Keeping the "Shiny Side Up" and the "Hammer Down": The Subculture of American Truck Drivers

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The Subculture of American Truck Drivers

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Sociology
Western Kentucky University
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
David O. Fields
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Keeping the "Shiny Side Up" and the "Hammer Down":

The Subculture of American Truck Drivers

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DEDICATION

I would like dedicate this thesis to Thomas P. Dunn without whom I would have been lost. You had the ability to look beyond the rough edges and bring forth potential I never knew I possessed. Thank you for being my advisor, mentor, and confidant. Most of all thank you for becoming my friend. I will never forget the impact you have made in my life.
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Keeping the “Shiny Side Up” and the “Hammer Down”:
The Subculture of American Truck Drivers

By: David O. Fields August, 1998 94 pages
Directed by: Thomas P. Dunn, Edward H. Bohlander, and Kathleen A. Kalab
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The purpose of this research is to provide a comprehensive description of the trucking subculture. In addition to detailing the material and nonmaterial aspects of and the process of being socialized into the trucking subculture, this thesis provides a profile of the contemporary American truck driver including demographics, work activities, attitudes, opinions and illegal activities.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

My name is David Fields. For fourteen years I made my living as a commercial truck driver. During that time I experienced virtually every aspect of the trucking subculture. I have also had the opportunity to observe the contemporary truck driver's image that is being conveyed to the public by the mainstream media. I found substantial discrepancies between that image and the reality of the trucking subculture. When I returned to academia in 1991, I became aware of the sociological perspective and immediately saw the possibility of using my experience as the basis for empirical research on my former occupation. An exhaustive literature search revealed that while particular aspects of the trucking industry have been the focus of empirical research, the occupation as a whole had yet to be the object of sociological scrutiny. This thesis has been designed to rectify that situation. To comprehend the trucking subculture, it is necessary to understand the lifestyle of the truckers themselves. To that end, I invite you to share my cab for a typical day in the life of an American truck driver.
It is 1:00 Friday afternoon and I am awaiting my turn to back into the shipping dock. I received a dispatch late yesterday afternoon and was told that my load would not be ready for the pick up until after lunch. I reported to the loading point a little before noon. At 3:00 p.m. I am loaded and ready to be on my way. The current load is a run from Louisville, Kentucky, to San Antonio, Texas, a trip of approximately 1,125 miles.

After obtaining my shipping documents, I drive to my home in Bowling Green, Kentucky, to stay until approximately noon Saturday. At noon I begin my trip. As I depart Bowling Green my goal destination for the day is Texarkana, Texas. I anticipate arriving in Texarkana around 11:00 Saturday night. Upon arrival I attend to personal items and required paperwork. I then enter the sleeper compartment of the truck and sleep until approximately 8:00 a.m. Sunday. After my morning coffee and a light breakfast, I continue my trip. My normal arrival time at San Antonio is approximately 6:00 Sunday evening. It is important to note that this portion of my trip can be logged according to all federal regulations, and I have had the opportunity to obtain ample sleep. Unfortunately, it is on Monday morning that the trouble begins.

At 7:00 Monday morning I am required to check in at the receiving office at my destination. During the unloading process I phone dispatch for the first time to inform them of my progress and indicate my readiness for the next load. At approximately 9:00 a.m. the freight has been unloaded, the delivery receipt has been obtained, and I am ready to depart from the receiver’s dock. I then drive to the nearest truck stop, find a place to park, enter the restaurant, and order
breakfast. While waiting for my food, I again call dispatch. At this time the dispatcher informs me that no load is available and asks me to call him again in about an hour. During the next hour, I eat breakfast and prepare myself for whatever load becomes available. I also make additional calls to various freight brokers in an attempt to find a load on my own. After an hour has passed, I again call dispatch. There is still no load and I am again told to call back in one hour. This pattern continues until approximately 2:30 p.m. at which time I receive dispatch on my next load that requires me to travel to Edinburgh, Texas. Edinburgh is approximately 250 miles farther south and requires a minimum of five hours of driving time. Upon my arrival at the loading dock, luck is with me and I am allowed to back into the loading area and prepare to obtain my load. It is now 7:30 in the evening, and the loading process itself requires a minimum of two hours additional time. By now I have been working more than 14 consecutive hours. When I was dispatched on this load, I was informed that my delivery appointment at Louisville is set for Wednesday morning at 4:00. Now it is 9:30 p.m. Monday and I have approximately 1,375 miles to travel within 31 hours in order to arrive on time at my new destination. The normal driving time required to complete 1,375 miles is approximately 27 hours. Thus, I have only a four-hour cushion before I am late. The time required to obtain fuel throughout the trip and the time required for insuring the legal axle weight distribution on this load will easily consume at least two of the four hours. This time frame leaves me with two hours for sleeping, eating, and any other necessities that may arise during this delivery. This schedule mandates that I either exceed the posted
speed limits and go without sleeping for a minimum of 45 hours or be late to my destination and risk being denied future work. The events that have occurred and the necessities of delivering this load on time make it virtually impossible for me to abide by the federal law. For 14 years and more than one million miles, I was able to deliver my loads on time and without incident.

Every day, thousands of commercial truck drivers experience circumstances that are similar to, if not more strenuous than, the ones described above. In adapting to the unique demands of their work, these drivers have established the fascinating occupational subculture that is the focus of this thesis.

In addition to detailing the material (e.g., types of truck stops) and nonmaterial (e.g., the argot of the truckers) cultural aspects of the trucking subculture, the information in the thesis will also provide a profile of the contemporary truck driver including demographics, socialization, work activities, attitudes, opinions, and illegal activities.

In order to provide a profile of the contemporary truck driver, I will use three separate sources of data. First, closed-ended questions administered during in-depth interviews with 50 drivers will provide quantitative data. Second, open-ended questions administered during the interviews will provide qualitative data. Third, I will use my personal experiences within the trucking industry to provide additional insights.
CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The utilization of the sociological perspective to further the understanding of unique, and sometimes esoteric, subcultures has a long history in American sociology. With his study of a "gang" in the late 1930s and the subsequent publication of his classic *Street Corner Society*, William Foote Whyte provided the initial impetus for the application of sociological concepts to previously overlooked social behaviors. Since then, a variety of unique subcultures have been subjected to, and illuminated by, systematic sociological scrutiny (e.g., nudist colonies, billiard parlors, sociology departments, gay bath houses, health clubs, topless bars, Little League baseball teams, and adult bookstores). Of obvious relevance to the present research are the concepts of culture, subculture and occupational subculture, with the concept of socialization being of particular significance as well.

A culture is a combination of the symbolic and learned aspect of human society, including language, custom, and convention (Abercrombie, et al., 1984 p.59). Culture is, therefore, a society's overall way of life, which includes patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving that are passed from generation to generation. Variations do exist, however, which can separate various groups within a dominant culture. This collective variation results in the formation of
In keeping with the above, Macionis (1995, p. 78) uses “the term subculture to refer to cultural patterns that distinguish segments of a society’s population.” Of particular importance to the present research is Macionis’ assertion that occupations foster distinctive subcultures involving unusual ways of acting, speaking, and dressing.

The concept of occupational subculture has been further delineated by Rothman (1987), who describes its essential characteristics. According to Rothman, an occupational subculture is characterized by a unique language, special codes of conduct and the requirement that those who seek admission to the group must undergo a process of socialization that enables them to learn to conform to the subculture’s expectations and to accept its belief systems. Rothman’s perspectives will provide the theoretical framework within which the trucking subculture will be examined.

Socialization refers to the process by which people learn to conform to social norms, a process that makes possible an enduring society and the transmission of its culture between generations (Abercrombie, et al., 1984, p.231). Socialization is a highly complex process. Individuals are affected in some way by every experience. From birth, people are influenced and socialized by others. During the first stage of socialization, the primary stage, the most important agent of socialization is the family. As people mature, during the secondary stage of socialization, new agents of socialization are added. Included in this expansion are peer groups, religious groups, and various others including work
groups. The work group influence in socialization is greater during the adult stage. These various work groups provide the occupational training that exposes the new member to the attitudes and values associated with the occupation as well as the language, the required dress, and the skills required for that occupation. In its entirety the socialization process provides individuals with the tools required to interact within society as a whole as well as various subcultures.

Individuals who desire entry into various subcultures must learn the roles expected of its members. One method of learning the roles of a subculture is through association with its members. The frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of this association will affect the acceptance of the behavior. Although the actions and lifestyles of individuals are influenced by the people with whom they associate, it must be remembered, as pointed out by Robert C. Prus and C. R. D. Sharper (1977), that

> while not contending that humans are inherently rational . . . , through association, persons develop capacities for self-reflection and, having acquired interests and values, tend to assess their various perceived options and act in terms of the outcomes they associate with these options. (p. 160)

Another aspect of subcultures and the socialization process was identified by Robert Prus (1980) in his research on hookers, rounders, and desk clerks. While the behavior of hookers may not be considered normal behavior by the dominant culture, Prus notes that the deviance that is a necessary component of a "deviant subculture" may not be considered deviant by the members of the subculture. To the contrary the members of the subculture may consider their actions as quite normal. Therefore it is imperative that we investigate and
understand the views and opinions of the members of the subculture themselves. Importance also lies in discovering the commonalities that exist within the subculture and the norms, values, and beliefs that hold the subculture together.

From a symbolic interactionist perspective we can understand the importance placed upon the symbols, signs, gestures, shared rules, and both written and spoken language used, not only by the dominant culture but also by the subculture under investigation. When the members of a subculture develop a special argot, they may assign different meanings to symbols and terms that allow them to respond to those terms separately from the dominant culture. For example, a trucker who sees a piece of blown out tire in the middle of the highway will inform his fellow drivers by announcing over his C.B. radio, "alligator in the road at mile marker ___." Because hitting a large piece of tire can seriously damage even a large truck, the tire ("alligator") might be seen as "biting" you. The use of these colorful terms helps to bind together these seemingly isolated individuals into an identifiable subculture.

The symbolic interactionist perspective also reveals how the members of a subculture develop an image of self. Upon the acceptance of this self image, these individuals tend predominantly to remain within these selected subcultures and label themselves as members of that subculture (e.g., Baptist, Amish, or Catholic). These subcultures seem to promote this definition of self as well as a shared definition of the situation (Blumer, 1962; Stryker, 1980). They often present and portray identities that are similar to one another. Truck drivers are
no different. For example, they often call themselves "the last of the American cowboys."

Research dealing with the lifestyle of contemporary American truck drivers is, at best, limited. The most comprehensive work to date is Pedal to the Metal: The Work Lives of Truckers by Lawrence J. Ouellet (1994). In attempting to explain the world of truck drivers, Ouellet's research examined drivers' self-esteem, conflicts, desires, and skills. Ouellet found that drivers want the acceptance of other drivers and measure their ability by comparing their accomplishments with those of their contemporaries. The desire to outperform other drivers is ever present. Practical information is obtained through conversations with other drivers concerning the best times to load, the most expedient routes to take, the most dangerous spots to watch for, and much more. The accomplishments achieved by the majority of truck drivers are expressed as stories that the drivers share and pass on to other drivers.

In addition to the comprehensive approach taken by Ouellet, some specific aspects of the world of truck drivers have also been the subject of sociological scrutiny. The sexual activity of truck drivers is one such aspect. The article by Jay Corzine and Richard Kirby (1977), "Crusin the Truckers," provides information concerning the sexual activities that take place at rest areas along the interstates. These sexual interludes were further described in the article by Joan Luxenburg and L. Klein (1984), who argue that the existence of C.B. radios has provided prostitutes an easier way to solicit customers. In an earlier article Blake (1974) also describes the alluring charm of the road and the excitement
and thrills experienced by the driver. Finally, Flittie and Nelson (1968) compared truck drivers to other blue collar workers. Their findings indicate that unlike many of their blue collar counterparts, truck drivers are unable to establish and maintain any meaningful form of community involvement.

