1½ times hourly wage</td>
<td>$ 40.00 per wk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and welfare benefits</td>
<td>$ 11.50 per wk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension benefits</td>
<td>$ 13.00 per wk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$277.70 per wk.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The base rate of pay for cartage drivers in Bowling Green is high when it is compared with the rate of pay earned by other semi-skilled workers in the city. A wage and skill survey was conducted in the city of Bowling Green and was completed in October, 1971. It was sponsored by the Bowling Green division of Employment Service with cooperation from the Bowling Green-Warren County Chamber of Commerce. Five hundred and ninety-seven forms were mailed to employers in the Bowling Green area; 243 were returned, constituting a 40.7 percent return. Partially reprinted data that were published by the sponsors are shown in Table 6.44

In summarizing the economic complex, the cartage driver in Bowling Green is paid exceedingly well for his services due to the bargaining strength of his union. In fact, the true value of his pay and benefit package can be seen when compared to the earning of other semi-skilled workers throughout the city. Standing alone his standard wage of $5.33 per hour outstrips the $4.77 per

---

44 Reprinted from the October, 1971, Bowling Green-Warren County Wage and Skill Survey conducted by the Bowling Green Division of Employment Service.
TABLE 6
WAGE RATES FOR MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS IN MANUFACTURING IN BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY, IN OCTOBER, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miscellaneous Occupations in Manufacturing</th>
<th>Total Number of Workers Employed in Sample</th>
<th>Lowest Wage Reported (Per Hour)</th>
<th>Highest Wage Reported (Per Hour)</th>
<th>Average Between Lowest and Highest Reported (Per Hour)</th>
<th>Most Frequent Wage Reported (Per Hour)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled (Machine Operators)</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>$1.90</td>
<td>$4.77</td>
<td>$3.33</td>
<td>$3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled</td>
<td>1,009</td>
<td>$1.75</td>
<td>$3.25</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
<td>$2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>$1.60</td>
<td>$2.99</td>
<td>$2.29</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance Men</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>$1.90</td>
<td>$4.15</td>
<td>$3.02</td>
<td>$3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assemblers</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>$1.70</td>
<td>$3.55</td>
<td>$2.62</td>
<td>$2.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspectors</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>$1.75</td>
<td>$3.29</td>
<td>$2.52</td>
<td>$2.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility Men</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>$1.65</td>
<td>$3.55</td>
<td>$2.60</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Workers</td>
<td>2,320</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hour reported as the highest wage paid to skilled workers in the Bowling Green industrial survey.

The intent of this chapter has been to demonstrate the stability of the cartage driver's occupation due to the fundamental importance of the transportation industry. In addition, the chapter has served to examine the guidelines that the driver follows in carrying out his duties in conjunction with the organizational needs of his company. Finally, an analysis of the cartage truck driver's wages and fringe benefits has shown that he is well paid for his services in comparison to Bowling Green workers in other semi-skilled occupations.
CHAPTER V

THE STATUS AND AUTHORITY SYSTEM

In this chapter the cartage truck driver's occupation is examined by focusing attention on status evaluation within the work group, attainment of status within the group, and behavioral control of members in the group.

The Status System

As with all workmen, there is a measure of occupational pride among cartage truck drivers. It may even be said that an individual's admiration or disdain for fellow workers is determined by job performance. Perhaps it can be shown that among all occupational groups there is a measure of pride associated with the work, but it is believed that this pride can be determined only by examining the attitude of the worker toward his occupation and toward the job performance of his fellow workers.

In examining the attitude that the cartage driver has toward his job, each member of the sample was asked the following question: "Which of the following best suits how you feel about your job? You like it very much, You like it, You dislike it, You dislike it very much, Unsure. In answering the question,
seventy percent of the drivers stated that they liked their job very much, and thirty percent stated that they liked their job. Accepting the answers given at face value, it is rather conclusive that the drivers had a positive feeling toward the occupation.

In a second question, members of the sample were asked if there was one man among the members of their work group whom they admired. If they answered affirmatively, they were then asked why they felt that way. Sixty-three percent of the men responded to the question by stating that there was a member of the group whom they admired, and eighty-eight percent of those stated that they admired the man for a job-related reason. The most frequent answer given was that the man was admired because of his driving skill and/or proficiency in handling freight.

After determining the reason why a man was admired by the members of his work group, the drivers were asked if there was one man in the group whom they least admired, that is, a man whom they thought less of than any of the others in the group. Fifty-eight percent of the sample responded affirmatively to the question; ninety-one percent of these gave a job-related reason for least admiring the man. The most frequent answer given was that they felt that the man was not proficient or careful about the type of work he was doing.

In sum, it can be said that the cartage driver in Bowling Green had a positive feeling toward his occupation. Furthermore,
his admiration or disdain for fellow workers appears to have been predicated on job performance.

**Teaching and Learning**

Becoming a cartage truck driver in the city of Bowling Green is not an easy process. If an opening occurs in one of the local factories employing production line personnel, it is quite common for the employer to place an advertisement in the newspaper specifying the position available and the times during which the employment division of the factory will accept applications. This procedure in hiring, however, is not generally used by employers of cartage drivers.

**New Employees**

Because of the seasonal nature of the freight business, that is, the tendency for more tonnage to be shipped during peak periods, it is common for a trucking company to employ one or more casual workers. These are men who are called in to work when the need arises, that is, when work is available. The union specifies that the new employee or casual worker shall work on a thirty-day trial basis. Once he works the thirtieth day within a ninety-day period, he is automatically placed on the seniority list. In addition, Article 3, Section 2 of the union contract specifies, in part, that "casual and part-time employees shall be given first opportunity to qualify as regular employees . . . if they meet all qualifications required of new applicants for
During the ninety-day period, the casual worker, if he wishes to become a permanent employee, will try to impress upon the terminal manager that he is an able and hard working employee; but at the same time, he must rely on the company's permanent needs for his services.

If there is a need within the company for an additional full-time employee and if management is sufficiently impressed with the credentials and past performance of the casual employee, he is permitted to work a thirtieth day. The question that may arise at this point is how a casual employee learns enough within a twenty-nine day period to impress upon his superiors that he is an able worker. A partial answer to the question may be that seventy percent of the drivers interviewed stated that in a previous job they had had experience that helped them as cartage drivers. The range of experience for these men is shown in Table 7.

In view of the fact that many of the drivers had had experience from a previous job, only twenty percent of the total that were interviewed stated that they had learned the skills and tricks of the trade necessary to become a permanent employee or to get in their thirtieth day entirely on their own. Ten percent stated that they had learned with the help of one other driver, sixty percent with the help of more than one but not all company drivers, and ten percent with the help of all the other

---

45 The Central States Area Local Cartage Supplemental Agreement, op. cit., Article 3, Section 2, p. 13.
company drivers. It was originally thought that many of the casual employees were taken under the wing of an experienced driver, but apparently this was not the case. Conclusions reached by the researcher were that most experienced drivers would teach their skills to the novice if the novice asked for occasional aid; but they would not be asked to do so by the company, nor would they, on their own, act in a master-apprentice relationship.

TABLE 7
WORKERS STATING THAT THEY HAD HAD EXPERIENCE IN A PREVIOUS JOB THAT HELPED THEM AS CARTAGE TRUCK DRIVERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Work</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drove tractor trailer over the road</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drove straight truck with a city route</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drove straight truck and/or other equipment for a construction company</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drove straight truck hauling company freight</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drove straight truck as a farmer or farm worker</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked in a shipping room or warehouse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked as a truck mechanic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jokes Played on the New Employee

Part of the learning process for the casual employee or, in some cases, for the more experienced driver is to expect to have jokes played on him. The drivers were asked if they were to play a joke on a new driver what it would most likely be. As expected, a variety of answers was given. The favorite form of joke is designed to inconvenience the driver and is referred to as "greasing him up." Axle grease is liberally applied to any one of a number of instruments that the driver comes in contact with, including his two wheeler, truck door handles, gear shift, and steering wheel. The grease is taken from the connecting link used to secure a tractor to a trailer, otherwise known as a fifth wheel. The grease is exceedingly dirty and hard to remove. Other jokes causing inconvenience to the driver are to switch the air hoses on a tractor trailer he is to drive or to pull the hand valve down slightly on the air brakes of his rig causing the brakes in the tractor to lock. The favorite trick used to cause embarrassment to the new driver is to bang on the door of a trailer with a pipe as the driver is backing a trailer into the docks. When he hears the bang, he will think that he has hit the dock with the rear of the trailer and will shut the rig down. When he climbs up on the dock to enter the trailer, he will find that he is actually about three feet short of the dock.

A story that the interviewer once heard while working on the docks concerned a driver who was not well liked by the
other men. It was late at night, and an over-the-road driver had connected his tractor to the trailer sitting at the dock preparing to haul the load to Louisville, Kentucky, one hundred and eleven miles away. When the dockworker in question entered the trailer with a final piece of freight, the other workers quickly closed the overhead doors, inserted a seal on the lock, and instructed the over-the-road driver that all was ready. As the story goes, the dock workers in Louisville heard the man's cry for help some six hours later.

Final Acceptance

One would think that the new driver, after struggling to learn his trade and being the recipient of many jokes, would, upon working his thirtieth day, be congratulated by his fellow workers. He may be verbally congratulated, but that is as far as it goes. The drivers were asked if it were common for them to take a driver out and get him drunk or congratulate him in some similar fashion; only one answered "Yes." Apparently the new driver is not subjected to overt "rites of passage."

