

# Extraboard Scheduling, Workers' Compensation, and Operator Stress in Public Transit: Research Results and Managerial Implications

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## ABSTRACT

The results of a year-long study of practices associated with employee absence in the transit industry are reported. The research focused on three subjects: extraboard scheduling, workers' compensation, and occupational stress. An extensive review of prior research was conducted, and new data about both organizational policies and employee attitudes within California transit agencies were collected by mail surveys and analyzed statistically. Twenty-one organizations and 1,039 operating employees from within California responded to the surveys. The research indicated that most organizations use judgmental methods for determining the size of the extraboard and that these methods are likely to result in extraboards that are either too large or too small. Strong relationships were identified between workers' compensation experience and equipment design and maintenance practices. Occupational stressors were strongly correlated with self-reported health outcomes and job attitudes. Suggestions are offered for managerial actions that would mitigate some of the problems identified by the research.

Each day transit managers and administrators are faced with complex issues that affect the productivity of their organizations. Between 1970 and 1980, transit operating expenses rose more than five times faster than operating revenues (1). This difference can, in part, be explained by fares that have been held down to attract ridership, by increases in employee compensation, and by expansion of unprofitable routes into low-density suburban areas. However, because transit agencies were less productive in 1980 than in 1970 there is a need to examine their policies and practices to determine whether improvements can be made.

Previous research (2-6) has uncovered substantial inefficiencies in transit labor utilization. Because labor represents between 75 and 80 percent of transit operating costs, any improvement in labor utilization holds promise for curtailment of overall operating expense. The results and implications of a study supported by the state of California's Business, Transportation, and Housing Agency in 1981-1982 (7) are summarized in this paper. The research explored three facets of human resource productivity in public transit: extraboard scheduling (i.e., scheduling practices involving runs left open because of the absence of regular operators, work not selected by regular operators, or charter runs and special assignments); workers' compensation; and operator job stress.

These topics share a common characteristic: they all have been associated with employee absence in the transit industry. Managers have isolated workers' compensation as a program that may serve as an incentive for employee absence because of the attractiveness of payments and potential claims fraud. Extraboards, too, have been viewed as an incentive for employee absence because they help assure a ready pool of labor to replace absent employees. Operator stress has often been linked to these other issues both as a cause of workers' compensation claims and illness-related absence and as a result of inefficient scheduling practices that place undue strain on employees.

This research examines

- Inefficiencies in current practices regarding extraboard sizing and scheduling, and the impact of these practices on transit operating costs and employee behaviors;
- The impact of transit agency size, policies, and employee demographics on workers' compensation claims and costs, and the potential for reducing these outcomes;
- The role of operator stress in overall agency costs and productivity, and the relationship between work schedules and employee attitudes, job performance, and health; and
- The causes and possible countermeasures for the increasing rate of employee absence in the transit industry.

In conducting this study a number of information sources were relied on, including consultation with subject experts and the administration of three separate surveys to managerial and operating personnel within a sample of California transit agencies. As a preliminary step, a large number of international studies of operator stress and occupational illness, workers' compensation, and operator absence behavior was reviewed (8,9). The results of these reviews are summarized in the following paragraphs.

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Although research on transit employee absence has only recently received attention within the U.S. transit industry (10,11), a substantial body of foreign literature points to significant occupational risks that influence employee attendance. Results of this research indicate that transit operators appear to be more susceptible to health disorders such as heart disease and back problems than a variety of control groups. Occupational stress also appears to be directly related to absence from work. Transit operators are prone to illnesses that result in the use of sick leave, turnover, and early retirement. Some absences are probably induced by operator efforts to avoid stress on the job. Although injury-on-duty rates have not been clearly linked to stress, it also appears rea-

sonable to expect an association between this work attendance outcome and stress.