The trucking industry has also been the subject of scholarly inquiry by social scientists in other disciplines such as labor economics and transportation. For example, as the area of health, safety, and ergonomics the aspect of sleepiness and its effect on driving has been examined by G. Kecklund and A. Torbjorn (1993) and J.K. Lauber and P.J. Kayten (1988). According to these researchers, as the individual continues to work without sleep, the chances for accidents dramatically increase and the mental/physical well-being of the driver decreases. More recently research detailing the sleeping habits of long-haul truck drivers has been published in the New England Journal of Medicine (Mitler et al., 1997). The overall findings revealed that the average driver sleeps fewer than six hours per day, much less than the amount considered necessary for maintaining effective driving skills. Not surprisingly, driver fatigue is generally regarded as the most serious problem confronting the trucking industry. Evans (1992) and Stix (1991) examined other safety concerns by discussing the trucking companies' methods of tracking their drivers as well as incentive programs designed to help reduce mistakes. In addition, stricter drunk-driving laws have had a dramatic impact on truck drivers. The trucking companies have initiated programs to test drivers for drugs and alcohol usage (Hans, 1992). J. S. Haywood and J. H. Peoples (1994) and B. T. Hirsche (1993) examined the
deregulation effects of the 1980 Motor Carriers Act. Haywood and Peoples also discussed in their article the aspects of wage changes and the opportunities for minorities to enter the industry. Other research has been completed by S.A. Lemay, S. Taylor, and G.B. Turner (1993); J.C. McElroy, J.M. Rodriguez, G.C. Griffin, P.C. Morrow and M.G. Wilson (1993); and J. Mohammadi and S. Nadir (1992) concerning the attitudes of drivers, turnover of drivers and the operation of the trucks.

Thus, although various aspects of the trucking industry have been subjected to empirical research the occupational subculture as a whole has yet to be fully described from a sociological perspective. This research is an attempt to rectify that situation.
CHAPTER III

METHODS

To obtain accurate information about the behaviors, beliefs, norms, and values of the American truck driver, I used my background as a truck driver and my sociological training to conduct participant observation research that included a series of in-depth interviews with a purposive sample of contemporary drivers. Beyond my experiences in the subculture, this method provided both qualitative and quantitative data that can be used in describing the trucking subculture.

During the summer of 1995, I again became a full participant in the trucking subculture by logging 17,000 miles as a commercial truck driver. However, unlike my many years of previous driving experience I was now keenly aware that I was engaging in research and that my observations would have to be controlled if they were to become data instead of mere experience. To that end I established a set of categories that would focus my attention on key aspects of the research (e.g., the argot of the drivers, the physical settings in which interaction took place, such as the loading docks, truck stops, etc.). I was surprised to find that I began to notice things that had eluded me during my previous fourteen years of driving experience! I recorded these data in tape recorded as well as handwritten field notes.

The qualitative aspects of the data collection are in keeping with
Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias' (1992) description of field research as

the study of people acting in the natural courses of their daily lives. The
fieldworker ventures into the worlds of others in order to learn firsthand
about how they live, how they talk and behave, and what captivates and
distresses them. . . . fieldwork is carried out in natural settings . . . is also
a way of empathizing and understanding the subjective meanings of the
people being studied. (p 272)

Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) continue by explaining participant
observation is a method

whereby the investigator attempts to attain some kind of membership or
close attachment to the group that he or she wishes to study. In doing so,
the participant observer attempts to adopt the perspectives of the people
in the situation being observed. The participant observer's role is that of
conscious and systematic sharing, insofar as circumstances permit, in the
life activities, and on occasion, in the interests and effects of a group of
persons. The observer's direct participation in the activities of the
observed often entails learning their language, their habits, their work
patterns, their leisure activities, and the like. The researcher assumes
either a complete participant role or a participant-as observer role. (p 273)

A combination of these two roles is used in my research. As a full participant,
I was able to collect data at loading docks, truck stops, weight stations, rest
areas, or over the C.B. radio. As a fellow driver, I was allowed access to
information that may have been concealed from other researchers. As a fellow
driver, I had access to all aspects of the occupation and was consistently treated
as "just another driver." In an attempt to reduce the criticisms on methodological
and ethical grounds for using full participation I recorded my data in a way that
protected the identity of anyone involved in the research.

The respondents who participated in the interviews were aware of my identity,
intentions, and objectives. The fact that I was "one of them" made it easier for
me to obtain their trust. All of the drivers I approached readily agreed to
participate in this research, under the assumption that their names would not be used and that no one would ever know who they were. The interviews lasted for one to one-and-one-half hours. The pre-coded, closed-ended questions provided quantitative data while tape-recorded field notes were transcribed verbatim to ensure the accuracy of qualitative data.

A non-probability convenience sample design (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992) was used for selecting the respondents from the many drivers who were readily available at different truck stops where the interviews were conducted. The selection of the respondents was an attempt by this researcher to represent the trucking subculture by the selection of both union and non-union employees and different types of driven equipment (e.g., flatbed, refer, van, tanker, etc.). A total of 50 interviews were conducted at eleven truck stops. The locations of the truck stops were Texas (3), Kentucky (3), Ohio (2), and one each in Arkansas, Tennessee, and New York.

Closed-ended questions were utilized to obtain pertinent demographic information on each respondent as well as most of the other information concerning the behaviors of truckers. Open-ended questions were used to allow respondents the freedom to express their own views concerning their life style. The interview schedule (Appendix A) was pretested on a small sample of currently licensed truck drivers and modified as required before its use on the actual respondents.
The 50 truck drivers who participated in the interviews included 43 males and 7 females. They ranged in age from 24-56 years (mean 39.5). The total number of years the respondents had driven ranged from 1-35 with a mean of 13.3 years. The total number of miles that the drivers reported driving during their lifetimes ranged from less than 100,000 to one-million or more with the majority (58%) indicating that they had driven one-million or more miles. Regarding current employment, 36% reported they were owner operators, 46% company drivers, 8% team drivers, and 10% drivers for an owner operator. Caucasians comprised 82% of the respondents while 18% were African-American. As for education, the sample included 26% who failed to obtain a high school diploma, 60% who were high school graduates or G.E.D. recipients, 12% who had attended college, and one college graduate. Concerning current marital status, 64% were married, 26% divorced, and 10% single. It is interesting to note that 52% of the respondents reported having been divorced at least once. With regard to children, 52% reported having one or more children currently living at home with them.

The importance of truck drivers to the United States economy is undeniable. Virtually everything Americans eat, drink, wear, or use is transported by trucks and the people who drive them. Trucks may be involved at any point along the
item's cycle: from raw materials (e.g., seed, ore, raw cotton) to manufactured/processed products (e.g., vegetables, steel, fabric), to consumer products (e.g., food, automobiles, clothing). According to the Transportation Statistics Annual Report for 1994, there were approximately 8.6 million persons identified in 1990 as transport specialists. Of that number almost 2.7 million were truck drivers. In addition there were more than 1.6 million trucking and truck terminals from which these drivers operated (p. 9). In 1987 the combined annual mileage of truck drivers was almost 80 billion miles (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990b). In Kentucky alone there are an estimated 47,700 trucks on the highway, with a combined annual mileage of 1.6 billion miles (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990a). To aid in understanding this subculture an awareness of the environment in which these drivers develop their self concept as a truck driver is important. The demographics above and the information to follow concerning history, method of training, occupational size, and the association with others is presented for a better understanding into the occupation and lives of these individuals.

The trucking industry has existed since the early 1900s and is considered by many to be the life blood of the American economy. For others it is simply one of the United States' biggest success stories. The first trucks appeared in 1903. Initially they were no more than motorized wagons. The drivers operated from an open cab that exposed them to all the elements of nature. The roads they traveled were mere dirt. The duties of the driver included loading, delivering, and unloading of goods. A basic knowledge of auto/truck mechanics was also
required. These trucks were limited in range and primarily used around town.

Trucks received a boost during World War I due to their utility for logistical operations, but it was not until World War II that trucks came into their own. With the outbreak of the war, every vehicle that could be modified was converted into a truck (Forever Blue Entertainment Group, 1994). By the end of World War II, the importance of trucks in America's future was readily apparent.

Some important events and milestones in the history of the trucking industry include:

- Passage of the Federal Highway Act in 1921 by Congress. This act required the building of concrete roads that would be capable of carrying four lanes of traffic;

- Three million trucks were on the road by 1925;

- Early completion of Boulder Dam in 1932 was largely due to the use of trucks;

- American Trucking Association was formed in 1933;

- First Motor Carrier Act was passed by the federal government in 1935. This act established the rules and regulations which established standards and laws that began the control of the trucking industry and the drivers who were involved;

- Trucking industry came under federal jurisdiction in 1937;

- Dwight Eisenhower won passage of the largest public work's project in the history of the United States in 1956. This project resulted in the building of the Interstate Highway System.

In 1987, according to the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1.6 million heavy trucks were operating in the United States covering more than 71.6 billion miles per year (U.S. Bureau of Census 1993). Information provided by the Transportation Statistics annual report of 1994 shows that there are an
estimated 2.15 million truck drivers and delivery personnel, 1.6 million truck terminals, an annual payroll of 38.5 million dollars, and, as of 1991, an estimated 97 billion miles traveled each year. These numbers are expected to continue growing in the future. The legal weight limit has increased to 80,000 pounds of gross vehicle weight and was set by the 1980 Motor Carrier Act (U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News 1980). Another change came in the length of the equipment that allowed 48 and 52 foot trailers to be transported across the United States.

Over the last 50 years massive changes have taken place in all phases of this industry including the truckers themselves. The work conditions of the modern truck driver improve each year. Excellent strides have enhanced the comfort of the driver. Many new trucks seen on the highways of today have air ride suspensions, air ride seats, air conditioning, power steering, anti-lock brakes, and cruise control. The air ride suspensions and seats are designed to reduce the jolting impact produced by the rough roads traveled. The power steering and cruise control design reduces fatigue. The anti-lock brakes help control the truck during an emergency stop.

The plush and expanded interiors have allowed the drivers to be more comfortable while doing their jobs. Many sleeper berths have all the comforts of home. The built in radios and T.V.s, hot and cold running water, electric refrigerators, queen size beds, and closets are all attempts to accommodate the driver. Most drivers live in their trucks. The truck becomes as important to the driver as does the home to the average individual.
The first drivers tended to be individuals who were already involved in some form of transportation (e.g., wagon-masters). As time passed, other individuals were trained in the requirements for the occupation by a close friend or family member. This apprentice-like approach quickly became the primary way to become a truck driver. These individuals received constant socialization from an early age into the trucking subculture. As a result, they developed an affinity for the trucking lifestyle and a strong dedication to their occupation (anticipatory socialization). Although over time the industry has begun to attract individuals who have not grown up in trucking families, the majority of the respondents interviewed (68%) became attracted to trucking in this manner.

With the changes in the regulations that govern the actions of truck drivers, schools have emerged to offer training for individuals seeking entry into the occupation of truck driving. These schools provide basic knowledge in the rules and regulations plus training in how to maneuver the equipment. This method is becoming a prominent means of entry due to legal regulations and insurance considerations that require drivers to have formal training.

Although schools have been established to provide instruction to novice drivers, most drivers believe these schools to be inadequate. The older truckers are particularly critical of truck driving schools. One such respondent stated: "The only way to learn to be a truck driver is from other drivers. You can't learn all the (bleep) we have to do by reading a book." The effect that these schools have had upon the occupation is difficult to determine at this time. Many more truckers were trained in the old way than individuals who are school trained. The
majority of these respondents indicated they did not like truck driving schools.

The following comments were typical:

*Truck driving schools don't provide enough training. I've been on the road for over 20 years and I am still learning. How can anyone think that someone who has never been around trucks can go to school for six weeks and be able to drive a truck.*

*I can't stand these jerks. They are dangerous and don't know what they are doing. These so-called schools don't even know what they are teaching.*

*The schools are full of (bleep) there ain't no way you can learn to drive in a few weeks. There is too much stuff that we have to do.*

*I think the schools are a joke. I have talked to other so called truck drivers who didn't know anything about going down a mountain. These people are dangerous and hurting the trucking industry. They take jobs that no good driver would take due to being new and needing training. This cuts my pay because people like J.B. and others cut the rates and use these idiots to haul it.*

The individuals who were school trained tended to be less critical. However, they did agree that most of the school trained people required a vast amount of additional training. One respondent stated,

*I know that I still have a lot to learn, but how the (bleep) am I supposed to learn it. I had to begin somewhere. I could not get anyone to help me and I wanted to become a truck driver. I love what I do and I try to do my best. I really appreciate it when an older driver gives me pointers and I respect their knowledge.*

While school training satisfies the legal requirements of trucking, the informal rules concerning the occupation can be learned only from association with other drivers. No school can inform the new drivers of the methods used to falsify log books, or what scales to avoid. Even the colorful argot (in appendix B) of the occupation is best learned on the job. This crucial information is readily available
on the C.B. radio and at thousands of truck stops nation wide.

The citizens band radio, or C.B., is one of the most valuable tools a truck driver uses while traveling throughout the United States. While the uses of the C.B. radio were not an integral part of the interview, its necessity and usefulness cannot be overlooked. The socialization that occurs while driving and the behaviors of fellow truckers in the truck stops themselves are noteworthy. Therefore, a brief overview will be presented here.

