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SERVICES

Improving the Quality of Passenger Services:
A "Bottom Up" Approach to Research and Management

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QUALITY OF PASSENGER SERVICES

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"It's hard to sell,
and it's hard to buy train tickets"

this is a statement by one of a number of railroad ticketing clerks who were observed and interviewed during a year-long research project on the "quality" of passenger services in public transport organizations. The statement captures two essential points:

1. it mirrors the perception of poor service quality that most of us, the media, and the public seem to associate with what public service employees ("die Beamten"), do. "It's hard to buy train tickets".
2. it reminds of some real problems about the "quality of work-life" - job demands and work conditions that are typical for low-level service work at service windows, counters, information booths, in bus and railroad-car aisles. These are problems which are not prominent in discussions of the performance of public organizations. But any user of public services, with just a little attention, can get a sense of why "it's hard to sell train tickets".

These are not trivial issues from an economic perspective either. The financial performance, for example, of railroads is significantly affected by the motivation and efficiency with which ten thousands of service clerks perform their duties. Their productivity affects the organization's COST. The service image, attractiveness, and specific experiences by passengers and potential passengers affect travel choices and hence the REVENUES of the organization.

The idea for a research project on what quality in the mass-delivery of services by the employees of public service organizations is, what might be done for its improvement, came from a feeling that the economic and social relevance of quality of public services is not sufficiently recognized. The administrative and managerial approaches to designing and controlling service quality do not always seem adequate.

The "Product Attribute" Notion of Service Quality

Independent of the degree of awareness and sophistication that management applies in approaching issues of service quality, their understanding and handling of such issues parallels quality management in industrial firms.

When certain TOLERANCES of what has been defined as regular service in bureaucratic regulations and standard operating procedures are violated, management will intervene (Klaus 1991, footnote 1). This represents a simple

"post facto" quality control system. Violations typically relate to delays beyond specified margins, deficiencies in the cleanliness of equipment and facilities, outright rudeness by employees.

More advanced transport organizations - such as many airlines - have elaborate lists of service quality STANDARDS. The idea is to define and preventively control the service product according to precise quantitative and qualitative specifications, like some physical good coming off a production line (Crosby 1979; Le vitt 1976; Hostage 1975).

In sophisticated transport marketing and econometric demand analysis, correspondingly, COEFFICIENTS representing specific quality ATTRIBUTES have been employed. With the help of quantifiable coefficients not only directly observable aspects of service quality, such as average waiting times, in-vehicle times, availability (Spady and Friedlander 1978) are considered, but even inferred attitudinal and perceptual data (Domencich and McFadden 1975, Hausser and Simmie 1980).

Several common, not normally recognized assumptions and implications about these approaches to capturing and defining "service quality" should be noted. These assumptions are that the quality of passenger transport services, as embodied in specifiable "attributes", "standards", or "tolerances"

can be MEASURED OBJECTIVELY, independent of individual service employees and users, and independent of specifics of time and location, (such as physical properties of a manufactured product),

is TECHNOLOGICALLY determined, i.e. that quality attributes are uniquely defined by the organizational processes and conditions of production, (such as an appliance, mass-produced on an automated production line),

PREDICTABLY AFFECTS the users of the service (such as as vehicle speed affects the passenger's actual in-vehicle time).

The managerial implications of the "product attribute" notion of quality are that

service quality is an organizational OUTPUT variable, not fundamentally different from service quantity;

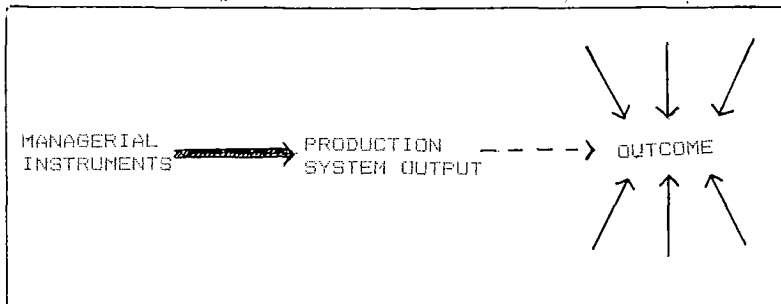
by managerial manipulation of the service production technology and production inputs, quality can be fully CONTROLLED,

intended changes in quality should be thought of in terms of optimizing a TRADE-OFF between production cost-efficiency and output-quality.