An alternative model for explaining operator absence behavior is the income-leisure theory of workforce participation. This explanation posits that employers contract with employees, either explicitly or implicitly, for jobs with specified work schedules and wage rates. Some employees will accept jobs for which the hours of work exceed their preferences, given the specified wage. They will thus retain an incentive to consume leisure and thereby be absent from work. Even employees who accept a work schedule at a given wage may choose not to report on days when relatively more attractive alternatives are available. The attractiveness of alternatives is, of course, a function of both the work and nonwork situation.

Although the income-leisure and occupational stress explanations for absence behavior are quite different, they are not mutually exclusive. Four recent case studies of U.S. transit organizations (12-16) provide a rich source of information on the antecedents of employee absence from work. Multiple antecedents supportive of both the income-leisure and occupational stress explanations were isolated in each case study. The antecedents identified in these case studies are summarized in Table 1. Three general factors emerged as being of particular significance: (a) widespread availability of overtime pay, which has made the economic benefits of attendance at regularly scheduled work less clear; (b) scheduling inflexibility, which reduces the operators' opportunity to take time off when needed; and (c) occupational stressors, among them tight schedules, long hours, split shifts, poorly maintained equipment, difficult interaction with passengers, and threat of physical violence.

The research reported in the following paragraphs gives results of further investigations of these relationships within a sample of 21 California public transit agencies. Special emphasis was placed on the impact of scheduling provisions on employee health, attitudes, and behaviors.

## METHODS

Three survey instruments were developed and mailed to California transit agencies to obtain information about the basic issues addressed earlier. Two of the survey instruments, the extraboard and workers' compensation questionnaires, were directed to management and were completed by staff specialists in these areas. The third instrument, the transit operator questionnaire, was mailed in bulk to a designated agency representative for distribution to a stratified sample of transit operators.

### Extraboard Survey

The extraboard questionnaire was mailed to 21 agencies with approximately 50 or more operators; responses were received from 19 agencies. The questionnaire included 29 items in 3 general categories: procedures for managing the extraboard, extent of use of the extraboard, and general background information about the transit agency. The questions on procedures for managing the extraboard permitted open-ended responses that provided a great deal of insight into the nature and diversity of management practices in using the extraboard.

Additional information on extraboard practices was provided by a review of the labor agreements of participating agencies. Data from this source and from the survey were supplemented by results from a limited number of earlier studies on the operation of the extraboard (16-19).

### Workers' Compensation Survey

The workers' compensation questionnaire was mailed to the same 21 transit agencies that received the extraboard questionnaire. Usable responses were received from 14 agencies. The workers' compensation questionnaire was designed to provide information on agency policies and practices in the administration

TABLE 1 Summary of Concerns Expressed in Case Study Agencies

	Southern California Rapid Transit District	Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority	Orange County Transit District	Utah Transit Authority
Characteristics of absenteeism				
Polarized (i.e., some drivers having exemplary attendance, others extreme offenders)	X	X	X	
Clustered around weekends and holidays	X	X	X	
Major concerns				
Environmental				
Poorly maintained equipment	X	X	X	X
Threat of physical violence	X	X		
Too fast a pace/unrealistic schedules		X	X	
Unsafe working conditions		X		
Long hours or irregular shifts	X	X	X	X
Problems with passengers	X	X	X	X
Organizational				
Lack of peer pressure for good attendance		X		
Lack of pre-employment screening		X	X	
Negative interaction with supervisors	X	X	X	X
Easy availability of overtime	X	X	X	
Lack of discipline for high absenteeism	X	X	X	
Lack of incentives for good performance		X	X	
Feelings that management is unresponsive to driver concerns	X	X	X	
Individual				
Changing work ethic/workforce composition	X	X	X	X
Need for more leisure time	X	X	X	X
Lack of flexibility in schedule assignments	X	X	X	X
Family problems caused by schedule	X	X	X	X

of workers' compensation, and data on the extent, cause, and cost of on-the-job injuries. The questionnaire included 32 items in 6 categories: injury and loss experience, general workers' compensation policies, specific policies for cost control, specific programs developed to limit workers' compensation claims, information on equipment condition and policies, and general characteristics of the work force. Most questions were structured, requiring specific responses to a limited choice of options describing agency policies or practices. A few questions were open-ended, requesting a more detailed description of policies and practices. This information, supplemented by the results of other research studies, provided the basis for the analysis.