The value of the C.B. radio can easily be observed by the number of truck drivers who possess at least one. Almost every truck that travels the highways will display the possession of these pieces of equipment readily observable via the antenna that is attached to the mirrors. The C.B. provides the driver with many things. First it is a tool that provides the driver an opportunity to break the isolation of the road, by allowing the him/her to talk with other drivers. This verbal exchange allows for socialization and discovery of the events of their occupation. Drivers are continuously heard talking about the events of the day. Other drivers often provide advice. This advice pertains to the location of police, places to eat, road conditions, the most expedient routes, and traffic. As an example, consider the following conversation:

_How about you south bound. Go ahead you got a south bound_. _Yea where did you leave all the bears. The last bear I saw was at the 68 mile marker in the grass and the chicken coops were open. Well all I saw was a local at the 11 but you don't have to worry about him he was getting off. Have a good day and will catch you on the flip._

Drivers will tell jokes, express ideas, talk politics, and have conversations similar to those that can be heard in almost any occupation. The one primary difference
among truckers is that many times these individuals who are talking have never met. They know each other only by his or her C.B. "handle" (a name made up by the individual). The communication between drivers that deals with some of their deepest and most personal feelings provides a clear cut example of the unity within this occupational subculture. Truckers seem to believe that all who hear their conversations will take them to heart while understanding their feelings. It must also be stated that the anonymity that is present due to the C.B. code names may also be a factor in this ease of communication. While most C.B.s can use 40 various channels there is normally one channel that is used by the majority of truck drivers through the United States except the west coast. That is channel 19. Channel 9 is normally used for emergencies. Many police agencies will monitor channel 9 along with local residents in various cities who assist travelers with information and assistance. These local residents make up what is called "local react" due to the simple fact that they react to requests for assistance and emergencies. During lengthy conversations drivers will often decide to change to another channel to avoid tying up channel 19, allowing other drivers to use that channel for various reports. One such report often requested by drivers is the location of the nearest truck stop.

In 1987 there existed approximately 3,000,000 places to get food throughout the United States (United States Bureau of Censes Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1993). Most restaurants are unable to provide the necessary room required to maneuver one of these big rigs in their small parking lots. The size of these vehicles forces the driver to look for truck stops. These truck stops
are businesses suited to the larger vehicles. They provide acres of parking able to accommodate many of these huge trucks. Therefore, truck stops become one of the primary environments of trucker socialization. Truck drivers are forced to gather in these locations due largely to the size of their vehicles. Here the drivers tell stories and compare their abilities and experiences with those of other drivers. The development of self images occurs during interaction between these individuals. To better understand these meeting places a brief history and description of truck stops is presented including the opinions of the respondents concerning these locations.

Initially, truck stops were small family-owned businesses and catered mainly to the food demands of the truck driver. Some of the best food available anywhere was provided in these places. As you arrived at the local truck stop, you would see a home, small by today's standards, with a large gravel or dirt area for the "monsters of the road" to pull off and stop. Inside would be two or three tables, a small bathroom, plenty of hot coffee and good food. These accommodations were about the extent of the services available. Due to the small numbers of truck drivers involved in the industry at that time, these small businesses could adequately provide the essential services for the drivers and their equipment.

Unlike their predecessors, today's truck stops are no longer interested in providing the best food and premium service; these businesses know that truck drivers must use their location simply due to the size of the vehicles. Instead, their interest centers around the most money for the least investment. Truck
stops have turned into multimillion dollar businesses providing a myriad of services and supplies. Many of these stops are well-known to the truck drivers by name and location. The following is a partial listing of the best known "five star" truck stops: Trucker World, in Ohio; Giant truck stop, the biggest known truck stop in the United States, in New Mexico where more than 3,000 trucks stop at this location on a daily basis (Forever Blue Entertainment Group 1994); Little America truck stop in Wyoming; Jublitz truck stop in Oregon; Flying J truck stop in Utah; Jessup truck stop in Maryland; Ontario truck stop in California; Sierra Sid's in Reno Nevada; and the Boomtown 76 truck stop also in Nevada.

Most cross-country truck drivers spend an average of six days a week out on the road. They eat an average of two meals per day and must choose from truck stop menus which are all basically the same. The entrance and exit for the interstate are a very important issue to many truck drivers. One driver stated,

I usually try to stop only at Flying Js but the one in West Memphis, Arkansas is so (bleeped) hard to get in to that I won't ever stop there unless I really have to. You can never find a place to park and the service (bleeps). I hate that (bleeped) place.

If the truck stop is not easily accessible, to and from the interstate, many drivers will continue their route to the next convenient location unless a requirement forces them to stop. Most new truck stops are found near a major interstate with easy access, and near a city.

There are many things in common for truck stops. Each must have coffee, snacks, gum, cigarettes, and a place to park. Of particular interest is the fact that most have separate entrances for truck drivers and tourists. The separation
of these types of clientele is intentional. Truck drivers are on schedules and must have access to the services required by their trucks and themselves. Most drivers are impatient; thus if a stop is too lengthy and access to the fuel desk, refreshment areas, and the rest room facilities are difficult due to tourists and "locals" the driver will avoid this stop in the future. The driver will also let it be known to the other drivers that if they stop at that location they will not receive good service.

When looking for a place to stop and rest there are many things to be considered. The cleanliness of the truck stop is one desirable aspect. Many drivers indicate the existence of certain stops that provide better accommodations and cleaner showers. One driver stated, "I only stop at Flying Js. The showers are cleaned each time someone uses them." Another driver was more concerned with having a call board provided to find freight to haul. Another driver was more concerned with the parking lot being secured and ladies of the night (prostitutes) being prohibited. Another driver said he wanted a better T.V. lounge and more comfortable chairs to sit in to allow for relaxation.

The tables within the restaurants are designed to accommodate no more than four people. Each booth has a telephone that will allow the driver to call his company to communicate his location and how things are going. These calls are normally to 800 numbers. The phones at the tables cannot be used to make local or long distance calls except 800 numbers, credit card calls, or collect/third number calls. The phones are installed at the tables to allow the driver to obtain food or drink and continue his business with the least amount of disruption.
The items in the travel shop are dictated by the needs of the driver. Many items (e.g., log books, maps, lights, bulbs, CB equipment, packages of snacks, soft drinks, hand tools, duct tape etc.) are primarily used by drivers. Numerous hats with different sayings, items that will work for Valentine's Day, birthdays, and anniversaries for their wives at home are important commodities.

As stated before with the CB radio, a driver can obtain information to assist in locating delivery points, police, accidents, some of the best truck stops, and talk with other drivers. The CB can provide the driver with information about the quality of the drivers who are using the truck stop. One driver stated, "By just listening to the conversations one can tell if drugs, prostitution, or possible violence should be expected at this location." Drivers, thus, inform other drivers about the quality of truck stops.

Observations of drivers who meet on a truck stop parking lot suggest friendship and mutual acceptance of one another. An immediate bond appears to exist among drivers based upon the simple fact that the other person is another driver. Inside these truck stops, drivers are always talking about trucks, loads, and experiences. They tend to shun others who are not part of their occupation. The following statements were overheard,

*That (bleep) four wheeler almost got me killed. Those idiots don't know how to drive. They think we can stop on a dime. They didn't give a (bleep) about those kids in the car. If I hadn't been able to get over it would have killed all of them.*

*This (bleeped) me off. I am on a schedule and that (bleep) tourist is waited on before I am. (Bleep) if it weren't for us trucks this place would be out of business. I put on more fuel at one time than do twenty-five of*
those (bleeped) four wheelers and they get treated like they are better than I am.

Why do they let these tourists enter the truck stop. They can pull their car into any restaurant. They should leave us alone. I have to put up with them on the highway but I shouldn't have to put up with them here.

These opinions are prevalent throughout the industry.

Additional research is recommended to investigate what additional functions truck stops perform and what these stops mean to the people who use them. Additional information could be obtained as to why certain stops are preferred by different individuals, why certain locations are chosen over others, what would improve desirability of current truck stops, what nightly occurrences take place at most truck stops, the camaraderie of drivers while at truck stops, and drivers’ impatience with poor service.
The occupation of truck driving is unique. Truck drivers do not have a normal eight-hour a day job. They are not able to be home on a daily basis nor are they often able to be home on weekends. The duties of their occupation will not allow for any guarantees. The contemporary truck driver spends nearly all of his or her work time as well as a large amount of free time around the trucks. As shown in Table 1, a large majority (72%) of the respondents drive between 2,500 and 2,999 miles per week.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mileage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,500-1,999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000-2,499</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500-2,999</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000-3,499</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500 +</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This schedule requires a minimum of 50 hours and a maximum of 65 hours of actual driving time. Unfortunately the driving time does not account for the time required to obtain fuel, food, loading, unloading, sleep, or any other activity required to operate the truck. To minimize the time required for sleeping, drivers normally use the sleeper berth available in most of the modern trucks. The availability and utilization of a sleeping chamber help the driver take advantage
of every extra opportunity to sleep. When considering time, 65 hours (less than
three days) may not seem excessive. However, when one takes into account the
numerous, unrecorded events that usually occur along the way, undoubtedly
many duties performed have been omitted. As one driver stated, “I never log
when I get fuel or stop to eat. I only log 30 minutes for loading or unloading.
But, it always takes a lot more time than that.” These duties include time for
loading and unloading, eating, fueling, calling dispatch, and inspecting the
equipment. If all the duties expected of a driver were reported properly, the
number of hours could easily exceed 100.

If all legal requirements were met and all log entries were recorded
accurately, it would appear that drivers could spend large amounts of time at
home. Clearly that is not the case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 2 Days</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 4 Days</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As displayed in Table 2, the overwhelming majority (88%) of the drivers reported
spending two or fewer days per week at home (with 22% of the drivers saying
that they spend less than one day per week at home). Only a small percentage
(12%) indicated they were able to remain home for more than two days. With
this amount of time on the road and only 65 hours devoted to actual driving, it
might seem that drivers would be able to get plenty of rest. On the contrary, the
data do not support this notion.

Table 3 reveals that two-thirds (66%) of the respondents averaged six or fewer hours of sleep per night, with four drivers receiving three hours or less.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours Sleep</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 - 3 hours</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 6 hours</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8 hours</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 8 hours</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This violation of the rules and regulations that govern the actions of truck drivers can best be understood by examining the specific governmental mandates involved. These findings are consistent with the findings published in the New England Journal of Medicine by M. Mitler et al. (1997).

Over the last 50 years, little change has taken place in the laws that control all phases of this industry including the truckers themselves. The rules and regulations that govern the work activities of truck drivers are not only extensive but they are also subject to different interpretations by various governmental departments at state, local, and federal levels. The main source of information for drivers is the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Regulations Pocketbook (1993). This document lists laws such as hours of service, commercial drivers licensing (C.D.L.) requirements, traffic violation reporting procedures, drug usage and offense, emergency relief, and inspection requirements. To be able to understand this handbook in its entirety, a driver must undergo extensive training that is currently unavailable. Therefore, very
few drivers truly understand what is expected of them or what rights they have.

The Motor Carrier Act of 1935 established the first set of rules and regulations that governed the trucking industry. This act gave jurisdiction over the trucking industry to the Interstate Commerce Commission. In 1937 the law took effect. It also provided definitions of the terms used by the trucking industry. Certificates were issued to various carriers who applied according to the guidelines set forth. These rights called, "ICC Authority," had a monetary value, since they included guidelines for establishing rates charged for services provided (Public Laws 1935).

The Interstate Commerce Commission and the Department of Transportation established many more laws that controlled the actions of the drivers. Yet most of these laws have not changed since 1935. An example of one of the laws still in existence requires that a driver who operates a truck equipped with a sleeper berth must use both a bottom and top sheet on his/her bed. The bed must be made, and an additional set of white sheets must be in the truck in case of an emergency. This law was established as a result of the "good Samaritan" rule. However, with the emergence of the E.M.T. and ambulance services, it is under today's standards outdated and obsolete. Nevertheless, it is still used to penalize drivers. One driver stated,

_I got a ticket at the Tennessee scales for not having an extra set of white sheets in the truck. They couldn't find anything else to get me on. I don't know why the hell I have to have (bleep) like that. There ain't no reason for it except for the law to be able to harass us and find some way to give us a ticket._
Other laws such as the number of hours that a driver can operate are also still in effect. A truck driver is the only person in the United States limited by Federal Law to eight and one-half hours of work per day. The law states that a driver can work only 70 hours in eight days, and cannot work for more than ten consecutive hours per day without a consecutive eight-hour break. This law is held in contempt by the majority of commercial truck drivers as can be seen later by the number who admit to falsifying their log books.

The authorized hours of service a driver may operate is set by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Log books provide records of where and when a driver is at an exact location and the duty status they are performing. This record of duty status is also commonly known as the "driver's daily log book" or "log book" for short. This log book is often referred to as a "comic book" or "coloring book" by most drivers.