In conclusion, after working his thirtieth day, the driver is a full-time company employee. He is put on the seniority list and must join the union, but it will take more time before he is fully acquainted with his job. Most drivers agree that it takes between two and six months from the start of employment before the new driver learns his skill, that is, before he feels comfortable in the day-to-day performance of his job.
Systems of Control

The freedom of movement enjoyed by the cartage driver when he is driving a truck or working on the terminal dock cannot be construed to mean the freedom to do as he pleases. There are rules and creeds that he must follow both on and off the road to supplement expected behavioral patterns. Next, we shall examine the driver who fails to meet the expected standards associated with his occupation and the resultant official and unofficial sanctions that are directed toward him. On examining whether sanctions are proposed by other drivers for a member of the occupation who is careless and reckless in the performance of his job, hypotheses involving seniority and education will be tested.

Rules and Creeds

In this section, we shall examine some of the rules and creeds held by cartage drivers relative to their employers, the Bowling Green police department, and other cartage drivers.

An employer, in order to stay in business, must show a profit for his company. To do this, it is expected that each driver will handle freight and all company equipment with care. In addition, he is expected to treat the customer courteously. The freight that is handled every day by the driver may represent a very high investment to the customer or, if damaged in transit, a high investment to the trucking company. General freight or the type of commodity handled by the driver takes many forms. In
the city of Bowling Green it is not uncommon for the driver to
pick up or deliver such items as electronic equipment, glassware,
or machinery. Because the freight must be unloaded when it
arrives at the terminal, loaded on the dock area, reloaded on
straight truck, and delivered to the customer, there is a great
potential for damage to occur. It is, therefore, up to the
cartage driver as a company representative to insure that the
freight that he delivers or receives from the customer has been
handled with care.

The equipment that is used by the driver in his everyday
work represents a large investment by the company and is very
expensive to maintain. The driver is expected by management to
treat the equipment with the utmost care. This includes the use
of preventive maintenance by reporting all vehicular malfunctions.
It also includes the driver's being constantly aware of the size
and value of the vehicle that he is driving and the potential for
its damage in colliding with other objects.

Without the customer there would not be a trucking company;
hence, there would not be a need for the driver. It is, there-
fore, necessary that the driver as an official representative of
the company maintain an image of courtesy and responsibility in
the eyes of the customer.

The driver, without question, must observe the traffic
laws for the area in which he drives. For the cartage driver in
Bowling Green, all driving takes place within a twenty-five mile
radius of the city; however, most of the pickup and delivery
service performed by the driver takes place within the city limits. It may be thought that, because of the number of miles that he logs on the city streets, he would be prone to receive more than his share of traffic citations in a given period of time; but such is not the case. Two reasons why he does not were given by a representative of the Bowling Green police department. First, the cartage driver is considered by most police officers in the city to be a responsible and able driver; and, second, because of the nature of the cartage driver’s work, the police department has had a policy of following the spirit rather than the letter of the law in many instances by looking the other way when a driver violates a non-moving traffic regulation while in the performance of his duties. The driver, in return, is expected to use proper judgment in avoiding unnecessary confrontations with police officers.

The rules and creeds of the cartage driver are similar to those of other occupational groups. The driver is expected to do his share of the work, and he is expected to do so with a respect for the safety and dignity of his fellow workers.

Sanctions for Deviant Behavior

The obvious sanction for flagrant violation of traffic ordinances is a citation that is given to the driver and paid by him. We shall avoid further discussion of this matter and concentrate on the sanctions imposed by management and by the workers.
The official sanctions that may be imposed by management are a combination of the rules and regulations imposed by the company with the provisions for sanctioning the employee as stipulated in his contract. Unofficial sanctions may take the form of harassment. The researcher is aware that the sanctions imposed by the management group are the result of a violation of its norms; and the same norms may serve the work group, thus constituting a multiple control effort. In view of this fact, and for the sake of convenience, we shall discuss separately the sanctions imposed by each group.

Management sanctions.—When freight is lost or damaged and it can be proved by the company that the driver was grossly negligent in performing his duties causing the loss or damage, he can be charged the cost of replacement. Provisions for lost and damaged freight are listed in Article 10, Section 1 of the driver's contract. If it can be shown that a driver has stolen freight from his truck or from the dock area, in all likelihood he would be immediately dismissed. In addition, he is liable to prosecution.

Damaged equipment caused by the negligence of the driver can result in a warning notice given to him by the company. In accordance with the provisions of Article 44 of the driver's contract, a written warning must be given to the employee before he can be discharged. The warning serves to tell the driver to be more careful in the future. In accordance with Article 10,
Section 1, drivers using due care are not responsible for the costs of damage.

Management looks dimly on complaints that are lodged against cartage drivers by the customer. The driver, if this should happen, would probably be confronted by the terminal manager and asked for an explanation. If the complaints become frequent, the terminal manager may be forced to issue the driver a letter of warning.

In concluding a discussion of some of the sanctions that may be imposed by management, it is stipulated in Article 46 of the driver's contract that there are only six reasons why a terminal manager may discharge a driver without first having issued him a warning notice. These are dishonesty, drunkenness, the use of LSD, marijuana, or heroin, recklessness resulting in a serious accident while on duty, carrying unauthorized passengers, or failure to report any accident in which he has been involved.46

Hypotheses One and Two.—Sanctions imposed by the work group members are, for the most part, unofficial. If the worker violates the norms of his union contract or the rules and regulations of his company, he may be dealt with officially; but in the work group, control is established in an unwritten manner. The major concern here is with the sanctions that the work group imposes on its members in maintaining safety standards.

---

46Ibid., Article 46, pp. 104-105.
It is felt that carelessness and/or recklessness are in violation of the norms of occupational proficiency established among cartage drivers. The driver who violates these norms is subject to being sanctioned by his fellow workers; but, in reiterating what has been said in Chapter III, it is felt that whether sanctions will be considered may be influenced by the amount of education and seniority of the driver involved.

A second topic of concern is the sanctions that may be imposed on drivers who are unwilling to follow the group norms of friendliness and cooperation among its members.

Drivers were asked how they would deal with a fellow worker who was reckless and a poor driver. The answers to this question along with the number and percentage of drivers responding are shown in Table 8.

It can be seen that fifty-five percent of the drivers proposed sanctioning of another driver for carelessness and/or recklessness. On the other hand forty-five percent of the respondents indicated that they themselves would not sanction another driver. For seniority and education, respectively, Tables 9 and 10 show the distributions of responses for those who suggested they would or would not be personally involved in sanctioning a deviant driver. Table 11 shows the same basic data with seniority controlled for amount of education.
TABLE 8
RESPONSES GIVEN TO THE QUESTION OF SAFETY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Take him aside and talk to him about the situation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk to him, and if that doesn't work, tell the boss or union steward</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk to him about the situation, or he may lose his job</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report him to the boss without warning</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid him</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would be up to the company to handle the situation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do nothing about it</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 1: There is a relationship between the proposed sanctioning of a driver for carelessness and/or recklessness and the job seniority of the driver who suggests a sanction.

A test of this hypothesis is found in Table 9 with Chi Square and Fisher's Exact Tests of Significance and Gamma as a measure of association used in determining the relationships between the dependent and independent variables.

Viewing the variables independently, it is observed that fifty percent of the drivers had had job seniority of nine years or less, and fifty percent had had job seniority of ten years or
more. It was found that sixty-five percent of the drivers who had had ten years or more experience, as opposed to forty-five percent of the drivers who had had nine years or less experience, would sanction. Fifty-five percent of the drivers with nine years or less experience, as opposed to thirty-five percent of the drivers with ten years or more experience, would not sanction. In Table 9 it can be seen that as years of experience increase, motivation to sanction also increases. The Gamma of -0.39 supports this hypothesis by showing that there is a moderate relationship between the variable, motivation to sanction, and the variable, years of experience.

TABLE 9
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTIVATION TO SANCTION AND JOB SENIORITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Seniority</th>
<th>Motivation to Sanction</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Would Sanction % (N)</td>
<td>Would Not Sanction % (N)</td>
<td>Total % (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 years or less</td>
<td>45 (9)</td>
<td>55 (11)</td>
<td>50 (20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>65 (13)</td>
<td>35 (7)</td>
<td>50 (20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55 (22)</td>
<td>45 (18)</td>
<td>100 (40)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 0.9091$  
$P = N.S.$  
Gamma = -0.39

It is felt that as years of experience increase the driver becomes socialized into thinking of his work as something more
than merely a means of earning a living. This is shown by his increased readiness to sanction others for an inability or lack of desire to perform the job properly.

Hypothesis 2: There is a relationship between the proposed sanctioning of a driver for carelessness and/or recklessness and the educational attainment of the driver who suggests a sanction.