### Transit Operator Survey

Thirteen agencies participated in the transit operator survey. Each transit agency provided a seniority list of its operators. From this list, a random sample of 1,783 operators was selected. The sample was designed to provide a cross section of new operators, medium-term operators (e.g., with 1 to 5 years of experience), and longer-term operators. A total of 1,039 operators responded and returned completed questionnaires by mail.

The operator questionnaire included 118 items soliciting information on operator job characteristics and demographics; how well the operators' needs were satisfied by the job factors that were most important to them in bidding for assignments; extent of job exposure to unpleasant or hazardous conditions; frequency of certain desirable and undesirable job incidents; number of absences and general health conditions; degree of job satisfaction; feelings toward the organization; and job loyalty. Responses to these questions were tabulated and cross-tabulated to reveal relationships. These data were also compared with data from other research studies investigating operator attitudes and sources of job stress (20-29).

## RESULTS

### Extraboard Analysis

#### Methods for Determining Extraboard Size

Most California transit agencies use subjective or judgmental methods as the primary means for determining extraboard size, relying on past experience or historical absence rates. In several instances, however, agencies have used formal optimization models to determine extraboard size. The most commonly used formula was developed by Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Company (10,17,18). This formula defines the optimum size of the extraboard as the point at which the costs of nonscheduled operator overtime are balanced against the costs of guarantee pay for extraboard operators who are not used.

#### Allocation Inefficiencies

Subjective methods for determining extraboard size may result in extraboards that are either too large or too small. The industry-wide costs of these allocation inefficiencies have been estimated to be as high as \$50 million per year (17). Although transit managers acknowledge that as overtime becomes more available, employee absence rates will increase,

they tend to understaff the extraboard and rely on regular operators to work overtime. Management believes that this strategy costs less in fringe benefits and wages than would the addition of employees to the operator list. However, what actually occurs is that operators who are forced to work overtime are more likely to take unscheduled days off because their normal schedules have been disrupted and they are assured of a pay equivalent of 40 hr per week.

### Operational Problems

Several operational problems associated with extraboard scheduling were identified from the literature review and survey. Among these problems were the following:

1. Absence incentive. Caused by fixed levels of employee absence based on historical patterns being built into schedules and employees' awareness that replacements are available;
2. Dispatcher error. Caused by situations in which dispatchers rely upon or favor regular-day-off operators to fill open runs rather than extraboard operators;
3. Operator strain. Caused by employees working long and irregular hours;
4. Poor operator-passenger relations. Caused by lack of predictable operator assignments and service reliability problems; and
5. Low employee morale. Caused by extraboard understaffing and regular-day-off operators having to fill missed runs.

### Workers' Compensation

The analysis of workers' compensation was guided by a number of hypotheses developed from a detailed review of the literature. These hypotheses assessed the effects of a variety of factors, among them public policies, organizational and management policies, and equipment design and maintenance, on variations in workers' compensation claims and associated costs.

#### Claims Experience

Workers' compensation claims in California transit agencies appeared to be extensive, but well within levels reported elsewhere in the transit industry (10,14). For 1981, among 14 organizations responding to the survey, 3,559 workers' compensation claims were filed for job-related injuries, averaging 37 claims per 100 operators. The average cost per claim, based on the aggregate actual payments, was \$1,519 or \$589 per transit operator in 1981. The operators in the study experienced 3.07 days lost per employee, with an average labor cost per claim of \$314.

#### Organizational Policies for the Control and Prevention of Workers' Compensation Claims

Many of the organizational policies recommended in the literature for preventing claims and minimizing cost had already been implemented by the transit agencies participating in the study. Among these policies and preventive programs were preemployment medical screening, analysis of data on accidents and losses, and programs for controlling accidents and

litigation. For the most part, these and other agency policies were not significantly related to higher or lower frequency, cost, and severity of workers' compensation claims. The absence of significant associations, however, could not be interpreted as a lack of efficacy of prescribed policies because there was relatively little variation in these policies among organizations in the sample.