The driver must make entries into his or her log at every change of duty status. The log books are monitored by the Department of Transportation and company safety offices. Highway safety officers, which include the state and local police, may review any driver's log anytime. If the log books are not completed properly, the driver may receive a citation.

To understand the hours of service requirements and what they means to truck drivers, the following information is provided which include definitions of terms and legal requirements that must be followed by truck drivers. This information is provided by sections 395.2 and 395.3 of the FMCSRP (1993).

Driving time means all time spent at the driving controls of a
commercial motor vehicle in operation.

**Eight consecutive days** means the period of 8 consecutive days beginning on any day at the time designated by the motor carrier for a 24-hour period.

**On duty time** means all time from the time a driver begins to work or is required to be in readiness to work until the time he or she is relieved from work and all responsibility for performing work. **On duty time** shall include:

1. All time at a carrier or shipper plant, terminal, facility, or other property, or on any public property, waiting to be dispatched, unless the driver has been relieved from duty by the motor carrier;
2. All time inspecting equipment as required by section 392.7 and 392.8 of this chapter or otherwise inspecting, servicing, or conditioning any commercial motor vehicle at any time;
3. All driving time as defined in the term driving time in this section;
4. All time, other than driving time, in or upon any commercial motor vehicle except time spent resting in a sleeper berth as defined by the term sleeper berth of this section;
5. All time loading or unloading a vehicle, supervising, or assisting in the loading or unloading, attending a vehicle being loaded or unloaded, remaining in readiness to operate the vehicle, or in giving or receiving receipts for shipments loaded or unloaded;
6. All time spent performing the driver requirements of sections 392.40 and 392.41 of this chapter relating to accidents;
7. All time repairing, obtaining assistance, or remaining in attendance upon a disabled vehicle;
8. Performing any other work in the capacity of, or in the employ or service of, a common, contract or private motor carrier; and

**Sleeper berth** means a berth conforming to the requirements of section 393.76 of this chapter.

**Maximum driving and on-duty time**

(a) Except as provided in sections 395.1 (b)(1), 395.1(f), and 395.1(1), no motor carrier shall permit or require any driver used by it to drive nor shall any such driver drive:

1. More than 10 hours following 8 consecutive hours off duty; or
2. For any period after having been on duty 15 hours following 8 consecutive hours off duty.
(b) No motor carrier shall permit or require a driver of a commercial motor vehicle, regardless of the number of motor carriers using the driver's services, to drive for any period after:
(1) Having been on duty 60 hours in any seven consecutive days if the employing motor carrier does not operate every day in the week; or
(2) Having been on duty 70 hours in any period of 8 consecutive days if the employing motor carrier operates motor vehicles every day of the week. (pp. 285 and 286)

One of the most frequent offenses committed by the majority of truck drivers is the violation of section 395.8 "Driver's record of duty status" (Federal Motor Carrier Safety Regulations Pocketbook, [FMCSRP], 1993 p. 286,287).

This section provides the rules by which the driver's record of duty status is to be prepared. The Federal Motor Carrier Safety Regulations states the following:

(a) Every motor carrier shall require every driver used by the motor carrier to record his/her duty status for each 24-hour period using the methods prescribed in either paragraphs (a)(1) or (2) of this section.

(1) Every driver who operates a commercial motor vehicle shall record his/her duty status, in duplicate, for each 24-hour period. The duty status time shall be recorded on a specified grid, as shown in paragraph (g) of this section. The grid and the requirements of paragraph (d) of this section may be combined with any company forms. The previously approved format of the Daily Log, Form MCS-59 or the Multi-day Log, MCS-139 and 139A, which meets the requirements of this section, may continue to be used.

(2) Every driver who operates a commercial motor vehicle shall record his/her duty status by using an automatic on-board recording device that meets the requirements of section 395.15 of this part. The requirements of section 395.8 shall not apply, except paragraphs (e) and (k)(1) and (2) of this section.

(b) The duty status shall be recorded as follows:

The classification of hours is divided into four categories.
(1) "Off duty" or "OFF."

In this category the driver is relieved of all responsibilities toward the truck and the commodity transported. In reality the only time that a driver is "off duty" is when he or she is at home or sleeping in a motel room. The driver must have written authorization from his or her company allowing him or her to log "off duty" at meal and other break times. This category in combination with "on duty not driving" is the most abused.

(2) "Sleeper berth" or "SB" (only if a sleeper berth used).

This category accounts for the time the driver is sleeping and is the only other time in which the driver is considered to be on break. In order for a driver to operate more than ten consecutive hours in a 24-hour period the driver must report a minimum of eight hours in the sleeper berth upon completion of the tenth consecutive hour of driving. Without this break, a driver can be placed out of service and given a citation for exceeding legal limits of operation.

(3) "Driving" or "D."

"On duty driving" is the category that keeps track of the movements of the driver. The hours reported are strictly the hours driven. The number of hours reported multiplied by the speed traveled indicate the distance covered. Most companies restrict the driver to a set average speed per mile allowed on the log books to avoid possible problems. For example, if a driver shows he or she has driven for 10 hours and covered 650 miles (a legal speed limit on interstates), the company assumes, as do other legal entities, this driver was speeding. The assumption is
based on the idea that a truck cannot maintain 65 mph while going up grades and through various traffic conditions due to the weight the truck is pulling. Again drivers attempt to cover the most distance with the least record. They will use little known town names to reduce easy calculations of miles from point a to point b.

(4) "On-duty not driving" or "ON."

"On duty not driving" is the category for all operations required except driving. Each hour spent in this category counts toward the maximum hours of operation allowed by law. When a driver is making a check call into dispatch, calling/waiting to call anyone concerning the operation of the truck, waiting for repairs, loading/unloading, obtaining fuel, completing paperwork, or inspecting equipment, the time involved is to be logged as on duty not driving and counted against the driver's 70 hour total for eight days. Also included is the time a second driver is seated as a passenger during a team operation. Most drivers, except those who receive either a split pay system (mileage/hourly) or an hourly rate of pay, will minimize the time logged in this category. Drivers know that they are falsifying their log books, but they often justify their actions because the less amount of time logged in this category, the greater amount of time allowed for driving. By that, the driver is increasing the potential for income.

(c) For each change of duty status (e.g., the place of reporting for work, starting to drive, on-duty not driving and where released from work), the name of the city, town, or village, with State abbreviation, shall be recorded. NOTE: If a change of duty status occurs at a location other than a city, town, or village, show one of the following: (1) the highway
number and nearest milepost followed by the name of the nearest city, town, or village and State abbreviation, (2) the highway number and the name of the service plaza followed by the name of the nearest city, town, or village and State abbreviation, or (3) the highway numbers of the nearest two intersecting roadways followed by the name of the nearest city, town, or village and State abbreviation.

At each change of duty status, the driver must show the time and location (by name) at which the change occurred. Often the D.O.T. (Department of Transportation) will audit trucking companies and compare the dates and locations of fuel purchases with the driver's log sheet. Drivers' logbooks are subject to inspection at each weigh station they approach. Police officers often ask to look at log books when they stop a truck to insure the driver is operating within required safety standards. The constant worry of receiving a ticket for inadequate logs creates an immense amount of stress for the driver.

. . . , (e) Failure to complete the record of the duty activities of this section or section 395.15, failure to preserve a record of such duty activities, or making of false reports in connection with such duty activities shall make the driver and/or the carrier liable to prosecution.

Occupational pressures force many drivers to exceed the legal limit of 70 hours in eight days by as much as 20-40 hours. The additional hours are usually logged in the off duty category. Drivers know this practice is wrong, but perceive they have no other option. If they use their logs legally, they reduce their incomes. The time they have at home, when they have the opportunity to be at home, will decline. For example, after I had informed my dispatcher that I no longer had driving time available he said, "A truck driver never runs out of hours,"
then he left me to sit in South Carolina for three days without providing me a load. His action stopped any attempt for me to log legally while I was with that company.

The information presented in Table 4 indicates that an extremely large percentage (82%) of the respondents are willing to admit that they falsify their log books.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Falsify</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequently</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those respondents, almost three-fourths (73%) indicated that they always use false log books. According to one driver: "The log book is nothing but a lie and everyone knows it. Only drivers who are paid by the hour can afford to tell the truth." One union driver stated, "Even though I am paid by the hour I still don't log right. That-a-way I can take me a little break every now and then that nobody knows about except me." This alteration of records is a violation of federal law.

The description, provided in the introduction, concerning a trip to San Antonio is a routine event for the majority of truck drivers throughout the United States. If the trip were to be logged according to federal law, and all categories of duty status definitions were used, the five-day period described would be expanded to a minimum of seven days. Much of the observed difference in time
would be due to the logging of "On duty not driving" status. The time waiting for
dispatch, waiting for unloading, and waiting to be loaded would count as time
being "On duty." By omitting the logging of the additional time the driver gains
one additional day before the required 24 hours off. The federal law limits the
occupation of truck driving to eight and one-half hours of work per day on a
continuous basis. The 70-hours in eight day law prohibits a driver who operates
cross-country from working consistently while he or she is away from home.
These rules and laws did not change until 1980 and even then the laws
controlling the behavior of truck drivers were changed very little. The primary
change was merely to deregulate freight and help the shippers and receivers
rather than the driver.

If the law that specifically describes logging procedures was an attempt to
reduce driver fatigue and increase overall safety for the public, the personal
observations I have made over the past 14 years do not lend support to that
idea. For example, this past summer I was inspected at a weight station in
Tennessee in which the following conversation occurred,

Officer: Let me see your log book.
Me: You don't really want to.
Officer: How far are you behind?
Me: Oh, about four days.
Officer: (after frowning) I'll give you a break this
time, just pull over there and catch your logs up.

One of the drivers interviewed described the situation as follows: "I have been
pulled over a whole bunch of times and have never been asked for my log book.
(bleep) everyone knows it's a lie." It appears everyone including Department of
Transportation employees (scale officers) and police know that many log books reviewed are incorrect, but they will accept the record as accurate. If safety is the justification behind this law, the following information does not support the claim. According to the 1992 preliminary results from the National Transportation Statistics (1993), trucks travel more than six-hundred-billion miles each year and are involved in approximately 39,000 accidents. The results is an average of one accident for every sixteen-million miles traveled. The American Trucking Association's recent suggested modifications to log book requirements and the loosening of truck driver regulations would allow a truck driver the opportunity to obtain more money by allowing the driver to operate more hours. The log books, which are currently used to monitor the number of hours a driver has been on duty, might then provide a more accurate record of operation. Another possible way to enhance driver adherence to the law would be to require companies to pay the driver for all the time dedicated to the operation of the truck by the legal definition provided in section 395.2 and 395.3 of the FMCSRP (1993).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5 Method of Pay Received</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mileage Pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mileage/Hourly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table 5 truck drivers receive their pay by various
methods, the most common of which is cents per mile. More specifically, for every mile traveled a driver receives a fixed rate of pay. Approximately three-fourths (72%) of the respondents receive some form of mileage pay.

Table 6  Respondents Receiving Mileage Pay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mileage Pay</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0.17 or less</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$0.18 - $0.19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$0.20 - $0.22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$0.23 - $0.25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $0.25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that one-third of the respondents receiving this method of payment were paid at a rate of twenty-two cents per mile or less. The mileage pay rate and frequency is provided in Table 6. Beginning drivers typically receive rates of pay at this level. Furthermore, drivers who are on mileage pay do not get paid for any amount of time that their trucks are not traveling. This type of pay system does not provide reimbursement for time the driver spends loading or unloading, waiting for freight, delays due to accidents, or breakdowns.

Therefore, in order for drivers who receive the lowest end of the pay scale to make $500.00 per week, they must cover roughly 3,000 miles per week @ $0.17 per mile. Out of the $500.00, the driver must pay for food and other necessities at an average cost of $18.00 per day while on the road. After taxes, most of the low-end income drivers make less than $300.00 per week. The fact that many truck drivers exceed speed limits, drive extended hours, falsify log books, and are always in a hurry becomes easy to understand. The only way to
increase money for the driver's family is to increase the total number of miles he or she drives. One respondent stated, "If I don't cover enough miles I cannot pay my bills," while another remarked, "If I lay down and sleep when I am tired I can't cover the miles I have to cover to make any money."

The low-end income drivers not only have low pay to contend with but also many are not allowed to go home for extended periods. Of these drivers, many are continuously dispatched by their company to various locations that prevent the drivers from returning home on a routine basis. Most of the non-union companies use this method. This pay method enhances the power that companies have over the drivers. All that is necessary to force the driver to work harder is to withhold mileage for a while. When the paychecks become small enough, the driver will attempt to accomplish any request made by the company for which he or she drives.