To provide additional investigation of the motivation to sanction, education was introduced as an independent variable. The distributions and tests of significance are shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTIVATION TO SANCTION AND EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Motivation to Sanction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Would Sanction %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>60 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school or greater</td>
<td>50 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55 (22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 0.1010 \quad P = \text{N.S.} \quad \Gamma = -0.20$

Fifty-five percent of the sample would sanction a driver for carelessness and/or recklessness while performing his job. The sample falls equally within the two categories of the variable, education. Fifty percent of the sample had had less than a high school education, and fifty percent had had a high school education
or more. Table 10 reveals that sixty percent of the drivers with less than a high school education would sanction another driver whereas fifty percent of the drivers with a high school education or greater would sanction. Furthermore, forty percent of the drivers with less than a high school education, as opposed to fifty percent of those with a high school education or more, would not sanction another driver; i.e., as the level of education increases, the likelihood of sanctions decreases somewhat. The hypothesis is supported to some extent by a Gamma showing a slight relationship between the variables, motivation to sanction and education. This relationship is clarified through the use of education as a control variable. The relationship between the variables, motivation to sanction and years of experience, when controlled for level of education, is shown in Table 11.

For those people with less than a high school education, sixty percent would sanction and forty percent would not. In addition, sanctioning was proposed by 64.3 percent of the drivers with ten years or more experience as opposed to only fifty percent for those with nine years or less experience. It can also be seen that, for those with nine years or less experience, fifty percent would not sanction; whereas, only 35.7 percent of those with ten years or more experience would not sanction. For those with less than a high school education the strength of the relationship between seniority and sanctioning is shown to be moderate; as the seniority of the driver increases, the likelihood of sanctioning increases.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Seniority</th>
<th>Less than High School</th>
<th>High School or Greater</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Would Sanction</td>
<td>Would Not Sanction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 years or less</td>
<td>50 (3)</td>
<td>50 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>64.3 (9)</td>
<td>35.7 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60 (12)</td>
<td>40 (8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fisher's Exact Probability=0.45  
P=N.S.  Gamma=-0.29

Fisher's Exact Probability=0.31  
P=N.S.  Gamma=-0.45
For those with a high school education or more, the interior of the table is similar to that for people with less than a high school education; however, the percentage differences are more distinct. It was found that fifty percent would and fifty percent would not propose a sanction, but it was also found that 66.7 percent of those with ten years or more experience would propose a sanction in contrast to only 42.9 percent of those with nine years experience or less. It was also found that for those with a high school education or greater and nine years or less experience, 57.1 percent would not propose a sanction as opposed to only 33.3 percent for those with ten years or more experience. In summation, for people with a high school education or more, it was indicated by the Gamma that there was a relationship between the variables, motivation to sanction and education.

It has been shown that when seniority increases the likelihood of sanction tends to increase. When education increases the likelihood of sanctions decreases, but when the two independent variables are examined together, job seniority appears to be the more influencing of the two; that is, in determining whether a driver would suggest a sanction.

In addition to asking whether and what action would be taken against the careless and reckless driver, it was asked what might happen to the company driver who was obnoxious, insulting, and generally disliked by most of the other men. The variety of answers that was given in response to this question appears in Table 12.
TABLE 12
WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN TO THE COMPANY DRIVER WHO IS OBNOXIOUS, INSULTING, AND GENERALLY DISLIKED BY MOST OF THE OTHER MEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Give him the silent treatment or ignore him</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take him aside and talk to him about the situation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take him aside, and if that doesn't work, tell the boss</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk to the union steward about the situation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threaten him generally to straighten up or to take what's coming</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threaten him physically</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do nothing about it</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go directly to the boss</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response/don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected, a substantial percentage of the sample expressed a desire to sanction the deviant driver by ignoring him or giving him the silent treatment; but it also had been thought that, because of the physical nature of the occupation, more of the men would threaten the deviant member physically.

There is an expected set of norms that must be followed by the cartage driver. The driver is made aware that he must meet minimum standards of behavior that have been established by
his employer, the police department, and his fellow workers. His failure to behave in accordance with these minimum standards may result in his being sanctioned by one or more of these control groups.
CHAPTER VI

THE CAREER

In this chapter, four aspects of the cartage driver's occupation are examined in terms of a career. They are social selection, mobility, career contingencies, and work and the self.

Social Selection

A man may enter into an occupation for any one of a number of reasons; but, if he continues working, the implications of his occupational attitude will touch each member of his family. In the first section of this chapter, several questions are answered concerning the social selection of the cartage truck driver's occupation; these are (1) why individuals in the sample wanted to become cartage drivers, (2) how they entered the occupation, (3) the occupational attitude of the driver and his wife, (4) hypotheses three and four dealing with sources of job satisfaction, (5) the disadvantages associated with the occupation, and (6) occupational socialization for the sons of cartage drivers.

Why Men Want to Enter the Occupation

Occupational choice for the blue collar worker is not always a matter of choosing early in one's life the type of work
that is most satisfying. When the drivers were asked why they wanted to enter into their present occupation, a variety of answers were given; but the most frequent answer was that the wages were higher than in most other jobs. The variety and frequency of answers given are shown in Table 13.

**TABLE 13**

**WHY DID YOU WANT TO BECOME A CARTAGE DRIVER RATHER THAN ENTER INTO ANOTHER OCCUPATION?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The wages are higher than in most other jobs</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I always wanted to drive a truck</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was unemployed and just fell into the job</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a truck driver, I am able to go home every night</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am familiar with this type of work</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How They Entered the Occupation

It is difficult in Bowling Green to enter the occupation of the cartage driver without help. Seventy-five percent of the drivers in the sample stated that one other person was instrumental in helping them get their first job. The type of assistance that was given took a variety of forms as shown in Table 14.
TABLE 14
ASSISTANCE THAT WAS GIVEN TO CARTAGE DRIVERS IN FINDING THEIR FIRST JOB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assistance</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Was given personal introduction to terminal manager</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminal manager was a friend or acquaintance</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was told about a job opening</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was recommended to the terminal manager</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eighty percent of the individuals who gave assistance by helping a man get his first job as a cartage driver were associated with the trucking industry. The type of work that they did is shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15
THE OCCUPATION OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ASSISTED CARTAGE DRIVERS IN GETTING THEIR FIRST JOB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over-the-road truck driver</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartage truck driver</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked for a trucking company, but not as a driver</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Occupational Attitude of the Driver and his Wife

It was shown in Chapter V that cartage drivers in Bowling Green like their jobs, but how do their wives feel about the type of work that they do? In response to this question, the drivers were asked if they thought that their wives were pleased, displeased, or unconcerned with the type of work that they did. All of the drivers thought that their wives were pleased. When asked why they thought that their wives were pleased, the drivers gave a variety of reasons as shown in Table 16.

Table 16
WHY WIVES WERE PLEASED WITH THEIR HUSBANDS' OCCUPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband is home every night</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband likes his work</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband earns a good wage</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband has job security</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife does not have to work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robert C. Dare, in analyzing the occupation of the over-the-road driver, found that "eighty-five percent of the drivers interviewed thought that their wives were satisfied with the husbands' job."  

---

47 Dare, op. cit., p. 194.
The reasons that were given were (1) because the husband earns a good wage, (2) the wife does not have to work, and (3) because the husband likes his work. Table 16 reveals that in Bowling Green the answers given to the question of the wife's satisfaction with the husband's occupation are very similar to those obtained by Dare.

Hypotheses Three and Four
Sources of Job Satisfaction

The hourly wage earned by cartage drivers has been emphasized as being fairly substantial for a semi-skilled worker; but, when the respondents were asked to name the greatest advantage in being a cartage driver, only 57.5 percent responded by giving pay as an answer. Forty-two and one-half percent gave other reasons. A breakdown of the answers given to the question is shown in Table 17.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of movement</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthy work</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job security</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interesting work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is felt that the answers given in response to the question of advantages associated with the occupation are representative of the cartage drivers' major sources of job satisfaction. Hypotheses three and four, dealing with the subject of job satisfaction, are offered for testing.

Hypothesis 3: There is a relationship between the major source of job satisfaction described by the cartage driver and his job seniority.

A testing of this hypothesis with seniority as the independent variable and job satisfaction as the dependent variable can be seen in Table 18. Again, Chi square and Fisher's Exact tests of significance and Gamma as a measure of association were used in determining the relationship between variables.

TABLE 18
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOURCES OF JOB SATISFACTION AND JOB SENIORITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Seniority</th>
<th>Sources of Job Satisfaction</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 years or less</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 0.0$  
P=N.S.  
Gamma=-0.1020

Viewing the variables independently, it is observed that fifty percent of the drivers had had job seniority of nine years
or less and fifty percent had had job seniority of ten years or more. It was found that sixty percent of the drivers who had had ten years or more experience, as opposed to fifty-five percent of the drivers who had had nine years or less experience, considered pay as a source of job satisfaction. Forty-five percent of the drivers with nine years or less experience, as opposed to forty percent of the drivers with ten years or more experience, gave other reasons for sources of job satisfaction. In Table 18 it can be seen that as years of experience increase, pay becomes only slightly more important than other reasons as a source of job satisfaction but the differences found are not statistically significant.

To provide further investigation of the sources of job satisfaction, education is introduced as an independent variable. Hypothesis 4: There is a relationship between the major source of job satisfaction expressed by the cartage driver and his educational attainment.

As before, Chi Square and Fisher's Exact test of significances and Gamma as a measure of association were used in determining the relationship between variables displayed in Table 19.

Fifty-seven and one-half percent of the sample indicated that pay was a major source of job satisfaction. The sample divides equally between the two categories of the variable education; fifty percent of the sample had less than a high school education, and fifty percent had a high school education or more. Table 19 reveals that sixty-five percent of the drivers with less
than a high school education indicated that pay was a major source of job satisfaction, and fifty percent of the drivers with a high school education or greater pointed to other sources. Furthermore, only thirty-five percent of the drivers with less than a high school education pointed to other reasons as sources of job satisfaction; whereas, fifty percent of those with a high school education or greater pointed to other reasons. It can be seen that, as the level of education increases, the frequency of answers pointing to other sources of job satisfaction also increases. The hypothesis is supported by a Gamma showing a moderate relationship between the variables, sources of job satisfaction and education.