#### Public Policies

The analysis contained no direct assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of existing workers' compensation law or policy. The survey of management opinion did, however, reveal that public policies were perceived to be the dominant reason for current workers' compensation problems in transit agencies. The most significant problems identified were liberal interpretation of the law, fraudulent claims, and the medical diagnosis process. These findings mirror those of other recent research on workers' compensation, and suggest that policies external to the organization may offset internal attempts to effectively control the rising incidence and cost of workers' compensation.

#### Equipment Design and Maintenance

The survey indicated that while one-third of all workers' compensation claims originate from equipment, most transit organizations had no means for evaluation of potential liabilities that stem from different equipment designs. Lower workers' compensation experience was found in those transit agencies that evaluated vehicle specifications before purchase and in those agencies that reported a smaller percentage of the fleet out of service. These results from the workers' compensation survey corroborated results from open-ended comments on the operator survey. The most frequent complaint from operators about the working environment involved equipment conditions. The following comments from operators illustrate this complaint:

I got hurt driving a bus with very hard steering. I kept writing it up on defect code, but the buses are never fixed. As a result, I hurt my back.

We need better designed buses with orthopedic seats for the driver. That will help cut down on injury to the back and tailbone.

We have to drive old buses. Some are over 20 years old, drafty, noisy...leak water on the driver when in motion.

#### Operator Job Stress

One thousand and thirty-nine operators from 13 transit agencies responded to the survey. Information was obtained on operator demographics, work schedules, job-related attitudes, job behaviors, and health. A majority of the respondents were male, high school graduates at minimum, married, between 30 and 50 years of age, and earning between \$1,000 and \$2,000 per month. Forty-seven percent of the operators surveyed were white, 29 percent were black, and 16 percent were Hispanic. Most respondents were regular operators who had been working for their current organization for more than 5 years. Single and multifactorial analyses revealed

no systematic differences between regular and extra-board operators, or between operators employed by different transit agencies. The data were, therefore, collapsed across these factors.

#### Job Attitudes

Operators indicated the degree of satisfaction they felt toward various aspects of their jobs by choosing one of seven points on a scale ranging from very dissatisfied at the low end to very satisfied at the high end. Tabulated responses indicated that, in general, operators were slightly satisfied with their jobs and were at the midpoint of the scale (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied) on organizational commitment and on job involvement. Attitudes regarding the transit agency (e.g., organizational satisfaction, organizational commitment, and membership commitment) were lower, on the average, than attitudes regarding the operator's role. This finding suggests that organizational components (e.g., bidding and sick day policies, route lengths) may function as sources of job stress for transit operators.

Most of the demographic and job characteristics were not associated with job attitudes. The exceptions to this were age (with older operators reporting more positive attitudes) and education (with more educated operators reporting poorer job attitudes). In addition, married operators and operators on the job less than one year exhibited more positive job attitudes. Job attitudes appeared to be more strongly determined by external factors (e.g., environmental stress factors) than by internal factors. Environmental stressors, job risks, and employee abuse all had negative impacts on operator attitudes.

#### Health

The most commonly reported health problems were fatigue, insomnia, and back pain or stiffness. Generally these symptoms occurred about one to four times per month. Surprisingly, younger operators reported more frequent problems than older operators. Married operators reported fewer problems than either single or divorced operators. The only other demographic variable to distinguish health problems was sex: female operators reported more problems than males.

#### Job Behaviors

Absence due to illness was measured by two questions--one measuring the number of days absent during the previous year, the other measuring the number of occasions absent during the previous year. The mean value of days absent was 10.7 (standard deviation = 27.02) and the mean value of occasions absent was 3.34 (standard deviation = 6.67). The standard deviation for these measures suggested a substantial variation of absence rates across operators. Operators reported few miss-outs in the 3 months before completing the survey (mean = 0.55). Similarly, few operators that responded reported filing workers' compensation claims in the last year (mean = 1.24, with 1 = no claims and 2 = 1 claim). Performance errors in the last month (e.g., traffic accidents, customer complaints, rule violations) occurred infrequently (mean = 1.32, where 1 = never and 2 = once or twice a month).