The second method of pay is by percentage. Table 5 reveals that approximately one-fourth (26%) of the respondents receive this type of pay. With the percentage pay method, the driver receives a set percent of the total revenue from each load hauled. While there are drivers who receive this type of pay, the normal recipient of this pay system is an owner operator. Owner operators are individuals who own and drive the truck. They then lease the truck to various companies in return for a percentage of the total revenue from the freight bill.

These drivers are very similar to the mileage driver in many aspects. Percentage drivers can easily equate their percentage pay to mileage pay. Their
rate per mile is determined by obtaining the total amount paid for the load, multiplying that amount by the percentage the driver is to receive and then dividing by the number of total miles for that load. This calculation will provide a rate per mile. This method may seem to provide higher rates of pay per mile at different times, but it must be remembered that drivers who receive percentage pay normally do not receive any monetary payment unless they are actually transporting a load. This method of payment does not provide income for the mileage that must be traveled to obtain the next load. This mileage is considered deadhead miles. In addition owner operators are also receiving compensation for their truck.

The incentive for the driver or owner/operator is the same, "more miles, more money." Many companies restrict the age of the trucks they lease thereby forcing owner/operators to purchase new equipment that normally carries large mortgage payments. This restriction enhances the power the company possesses over the driver because if the driver does not transport enough loads, he or she could lose the truck.

The third pay method is hourly compensation. These drivers need not be in as much of a hurry as those who receive mileage. The only time these drivers are observed exceeding speed limits and doing without their breaks (including lunch) involves the pressure of an appointment at home that demands they not be late. The union driver that I interviewed stated, "I get paid by my logs, it don't matter how many miles I cover." Although there was only one union driver interviewed, I have previously spoken with many of these drivers who suggest
they do not care how long it takes to get loaded or unloaded. They say they are on the clock and the longer it takes the more they are going to make. Most small, local trucking companies use this method if the driver's range is no more than 200 miles. This pay method reduces the company's power because drivers know they are being paid on the clock. If these drivers have to wait, then they have no problem. Also, union drivers have a mediator who will help if problems arise. These drivers have a right to file a grievance with the union and have some support upon implementation of change. It is interesting to note that only one of the drivers interviewed was compensated hourly.

The final method by which drivers are compensated is a combination of pay per mile and hourly. Table 5 indicates that one-fifth (20%) of the respondents reported receiving this pay method. While the driver is on the road, he or she receives mileage pay. Yet at all other times when the drivers are not actually traveling (e.g., loading or unloading docks, calling dispatch, breakdowns, or severe traffic conditions) they are placed on the clock. Most of the union companies use this method. Many union shops pay for motels for their drivers if the hours of operation are exceeded. Their mileage pay is on the high end of the spectrum, and the hourly wage normally exceeds $12.00 per hour. At this point, if a driver is receiving 32 cents ($0.32) per mile and drives 2000 miles per week he/she will gross $640.00. Approximately 45 hours would be required to drive 2000 miles. The driver would have an additional 25 hours available for loading and unloading, or for any type of delay that could possibly occur. Most drivers who have this type of job operate within a 500-mile radius of their home. This
centralized arrangement allows the driver to be home every other night and contributes greatly to his or her contentment. As one driver put it,

*I wouldn't change my job for anything. You can't just go out and get a job like mine. If I have a breakdown I get paid, I get paid while loading and unloading, my company even pays for my motel and meals if I have to stay out over night.*

Another driver said, *"I really like my company. When my ten (10) hours are up, I find me a motel and they pick up the tab."

Truck drivers have only one commodity, their labor, to exchange for income. The labor they sell is paid in various ways: cents per mile, percentage of load, or hourly wages. The only opportunity truck drivers who are paid by the mile or percentage have to increase their income is to increase the number of miles covered or the number of loads hauled. The log books rarely, if ever, have any influence on how much pay a driver receives unless that driver is paid by the hour in one form or another. Therefore, it is in the best interest of the driver to avoid logging anything that can be omitted including the submission of log book entries for entire trips. The following statements are typical of those drivers who were interviewed:

*I never log until I have to.*

*I have hauled several loads and only log one of them. Especially when the loads cover the same areas. As long as I can go and get back without being checked I don't do it.*

*I never turn in any logs. My company safety man does all of our logs for us. He knows when we need a "ghost" rider and he makes the logs fit our receipts so the D.O.T. can't catch us.*
Drivers who falsify their log books do so to reduce the possibility of delays that can reduce their income. Throughout the United States the majority of drivers are paid a set amount for each mile they cover. These individuals do not get paid for time expended for delivery, loading, or awaiting dispatch. While these three items may take a large portion of a driver's time and are required to be logged by federal law, it is not in the best interest of the driver to enter these hours into his or her log book, unless they are paid by the hour and for all their actions. Another reason drivers falsify log books is coercion. Drivers are often threatened by their dispatcher that they will be fired if they do not deliver the load on time. Another effective technique utilized by companies is to leave them sitting for extended periods if the driver suggests he or she is short on hours. Some dispatchers have also been known to intimidate the drivers by saying, "No truck driver ever runs out of hours" or "If you cannot make the run, there are other drivers available who will." This type of coercion is common throughout the trucking industry.

When asked why they chose to break the law in this manner the drivers offered a variety of reasons. Typical of their comments were those of the following two respondents: "I can't afford to log legally. If I do I can't make any money and I'll lose everything." and "There is no way I can make the money I need to pay bills and support my family if I log the way the law wants me to."

Another activity engaged in by the majority of truck drivers is that of exceeding posted speed limits. Today the normal speed limit for interstate travel
is set at 65 miles per hour for all motorists. There are a few exceptions in which states will have a split speed limit (one for automobiles and one for trucks). This miles per hour split has not always been the case. Several years ago the federal government passed a law forcing all states to reduce their maximum speed limit from 70 m.p.h. to 55 m.p.h. This law had a dramatic impact upon the trucking industry. Drivers, who were previously able to cover approximately 700 miles in 10 hours without risking the possibility to receiving a citation for speeding, were reduced to averaging 550 miles for a 10-hour period of driving. This law created a loss of income for each driver. Therefore, drivers were forced to make a choice between breaking the law or taking a loss of income for themselves and their families. It is important to note that today the control over laws concerning speed limits has been given back to individual states. This reversal has assisted drivers with their duties but there are several states that have not raised their limits. It would be interesting to discover whether or not the increase of speed limits has reduced the number of citations for speeding given to commercial truck drivers within the states which have increased the speed limits.

Speeding may be an accepted form of behavior by many members of society. The fact that many, if not most, motorists exceed posted speed limits, can be easily observed when traveling on the interstate highway system. Often the law is violated simply due to individuals being in a hurry and desiring to arrive at their destination quickly. At first glance, it would be easy to assume truck drivers use the same reasoning but this may not be the case. In addition several drivers provided the following insights:
There ain't no way I can cover 700 miles overnight unless I go as fast as I can. I have to speed and hope that nobody catches me.

You look at it. If I average 70 m.p.h. I can cover 700 miles and make about $140.00 a day, but if I only average 55 m.p.h. I'll lose over $25.00 per day. That may not seem like a lot but figure it out over 5 to 6 days. If I average 700 miles a day I can run about 3,500 in 5 days. Now at 55 I can only cover 2,750 miles. Look at how much I lost. It's over one (bleep) day's work.

The faster I travel the more rested I am. Driving at slower speeds wears me out. I don't know why but if I drive 55 like I have to in Ohio I get so (bleeped) tired I can't hardly go.

You figure I cover over 3,500 miles every week and am usually home for at least one day. How the (bleep) would I be able to spend any time at home if I didn't speed.

Also many drivers feel that the split speed limits in states like Ohio and Texas are unsafe and discriminatory against truck drivers. Several drivers stated the following:

I don't know what the (bleep) them stupid (bleep of bleeps) think. We ain't out here because we want to be; it's our job. We drive every day and in all kinds of (bleeping) weather. We know what the (bleep) we are doing.

Why is it that we can't drive 65 and some kid that don't know what they are doing can. You know if it was foggy and a big truck was driving the speed limit what would happen if some four-wheeler hit us in the (bleep) end. Both of us would be abiding by the law but that driver might wind up dead.

It's just out-and-out stupid. The only reason these (bleep) states are doing this is just to be able to give us a ticket. They know we don't have the time to go to court and fight it. They know that we'll just pay the ticket. They also know that they don't have to worry as much about the possibility of getting shot if they pull a truck over instead of a four-wheeler. They know that most of us will take the ticket and go, we don't have time to (bleep) around.

It ain't right. Almost every driver I know can drive rings around these four-wheelers yet they can drive faster on the road than I can.
Every driver who participated in the interviews admitted to exceeding the posted speed limits. Most of the respondents seemed to agree with the idea that it was all a part of the job. As one driver put it, "It's just part of the job. If you're out here long enough you exceed the speed limits. You don't think about it you just do it."

Two major safety factors with which a driver must contend, which may be a primary result of false log books and speeding, are exhaustion and fatigue. When drivers leave their home terminal, they are constantly on the go. Normally, they will try to complete each load and return home when possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drive Fatigued</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequently</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
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Information provided in Table 7 indicates that a large majority (86%) of the respondents admitted to having driven while fatigued with almost half (48%) of all respondents admitting to driving fatigued frequently. One driver reported, "The only time I get any sleep is when I am at home. It seems that I never get to rest while I am on the road." Another driver said, "I wish my company would put a telephone in my truck, then I could at least get some sleep."

Beyond asking drivers about their own behavior, they were also asked about the number of times they have observed other truckers driving while
fatigued. The results provided in Table 8 indicate that every respondent reported having observed others who drive while fatigued, with an overwhelming majority (90%) reporting frequent observation of others who drive fatigued.

Table 8  Respondents’ Observations of Others Who Drive Fatigued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Fatigued</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequently</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One driver even stated, "I have used my C.B. to wake up other drivers, I knew they were asleep because they were weaving all over the road." This response may show that while they do not consider themselves operating while fatigued, they do believe that the majority of other drivers commit this behavior. Part of this belief may stem from the knowledge of truck drivers and the understanding of the circumstances under which a driver operates. In responding to a related question, less than one-third of the respondents showed that they consider driving without sleep as a high risk act.

One method by which a truck driver might combat fatigue is by using some type of stimulant. When I began going on trips in a truck during the late 1960s, truck driver’s use of amphetamines was widespread. "Bennies" a form of Benzedrine was easily accessible to almost every driver and was commonly used to cope with exhaustion. Doctors would prescribe these medicines under the guise of a dietary aid. Many drivers discovered that they were becoming addicted to these drugs. The Omnibus Transportation and Employee Testing
Act of 1991 required companies to test commercially licensed drivers for drug use before hiring, during employment, after accidents, or in suspicious circumstances (Hans, 1992). This requirement was an attempt to reduce the number of individuals who were taking drugs and thus increase safety on the highway.

Anecdotal evidence provided by the respondents does not offer support that it was effective. For example, one driver stated, "I take more drugs now than I ever did before. I just can't use the good stuff cause it shows up on a (bleep) test." The response of another driver was even more revealing:

I haven't changed the way I take drugs. The only thing that my company does is to notify me when I am due for a (bleep) test. They get me home and leave me for at least a week and I make sure I don't take anything. I even go to the local health food store and get that stuff that cleans your system. Then I go take my test and I am back. (Bleep) the only time I have ever been tested is when I need a new physical.

One primary reason the drug test is not effective is the current method of administering it. A drug test is required when a driver begins a new job or every two years at the time of his/her Department of Transportation physical. A driver knows in advance when he or she needs to be tested and will refrain from taking the drugs for seven days, which will allow any drugs to exit the system and produce a negative result. They can purchase chemicals from health food stores to help to purge the human body of impurities including many drugs. Some companies have allowed their drivers to stay at home for an entire week before drug testing.