The thrust of managerial and political efforts to improve the performance of public transportation, consequently, has been directed toward internal SYSTEMS PROCESSES AND SYSTEM OUTPUTS by increasing the efficiency of the system, while meeting selected technologically and managerially defined quality standards (exhibit 1). Recommendations to management for dealing with service-quality, consequently, focus on issues of precisely specifying "optimal" service-quality, and how to establish tight, "top-down" organizational planning and control mechanisms for the consistent and efficient delivery of the service-"product." The user's role is limited to occasionally supplying data in market surveys that may enter the organization's service-quality definition.

There has been relatively little concern with the user's PERCEPTIONS and EXPERIENCES in specific service performances - i.e. with the OUTCOMES of service quality - that depend on individual and situational factors, many of which are EXTERNAL to the service system.

Exhibit I: Managerial Focus on Service System Output



Towards an Alternative Notion of Service-Quality

Recent research (Langeard et al. 1981) and everyday experience suggest, however, that services are produced, delivered, and consumed in INTERACTIONS between the user and the organization. Of special importance are the FACE-TO-FACE ENCOUNTERS between the low level employees of the service organization and the clients. The low level service clerks are the "public face" of large service organizations.

The following considerations arose from the author's doubts that the "product-attribute" notion of service cannot adequately capture what this human face of service organizations is like and how it is perceived. Nor can it provide a conceptual basis for managerial change interventions that allow to significantly improve "quality" in or public services as an outcome.

service quality is not only the output of a technologically determined production process, but is also affected by a COMPLEX SET of procedural, individual, and contextual determinants, most of which

are OUTSIDE of the service organization's direct control,

perceived service-quality by passengers is not only a cause affecting opinions and travel choices. It is the result of INTERACTIVE processes. CHOICES made, BEHAVIORS engaged in, and opinions also AFFECT the passenger's quality assessments.

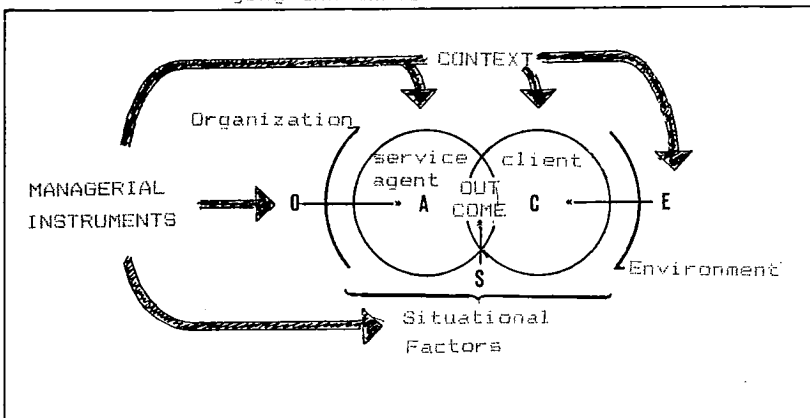
Service quality is not measurable by a set of static, objective "product" attributes, because it is the result of a SUBJECTIVE, SITUATION-DEPENDENT EXPERIENCE of the passengers from the interaction with the service organization's agents;

The implication of this notion of service-quality to management is that

organizational efforts for tight quality controls, investments into the STANDARDIZATION and RATIONALIZATION of the service through automated devices, and PROGRAMMING of service behaviors may NOT yield DESIRED RESULTS, but

improvements in service quality require to MANAGE THE CONTEXT of the service situation (exhibit II).