TABLE 19
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOURCES OF JOB SATISFACTION AND EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Sources of Job Satisfaction</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pay (N)</td>
<td>Other (N)</td>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>65 (13)</td>
<td>35 (7)</td>
<td>50 (20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school or greater</td>
<td>50 (10)</td>
<td>50 (10)</td>
<td>50 (20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57.5 (23)</td>
<td>42.5 (17)</td>
<td>100 (40)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 0.4092\] \[P = \text{N.S.}\] \[\text{Gamma} = 0.3000\]

It is believed that for many drivers with less than a high school education the job by virtue of necessity is looked
upon as a means of receiving payment for services rendered, but with increased education the driver begins to rely less on the dollar value of his job. It may be that the driver with more education looks toward the intrinsic aspects of the work.

As indicated by the tests performed, the relationship between seniority and sources of job satisfaction are not statistically significant, and only a moderate relationship was found when education was used as an independent variable. Drivers with a high school education or greater pointed to other sources of job satisfaction more frequently than did those with less than a high school education. However, because of the overall weakness of the relationships found, it was not felt necessary to examine the independent variables simultaneously.

Disadvantages of Being a Cartage Driver

Each driver was asked what he thought were the disadvantages in being a cartage truck driver. The answers that were given are shown in Table 20, on the following page.

Occupational Socialization for the Sons of Cartage Drivers

The researcher was made aware of the process of occupational socialization when he first started driving a truck. He enjoyed the type of work that he was doing and began to realize one day that whenever he brought a toy home for his son it was a toy truck. When he and his son entertained each other, they would do so by gathering up a quantity of these trucks and
TABLE 20
THE DISADVANTAGES OF BEING A CARTAGE DRIVER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working outside in bad weather</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard physical work</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erratic hours</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The danger of handling heavy freight</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The danger of driving in city traffic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The aggravation of driving in city traffic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None or can't think of any</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

playing with them on the living room floor. After a period of time, the boy became fairly proficient at naming the types of trucks that he owned, what many of the mechanical parts of a truck were called, and what the trucks were used for. In addition, the boy added the occupation of the truck driver to the list of things he wanted to be when he grew up. It is believed that, if the researcher had remained a truck driver, his son would stand a better than average chance of becoming one. It is further believed that the sons of cartage truck drivers would be more likely to become truck drivers in varying capacities than would the sons of men who are not truck drivers. Support
for this statement was gained by asking the drivers in the sample (if they had sons) what type of toys they now or in the past generally bought for them. Toy trucks were named as one of the types of toys purchased by forty percent of those responding. In addition, the drivers with sons were asked if they would mind if their sons became truck drivers or if they would rather see them enter into a different line of work. Fifty-seven percent of the drivers responded by saying that they would not mind if their sons became truck drivers, thirty-six percent would rather see their sons enter into a different line of work, and five percent were unsure.

In view of the fact that forty percent of the drivers named toy trucks as a type of toy they purchased for their sons and fifty-seven percent of the drivers would not mind if their sons became truck drivers, it is believed that many of the sons of truck drivers are socialized into the occupation by their parents.

**Mobility**

There are two forms of occupational mobility that the cartage driver may be able to realize. They are horizontal mobility and vertical mobility.

When the driver finds himself out of work due to being laid off or if he wants to quit his job and work for another trucking company, he will find that his previous experience will be helpful in obtaining a job. In addition, he will find
that his membership in the Teamster's Union will work as an advantage when he is looking for a job. The first step the driver should take if he is laid off or quits his job is to contact his union steward or business agent and buy an Honorable Withdrawal Card. The cost is minimal. He should then explain to the appropriate personnel at the union local or to his business agent that he is looking for work. The union local for Bowling Green is located in Louisville, Kentucky. The driver, upon contacting the local, will find that they may recommend the names of trucking companies within the geographic boundaries of the local where he is most likely to find employment. Larger cities such as Cleveland, Chicago, or New York have hiring halls where the out-of-work driver may wait until a trucking company in the city calls and asks for the services of one or more cartage drivers. The length of time an employee may work when he is hired in this fashion may vary from day to day. The driver may decide not to seek the services of his local union but instead to apply directly for a job. In either event, the employer will know that the driver was able to have performed his work at another trucking company proficiently enough to have worked thirty days to enter the seniority list.

Vertical mobility for the cartage driver is limited. If the driver wishes to obtain a better paying position and still drive a truck, the only logical step to take with his experience would be to drive over-the-road in a company owned rig or to purchase his own rig and drive over-the-road. If he wishes to
obtain a position in a non-driving capacity, he could pursue the possibility of obtaining a job as a terminal manager in a small trucking terminal; or he could look for a job as a dispatcher. The dispatcher's job may or may not offer the same monetary rewards as he receives as a driver.

Each driver was asked if he had ever given serious consideration to purchasing his own rig, either now or in the future. A majority stated that they had not given it much thought. Only thirty-five percent indicated that they had considered the idea. By the same token, the drivers were asked if they had ever owned their own rig. Two drivers answered affirmatively. One still owns a rig. He used to drive over the road but quit. He now periodically rents it out. The second stated that he used to own and operate his own rig but sold it because he was tired of being away from home so much. A third and final question that was asked pertaining to occupational mobility involved the driver's actual choice of occupation within the trucking industry. The drivers were asked which of the following they would rather be if they had a choice; a cartage driver, an over-the-road driver driving a company-owned rig, a terminal manager, or a dispatcher. Eighty-seven percent stated that they would rather remain in their present position, ten percent would rather be over-the-road drivers; only one driver would rather be a terminal manager.

The researcher concluded that, although thirty-five percent of the drivers had at one time or another thought about
purchasing their own rig, the cost and responsibility of ownership may have been the deciding factors prohibiting such a move; moreover, most drivers in Bowling Green would rather remain as cartage drivers than pursue the occupations of over-the-road driver, dispatcher, or terminal manager. The disadvantages of added responsibility for the terminal manager's job and the time that has to be spent away from home for the over-the-road driver's job far outweigh the advantage of the monetary differentials between them and the occupation of the cartage driver.

The cartage driver, as seen in this chapter, is a member of an occupation having some opportunity for both horizontal and vertical mobility. He may request the services of his union in making a horizontal move, that is, a move from one trucking company to another; but the number of vertical moves that he may make are very limited.

The Career

Career Contingencies

There are contingencies, or the chance of an unexpected and unwanted occurrence, associated with every occupation. This includes the occupation of the cartage truck driver. As a member of the occupation, the worker at one time or another may be made painfully aware of the fact that there are five categories of contingencies that have a direct bearing on his job. They are (1) chargeable accidents, (2) disability, (3) layoffs,
(4) strikes, and (5) loss of his driver's license. It must be realized by the driver that any of these could, and in all probability would, result in termination of employment. The terminal managers for each of the trucking companies involved in the study and a business agent representing Teamster's Local 89 were questioned about each of the contingencies and how they have affected drivers in Bowling Green. A general description of the contingencies and answers to the above question follow.

**Chargeable accidents.**—Most cartage drivers in Bowling Green spend a considerable amount of time behind the wheel of a truck. If, during the time they are operating a company-owned vehicle, they are involved in an accident and if the accident is determined to have been caused through negligence, the driver may be issued a letter of warning by the company. According to Article 46 of the union contract, two letters of warning issued within a nine month period may result in his being discharged.

It goes without saying that letters of warning for chargeable accidents could be misused by the terminal manager; thus, the driver's contract also provides in Article 46 that the employee can request an investigation of the incident by his local union. Most trucking companies have a specific set of rules and regulations governing the number and type of chargeable accidents a driver is permitted without being fired. The driver may have, on one occasion, knocked down telephone wires because of the height of his truck. On the other hand, he may have been
involved in a major accident that resulted in considerable property damage and/or injury to passengers of another vehicle. In the first example, the accident is relatively minor and may not result in the issuing of a letter of warning; but, in the second example, a letter of warning probably would be issued. Companies employing union drivers could, through due process of Article 46 of the union contract, provide for the discharge of a driver for two chargeable accidents in a nine month period; but many terminal managers use a degree of constraint by not issuing letters of warning for minor accidents. If the driver knocks down a telephone line or does minor damage to his truck, the terminal manager may ask the driver for an explanation, have one of his garage employees repair the damage, and then forget the matter. The researcher did not solicit information regarding the number of accidents that drivers in Bowling Green could have been charged with, but he did find from talking to terminal managers employing cartage drivers in the city that none of the drivers employed during the past twelve months was fired for any reason.

Disability.--On-the-job injuries incurred by drivers in Bowling Green were not as prevalent as had been expected. Only two men were reported injured during the past twelve months. One man was injured when he entered a trailer and managed to get struck in the ankle with a piece of steel. An exact account of how the injury occurred was not given to the researcher, but the injury was severe enough to cause the driver to be out of
work for four months. The only other account of injury involved a driver who cut his hand while on the job. The accident though did not cause him to lose work. In the event that a driver incurs an on-the-job injury, it is stipulated in Article 14 of his contract that he is to be provided with workman's compensation protection, even though it may not be required by state law. According to the terminal managers interviewed, no cartage driver in Bowling Green has ever been killed in a job-related accident.