When asked questions concerning drug use and what their opinion was
concerning the risk factors associated with drug usage, all respondents who participated in the interviews asked the same question, "What drugs are you referring to?" To most drivers this question is very legitimate. Many drivers think of drugs that help them to remain awake and help them in their job performance as a necessity. Several respondents expressed the view that they would rather be on the road with a driver taking some sort of speed than to be on the road with someone who is falling asleep. Surprisingly, however, almost four out of five of the respondents stated they never take drugs when they are driving. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing if these respondents consider speed as a drug as evidenced by the question asked by all the respondents concerning "What drugs are you referring to?" To obtain the opinions of the respondents it was necessary to allow them to decide what they considered a drug. Most of the drivers indicated that they did not consider that taking something that would aid them in staying awake as a drug. One driver stated,

*If you are talking about pot or something like that then no I don't take drugs. If you are talking about something that helps me stay awake then (bleep) yea, I have to. There is no way in (bleep) that I can do the job that is expected of me if I don't unless I want to kill someone.*

Two recent events in the history of trucking have had a impact on safety. One was an attempt to increase safety by allowing an opportunity for increased income. Another was licensing to provide more qualified drivers. In 1980 the United States Congress decided to deregulate the trucking industry. Deregulation was intended to help reduce government intervention and to help small business owners gain easier access to operating authority. This
deregulation was intended to allow small business owners to transport certain exempt commodities on their own (U.S. Code 1980). One of the respondents provided the following information:

*When deregulation first was talked about, I thought it would help me and that I wouldn't have to use a company to haul freight. I could get all the money. Boy was I wrong. I did not have the insurance that was required by different states. All I can see it has done is make it so I can't make as much money.*

For all of its good intentions, the Motor Carrier Act of 1980 has decreased the annual income for the majority of truck drivers. The rates owner operators received before the act's implementation was approximately $1.05 per mile for average freight, and much more for over-dimensional freight. Now many owner operators are lucky to average 90 cents per mile. Another respondent provided support for this in the following:

*I can remember when I could get under an O.D. load and know that I could sleep every night take five days to complete my run and make good money. Hell I averaged between $4.50 and $8.00 per mile. On that kind of money you can take your time. Now I am lucky if I can break two bucks ($2.00). In order to make money now I have to break the law.*

*I was averaging more than $2.00 per mile for every mile I operated. Now I haul the same freight the same amount of miles and I am lucky to break $0.90 per mile. Deregulation has really hurt me.*

A major change that affected truck drivers became effective April 1, 1992. All commercial drivers were required by federal law to reapply for licenses that met national standards. This new "Commercial Drivers License" (C.D.L.) requirement is broken down into a battery of tests that allows for separate endorsements allowing drivers to haul different types of commodities such as
hazardous material, tanker, or doubles. A driver must first pass a general knowledge test, after which he or she will receive a general C.D.L. Supplemental tests further authorize the operator to pull multiple trailers, haul hazardous materials, and/or drive busses. Many drivers have seen these changes as simply a way for the government to make money at their expense, and as a way to control good drivers. One driver stated,

*The C.D.L. is a joke. All this did was give the government more money and a way to track everything I do. I know some old drivers that quit driving just so they did not have to take the test. Some of the guys could not read, but they could sure drive a truck. A lot better than some of these that are out here today getting out of those so-called trucking schools. These idiots can pass that stupid test but they don't know a damn thing about driving a truck or what it is to be courteous to other drivers.*

While regulatory changes have been slow in coming, the work being done by the average driver has increased dramatically.

For an industry that is so important since 1935 there have been only two noticeable changes to the laws that govern its operation. While regulatory changes have been slow in coming, the work being done by the average driver has increased dramatically. Drivers have little influence on and no control over the laws that govern their behavior. The legislative bodies of each state and the federal government write and pass laws with limited understanding of the effects the laws will have upon the occupation of truck driving. Many laws passed are in direct opposition to the best interests of the drivers themselves. The politicians responsible for enacting these laws are unfamiliar with the requirements of the occupation. Thus, many drivers experience high degrees of alienation regarding
their occupation. Unrealistic occupational requirements frequently result in drivers violating established laws; therefore, many drivers attempt to avoid any confrontation with various legal representatives. The data reveal that only three-fifths (60%) of the respondents feel they receive fair treatment from State Police Officers and slightly fewer (58%) believe they receive fair treatment from local police officers. While the information above may account for much of the actions committed by drivers, the situations that arise within a typical driver’s family must also be considered.
CHAPTER VI
TRUCKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Many people think that being a commercial truck driver is an easy way to make a living. They do not consider the many personal costs that exist for drivers and family members. Many drivers will say that truck driving is not a life for a married man. Not being able to watch your children grow up, the long hours away from home, and the existence of opportunities for extramarital relationships are concerns for many drivers.

Life on the road may seem exciting and wondrous, but the majority of people do not understand what it is like to be gone on a daily basis. Many people take vacations and travel to destinations with anticipation of what they might see next. Most travel with their families. Comprehending being a truck driver and traveling alone is difficult if you have not been there. Your thoughts, concerns, and worries are constant. You are unable to know that your family is safe. The only relief comes when a telephone call is made and the person contacted assures you that all is well. One respondent stated,

_I get to wondering about my kids. I don't know if my 16 year old son is out in the car. I know he can drive pretty good but he is just a kid. He don't know how quick an accident can happen. He takes too many chances. My other son is a royal pain in the (bleep) he is always into something. About 3 months ago he was out on a stupid skate board and broke his arm. I didn't even find out about it for over a week. My wife wouldn't even tell me, she said I would have worried too much._
Drivers miss the things that many individuals simply take for granted. Missing events like ball games, birthday parties, anniversaries, or holidays becomes a familiar occurrence but not readily accepted. One respondent stated,

I have missed so many things with my family. I am rarely home on my kids' birthdays, (bleep) I am very rarely home on my own. I don’t know what it is like to be home on a holiday with the exception of Thanksgiving and Christmas. Them are two that I won't miss. (Bleep) I’ll quit my (bleep) job before I miss them. I almost missed Christmas once and I will never allow that to happen again.

Drivers often miss their child’s birth, first step, first word, first date, and graduation. One driver stated, “I have had three children, and four grandchildren but I have yet to be home when any of them were born.” One driver summed up the feelings by stating, “The only thing I hate about my job is not being home with my family and being able to watch my kids grow up.”

One aspect of being away from home is the constant concern about the possibility of traumatic events happening to family members. These feelings are normally repressed and not spoken of under normal conditions. Many drivers feel that their company can contact them within twenty-four hours if something were to happen to someone in his or her family - - primarily because most trucking companies require the driver to contact his or her dispatcher on a daily basis to provide progress updates. The question then becomes "How would I get home?" It must be remembered that drivers are not only responsible for the freight that they are transporting but they are also responsible for an expensive piece of equipment that cannot be left just anywhere. In the majority of airports
parking a truck and trailer, not to mention the load, for any length of time would be impossible. While the concern for the equipment and freight are always paramount, many companies will attempt to help the driver in getting home as quickly as possible. However, from personal experience, I know one company does not and I feel there are others. The following occurred to me while I was leased to a company headquartered in Kansas.

> My brother died in an automobile accident, they notified the company I was driving for six different times within eight hours after his death and they did not inform me. I accidently found out as I was placing calls to different companies to obtain another load. I had called my company four times that morning and they never indicated that anything was wrong. They continued to tell me to call back every hour. Thank God I was at a location that was only two hours from home. If I had been in California for example, I would probably not found out until much later. How would I have then gotten home?

Beyond life and death circumstances for family, truck drivers face everything else on their own. If a driver becomes sick with a cold or flu, he/she may be thousands of miles away from home. Strokes, heart attacks, broken bones, or the like will not conveniently wait until the driver is at home. These events are ever-present dangers that these individuals face. Most of time they do not discuss these feelings. Drivers are not as reluctant to talk about their families and the feelings of their families as they are about their own. While it is easily visible that truck driving has an effect upon drivers, the effect it has on the family may not be so easily observable.

The normal stress that characterizes the contemporary family is multiplied when a spouse is gone for extended periods and returns to unfamiliar roles. The
uncertainty that characterizes his or her home life frequently leads to marital problems and even divorce. Many truck drivers attempt to reduce these problems by returning home as often as possible and remaining at home for as long as possible. To maximize the driver’s time at home he or she may wait until the last minute to depart with the load and try to return home when possible. Due to the desire to maintain a home life, many truck drivers violate the law through speeding, log violations, and overweight loads.

The spouse of a truck driver has a very difficult status to fill. Often the trucker’s spouse functions as a virtual "single parent.” In the majority of cases, the spouse who remains at home with the children is the female. The driver, normally the husband, may come home as often as possible but the requirement of decision making rests upon the shoulders of the wife. The responsibilities of raising children, attending school functions, helping with homework, paying bills, meeting appointments, completing yard work, and all of the additional duties required by the family are hers. The major difference between her life and the life of a divorced mother is that she still has someone whom she feels she must consider in her decisions. The driver continues to make commitments, do business, and demand personal time that he expects his wife to honor. While the majority of drivers do not understand what their wives go through, some do. One driver stated, "Boy my wife is great, she takes care of everything just like I was at home."

When the driver is home, problems routinely arise. The driver is normally exhausted and in need of rest. Everyone knows that his/her time at home will be
very short. Often the driver must return to the road within one or two days. All of
the work the spouse could not accomplish must be completed while the driver is
home. The children want the attention of their absent parent. Often drivers
attempt to compensate for their absence by purchasing items wanted by their
children. Due to guilt felt by the driver, he or she normally refrains from
correcting any type of misbehavior; thus the home-based spouse is forced to
become the disciplinarian. The spouse must perform a balancing act. She or he
attempts to reduce tension, allows the spouse to rest, and strives to accomplish
all items that require the spouse’s assistance before the return to the road. This
monumental effort does not always work, and often the pressure is more than
the spouse can stand. Frequently, divorce is the result. Over half (52%) of the
respondents reported to having experienced at least one divorce.

The effects on the couple’s children may include delinquency, depression,
social problems and other problematic situations. Often the children will
manipulate the situation to achieve personal desires. They will run to dad to
obtain approval of things that mother has denied. One driver stated, “The
minute I drive into the yard my kids all come out wanting to do things. I usually
let them do it then I find out that their mother has already told them no.” Another
driver stated, “My son is the first one to get to me when I get home and he is
always wanting to take off in the car. I don’t see what it hurts, but his mom sure
don’t like it. I usually let him go. (Bleep) he’s just a kid.” If the children want
something their father is against, they will wait until the father has left and then
approach their mother. Another respondent stated, "It don't matter what I tell my kids to do, when I leave they begin hollering at their mom until they get what they want." Children will also say that their father or mother has approved a request that was never made. The absence of the driver and the circus that occurs while he is home affects the children. One respondent summed it up this way:

\[\text{When I get home it seems that everything has gone wrong. I can't enter the house without being bombarded with problems and fighting. The things that needed to be done all week have got to be done immediately and it seems that I don't have time to spend with my family. I am either working on the truck, paying bills, getting parts, or breaking up a fight. I have to leave the house to get some rest.}\]

Extensive research has been done on children from divorced and absent parent households. Observed effects include the following: adult depression rates are higher for individuals that experienced parental absence during childhood (Amato, 1991); children often have a loss of confidence and feel depressed due to the loss of a father as a role model, some boys exhibit behavior patterns that are typical for females (Peretti and di-Vitorrio, 1993); decrease in performance of the "parental role" of fathers increases conflict with children (Dudley, 1991); and influence of delinquent peers increases as the involvement of both parents in their children's lives decreases (Warr, 1993).

While the families of truck drivers could be expected to exhibit many of the characteristics listed above, there is a major difference between truckers' families and those of truly single parents. In the trucking family, the driver is always considered an integral part of the family. The absence of the driver is for
limited periods. When the drivers return home they immediately assume their status as parents. The family may not like the absence, but can justify the actions because the driver provides for the needs of the family. The family also understands that the absence is part of the occupation of being a truck driver.

Many truckers believe that their children have to "grow-up" a little faster than do those children in families where both parents are always at home. The male children are required at an earlier age to assume many duties that are normally filled by the father. The children become more independent. The uncertainty of events prohibits many commitments that would normally be made by children. Dates, dinner arrangements, and school events are often disrupted upon the return of the driver. The children are not only expected to understand the reasons behind the changes but are also expected to avoid objecting when the changes occur. To decrease the effects of the uncertainty, many drivers call home before their arrival so arrangements can be made and personal events can continue as planned. In a short time, the abrupt changes are accepted, maneuvered, and become a way of life.

Many trucking families become accustomed to these dramatic changes and arrange their schedules to adapt to the return. The anticipated arrival time of the driver is normally known well in advance, and that knowledge eases the stress of necessary transitions. The uncertainty of coming events and the feelings of being alone create many problems that are not as readily managed by other trucking families. When these problems cannot be accepted, divorce may be the result. Some of the most frequently cited factors for divorce are unmet emotional
needs, boredom with marriage, sex, and high-conflict relationships (Gigy and Kelly, 1992).

Truck drivers are often unable to be home when they are needed to provide emotional support. Although many drivers attempt to phone home every night, the spouse is left alone to face all crises by himself/herself. One driver stated,

*If I had a regular job and was home every night then maybe I could stay married. There ain't many women in the world who can put up with the things I am forced to do because I drive a truck. It seems as though I am never around when my wife needs me. The last time I was married my wife's mother died and I was in California. I didn't even know what had happened for over twenty-four hours. By the time I found out there was no way to get home before the funeral. My ex could never get over the fact that I wasn't there and we wound up getting a divorce within a few months after that.*

Not much can be accomplished by a spouse who is hundreds of miles away.