Exhibit II: Managing the Service Interaction Context



The Research Project

The research project was based on the assumption that a different approach to research and management of public transport services may lead to fresh insights and potentially more effective managerial interventions. The issue of quality in services was studied from the "bottom up". The primary unit of analysis was the service interaction - most often occurring as a "face-to-face" encounter between employees of the transport organization and the passenger. What happens in these ubiquitous encounters, what experiences the agents and passengers make,

and how these experiences are related to behaviors, personality characteristics, and pertinent physical, organizational, and social conditions were the questions explored.

A study of railroad ticketing operations was conducted as an example of such interactions in a public transport setting. Extensive participant observation and other qualitative research methods were employed at three stations each of AMTRAK, the American passenger railroad organization, and the DEUTSCHE BUNDESBAHN, over a period of a year. In addition, a statistical study of 300 specific service encounters was done, using questionnaire responses from interacting service clerks and passengers, and recordings of their behavior.

In the remainder of this paper three parts of the study are presented that, hopefully, convey a sense of the conceptual approach, the empirical findings, and the implications for the management of service quality in real public transport organizations.

First, an overview of the conceptual model that helped to structure and guide the research is given. Secondly, some specific research findings are reported that seem particularly relevant. Finally, a scenario of how a passenger railroad might implement ideas for the improvement of service quality is sketched out.

A "BOTTOM UP" APPROACH TO RESEARCH IN SERVICE QUALITY

To study service quality "bottom up" means looking for the FINAL results from the perspective of those people who participate in the service. Such results are

the performance of INSTRUMENTAL actions, such as moving the passenger from point A to point B,

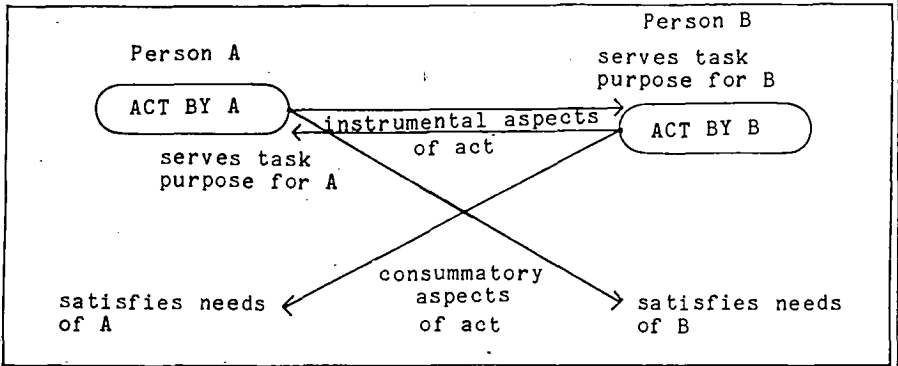
the performance of CONSUMMATORY actions such as displaying friendliness and following the "ceremonies" of polite social interaction in order to satisfy the passenger's needs for affection and status-recognition.

Based on a conceptual model from social psychology (footnote 2) where the study of "dyadic interactions" is a central issue, the "interaction framework of service" that is graphically displayed in exhibit III was developed to structure the investigation. This framework provides a perspective on service interactions and a notion of service quality that goes beyond the "product attribute" and also beyond a purely subjective - and therefore hardly practical - "consumer satisfaction" notion (Hunt 1977) of service quality. It considers BOTH service employees and service users. It analyses quality as SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCES AFFECTING OBSERVABLE BEHAVIOR at the interaction level and takes into account the SITUATION-DEPENDENCY AND INTERRELATEDNESS of actions and perceptions between two individuals.