#### Factors Affecting Stress

In terms of exposure to environmental stressors (e.g., pollution, noise, dangerous equipment), the

responses indicated that some exposure occurred, but not to a great extent. For job risks (e.g., risks of disease, personal attack, and traffic accidents), exposure was more common than for environmental stressors. Rewards for performance (e.g., compliments, recognition of good service) were reported to occur a little over once or twice per month (mean of performance errors = 2.21 with 2 = once or twice and 3 = about once a week). Employee abuse from passengers (e.g., verbal abuse, passenger refusing to pay a fare) occurred with about equal frequency (mean of job abuse = 2.20 with 2 = once or twice and 3 = about once per week).

#### Schedule Needs and Satisfaction

Operators were asked how important certain schedule characteristics were in their choice of work assignments. A parallel set of questions asked how much the operators' current schedule satisfied their needs for each characteristic. From these two sets of questions, discrepancy scores were calculated that indicated whether operator needs were either exceeded or unmet by current work assignments. A relatively large percentage of operators indicated that their needs were exceeded in the following areas: pay (26 percent), overtime (31 percent), and variety in assignment (35 percent). However, operator responses reflected significant unmet needs for safety (49 percent), better fit between work and home schedule (45 percent), ability to schedule non-work interests (40 percent), and convenience of eating and restroom facilities along their line (38 percent).

#### Predictors of Job Attitudes

Environmental stressors, job risks, employee abuse, and most of the positive discrepancy scores were negatively related to attitudinal outcomes. Job rewards, however, had a slight positive relationship with attitudes. Multiple regression analysis revealed that, of these, environmental stressors and employee abuse were the strongest predictors of job attitudes.

#### Health Predictors

As expected, the frequency of health problems increased as negative job attitudes and job behaviors increased. Regression analysis showed that environmental stressors and employee abuse were the strongest predictors of health problems. These findings shed some light on why younger operators report more health problems; if younger operators have less chance of obtaining desirable routes, then it follows that their increased exposure to environmental stress on the undesirable routes would lead to more health problems.

#### Overtime Work

Operators who received less overtime than preferred expressed a greater likelihood of leaving the organization. Operators who indicated an oversupply of overtime work also reported a significantly greater likelihood of leaving. These operators also filed workers' compensation claims more frequently.

#### Scheduling and Nonwork Interests

Conflicts between nonwork interests and assigned work schedules were significantly related to a range of attitudinal, health, and behavioral outcomes.

Unmet needs in combining work and family schedules, getting the right days off, and scheduling nonwork interests were, in general, associated with lower job attitudes, higher intent to leave, more health problems, and higher levels of employee absence.

#### Managerial Implications

The large number of factors influencing absenteeism in transit precludes simple solutions. Furthermore, because some of the causes appear to be occupational in nature, radical changes may be necessary in order to make significant strides in reducing absenteeism. Research on the subject leads to the conclusion that a strategy composed of at least six elements is necessary to deal successfully with absenteeism in transit.

#### Evaluation of Operator Staff Levels

Because of the improvements in operator staffing that a few organizations have achieved by evaluating the size of their extraboard, it is expected that similar assessments might contribute to successful changes elsewhere. The logical approach to such an evaluation would be for transit agencies to apply one of the optimization formulas currently available.

#### Development of an Extraboard Monitoring Program

Although an evaluation of the optimal size of the extraboard may help to eliminate allocation inefficiencies, it will not resolve many of the operational problems associated with extraboards. Some of these problems, such as disruption of regular operator-passenger relations, are inevitable. There is some value, however, in developing a monitoring program that would provide the organization with information about these operational problems. As part of the monitoring program, performance data related to extraboard operations, such as employee absence, service reliability, and dispatcher performance, should be collected and reported regularly. These data, which might be reported separately for regular and extraboard operators, could be gathered in conjunction with current organization-wide or route-specific data collection activities.