Not only are drivers forced to contend with the occupational influences on marital relationships but they must also cope with the outside influences that create problems within marriages. The stereotypical idea that all truck drivers have extramarital affairs because they are consistently away from home is prevalent. One driver stated,

*The co-workers where my wife was working kept telling her that there was no way I wasn't having affairs while I was on the road. Some of them kept telling her that she should not put up with me being gone all the time. I guess she began to listen to them because she found someone who was home every night and left me for him.*

These accusations of extramarital affairs may be unwarranted at times but have devastating effects on families. One respondent stated,

*I know there is a lot that goes on out here but not everyone is doing it. I wish my wife could have understood that. I really do love her but she could not put up with the uncertainty. I couldn't find a job that pays as well as trucking and*
I never could work in a factory so I had to keep driving. I wish I had never seen a truck, maybe I could still be married.

Marital infidelity data from the National Opinion Research Center reveals that 20% of American men and 10% of American women are not faithful (Greeley, 1994). Almost every truck driver I personally know has indicated that his wife has accused him of having extramarital relationships. From additional conversations with these same individuals, this accusation is warranted. Support was provided by one respondent who stated,

My ex-wife found out that I had a girl-friend in Arkansas and as soon as she had enough proof she filed for a divorce. (Bleep) what difference does it make I was never home anyway. All she ever did when I was home was (bleep). Now I don't have to put up with the (bleep).

These accusations can escalate into high conflict relationships and may be a major factor in divorce. Again, over half (52%) of all the respondents reported to having at least one divorce. However, some drivers use the occupation to help them in remaining in a dysfunctional relationship as exhibited by a respondent who stated,

That (bleep) that I am married to don't want me but she sure likes the money I make. I don't know how many times I know she has run around on me but I can't afford to get a divorce. At least now I can still be around my kids when I am home. The good part about it is that I know I don't have to stay long.

Another respondent suggested that driving gives him the opportunity to avoid confrontation within his relationships by stating, “Why do I need to be married? I have more fun being single. If I get into a fight with someone I'm with now I can leave and never go back.”

While boredom may not be a significant stress factor in the truck driver's
marital relationship, the loneliness that accompanies the life of a truck driver is intense. Drivers will attempt to ease that loneliness through the conversations on the C.B. radio and in truck stops with other individuals. Occasionally drivers will satisfy their sexual desires by being with someone other than his or her spouse. The opportunity to be with multiple partners was summed up in the comment, “(Bleep) I'll never get married again. There are more women out there who want to have a good time without being married. I don't have to feel guilty for whatever I do. I can have sex with as many as I want.”
CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In order to document the essential characteristics of the trucking subculture I engaged in participant observational research during the summer of 1995. Unlike previous trucking industry studies that were focused on specific aspects of the subculture or were conducted by outsiders whose insights as well as their access to the drivers themselves might be limited, my status as an “insider” granted me full entree into even the most sensitive aspects of the occupation. However, the fact that my many years of driving experience might also have created personal biases which could limit my ability to be objective must be addressed. Although I made a conscious effort to counteract their influences during each phase of the research, my preconceived notions about many of the inner issues addressed in the research cannot be overlooked as a possible limitation of the study.

That trucks and their drivers have made significant, if not indispensable, contributions to the American way of life is undeniable. For almost a century, the trucking industry has been a vital part of the American economy. While few changes have occurred in the governmental control of their occupation, numerous changes have occurred in the working conditions confronting the driver. By any reasonable standard, these changes have placed increasing physical and psychological demands upon the driver to upgrade performance.
The fact that many of these “innovations” have put the driver at risk with respect to being routinely in violation of state and federal laws, as well as having a negative impact on drivers’ private and family lives, has been a major theme of this thesis.

Although they do not constitute a random sample, the respondents in the present study were chosen in an attempt to provide a representative sampling of today’s drivers. To that end, significant occupational, as well as demographic, variables were employed in selecting the sample. For example, every effort was made to ensure that drivers representing all types of employment status (ranging from owner operators to free lance drivers), pay status (by the mile versus by the hour), and types of trucks driven (cab over 18 wheeler versus straight 6 wheeler) were included in the sample. The interview schedule and frequencies of responses to all closed-ended questions are contained in Appendix A.

Admission into this occupation has changed dramatically over the past 20 years. Previously the only way to become a truck driver was by establishing a relationship with individuals within the occupation. Now schools have been developed to provide the skills and knowledge of the occupation. Although technically sound, these schools cannot provide the novice driver with the informal rules of the occupation. These can be learned only from association with other drivers. Even the colorful argot used by drivers must itself be learned over an extended period of time.

The opportunities to learn these informal rules and methods of communication are available through the use of the C.B. radio and at the various
locations where truck drivers congregate. The C. B. radio provides drivers the opportunity to maintain constant contact with others who share their interests. There is always someone to talk to, and conversations range from the trivial to the crucial aspects of trucking (e.g., severe driving conditions ahead). Known by their colorful C.B. “handles” drivers often engage in conversations that contain deep personal feelings as well as concerns about their occupation. The C.B. radio is therefore one of the primary socialization tools used by drivers. In addition, socialization into the subculture also occurs among drivers at truck stops throughout the nation. The mere size of the vehicles operated by truck drivers forces them to congregate at these locations. In addition, truck stops provide the necessary items used by truck drivers. These locations provide novice drivers the opportunity to observe the behaviors of veteran drivers. Truck stops also allow time for reflection and comparison of achievements and abilities. Drivers often develop their idea of self through these experiences.

A significant portion of this thesis has focused on the increasing pressures that are being experienced by today’s drivers. While government mandates appear at first glance to be reasonable and indeed necessary, their latent effects on the drivers themselves are, at best, misunderstood. That these mandates have changed very little over the past sixty years and clearly do not take into account the increasing occupational pressures on drivers serves to compound the problem. For example, one of the major frustrations experienced by truck drivers is derived from the method by which they are paid. Since some form of mileage pay is the current industry standard, drivers are under constant pressure
to increase the number of miles driven or loads hauled in order to maintain a viable working relationship with their employers. Obviously, this situation places them in direct opposition to legal requirements, concern for personal safety, and the safety of other drivers as well. The quantifiable data obtained from the respondents in the present study clearly document their routine excesses concerning extended hours of work, limited amounts of sleep, excessive speeding, and log book violations. Of equal, if not greater, importance their responses to the open-ended questions provide dramatic evidence of the high level of frustration generated by their own as well as other drivers' behaviors.

The combined pressures which are now endemic to the occupation have additional ramifications for the contemporary driver. As indicated by their responses, the drivers in the present study are experiencing significant difficulties in maintaining their home and family lives. The normal routine that exists in most families is not present within truck drivers' families. The driver is constantly away from home and unable to attend important family events. Events taken for granted by many families are special occasions to many drivers. While the worries about traumatic events exist within all families, truck drivers are faced with the additional concern that they may be unable to return if needed in an emergency. In addition, the normal becomes the abnormal when the driver experiences an illness and must remain at home.

Beyond the personal considerations and frustrations of the individual driver are the effects his/her extensive absences have on the family as a whole. Even the most fundamental events of family life are adversely affected. The
opportunity to experience a child's first words or steps is jeopardized by the unrelenting work schedule. In addition, the role of parent becomes unfamiliar and the responsibilities of the remaining spouse are increased dramatically. The question of which parent is in charge when both are present can be a seemingly endless source of strain for all family members. Children become particularly adept at pitting the parents one against the other and generating self-serving confrontations. Perhaps the greatest problem, however, centers around the inevitable stresses that the trucking lifestyle generates between spouses. Lack of emotional support and the possibility of real or imagined extramarital affairs, which can have serious ramifications in the traditional dual-parent family, are seriously magnified by the driver's systematic absences. Ironically within “bad” marriages these absences can be functional and help to hold the marriage together.

In conclusion, the evidence presented in this thesis appears to support the contention that American truck drivers do indeed qualify for distinction as an occupational subculture. They possess a unique and colorful language, special codes of conduct that even serve to routinize deviant, and frequently illegal, behavior and require, for all practical purposes, that aspiring drivers undergo a process of socialization that qualifies them to become one of the “last American cowboys.”

Although the present study was undertaken as pure research, the policy implementations that might be derived from the findings should not be overlooked. Based on the material contained herein and on my own extensive
experience as a commercial truck driver I would like to submit as “food for
thought,” and possible future research topics, the following suggestions:

a. Every individual who earns a living as a truck driver should be paid the current
minimum wage rate for every hour he or she is away from his or her home or
his or her home terminal.

b. No driver should be punished for obtaining the required amount of rest, or for
obeying the law. Each official weigh station should provide the drivers with a
complaint form (upon request of the driver) which should be completed any
time a company threatens that driver with punishment for obeying the law.
The Department of Transportation should then take the complaint and
investigate it thoroughly and insure driver well-being. If the company is found
at fault, their ICC authority should be withdrawn for 30 days on the first
offense, 60 days on the second, 180 days on the third, and permanently on
the fourth offense.

c. Each state weight station should upon request from the truck driver perform a
complete inspection the vehicle to check for safety without threat of citing the
driver.

d. Citations for overweight loads should be issued in both the carrier’s name and
the shipper’s name, and then be recorded in a computer file. If these
companies and shippers continue to load and haul overweight loads without
obtaining overweight permits then their license should be withdrawn.

e. All freight should be shipper’s load, count, and seal; consignees unload (no
driver assist).

Following these suggestions would, in my opinion, provide the truck driver
with the incentive and ability to follow other governmental mandates. These
suggestions would help to ease exhaustion and fatigue. Driving conditions would
improve. The negative effects truck driving has on the family would be reduced.
Tax money to federal and state governments would increase. Truck driver
alienation would be reduced and, above all else, safety on the highway would
improve!

Although the likelihood of any of these changes seems remote, I believe the
next stage toward implementation would be to solicit the input of the people whose lives would be most affected, the driver. To that end, I believe the time has come for a nationwide opinion survey of a large, random sample of contemporary American commercial truck drivers. With their input, and support, some changes might be made. Without it any significant changes in their behavior seems unlikely.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A
Hello:

My name is David Fields. For 14 years I earned my living as a cross country truck driver. I have logged over one-million miles while working for various trucking companies throughout the United States. I have personally experienced many of the same problems which you are faced with every day. Due to an automobile accident in 1989 I am unable to earn my living working full time as a truck driver. As a result, I decided to attend college and I am currently a graduate student in sociology at Western Kentucky University located in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

I am interested in collecting information pertaining to the trucking industry, from the driver’s viewpoint, for my Master of Arts thesis and would appreciate your assistance. You will be participating in this interview ANONYMOUSLY. I will not ask for your name and you cannot be personally identified from your responses. However, your participation is extremely important if I am to obtain valid information about truck drivers. I hope my research will provide the FACTS about what it is like to drive a truck, and I hope to use these facts to benefit my fellow truck drivers.

A summary of the results of this research will be available upon completion of the project. In order to obtain a copy of the summary please write to: Sociology Department, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky 42101.

Sincerely

David Fields
PART I

Instructions: Please circle or provide the following personal information.

1. What is your age?
   ____ years old  (Range 24 to 54, mean 39.5)

2. Are you:  (43) Male   (7) Female?

3. What is your current marital status?
   (32) Married
   (13) Divorced
   (5) Single
   (0) Widowed
   (0) Cohabitating

4. Have you ever been divorced?
   (26) Yes (how many times____)
   (24) No

5. How many children currently live with you?  ____ (Range 0 to 4, mean .78)

6. Which of the following best describes your level of education?
   (13) Less than high school
   (30) High school graduate
   or G.E.D.
   (6) Some college
   (1) College grad or more

7. How many years have you driven a tractor trailer?
   ____ years  (Range 1 to 35, mean 13.34)

8. What are your average miles driven in a tractor trailer per week during peak months in a tractor trailer?
   (0) less than 1,500
   (1) 1,500 - 1,999
   (6) 2,000 - 2,499
   (36) 2,500 - 2,999
   (5) 3,000 - 3,499
   (2) 3,500 or more
9. What are your average miles driven in a tractor trailer per year?

(0) 25,000 - 49,999
(3) 50,000 - 74,999
(12) 75,000 - 99,999
(35) 100,000 or more

10. The best estimate of the total miles you have driven a tractor trailer would be:

(1) less than 100,000
(9) 100,000-299,999
(6) 300,000-499,999
(3) 500,000-749,999
(2) 750,000-1 million
(29) 1 million or more

11. Which of the following best describes your current employment?

(18) Owner/Operator (single/team)
(23) Company driver
(4) Team operation driver
(5) Driver for Owner/Operator
(0) Other: ___

12. How are you paid?

(26) By the mile (skip to question 13)
(13) Percentage (skip to question 14)
(1) Hourly (skip to question 15)
(10) Combination (hourly/milage skip to question 13 and 15)

13. What is the rate per mile you currently receive?

(3) .17 cents per mile or less
(1) .18 - .19 cents per miles
(8) .20 - .22 cents per mile
(11) .23 - .25 cents per mile
(13) over .25 cents per mile

14. What is the current percent per load you receive?

(0) less than 25%
(1) 25% - 30%
(0) 31% - 45%
(0) 46% - 65%
(6) 66% - 75%
(6) more than 75%
15. What is the hourly rate of pay you currently receive?