Layoffs.--It can be seen in Chapter III that five drivers in the city were laid off at the time of the interviewing. Renner's Express laid off four employees primarily because of a change in ownership. Renner's previously had been owned by Skagg's Transfer. Shortly after the changeover, the company was forced to lay off many of its drivers. Most of those originally laid off were called back to work, but four drivers remain unemployed. Drivers are laid off simply because the company for which they work is not handling a large enough volume of freight to warrant the manpower. Freight volume for cartage companies in the city is seasonal; that is, less freight business is generated during the winter months than during the remainder of the year. The last man hired by a company is at the bottom of the seniority list and must be made to realize that, if freight volume declines, he will be eliminated from the payroll. In addition to those drivers who were laid off during the time of field work for this study, four of the drivers interviewed were laid off at one time during the preceding twelve months. One
driver was laid off for three days or less, one for one week or less, one for two weeks or less, and one for more than two weeks. When a driver is laid off, depending on his length of service, he becomes eligible for unemployment compensation. The amount of compensation that he would receive would be predicated on his weekly earnings.

**Strikes.**--The ever present threat of a strike adds to the bargaining power of most union-affiliated occupations, but it has the potential of causing economic ruin for the individual worker. The cartage driver in Bowling Green is fortunate in that during the last ten years he has been out on strike for only two days. The strike was called in 1964, after the national contract had expired. After the 1970 contract had expired, the International Union called a strike but only for selected cities. The drivers in Bowling Green were not affected by the strike.

**Suspension or revocation of a driver's license.**--It was found that none of the drivers in Bowling Green had ever had his driver's license suspended causing him to miss work. Article 36, Section 2 of the driver's contract makes allowances for the suspension or revocation of the employee's driver's license but only if the employee has had his license revoked or suspended while complying with company instructions. The article and section pertain only to violations of size and weight penalties and the driving of equipment that does not meet the specifications of the Department of Transportation.
In conclusion, it may be said that the driver in Bowling Green has been relatively fortunate. Any of the contingencies listed could temporarily or permanently eliminate his standing as a company employee; but, during the last twelve months, not one had lost his job due to a chargeable accident; and only one employee missed work due to a job-related injury. Strikes have been almost nonexistent during the past ten years, and no one had had his driver's license suspended causing him to miss work. The primary contingency that has been faced by several drivers has been layoffs.

Work and the Self

In the past, truck drivers, both local cartage and over-the-road, have had a poor public image associated with their occupation. They were known, for the most part, as tough guys who were physically strong and not likely to take a lot of lip from people. This image of the driver and the driver's image of himself is in a gradual process of change.

The cartage driver looks at himself as being a skilled and responsible workman. Moreover, he thinks of his occupation as being an absolute necessity for the economic survival of the city. The tough guy image to him is obsolete and has no basis in fact.

In the survey that was conducted, the drivers were asked to respond to the following question: "Many people look at the truck driver as being a tough guy, that is, a person who is
physically strong and not likely to take a lot of lip from people. How do you feel about this statement?" A substantial majority of the drivers, as shown in Table 21, disagreed with it.

**TABLE 21**

**QUESTION PERTAINING TO THE "TOUGH GUY" IMAGE OF THE TRUCK DRIVER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree strongly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree strongly</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The current public image of the cartage driver in Bowling Green, as thought by many of those interviewed, is favorable. The driver looks at himself, and is looked upon by others, as being a member of a responsible and lucrative occupation.

In this chapter, four aspects of the cartage truck driver's occupation have been discussed in some detail. These are social selection, mobility, career contingencies, and work and the self. Two specific hypotheses regarding sources of job satisfaction were tested in the section dealing with social selection. In addition, it may be recognized that much of the information contained in
this chapter brings into focus the social implications of the cartage driver's quest for job security.
CHAPTER VII

THE WORK GROUP

There are two aspects of the work group that are examined in this chapter. They are (1) Inclusions and Exclusions and (2) Informal Relations.

Inclusions and Exclusions

The Work Group

In each of the trucking companies included in this study, the cartage driver is a member of a company team of workers whose efforts are geared to the collection and distribution of general freight. In addition, most of the cartage drivers for each company are members of more specific work groups. These groups may serve several functions for the members, including mutual aid in the work setting and a spirit of friendship sometimes extending into family relationships and/or satellite groups.

The Setting

The work group setting for the cartage driver is most apparent when the men load freight in the morning and unload picked-up cargo in the evening. There are some variations; but, for the most part, the drivers work in close proximity to one another only when they work on the loading dock.
It was originally thought that most of the drivers looked forward to working on the loading dock before and/or after a day of driving so that they could discuss the day's activities with one another. This, however, was not found to be the case. Nearly a third of the drivers preferred to load and unload freight on the dock before or after driving; fifty-five percent of the drivers preferred to remain on the road and not work on the docks at all. The remainder stated that it made little difference where they worked.

Conflicting Beliefs

In addition to the high percentage of drivers who were found to prefer working away from the loading dock, it is believed that conflicts of beliefs among the terminal managers and between terminal managers and the drivers regarding dock work procedures were found.

As was stated previously, the major advantages of working with other men when loading and unloading freight were to be able to render assistance to each other when handling heavy or bulky freight and to make the time pass more quickly. In addition, it was stated that management tended to encourage the men to work in groups. With regard to the first statement, it was found that eighty-five percent of the men preferred to work with others when loading and unloading freight, while only twelve and one-half percent of the men preferred to work alone, and only one driver stated that he had no preference. When the men who said that they preferred to work with other men were asked why they felt
the way they did, sixty-nine percent of them replied that their preference was job related; that is, they believed that they were able to load freight more quickly, more safely, and/or more easily than if they worked by themselves. Twenty-eight percent of the men who preferred to work with others replied that their preferences were based on social reasons; that is, they enjoyed talking to someone else when working so that the time would go by more quickly. One man did not respond to the question.

In light of what the drivers feel about working with other men when loading and unloading freight, the terminal managers for the seven cartage trucking companies in Bowling Green are split on the issue. The terminal managers for four of the seven companies, representing a majority of the drivers, stated that they direct the men to work alone. When loading and unloading freight, they want one man to a truck. The reasons they give are similar in that they all believe that more tonnage is handled in that manner. One terminal manager went on to say that studies undertaken by his company had shown that the pounds per man hour were greater when the men were directed to work alone. On the other hand, the terminal managers for three of the trucking companies believe that more tonnage is handled by the men if they work as a team.

It is apparent at this juncture that the terminal managers in Bowling Green have conflicting beliefs regarding the manner in which freight should be loaded and unloaded. In addition, there appears to be a conflict between the beliefs of the men and four
of the terminal managers regarding the manner in which freight should be loaded and unloaded. Finally, it is the researcher's belief that, even when the men are directed to work alone, the work group remains in existence; and the men find ways of interacting with other members of the group.

The Extended Work Group

The work group for cartage drivers is not limited solely to mutual aid and friendship in the work setting. There is a tendency in Bowling Green for the groups to extend to family friendships and activities, as well as to a number of group sport and recreational activities. The work group also leads to informal group relationships between its members and dock workers from other companies located throughout the city.

Family Friendships

After examining Tables 22, 23, and 24, it becomes apparent that friendships and social activities are commonplace among the families of cartage drivers in the city.

TABLE 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All of them</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost all of them</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of them</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of them</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 23
RESPONSES CONCERNING THE DRIVERS WITH WHOM THE HUSBAND WORKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My wife and I know some of the men and their families socially</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My wife and I do not know any of the men and their families socially</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 24
RESPONSES CONCERNING THE NUMBER OF DRIVERS AND THEIR FAMILIES THAT THE HUSBAND AND WIFE KNOWSOCIALY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or more</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Group Sport and Recreational Activities**

What are some of the sport and recreational activities enjoyed by cartage drivers and their families?
There appears to be little evidence of company sponsored activities for the cartage driver; and, because of the Louisville location of the local union headquarters, there is little evidence of union sponsored activities for drivers in Bowling Green. Most of the sport and recreational activities are promoted by the members themselves. The names of these activities and the number of men involved in each one was learned by asking the following questions: "Do you participate in any group activities here in Bowling Green, e.g., civic clubs, veterans organizations, church clubs, or hobby clubs? If YES: What are the names of these groups?"

It was found that the activities entered into by the cartage drivers in the city were, for the most part, company centered; for instance, a softball team made up of cartage drivers included only the drivers from a single trucking company. In addition, most of the sport and recreational activities that were entered into by cartage drivers were done so by the employees of one particular trucking company. We have called this company the XYZ Company. According to the drivers for this company, one of the most frequented activities entered into by themselves and their families was weekend camping. During most of the weekends of the summer months, approximately eight of the drivers and their families travel to the same lake and camp in the general vicinity of the camp sites occupied by the other drivers. All of the members of the group frequent the same camp site often enough during the summer for the families to become fairly well acquainted
with one another. The kids all play together and the husbands and wives find themselves fishing, boating, and talking and playing cards with other members of the group on a regular basis.

Other sport and recreational activities pursued by the drivers for the XYZ Company were a softball team, a county basketball team, a saddle club, and a little league baseball team. In each of these, with the exception of little league baseball, there appeared to be little shared interest among the drivers. The little league baseball team was mentioned by three of the drivers because they had children who played on the team.