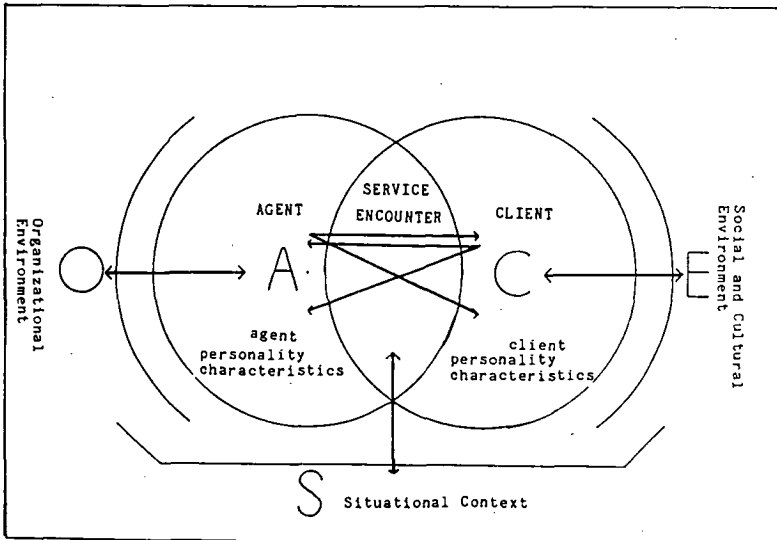
Graph a) in exhibit III represents the elements of a dyadic interaction. It shows a fundamental insight adopted from social psychology research that "quality" in the

Exhibit III: The Interaction Framework of Service

graph a) elements of a dyadic interaction



graph b) the service encounter and its context



interaction can not be achieved and sustained unless both the passenger and the service clerk achieve instrumental and consummatory purposes with the interaction. In the research, hence, two important questions were:

what are the instrumental and consummatory purposes from both participants' perspectives?

what leads to actions by each participant in a service encounter that are instrumental and consummatory to the other participant?

In order to stake out an area to be researched for potential DETERMINANTS of how an encounter evolves and to what extent it serves mutually instrumental and consummatory purposes, the framework is complemented by a set of circles and brackets (exhibit III, graph b) that symbolize those areas where determinants might be found:

the INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS of the service clerk and the passenger,

the ORGANIZATIONAL and SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT that influences and constrains each of them,

the SITUATIONAL CONTEXT of place and time that affects them.

SELECTED RESEARCH FINDINGS

"Quality" in face-to-face service encounters, hence, was defined for the purposes of the research project as the Gestalt of instrumental and consummatory actions performed between the service employee and the client, and of the experiences that the participants make in the course of the interaction.

The "Pyramid" of Quality

This is a rather formal definition, empty of managerially useful content. It does not tell what it is that motivates a clerk to do an efficient, high quality job and that makes a passenger feel "well served" when he walks away from a service encounter. When does this feeling occur that makes him come back with greater probability, makes him gradually change his negative prejudices about the public transport organization and recommend the service to others, and maintain support as a taxpayer and voter for the service organization? This is what management is interested in.

The research showed, that there are SEVERAL dimensions to be considered in order to understand what "good quality" means to an individual participating in a service encounter. The dimensions identified are interrelated in a way that can be depicted as a "pyramide of quality" (exhibit IV):

"TASK ACHIEVEMENT", representing the INSTRUMENTAL purpose of the service. From the passenger's perspective this tells, e.g. whether he got the

right ticket and information he wanted, from the clerk's perspective it tells whether he sold the ticket efficiently, with no troubles and extra effort:

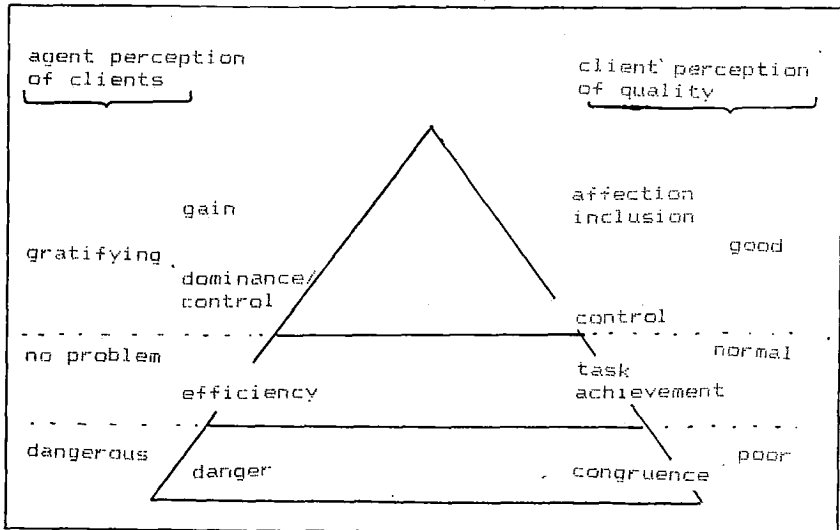
"CONGRUENCE", representing the adequate completion of SOCIAL CEREMONIES and the maintenance of reciprocity in the interchange (Gouldner 1960). For example, was the passenger greeted according to his expectation on what amount of deference he is entitled to, did he reciprocate the clerk's greeting by expressing sufficient attention and courteousness to the clerk, in turn?

"SATISFACTION", representing the FULFILMENT of the basic interpersonal PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS of control, inclusion and affection (Schutz 1967) relative to expectations. E.g, did the passenger feel sufficient control (not being dominated) in the conversation, was he paid attention to as an individual, was there a glimpse of friendliness and warmth?

An experience of good quality in a service encounter depends on the degree to which a client has positive experiences with respect to each of the consecutive "layers" in the pyramid of quality. This is illustrated by four simple examples:

1. When there is not even minimal "congruence" in the encounter it will be rated "poor" or a "non-encounter", and neither task-achievement nor, of course, "satisfaction" can be positive.

Exhibit IV: The Pyramid of Quality



This is the case of "breakdown" interactions like
 Passenger(P): "excuse me, what track does the train to ..."

Clerk(C): "can't you see I am busy!"

2. The next level of quality is the interaction where there is some basic congruence, but still not task achievement:

P: "I'd like to make a reservation on the X-train"

C: "I can't make reservations here. Go to window 14, please".

3. If there is minimal congruence AND task achievement, we have the "normal", "no problem", bare-bones service encounter which most passengers and other clients of large service organizations have come to accept as the standard way of dealing, and which de facto - if not necessarily according to some exhortations by top management and marketing staff - is the level of quality that most management of public service organizations seems to manage for:

P: "One-way to Newark, please"

C: (passing ticket): "\$ 2.50".

There is no violation of congruence from most people's perspective, and the job is done in this example. But there is no more. The research has shown that most people, in fact, don't EXPECT more, and therefore don't express any dissatisfaction at this level of service quality (footnote 3).

4. Genuine experiences of "good" service quality are perceived when there is something extra BEYOND expectations, which usually means beyond minimal congruence and task achievement. For example, the interaction

P: "One-way to Newark, please"

C: "That's \$ 2.50. Your train leaves on track 14.

Just turn right when you leave the ticketing area, and have a good trip. Sir"

provides several "unexpected extras" to an unfamiliar passenger:

a piece of useful information he did not ask for,

a sense of consideration that makes him feel wanted and cared for.

an expression of deference ("sir") that confirms his status and offers him an opportunity to present himself in a favorable way, maybe by responding with a smile and some compassion

P: "thank you very much".

The notion of a "pyramid" of service quality in service encounters reinforces three basic findings from the research:

quality is NOT equivalent to task achievement alone;

quality arises only from some CONGRUENCE between the participants' behaviors;

good quality is a SITUATIONALLY determined, contingent phenomenon. It depends on a certain relationship between expectations and actual behaviors, both of which depend on the specific individuals and situational context (footnote 4).