(0) less than $5.00
(0) $5.00 - $6.99
(0) $7.00 - $8.99
(2) $9.00 - $10.99
(6) $11.00 - $14.99
(3) $15.00 or more

16. How many hours sleep do you average on a daily basis while you are on the road?

(0) less than 2
(4) 2 - 3
(29) 4 - 6
(16) 7 - 8
(1) more than 8

17. How frequently do you continue to drive your truck when you are very fatigued (tired)?

(7) Never
(19) Sometimes
(24) Often
(0) Always

18. How frequently have you observed other drivers who continued to drive when you thought they were very fatigued (tired)?

(0) Never
(5) Sometimes
(45) Often
(0) Always

19. On the average how many days per week do you spend at home?

(11) less than 1
(33) 1 - 2
(6) 3 - 4
(0) over 4

20. What type of truck do you drive?

(16) Cab Over 18 wheeler
(34) Conventional 18 wheeler
(0) Straight 10 wheeler
(0) Straight 6 wheeler
(0) Other
Part II.

Instructions: For each of the following circle your answer where 1 = no risk, 2 = moderate risk, and 3 = high risk. Risk would be defined as a potential hazard to the safety and well being of the driver or other individuals with whom the driver may come into contact with.

1. I feel the following driving behaviors committed by truck drivers are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>No Risk</th>
<th>Moderate Risk</th>
<th>High Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Speeding</td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Drive without sleeping</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Use alcohol when driving</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Use drugs when driving</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Driving overweight loads</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Tailgating</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Driving faulty equipment</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part III

Instructions: For each of the following circle your answer where 1 = never (N), 2 = sometimes (S), 3 = frequently (F), and 4 = always (A).

1. How often do you commit the following behaviors while driving your truck?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>(S)</th>
<th>(F)</th>
<th>(A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f. Speeding</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Drive without sleeping</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Use alcohol when driving</td>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Use drugs when driving</td>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Driving overweight loads</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. Tailgating</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. Driving faulty equipment</td>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Using false log books</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. How often do you think most other commercial truck drivers commit the following behaviors while driving their trucks?

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<thead>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. Speeding</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. Drive without sleeping</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. Use alcohol when driving</td>
<td>(46)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. Use drugs when driving</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. Driving overweight loads</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. Tailgating</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(42)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. Driving faulty equipment</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t. Using false log books</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
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Part IV.

**Instructions:** Many people believe that commercial truck drivers often travel over the speed limit, drive when they are fatigued, and enter incorrect information into their log books. The following questions are designed to determine what reasons (if any) drivers might feel are justifications for committing these acts. For each of the following circle your answer where 1 = strongly disagree (SD), 2 = disagree (D), 3 = undecided (U), 4 = agree (A), and 5 = strongly agree (SA).

1. Drivers who exceed the posted speed limits (speeding) do so because:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. more miles means more money (pay system)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. the method of dispatch call back every hour</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. the threat of termination by dispatcher</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. the desire to be home more</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. the requirements by company (delivery appointments that are determined by dispatch)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. dispatch will leave you sit if you are late on a load or out of hours</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| g. they do not get paid for time waiting on a load, making a...
Drivers who continue to drive while very fatigued (tired) do so because:

- more miles means more money (pay system)
- the method of dispatch
- the threat of termination by dispatcher
- the desire to be home more
- the requirements by company (delivery appointments that are determined by dispatch)
- dispatch will leave you sit if you are late on a load or out of hours
- they do not get paid for time waiting on a load, making a delivery or pick up
- they are irresponsible
- they are careless
- they just want to

Drivers who enter incorrect information on log books do so because:

- more miles means more money (pay system)
- the method of dispatch (call back every hour)
- the threat of termination by dispatcher
- the desire to be home more
- the requirements by company (delivery appointments that are determined by dispatch)
- dispatch will leave you sit if you are late on a load or out of hours
Part V

Instructions: For each of the following circle your answer where 1 = yes, 2 = no, and 3 = don’t know.

1. Do you, as a commercial truck driver, feel you are treated fairly by the following:

   a. State police  
   b. Local police  
   c. Dispatcher  
   d. D.O.T.  
   e. Company owner  
   f. State scales  
   g. Owner of truck

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
   a |   | 30  | 20 | 0          |
   b |   | 29  | 21 | 0          |
   c |   | 18  | 31 | 1          |
   d |   | 29  | 21 | 0          |
   e |   | 39  | 11 | 0          |
   f |   | 28  | 22 | 0          |
   g |   | 43  | 7  | 0          |

2. Do you feel trucks and truck drivers are targeted (singled out) unfairly by the following:

   a. State police  
   b. Local police  
   c. State scale officers  
   d. Federal D.O.T.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Why</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
   a |   | 24 | 26  |     |
   b |   | 24 | 26  |     |
   c |   | 29 | 21  |     |
   d |   | 36 | 14  |     |

3. Do you feel truck drivers are at the mercy of the power/control which is available to the following:

   a. State police  
   b. Local police  
   c. State scales  
   d. Dispatchers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Why</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
   a |   | 4  | 46  |     |
   b |   | 4  | 46  |     |
   c |   | 4  | 46  |     |
   d |   | 2  | 48  |     |

Part VI

Instructions: Please circle the appropriate response.

1. Are you ever required to load or unload your trailer?

   (39) Yes    (11) No (skip to part VII, question 1)

2. Do you receive money for loading or unloading?

   (33) Yes    (6) No
3. Are you required to hire a lumper?
   (20) Yes  (19) No (skip to part VII, question 1)

4. How many times per week (on average) do you hire a lumper?
   (21) less than 1
   (15) 1
   (3) 2
   (0) 3
   (0) 4 or more

5. What is the average cost paid to lumpers per load:
   (0) less than $50.00
   (0) $50.00 - $59.99
   (37) $60.00 - $75.00
   (2) more than $75.00

6. What is the average length of time required to load or unload your average load?
   (0) 1 hour or less
   (38) 2 - 3 hours
   (1) 4 - 5 hours
   (0) 6 or more hours

Part VII

Instructions: Please answer the following questions in your own words. This space is provided for your comments concerning your job. Use the reverse side of this questionnaire if more space is needed.

1. Why did you become a commercial truck driver?

2. What do you like best about being a commercial truck driver?

3. What do you like least about being a commercial truck driver?

4. What effect does commercial truck driving have on your family life?
5. If you were selecting a career again, would you still want to be a truck driver?
   (31) Yes __
   (19) No __
   Why: ____________________________

6. Would you like a child of yours to become a truck driver?
   (15) Yes __
   (35) No __
   Why: ____________________________

7. Are there any additional reasons that you feel could explain the high risk behaviors of commercial truck drivers other than those listed above?
   ____________________________

8. What changes would you recommend be made to reduce the frequency of these high risk behaviors?
   ____________________________

9. What other information would you like people to know about commercial truck driving?
   ____________________________

10. What questions might be added to future surveys of commercial truck drivers?
    ____________________________

THANK YOU FOR YOUR VALUABLE TIME AND YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS INTERVIEW.
APPENDIX B
ARGOT OF DRIVERS

The following is a list of the most common words and phrases which are currently used by truck drivers. The primary meaning of the words or phrases are also provided.

Alligator (various locations) Separated piece of rubber from a tire
Bear Police
Bear in the air Police aircraft (traffic control)
Beaver A woman
Buffalo A man
Bushel Amount of weight measure (usually each bushel equals 1,000 lbs)
C.B. code name The name the individual uses while talking on the C.B. radio
Cannon balling Descending a hill or mountain without the truck being in gear (coasting in neutral)
Cash box Toll booths along toll roads
Chicken coops State and federal weight stations along interstates
Chicken lights The additional lights added to semi-tractor trailers to enhance their appearance (usually amber color)
Chicken radio A C.B. radio that is capable of covering long distances and usually includes whistles, bells, or some other type of additional noise-makers
County Mountie County Police
Covered wagon Flat bed trailer with a side kit and tarp
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cracker head</td>
<td>Derogatory remark / little or no common sense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disco lights</td>
<td>A police officer having his emergency lights on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty Side Down</td>
<td>The undercarriage of the vehicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doubles</td>
<td>Two trailers being pulled by one semi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteen wheeler</td>
<td>Semi tractor-trailer combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evil Kneival</td>
<td>Someone riding a motorcycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flip-side</td>
<td>On the way back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four wheeler</td>
<td>All automobiles and pick-up trucks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garbage</td>
<td>Produce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garbage Wagon</td>
<td>Produce hauler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gear jammer</td>
<td>Truck driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goober Smoocher</td>
<td>Butt kisser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good buddie</td>
<td>Makes reference to a homosexual. At one time the meaning was a way to refer to another driver as a friend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go-go juice</td>
<td>Diesel fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greasy (the road is)</td>
<td>The road surface is slick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammer down</td>
<td>Proceeding at an accelerated speed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammer Lane</td>
<td>The passing lane on interstates (the inner lane) (Double Hammer = the inner-most lane of a three lane interstate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handle</td>
<td>The name drivers use to distinguish themselves from other drivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High speed driving award</td>
<td>Speeding ticket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home 20</td>
<td>The location where the driver lives (home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jake</td>
<td>An engine brake used to slow down while descending steep grades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking the tires</td>
<td>(Jacob's Break)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large car</td>
<td>Urination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Load of dispatcher brains / Load of post-holes</td>
<td>Semi-tractor trailer with a large motor capable of obtaining high speeds and normally considered the top of the line of trucks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Yokel</td>
<td>Local Police (city)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot-lizard</td>
<td>Truck stop prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maggot Wagon</td>
<td>Garbage truck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat Wagon</td>
<td>Ambulance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkey Pickles</td>
<td>Bananas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile Parking lot</td>
<td>a. a trailer used to transport cars and small trucks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Any time the interstate flow of traffic has stopped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickle</td>
<td>The distinguishing part of a male body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickle Park</td>
<td>Rest area along a interstate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piss-pumpkins</td>
<td>Watermelons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refer</td>
<td>Refrigerated trailer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale houses</td>
<td>State or federal weight stations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seat covers</td>
<td>The individuals sitting inside a automobile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shiny Side Up

As in "keep the shiny side up" (don't have a wreck). The cab of the vehicle

Skinny road

A U.S. two lane highway

Smokies

Police

Super slab

Interstates

Swindle sheets / Coloring books / Funny books / Lie books / Ticker tape

Log books

Texas apples

Onions

Truck stop cowboy

A driver who abuses his/her truck

Two week wonder

A driver who attended a truck driving school

Woods (in the)

Traveling on two lane highways in an attempt to avoid state weight stations

10-10

Listening to the radio and not talking

10-20

Location

10-33

Accident

10-36

Time

10-100

Need to use the bathroom (urination)

10-200

Need to use the bathroom (defecation)

In addition drivers have common terms which are used for various locations throughout the United States.

Alamo

San Antonio, TX

Astrodome

Houston, TX

Bean Town

Boston, MA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Big A</td>
<td>Atlanta, GA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Apple</td>
<td>New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikini</td>
<td>Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluegrass</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage Patch</td>
<td>Up State, NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>Various State Capitals throughout the United States to include Washington D.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigar City</td>
<td>Tampa, FL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle</td>
<td>Indianapolis, IN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist State</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derby</td>
<td>Louisville, KY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty Side</td>
<td>East coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flag</td>
<td>Flagstaff, AZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gateway</td>
<td>St. Louis, MO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>Nashville, TN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land of Lincoln</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little A</td>
<td>Augusta, GA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Cuba</td>
<td>Miami, FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone Star</td>
<td>Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardi-Gras</td>
<td>New Orleans, LA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mickey Mouse</td>
<td>Orlando, FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mile High</td>
<td>Denver, CO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkey-town</td>
<td>Montgomery, AL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor City</td>
<td>Detroit, MI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music City</td>
<td>Nashville, TN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nickel</td>
<td>Buffalo NY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Cincinnati OH ’1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaky</td>
<td>Los Angles, CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoke City</td>
<td>Birmingham, AL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sticks</td>
<td>Furniture</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Rock</td>
<td>Little Rock, AR</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turbo City</td>
<td>San Francisco, CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twin Cities</td>
<td>Minneapolis / St. Paul, MN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windy City</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