In addition to the activities enjoyed by members of the XYZ Company, six of the drivers representing the remaining six companies listed softball, basketball, and bowling as recreational pastimes.

Informal Group Relationships

Cartage drivers, because of their mobility, may become members of coffee klatches throughout the city. This statement would probably be strongly denied by the drivers, but it is true. When he delivers freight to a company on a frequent basis, the driver, in all probability, learns the names of the individuals who help unload his truck. Over a period of time, he might find that before the truck is unloaded, or perhaps afterward, it is time to have a cup of coffee or a bottle of soda pop. He has become, in a sense, a fringe member of a work group in that particular company. When the men sit on the dock or in the back of the truck to "shoot the bull," they are able to enjoy and pass
on a great deal of information that one would not otherwise become aware of. The driver cannot afford to waste a great deal of time drinking coffee and talking to the dock workers in other companies. He may have a lot of stops to make and would aggravate the dispatcher, terminal manager, and/or his fellow drivers by not doing his full share of the work; nevertheless, if he paces himself, he will find time for his coffee klatch activities.

Informal Relations

This final topic of discussion deals with central meeting points and secretive organizations related to the occupation of the cartage truck driver.

Restaurants

The first thought that enters one's mind when thinking of a central meeting point for truck drivers is a truck stop. It was originally thought that most of the drivers in the sample had definite opinions on what they thought were the best restaurants in town and frequented these restaurants often, thereby setting the stage for encounters with truck drivers from other companies. After all, it is a long established belief that over-the-road drivers have definite opinions on where to eat. In light of what was thought, however, the researcher was surprised to learn that only twenty-three of the forty drivers had favorite restaurants that they went to for coffee or lunch. The others stated that they had no preference as to where they ate. The second surprise came when the drivers who gave a preference listed fourteen
different restaurants as favorite places to eat. How, one may ask, can informal relations with other cartage drivers take place in a restaurant when there are so many "favorite" places in town to eat? However, in answer to this question, it was noted that, among the fourteen restaurants named, three restaurants were mentioned more often than were the others.

Bars

Bars represent a central meeting point for people from all walks of life, but some bars are distinguishable from others; that is, they may cater to the needs of a single occupational group or occupational level. As much as this was thought to be true for the cartage driver in Bowling Green, supporting evidence could not be found.

Organizational and Club Activity

Cartage drivers in Bowling Green, taken collectively, are not what one may call a club or organization oriented people. This does not mean that organizational activity for cartage drivers in the city is nonexistent. It was found that eleven of the drivers are members of at least one of the following organizations: the Masons, the Oddfellows, the Shriners, the Woodsmen of America, the American Legion, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Five drivers from two trucking companies are members of the Masons. The remaining organizations each contain only one or two drivers listed as members. In view of the club and organizational activities discussed, it becomes evident that
the Masons with five drivers as members is the frontrunner for potential informal relationships.

In conclusion, two aspects of the work group have been examined in this chapter. They are inclusions and exclusions and informal group activities. It has been found that the cartage driver belongs to a closely knit work group lending itself well to family friendships and activities. Informal relationships are an extension of the work group, although they are somewhat less strong than had been predicted.

Now we turn to the conclusions reached from this study of the cartage truck driver.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY

The cartage driver's occupation has been analyzed so that consideration could be given to the type of work that is performed and so that some of the social relationships among rank and file could be better understood. A nonprofessional occupation was studied in part because sociologists have tended to let the study of occupations of this nature fall into neglect. In their place, the higher status professional occupations have been studied out of proportion to their numbers in society. Finally, the study of the cartage truck driver presented herein may be considered a balanced presentation. The researcher has attempted to analyze the occupation in rather broad perspective rather than to use a common practice of analyzing a single aspect of an occupation.

The scope of this thesis has been based on a framework for the study of an occupation suggested by Edward Gross. It is a product of Gross' background as a student of E. C. Hughes at the University of Chicago where Hughes worked with Robert Park in studying low level occupations in the city of Chicago. The framework has proved most useful in bringing to light many sociological concepts that aid in explaining the intricacies of an occupation.
Methodological procedures that were used in gathering information for the thesis began informally with the occupational experience of the researcher. For a total of three and a half years, he was a cartage truck driver in Bowling Green, Kentucky, and in Cleveland, Ohio. It was thought that an explanation of the initial learning processes of the cartage driver could best be understood by reviewing an account of the experiences that he encountered.

The total population for the study consisted of fifty-eight truck drivers working for seven trucking companies in the city of Bowling Green, Kentucky. Forty drivers were represented in the sample, and all belonged to Teamster's Local 89. Interviews were conducted using an interview schedule which included a combination of fixed and open end questions. In addition the terminal managers for each of the seven trucking companies involved in the study were questioned with the aid of a separate open end interview schedule.

In this study, four hypotheses were offered for testing. The first two hypotheses considered sanctions for deviant behavior. Restatements of hypotheses one and two follow.

**Hypothesis 1:** There is a relationship between the proposed sanctioning of a driver for carelessness and/or recklessness and the job seniority of the driver who suggests a sanction.

**Hypothesis 2:** There is a relationship between the proposed sanctioning of a driver for carelessness and/or recklessness and the educational attainment of the driver who suggests the sanction.
For hypotheses three and four, job satisfaction was used as the independent variable, and education and seniority were the dependent variables. Job satisfaction was studied by asking the drivers what they felt to be the greatest advantages associated with the occupation. Restatements of hypotheses three and four follow.

Hypothesis 3: There is a relationship between the major source of job satisfaction described by the cartage driver and his seniority.

Hypothesis 4: There is a relationship between the major source of job satisfaction expressed by the cartage driver and his educational attainment.

The statistical procedures used in testing the hypotheses as well as analyzing the data relative to each question in the interview schedule began with the coding and subsequent transfer of all pertinent data to IBM data cards. Using an IBM 360-40 computer all data were programmed for a numerical and percentage count. Following the appropriate collapsing of cells the four hypotheses were tested using Chi Square and Fisher's Exact tests of significance and Gamma as a measure of association.

It was revealed with testing of hypotheses one and two that there were relationships between the dependent and independent variables; but findings were not statistically significant. It was found that as years of experience increased, motivation to sanction increased; but as education increased, motivation to sanction decreased slightly. When motivation to sanction was controlled for education, it was found that drivers with a high
school education or greater and who had had ten years or more experience were more likely to propose a sanction than were drivers with ten years or more experience and who had had less than a high school education. Additionally, it was found that the relationship between the sources of job satisfaction and the independent variables job seniority and education were not statistically significant. A relationship between the variables sources of job satisfaction and job seniority was also non-existent; however, there was a slight relationship between the variables sources of job satisfaction and education. The driver with a high school education or more looked less toward pay and more to other factors as sources of job satisfaction.

The framework used in outlining and presenting this study was divided into four parts, the Institutional System, the Status and Authority System, the Career, and the Work Group.

The Institutional System was subdivided into three parts, the work complex, the work structure, and the economic complex.

Analysis of the work complex revealed that the trucking industry as a transporter of goods lends itself very well to the economic growth of the nation. Particular emphasis was put on the importance of the trucking industry in Bowling Green which relies heavily on truck traffic. The cartage driver plays an important role in Bowling Green by acting as an intracity carrier.

The work structure encompasses the duties of the cartage driver and his range of formal interaction with other company
personnel. The driver's primary duties are to pick up, deliver, and assemble freight within a twenty-five mile radius of his home terminal. While performing these tasks, he is guided by the terms and provisions of his contract and by the rules and regulations that are outlined by the company for which he works. When he formally interacts with other company personnel, his range of interaction is predicated on the size of the company and its governing procedures. The operation of the XYZ Company, an actual trucking company in the study, was used as an example of the formal interaction that takes place.

In the section on the economic complex, it is pointed out that high hourly wages and excellent fringe benefits are the major distinguishing features separating the occupation of the carriage truck driver from other semi-skilled occupations. The driver's current wage, effective January 1, 1972, is $5.33 per hour. In addition, his weekly earnings are enhanced by health and welfare and pension benefits paid by the company. His wages and benefits are higher than those of most semi-skilled workers in the city of Bowling Green, as revealed by the 1971 Bowling Green-Warren County Wage and Skill Survey.

The second part of the framework used in the study is "The Status and Authority System" and is subdivided into three parts, the status system, teaching and learning, and systems of control.
In discussing the status system, consideration was given to the cartage driver's admiration or disdain for fellow workers predicated on their job performance.

Teaching and learning for cartage drivers encompasses a wide range of activities. There are schools available where one learns to become a truck driver, but it was found that only one of the cartage drivers had ever attended such a school. In addition, it was noted that the new employees, in accordance with the union contract, were put on a probation period lasting for thirty working days. During this time, they may be considered casual employees. Here it was found that new employees are generally not taken under the wing of more experienced drivers as suggested by Dare in his study of the over-the-road driver. Other items discussed were the working experience of the men before they had become cartage drivers, the attainment of a working knowledge of the occupation after having been hired as casual employees, the jokes played on new drivers, and finally, an acceptance into the occupation by other drivers.

Systems of control are in evidence for men in all occupational categories. For the cartage driver, there are rules and creeds that must be followed relative to other cartage drivers, the employer, and the Bowling Green police department. Failure to abide by these rules and creeds constitutes deviance and may result in his being sanctioned. Management may sanction a driver by issuing a letter of warning or in some cases, by terminating his employment. The police department may issue
citations, and other cartage drivers may act individually or collectively to sanction the deviant driver. The sanctions that are imposed depend, of course, on the severity and degree of deviance that has been committed.