Some managerial implications of the situational, multi-layered notion of service quality were mentioned in the introduction: It is unlikely that quality can be managed via industrial managerial instruments and techniques that focus on the production process and output (compare exhibits I and II). Rather, there is a necessity to incorporate a much broader array of variables that affect the service situation and are affected by the service situationen at the same time. Only when the relevance of "congruence" and "satisfaction" is acknowledged, and when conditions are created that allow for congruence and satisfaction by the passenger AND the service employee to develop, substantial improvements in service quality may materialize.

The understanding of service quality as a subjective and situationally "contingent" phenomenon leads to an exploration of potential CONTINGENCIES of "good" quality in the research.

The Content of the Encounter

One of the most interesting contingencies of quality that was discovered in the research is the CONTENT of the encounter.

Two distinct types of encounters were identified: "obstacle" and "genuine service" encounters.

OBSTACLE encounters are those that are not associated with any IMMEDIATE PURPOSE from the passenger's perspective. In terms of the interaction framework of service (exhibit III a) they lack the "consummatory" component. To a railroad commuter who knows every aspect of his daily routine trip, the purchase of a ticket is a pure obstacle that is placed in his way but does not provide any direct benefit. He has to pass it, however, in order to fulfil his purpose of getting from his home to work. Obstacle encounters can be identified by the kind of response they imply. Just like a "closed, rhetorical question" they allow for one response only. When the passenger asks "One-way to Newark, please!" there is no other response than exchanging the ticket and money.

"SERVICE encounters", on the other hand, have some purpose in themselves. They offer an immediate benefit to the passenger. Service encounters have the character of "open-ended" questions that allow for many kinds of answers. For example, getting a competent answer to "what is the cheapest way to get to ...?" is of immediate value to the

passenger, as is the satisfaction of the passenger's need for self-confirmation.

Results from this research as well as from other work (Czepiel-Greiler 1978), and observations from everyday life (footnote 5), prove that there is a relationship between the content of an encounter and the resulting assessment of quality.

"Obstacle" encounters do not offer the opportunity for "good" quality - getting up to the "satisfaction" level in the pyramid of quality - even when they are conducted smoothly and quickly. They only contain a downside risk of annoying the passenger when there is delay, poor task performance, or a lack of congruence in ceremonial behaviors.

"Service" encounters offer the opportunity for poor AND good quality assessments, "breakdown" and "satisfaction".

The implication for management is that "obstacle" encounters should be avoided in the design of services by eliminating them or combining them with genuine "service" contents. The "bracketing" of the service process into a series of face-to-face, "face-to-machine" encounters and waiting periods needs to become a major consideration to the management of service organizations. If obstacle encounters cannot be avoided by "re-bracketing" the service process they should be made as unobtrusive and quick as possible. Here is a legitimate use for automated and self-service devices.

The Service Mode

Further insight into the contingencies of good service quality was gained from the research by observing the behaviors of various kinds of service clerks. Statistically significant differences showed between individual characteristics of service clerks, their most frequently employed behaviors, and resulting quality assessments.

Clerks with long seniority operate most frequently in a "people processing" (Protzas 1978) mode. This mode is characterized by uniformity and parsimoniousness of behaviors and personal detachment of the clerk from the passenger. Service encounters in a people-processing mode RARELY lead to "BREAKDOWNS" and very poor quality assessments. But at the same time they do NOT allow for GOOD, satisfactory encounters. People-processing precludes "inclusion" and "affection" to be felt by the passenger and involves rigorous control of the service interaction by the clerk.

Younger clerks, particularly if male, often operate in a different mode which is called "spontaneous server". Their behaviors change frequently according to the situation, their mood, and the type of passenger encountered. When they are distracted from the passengers currently waiting (for example by "backstage" conversations with their colleagues), when they are in a bad mood, or when they inappropriately approach passengers in a fraternalizing manner, poor quality assessments result. In other instances, however, they manage to hit the right tone ("congruence") and develop genuinely

personal, unbureaucratic, friendly, encounters with passengers that result in very good quality assessments.