This type of monitoring and reporting system could have several uses. It could serve as a warning system to indicate when allocation inefficiencies occur in staffing. Because the equilibrium between the costs of nonscheduled operator overtime and the costs of guarantee pay for extraboard operators who are not used may be disturbed by unexpected events, the system would need to be reviewed regularly. The monitoring program would facilitate accomplishment of this objective and would also help assess whether inevitable problems associated with extraboard operations would stay within accepted boundaries. A monitoring program could be used to develop operating standards and to evaluate their attainment. As an outgrowth of the development of standards, the monitoring system could also be used for goal-setting and for managerial performance reviews.

A performance monitoring system already being used by the San Francisco Municipal Railway (18) is a good example of such a program for assessing extraboard operations. The performance measures monitored under this program include

- Unscheduled overtime,
- Missed service hours due to no operator,
- Guarantee pay hours (extraboard operators who

- are surplus, and report operators who do not catch out on a run),
- Absenteeism (sick leave, miss-outs, and industrial leave), and
- Percent of optimum extraboard achieved.

Using this program, and the standard management-by-objectives method, targets for MUNI are established for each quarter, and results are reported and evaluated.

#### Development of Methods for Decreasing Workers' Compensation Liabilities Stemming from Equipment

Initial and continuing review of workers' compensation liability associated with equipment designs appears to be the single most important area for management action. A number of steps could be taken to improve performance in this area. One step would be to involve workers' compensation and safety specialists in the preparation of vehicle specifications and evaluation of bids. Although the involvement of these specialists would appear to be an important risk management activity, it is apparently not widely practiced by California transit agencies. Their involvement in equipment purchase decisions would help to prevent procurements that perpetuate current liabilities and would broaden the perspectives and criteria against which equipment purchases are judged.

Another step would be to communicate the needs for risk management of equipment designs to industry and government organizations, such as the American Public Transit Association (APTA) and the Urban Mass Transportation Administration (UMTA). These particular organizations have, in the past, had significant influence on bus designs. The advanced design buses are a product of cooperation between these and other organizations. Although some risk management aspects of vehicle design can be controlled by an agency that procures vehicles, this issue also needs to be recognized by UMTA and APTA guidelines conveyed to potential suppliers.

Involvement of employees in the assessment of equipment-related liabilities may be another means of reducing workers' compensation costs. Obtaining feedback from employees about current or proposed equipment is often an efficient method for isolating problems.

Given the large proportion of compensation claims that are equipment-related, there would appear to be advantages for analysis of the etiology of such claims. This type of analysis would be useful for isolating the precise causes underlying particular types of claims. In turn, the results could be used to develop remedial action (e.g., operator training, equipment redesign). These analyses could be conducted either by in-house professionals trained for such special studies or by consultants for those cases in which existing personnel cannot perform an analysis and the claim costs are expected to be reduced sufficiently to cover the additional fees.

#### Monitoring and Controlling Dysfunctional Overtime

Although optimal extraboard staffing may reduce dysfunctional overtime (e.g., amounts of overtime that result in employee turnover or physical strain), it is unlikely that this procedure will eliminate it. Thus, it might be useful for transit agencies to develop means for monitoring and controlling excessive overtime. Payroll reporting systems could easily be modified to call the appropriate manager's attention to large amounts of

overtime. If after study by management or joint labor-management committees these amounts of overtime are found to have dysfunctional consequences, then changes in the labor contract would probably be needed. Among changes labor-management committees could consider is allocation of overtime as a reward for good attendance so that it becomes an incentive for reducing absence.