The third part of Gross' framework is entitled "The Career," and four major aspects of the career were included in the discussion. They are social selection, mobility, career contingencies, and work and the self.

As to social selection, it was found that fifty percent of the drivers entered the occupation primarily because of the high monetary rewards; and, for seventy-five percent of the sample, a friend or acquaintance had helped them get their first job. In addition, it was found that a high percentage of the people who had helped cartage drivers get their first job were themselves members of the trucking industry. Other findings were that wives were well pleased with the occupation of their husbands for the same reasons suggested by Dare, e.g., pay and job seniority. Moreover, the drivers themselves enjoyed the type of work that they did. The answers given most frequently when listing the disadvantages of the job were "working outside in bad weather" and "hard physical work." It was also found in reviewing social selection that the sons of cartage drivers are thought to be socialized into the occupation of their fathers largely due to the job satisfaction of the latter, even as was suggested by Janet Kern in reference to medical families.
There are two forms of occupational mobility that the cartage driver may be able to realize. They are horizontal mobility and vertical mobility. The cartage driver has a limited potential for vertical mobility, primarily because the avenues of advancement are limited to him and because he generally does not wish to pursue the prospect of doing another type of work. It was originally thought that he would aspire to purchase his own rig and drive over-the-road. In essence, he did not want to enter the world of small business as suggested by Berg and Rogers in their article, "Former Blue-Collarites in Small Business."

Horizontal mobility may, at times, be easily realized for a driver with experience; his union affiliation can usually be depended upon to act in his favor. Some, but not all, union halls actually provide employment services for union members. The local union for drivers in Bowling Green does not.

There are five career contingencies for the cartage driver. They are chargeable accidents, disability, layoffs, strikes, and suspension or revocation of a driver's license. The contingencies facing the driver in Bowling Green during the past twelve months have been layoffs and disability. There are currently five drivers who are laid off, and it must be remembered that the freight business is seasonal. The last man hired will be the first to be laid off when freight movements are slow. The disabilities suffered by drivers in the city were surprisingly low. Only two drivers had lost time during the past twelve months due to on-the-job injury.
By discussing the topic of work and the self, it was found that the driver does not generally believe that the "tough guy" image that is associated with his occupation is valid. He sees himself as a member of a responsible and lucrative occupation.

The fourth and final part of Gross' framework is entitled "The Work Group." The topics of discussion that are presented under this heading were inclusions and exclusions, and informal relations.

It was learned through studying inclusions and exclusions that most cartage drivers in the city are, and recognize the fact that they are, members of a work group. The work setting for the group is the loading dock area. Only thirty-five percent of the drivers prefer to spend a part of their day there; however, if the men must spend time loading and unloading trucks, they prefer, by a wide margin, to work as a team with other cartage drivers. Here, sixty-nine percent of the drivers who preferred to work with other drivers gave a job-related reason for their preference, and the rest, as in Roy's "Banana Time," gave a social reason. It was pointed out that more tonnage is handled per man hour if the drivers work alone, that is, one man to one truck, hence, a conflict exists between the drivers and the terminal managers in regard to these beliefs. The work group, it was found, extends to family relationships and activities. Sixty-two percent of the families of drivers know other drivers and their families socially. Informal relations among cartage drivers are limited here to restaurants, bars, and organizational and club activities.
The driver cannot be considered a great joiner, but the restaurants may be a source for informal relations to take place.

Although the effort here has been to provide a rather comprehensive study of the cartage driver, there are many more facets that could be studied to add to the present body of knowledge concerning the occupation, and it is believed that more study could be undertaken within the framework of study suggested by Gross.

Suggestions for Further Research

Further research could perhaps begin with independent variables other than those used in the hypotheses tested. It is felt that proposal to sanction as the dependent variable may better be "explained" by age or possibly by number of children as independent variables. The same suggestion is offered regarding job satisfaction.

Further research should also include some device used for the measurement of job satisfaction. In addition, job satisfaction based on both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards should be examined. As a further suggestion, future studies of the cartage driver should be attempted in a socio-economic climate similar to that found in Bowling Green. A geographic change in conjunction with refined analytical tools should prove useful for comparative purposes.

Although the present study in Bowling Green was seen as a reasonably comprehensive effort, it can be seen by the
suggestions set forth above that there is more to be learned about the cartage driver. Hopefully, there will be subsequent studies in this area.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTION

February 17, 1972

To Whom It May Concern

Dear Sir:

Mr. Robert Miller is a student in the graduate program in this department here at Western Kentucky University. He is presently taking course work toward his Master of Arts Degree. In this connection, as part of the requirements for that degree, he is conducting a study of the occupation of the cartage truck driver, with the intention of using his research findings as the basis for a Master's thesis. His research efforts will involve the use of a questionnaire and personal interviewing, and these procedures have the approval of faculty members in this department. We, along with Mr. Miller, will very much appreciate your cooperation in this project.

Thanking you, I am,

Sincerely,

Clifton D. Bryant
Professor and Head
[Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky 42101]
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONS FOR TERMINAL MANAGERS

Career Contingencies

1. Have you had to fire any employees during the past year? If so, what were the circumstances involved?

2. Are there any drivers employed by this company who are now out of work because of an on-the-job disability? How many?

3. Can you give me some indication of the frequency and severity of accidents happening to men in this company during the past year?

4. To your knowledge, have any cartage drivers working for this company in Bowling Green been killed in a job-related accident?

5. During the time you have worked in the cartage trucking industry, can you recall seeing or hearing of men being killed while working on the docks or in the terminal yard?

The Work Group

7. When the men load and unload freight in the mornings and evenings, do you encourage them to work as a team? If so, why? If not, why not?
APPENDIX C

PERSONAL INFORMATION*

Name ________________________________ Telephone __________________________
Trucking Company ________________________________

1. How old are you?
   1___Under 21
   2___21-25
   3___26-30
   4___31-35
   5___36-40
   6___41-45
   7___46-50
   8___Over 50
   9___No response

2. What is your present weight?
   1___Under 120 lbs.
   2___120-150
   3___150-170
   4___170-190
   5___Over 190
   9___No response

3. How tall are you?
   1___Under 5'6"
   2___5'6"-5'9"
   3___5'10"-6'1"
   4___Over 6'1"
   9___No response

4. What are your total number of years experience driving a truck (straight truck or tractor trailer)?
   1___Under 1 yr.
   2___1 yr.-5 yrs.
   3___6 yrs.-9 yrs.
   4___10 yrs.-20 yrs.
   5___Over 20 yrs.
   9___No response

5. What are the total number of years you have spent as a cartage truck driver?
   1___Under 1 yr.
   2___1 yr.-5 yrs.
   3___6 yrs.-9 yrs.
   4___10 yrs.-20 yrs.
   5___Over 20 yrs.
   9___No response

6. What are the total number of years you have spent as a cartage driver here in Bowling Green?
   1___Under 1 yr.
   2___1 yr.-5 yrs.
   3___6 yrs.-9 yrs.
   4___10 yrs.-20 yrs.
   5___Over 20 yrs.
   9___No response

*Where an asterisk appears before a question, the answer has been post coded.
126

7. How long have you lived in the Bowling Green vicinity?
   1  1 yr. or less
   2  2-4 yrs.
   3  5-9 yrs.
   4  10-19 yrs.
   5  20 or more years
   9  No response

8. Do you own your own home or rent?
   1  Own home
   2  Rent
   3  Other
   9  No response

9. What would you say is the current value of your home and other land and buildings that you may own?
   1  Under $5,000
   2  $5,000-$9,000
   3  $10,000-$20,000
   4  $20,000-$30,000
   5  $30,000-$40,000
   6  $40,000-$50,000
   7  Over $50,000
   9  No response

10. What is your marital status?
    1  Married
    2  Single
    3  Engaged
    4  Other
    9  No response

11. Have you ever been divorced?
    0  No
    1  Yes
    9  No response

12. IF YES: How many times?
    1  One
    2  Two
    3  Three or more
    9  No response

13. How many children do you have?
    0  None
    1  One
    2  Two
    3  Three
    4  Four
    5  Five
    6  Six or more
    9  No response

14. How many years of school did you finish?
    1  8 yrs. or less
    2  Some high school, but did not graduate
    3  High school diploma
    4  Non-college training after high school--e.g., trade school
    5  Some college training, but 4 yr. degree not completed
    6  Graduated from college (4 yr. degree)
    7  Graduate college or university training beyond 4 yr. degree
    9  No response

15. Did you ever serve in the armed forces of the U.S.?
    0  No
    1  Yes
    9  No response

16. IF YES: What branch of the service were you in?
    1  Army
    2  Navy
    3  Air Force
    4  Marine Corps
    5  Coast Guard
    6  Other
    9  No response
SOCIAL SELECTION

*17. Think back and tell me why you wanted to become a cartage truck driver rather than enter into another occupation.
   1____ The wages are higher than in most other jobs
   2____ I always wanted to drive a truck
   3____ I was unemployed and just fell into the job
   4____ As a truck driver, I am able to go home every night
   5____ I am familiar with this type of work
   9____ No response

18. Was any one person instrumental in helping you get your first job as a cartage driver?
   0____ No
   1____ Yes
   9____ No response