The research revealed that the content of an encounter and the service mode employed by the clerks are often interrelated. Obstacle encounters are more often conducted in a people-processing mode and genuine service encounters in a spontaneous service mode. Clerks - by the way they open the encounter and by the "facts" they employ - quite effectively manage to REDEFINE the CONTENT of the encounter in a way that suits their preferred service mode.

The Tensions in Service Work

This observation lead to the question what it is that makes the employees of large public service organizations, over long periods, prefer "obstacle" encounters and a "people-processing" mode of behavior. The finding - summarized very briefly - was that the work of serving the public "face-to-face" involves a set of tensions that is very hard to cope with from the clerks' perspective.

There are organizational demands for efficiency and uniformity in how they perform their jobs. Severe ORGANIZATIONAL SANCTIONS are imposed when a clerks "gets in trouble" with passengers by causing formal complaints. On the other hand, there are very little prestige, appreciation, and few rewards available for low level service clerks.

If they want some confirmation about their competence, self-worth, and importance, they can only get it from those people who they spend with most of their time - the clients. The SOCIAL REWARDS from clients provide a powerful incentive for service clerks to try to serve them well. But in the time-pressed, constantly changing situation of service encounters, it also requires them to take risks in attempting to guess clients' preferences, taking more than minimal time for encounters, and deviating from bureaucratic norms of uniformity in order to be helpful and unbureaucratic.

Clerks are in a no-win situation between demands from their organization and their desires to gain social rewards. The incentives - harsh organizational penalties for violations of organizational norms versus elusive social rewards for providing genuinely "good" service - inevitably seem to lead to a the resolution of becoming "people-processors" and defining service encounters as "obstacles": clerks, over their occupational "career" (Van Maanen and Schein 1977) learn to view passengers as object-like "lines" and "work-material" to be processed. They acquire tactics for discouraging passengers to ask open questions in order to reduce any disturbances of an efficient, unvolving service routine. The mental "decoupling" for the purpose of reducing the conflicts in service work also extends to the clerks' behaviors towards the organization: rules and regulations that are supported by organizational penalties are only obeyed "ritually" (Meyer and Rowans 1977).

The implications for management from what has been learned about different service modes are unsettling. Attempts to manage quality by increasing controls and pressure over the service clerks' work increase the tendencies towards "people processing" and redefining service encounters as "obstacles" which is defeating the purpose of improving service quality. But complaints about poorer service quality tend to make management apply still more controls and routinization.

The notoriousness of large public service organizations and their employees for poor service quality is closely related with management's inability to break this vicious circle. Only when the need for some discretion, flexibility, and sufficient resources at the bottom level of the service organization, where passengers are met face-to-face is acknowledged, fundamental changes may materialize.

APPLYING THE FINDINGS

The practical implications of these and other findings from the research about face-to-face service encounters are illustrated in a more integrated, if necessarily speculative way, at the example of railroad ticketing operations. The following scenario shows a possible way of organizing the ticketing operation for better service quality in passenger services, without compromising efficiency.

Ticketing by itself is a massive "obstacle" to most passengers because passengers primarily want to travel to some destination. It provides immediate benefit only to those passengers where a genuine "service" need is fulfilled with the ticketing encounter, or when the ticketing clerk is willing to provide some extra benefit to the passenger by behaviors that satisfy interpersonal psychological needs.

Most passengers do not feel they "get anything" out of ticketing but delay and hassle. Therefore the ticketing function should be joined ("re-bracketed") more directly with the "benefit" of transportation. One way of accomplishing this is to move ticketing on board of the trains. Each train might be equipped with a designated "reception-lounge" car or compartment where there is an appropriately furnished waiting area and the ticketing clerk's working station. Passengers, after boarding the train, pass the clerk who sells tickets or checks tickets and passes that passengers already may have.