#### Increasing the Variety of Work Schedules Available for Bid

As they are presently designed, the work schedules available for bid appear to be quite satisfactory in meeting employees' needs for pay, overtime, and stability and variety of assignments. However, large numbers of employees find their work schedules inadequate for satisfying other types of needs, such as the fit between their schedule and their family's schedule. These results and open-ended responses suggest the prospect for increasing schedule suitability by increasing the different types of work schedules available for employee selection when work is bid. For example, types of schedules could be designed that provide more leisure time each week, more break time each day, and more integration between work and nonwork pursuits. Among the scheduling options that might increase suitability for a large number of employees are the following:

1. Four shifts per week or 9-hour shifts with an extra day off every second week. This option would give employees more leisure time. In order to become feasible, this plan would require the redefinition of premium pay in most labor agreements.

2. Building more break time into schedules. The research clearly revealed operator concerns about the lack of lunch breaks or rest stops. Such breaks could be built into schedules and both employee health and job attitudes would improve in the long run. Whether these breaks were paid or unpaid could be negotiated, but because they meet expressed needs of employees, the assumption is that, within limits, they would be unpaid.

3. Integrate split shifts with nonwork activities. A 1982 study of Swedish bus drivers (23) suggested that employees who could not get home during the break in a split shift usually had no meaningful use of that time. Although one solution to this problem is to limit the proportion of split shifts, another is to expand opportunities for conversion of the break time between split shifts into meaningful pursuits. This might be achieved by locating garages near recreational and adult education resources, creating multipurpose ready rooms that would house recreational and educational activities, and permitting operators to return home during breaks.

4. Permit employees more flexibility to schedule absences upon sufficient advance notice. Scheduling research suggests that anticipated absences are considerably less costly than unanticipated absences. Few transit organizations have taken advantage of this fact by developing scheduling practices that accommodate employee needs for greater flexibility.

#### Reduction of Sources of Strain in the Job Environment

This is perhaps the area that permits the broadest scope of labor-management action, but also the area for which the recommendations are most tentative. The tentativeness of these suggestions rests on two observations: First, the employees' perceived en-

vironmental stress may actually be produced by the job and not by the environment. For example, tight schedules rather than the environment may be the cause of passenger abuse; therefore, any action taken to lessen passenger abuse would probably be ineffective if the ultimate reasons underlying this source of environmental stress were misunderstood. Second, the costs and benefits of certain potential solutions are uncertain, and the costs associated with some solutions are quite high. For example, operators would be safer if security personnel were assigned to each bus, but the cost of this recommendation may be prohibitive.

Having expressed these reservations, there is nevertheless a general strategy that transit agencies might consider implementing while other solutions are being generated: initiate actions that will increase employee perception of the supportiveness of supervisors, the reasonableness of organizational policies, and the central role of employee needs and desires in union-management interaction. Although certain aspects of the urban environment may be immutable (e.g., crime and violence), how operators perceive the job environment and cope with environmental stressors is, to some extent, a function of social support for the operator. The survey findings consistently indicate that many operators find sources of social support in their job environment to be deficient. Operators frequently expressed feelings such as these: supervisors only see them to criticize, rarely to give praise or ask about their concerns; organizational policies are stacked against them (e.g., the customer is always right, the operator always wrong); any suggestions for improvements from operators are unheeded; management and union leaders have lost sight of the workers' needs and desires.

This research, supported by other studies of operator attitudes and job behavior (21,23,26), points to the need for substantial improvement of the quality of first-line supervision as a way of reducing operator stress and strain. Attention should also be directed toward programs that will increase the operators' ability to deal with passenger demands (29). Actions that alter the elements of the job environment and thereby reduce the operators' feelings of alienation and increase feelings of supportiveness can positively affect the whole range of employee responses thereby reducing the impact of job strain and associated health problems and improving job commitment and performance.

#### CONCLUSION

The results of this broad assessment of employee absence in transit indicated that extraboard scheduling, workers' compensation policies and practices, and operator job stress are important influences on absenteeism. Although employee absence is the product of a complex set of variables related to the areas investigated in this study, it is only partially understood by researchers and practitioners. Although transit organizations pursue multifaceted programs to reduce absenteeism, further basic and evaluative research is needed on this critical productivity issue.

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