*19. IF YES: How did he go about helping you?
   1____ He personally introduced me to the terminal manager
   2____ The terminal manager was a personal friend or acquaintance
   3____ He told me about a job opening
   4____ He recommended me to the terminal manager
   5____ Other
   9____ No response

20. IF YES: What did he do for a living?
   1____ Over-the-road truck driver
   2____ Cartage truck driver
   3____ Worked for a trucking company, but not as a driver
   4____ Other
   9____ No response

21. IF NO: How did you get your first job as a cartage driver?

22. If you had a choice right now, would you remain in your present occupation?
   0____ No
   1____ Yes
   2____ Unsure
   9____ No response

23. IF NO: What would you rather do?
24. What do you think are the greatest advantages in being a cartage driver?
   1____ Pay
   2____ Job security
   3____ Freedom of movement
   4____ Healthy work
   5____ Interesting work
   6____ Other
   9____ No response

25. What are the disadvantages?
   1____ Working outside in bad weather
   2____ Erratic hours
   3____ The danger of handling heavy freight
   4____ Hard physical work
   5____ The danger of driving in city traffic
   6____ The aggravation of driving in city traffic
   7____ None or can't think of any
   8____ Other
   9____ No response

26. Which of the following best suits how you feel about your job?
   1____ You like it very much
   2____ You like it
   3____ You dislike it
   4____ You dislike it very much
   5____ Unsure
   9____ No response

27. What would you say are your wife's feelings toward the occupation you now have?
   1____ She is pleased
   2____ She is not pleased
   3____ She is unconcerned
   4____ Unsure
   9____ No response

28. Why do you think she feels this way?
   1____ Husband is home every night
   2____ Husband likes his work
   3____ Husband earns a good wage
   4____ Husband has job security
   5____ Wife does not have to work
   9____ No response
29. How many sons do you have?
   1. One
   2. Two
   3. Three
   4. Four
   5. Five
   6. Six or more
   9. No response

30. What are your educational hopes for your son(s)?
   1. 8 yrs. or less
   2. Some high school
   3. Graduation from high school
   4. Non-college training after high school--e.g., trade school
   5. Some college
   6. Graduation from college (4 yrs. degree)
   7. Graduate college or university training beyond 4 yr. degree
   8. Unsure
   9. No response

31. What type of toys do you now, or did you in the past, generally buy for your son(s)?

32. Would you mind if your son became a truck driver, or would you rather see him enter into a different line of work?
   0. Become a truck driver
   1. Enter into a different line of work
   2. Unsure
   9. No response

33. If you would rather see them enter into a different line of work, what type of work would it be?

TEACHING AND LEARNING

34. Did you have experience in a previous job that would help you as a cartage driver?
   0. No
   1. Yes
   2. Unsure
   9. No response
35. IF YES: What did you do?
1. Drove tractor trailer over the road
2. Drove straight truck with a city route
3. Drove straight truck and/or other equipment for a construction company
4. Drove straight truck hauling company freight
5. Drove straight truck as a farmer or farm worker
6. Worked in a shipping room or warehouse
7. Worked as a truck mechanic
9. No response

36. Before becoming a cartage driver, did you ever attend a driving school?
0. No
1. Yes
9. No response

37. IF YES: Did you complete the course?
0. No
1. Yes
9. No response

38. IF YES: What was the length of the course?
1. Less than one week
2. One week
3. Two weeks
4. Three weeks or more
9. No response

39. After you were hired, how did you learn the skills and tricks of the trade necessary to become a permanent employee or to get in your thirtieth day?
1. Entirely on my own
2. With the help of one other company driver
3. With the help of more than one but not all company drivers
4. With the help of all the other company drivers
9. No response

40. If a driver does not have previous experience, how long would you say it takes him to learn his skill and catch on to the things he needs to know about his job?
1. One month or less
2. Two months
3. Six months
4. More than six months
5. Unsure
9. No response
41. When a new driver gets in his thirty days and is hired by the company, is it common for the other drivers to take him out and get him drunk or to congratulate him in some way?
0 No
1 Yes
2 Unsure
9 No response

42. If you were going to play a joke on a new driver, what would it most likely be?

43. Since becoming a cartage driver, have you ever attended special classes pertaining to your job?
0 No
1 Yes
2 Unsure
9 No response

44. IF YES: Explain what was studied.

45. What was the length and frequency of the class?
1 1 hour
2 2 hours
3 3 hours
4 4 hours
5 5 hours or more
9 No response

1 More than once a week
2 Once a week
3 Once a month
4 Once every six months
5 Less than once every six months
9 No response

STATUS SYSTEM

(In the next series of questions, do not give me the names of particular drivers.)

46. When you and the men with whom you work are doing your job, can you think of one man whom you admire more than the others?
0 No
1 Yes
2 Unsure
9 No response

*47. IF YES: Why do you think highly of this man?
1 For a job-related reason
2 For a non-job-related reason
9 No response
48. Now, can you think of a man whom you least admire?
   0   No
   1   Yes
   2   Unsure
   9   No response

*49. IF YES: Why do you rank this man as you do; that is to say, why do you rank him as being on the "bottom of the heap"?
   1   For a job-related reason
   2   For a non-job-related reason
   9   No response

*50. If one of the drivers is obnoxious, insulting, and generally disliked by you and the men with whom you work, what would you all most likely do to him?
   1   Give him the silent treatment or ignore him
   2   Take him aside and talk to him about the situation
   3   Talk to him and if that doesn't work, tell the boss
   4   Talk to the union steward about the situation
   5   Threaten him generally—to straighten up or to take what's coming
   6   Threaten him physically
   7   Do nothing about it
   8   Go directly to the boss
   9   No response/don't know

*51. Suppose you and the men with whom you work know someone who is careless and a poor driver. What would you do about it?
   1   It would be up to the company to handle the situation
   2   Take him aside and talk to him about the situation
   3   Talk to him and if that doesn't work, tell the boss or union steward
   4   Talk to him about the situation, or he may lose his job
   5   Report him to the boss without warning
   6   Do nothing about it
   7   Avoid him
   9   No response

WORK AND THE SELF

52. Many people look at the truck driver as being a tough guy; that is, a person who is physically strong and not likely to take a lot of lip from people. How do you feel about this statement?
   1   Agree strongly
   2   Agree
   3   Undecided
   4   Disagree
   5   Disagree strongly
   9   No response
53. On your day off or when you are not working, do you ever stop at the terminal to visit with the guys or to see what is going on?
   0 No
   1 Yes
   9 No response

54. IF YES: How often?
   1 Five times a week or more
   2 Three times a week or more
   3 Once a week
   4 Less than once a week
   9 No response

MOBILITY

55. Have you ever owned your own rig?
   0 No
   1 Yes
   9 No response

56. IF NO: Have you given serious consideration to purchasing your own rig, either now or in the future?
   0 No
   1 Yes
   9 No response

57. If you had your choice, which of the following would you rather be?
   1 Cartage driver
   2 Over-the-road driver
   3 Terminal manager
   4 Dispatcher
   9 No response/don't know

INFORMAL RELATIONS

58. Do you participate in any group activities here in Bowling Green--e.g., civic clubs, veteran organizations, church clubs, or hobby clubs?
   0 No
   1 Yes
   9 No response

59. IF YES: What are the names of these groups?
60. IF YES: Do any of the cartage drivers with whom you work belong to these same groups?
   0 No
   1 Yes
   9 No response

61. IF YES: How many drivers with whom you work belong to each group that you are a member of?

INCLUSIONS AND EXCLUSIONS

62. When you go to work in the morning or after delivering freight in the evening, do you (1) look forward to working with the guys loading and unloading freight, or (2) would you rather concern yourself only with delivering and picking up freight?
   1 Work with the guys
   2 Deliver and pick up freight
   3 Other
   9 No response

63. When loading and unloading freight, do you prefer to work alone or with other people?
   1 Alone
   2 With others
   3 Other
   9 No response

*64. Why do you feel this way?
   1 A job-related reason
   2 A social reason
   9 No response

65. When you are delivering or picking up freight, are there any favorite restaurants that you go to for coffee or lunch?
   0 No
   1 Yes
   9 No response

66. IF YES: What are the names of these places?
67. Do other drivers that work for your company also eat lunch at these places?
   0  No
   1  Yes
   9  No response

68. IF YES: Are any of these men part of the group that you normally load and unload freight with?
   0  No
   1  Yes
   9  No response

69. Does your wife know:
   1  All the men with whom you work
   2  Almost all of them
   3  Some of them
   4  None of them
   9  No response

70. In speaking of the men with whom you work, do you and your wife know any of these men and their families socially? That is, do you ever go to each other's homes or go out together?
   0  No
   1  Yes
   9  No response

71. IF YES: How many men and their families do you and your wife know in this way?
   1  One
   2  Two
   3  Three
   4  Four
   5  Five or more
   9  No response

---

CAREER CONTINGENCIES

72. How much time have you lost during the past year due to on-the-job disability?
   1  No time lost
   2  Three days or less
   3  One week or less
   4  Two weeks or less
   5  More than two weeks
   9  No response
73. How much time have you lost during the past year due to layoffs?
1____ No time lost
2____ One week or less
3____ Two weeks or less
4____ Four weeks or less
5____ More than four weeks
9____ No response

74. As a cartage driver, have you ever had your driver's license suspended causing you to miss work?
0____ No
1____ Yes
9____ No response

75. IF YES: For how long?