If many passengers are boarding at one station, the wait that becomes necessary is perceived as less of a hassle to the passengers because he is on board and moving towards the destination while waiting. The encounter with the ticketing clerk is no longer PURELY an obstacle. The number of people waiting at a time, in any event, will be smaller aboard the train than in a crowded station. This allows for "congruence" and "task achievement" to improve and reduces the pressure on the clerk to work in a "people-processing" mode. If clerks can be assigned to jobs on specific trains

at specific times recurrently, chances for more personal acquaintances with regular passengers are also increased. The clerk, finally, will be more competent about questions coming up on a specific train (which most of the time have to do with this particular train's connections, schedule, and fares), than he can be with regard to the unlimited variety of questions coming up at big city station windows.

Furthermore, the establishment of the on-board entrance area offers opportunities to improve and expand services in various other ways. Wide entrance doors and comfortable steps, a self-service baggage storage area may be placed there as well as a vending-machine area and special facilities for handicapped people, WITHOUT creating the problems of supervision that exist in conventional multiple-entrance door trains.

The awkward, blatant "obstacle" of on-board ticket control encounters with conductors - that otherwise is part of the service experience with a passenger railroad - can be eliminated, probably, offering personnel efficiencies as well. With the establishment of a single, unobtrusively controlled on-board entrance area that all passengers automatically pass, there is no need for additional checking. In addition, this arrangement allows for easy ways to collect continuous traffic statistics about train usage, type tickets, etc., that otherwise are difficult and costly to attain.

The ticketing offices at stations would become widely dispensable. They may be replaced by more generous reception, information, and pre-sale, pre-boarding facilities, offering genuine "service" to travelers who need help. Since only a fraction of travelers - those not familiar with the station, the schedules, or having some special service request - will have to use these facilities, they will require fewer staff and still be less crowded. The atmosphere and service pace at these reception facilities will be determined by "service" encounters rather than by the "processing" of ALL passengers who have to get a ticket.

No claim is made with regard to the feasibility and implementability of the suggestions and ideas offered above. Railroads, like many other public and private enterprises, operate under multiple constraints of scarce resources, legal limitations, union agreements, and a burden of attitudes and traditions from their long institutional histories. This study suggests that service organizations and service quality should be managed "from the bottom up", i.e. starting from a thorough understanding of the OUTCOMES from service encounters that constitute a service experience. Many determinants of quality are elusive, highly variable, and originate OUTSIDE of the organization. This makes it difficult for top management to manage changes quickly and directly.

Under such conditions the implementation of improvements in service quality will be tedious and frustrating. However, the character of large transport organizations that operate through multiple facilities also

offers advantages. Individual, small service units, such as single stations and trains, may be used to experiment and learn without having to make system-wide changes at once. A degree of integration of managerial functions at the level of service units that already exists there informally may be legitimized with relative ease in order to create small, personally supervised centers of responsibility for service OUTCOMES. This is an advantage large, integrated industrial organizations often do not have.

A "bottom up" approach is promising for research AND management in public transport organizations.

FOOTNOTES

1. This paper is based on the author's doctoral dissertation "Face-to-face service encounters. The issue of quality in the mass-delivery of services by public service enterprises," Graduate School of Management, Boston University, Boston Mass., 1983. No further reference is made to data and arguments presented there in detail.
 2. Social psychological theories of dyadic interactions from which the terminology is adopted are summarized in Weick (1979).
 3. An interesting research result not discussed here is that passengers respond to "satisfaction surveys" in a benign manner when service does not violate their modest expectations. Management may be misled into self-complacency and believe that there is not room for improvement due to this phenomenon.
 4. The "good" quality dialogue cited above would appear highly artificial and meaningless to a commuter who has gone through this routine many times.
 5. The idea to investigate different contents of service encounters came from ticketing clerks who complained to the author "just look at people when they have to wait at the supermarket checkout - nobody complains. But when they have to wait at the ticketing window they get mad." In this case the encounter with the cashier is NOT perceived as an obstacle, because it offers a clear benefit to the consumer - it is equivalent to making the purchase that IS THE PURPOSE of visiting the supermarket.
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