Michael R. Solomon, Carol Surprenant, John A. Czepiel, & Evelyn G. Gutman

A Role Theory Perspective on Dyadic Interactions: The Service Encounter

This article proposes that the dyadic interaction between a service provider and a customer is an important determinant of the customer's global satisfaction with the service. Based on role theory, a theoretical framework is presented which abstracts some of the critical components of service encounters across industries.

RESEARCHERS interested in service marketing are beginning to understand *what* they are studying, but they are not yet clear *how* to study it. As Bateson (1977) said, "The service marketing literature generally has been concerned with listing the differences between services and products. There has been little attempt to point out the implications for marketers in service companies and even less of an attempt to propose new concepts or approaches" (p. 14).

Service marketing refers to the marketing of activities and processes (health care, entertainment, air travel) rather than objects (soap powder, cars). Rathmell (1966) made a similar, fundamental distinction in defining goods as objects and services as deeds or efforts. There are still considerable differences of opinion within the marketing discipline as to whether products and services are fundamentally distinct (Bateson 1977; Judd 1964; Lovelock 1980; Uhl and Upah 1983; Wyckham, Fitzroy, and Mandry 1975). Most attempts to differentiate the two on one or more dimensions ultimately arrive at a continuum (Bell 1981, Liechty and Churchill 1979, Rathmell 1966); products are arrayed at one end, services at another, and there is considerable overlap between the two. This would seem to indicate that while services marketing may not be unique, a focus on the marketing problems predominantly present in this sector may enable us to broaden our horizons and, in fact, contribute to improved marketing concepts applicable to both goods *and* services.

One of the consequences of the recent interest in service marketing is the increased recognition of the importance of the person-to-person encounter between buyer and seller—client and provider—to the overall success of the marketing effort. Many service situations, especially those termed "pure" services, are characterized by a high degree of person-to-person interaction: consulting services, hairdressing, and medical services, to name a few. Recognition of the importance of the encounter is especially relevant in those situations where the service component of the total offering is a major element of that offering. This is so regardless of whether the core element of the offering is a material good or a service.

In mixed product/service offerings, the importance of the encounter—the person-to-person inter-

Michael R. Solomon is Associate Director, Institute of Retail Management, and Assistant Professor of Marketing; Carol Surprenant is Assistant Professor of Marketing; John A. Czepiel is Associate Professor of Marketing; and Evelyn G. Gutman is a doctoral student; all are at the Graduate School of Business Administration, New York University.

Journal of Marketing
Vol. 49 (Winter 1985), 99–111.

action between buyer and seller—is often overshadowed by a focus on the more tangible product attributes, and the customer's more enduring interaction with the product itself. In pure service situations where no tangible object is exchanged, and the service quality itself is difficult to measure (financial planning, health care), customer satisfaction and repeat patronage *may* be determined solely by the quality of the personal encounter. That is not to say that the encounter between an industrial salesperson and industrial purchaser is not similar to personal service encounters; it is. To the extent that the interaction with the salesperson is an element in the total offering, the encounter is important and, in fact, constitutes a *service* encounter.

However, it is primarily in the service sector that the dyadic encounter[1] has generated a great deal of managerial concern. The ideas presented are particularly relevant for people-based services (legal and other professional services), rather than equipment-based services (automatic teller machines, direct mail, insurance). It can, of course, be generalized to any marketing situation in which personal interaction is an important element of the total offering. For our purposes, *service encounter* will be used to indicate face-to-face interactions between a buyer and a seller in a service setting.

Two quotations by service marketing managers reported in *Advertising Age* (Knisely 1979) highlight the managerial importance of service encounters this way:

> In a service business, you're dealing with something that is primarily delivered by people—to people. Your people are as much of your product in the consumer's mind as any other attribute of that service. People's performance day in and day out fluctuates up and down. Therefore, the level of consistency that you can count on and try to communicate to the consumer is not a certain thing.
>
> The real intangible is the human element which, with the best will in the world, most of us cannot control to anywhere near the same degree that a product manager controls the formulation of a beauty soap, for example (pp. 47–51).

Thus, the service encounter itself occupies a central place in much of service marketing. It impacts on service differentiation, quality control, delivery systems, and customer satisfaction. The centrality of this service component warrants a substantial theoretical focus.

To an extent, all service personnel involved in customer contact are marketers. Each individual represents the firm, defines the product, and promotes it directly to the consumer (Shostack 1977). Given its centrality to the service offering and its variable nature, the service encounter is a worthy if difficult topic to study. This paper presents a conceptual framework by which person-to-person service encounters, whether delivered in conjunction with a tangible product or not, can be understood and analyzed.

The conceptual framework presented is adapted from a social psychological perspective on human interaction. The service encounter is approached as a special case of the more general class of goal-oriented dyadic interactions. Any encounter is assumed to contain learned and consistent behavior patterns; each participant should enact certain behaviors in order for the transaction to proceed smoothly. It will be argued that the degree of congruence with this learned pattern or "script" by *both* the service provider and customer is an important determinant of satisfaction with the encounter. Thus, the focus is on the *interdependence* of both individuals. Each depends upon the other to make the interaction run smoothly (cf. Kelley and Thibaut 1978).

Relevant Perspectives

Service Encounters Are Dyadic

The transaction or exchange is a cornerstone of any marketing activity, yet few researchers have adopted it as the basic unit of analysis. As noted by Pennington (1968), one party to the transaction tends to be studied in isolation. The traditional approach to the salesperson-customer exchange, for example, is to view sales success as determined by the seller's job satisfaction (Cotham 1968), motivation (Oliver 1974), or ability (Ghiselli 1978). Some workers in this area have questioned the simplistic nature of a model based on only one participant, and have recognized the dyadic quality of personal selling (Sheth 1975, Webster 1968, Weitz 1981). This belated recognition was presaged 20 years ago by Evans, who maintained that "The sale is a social situation involving two persons. The interaction of the two persons, in turn, depends upon the economic, social, and personal characteristics of each of them. To understand the process, however, it is necessary to look at both parts of the sale as a dyad, not individually" (Evans 1963, p. 76).

The interactional emphasis employed here highlights the overlooked importance of the service encounter as a psychological phenomenon that exerts a major impact upon outcomes. This is consistent with the approach of Lutz and Kakkar (1976) who have recognized the importance of the psychological situation and the adoption of a process model to understand behavior. They propose a model incorporating situation, decision processes, and social exchange. Similarly, we propose that the fusion of two people

[1]Not all service encounters are simple dyadic relationships. Some may involve a series of dyadic interactions, while others are still more complex and involve a number of different actors.

in a service setting is greater than the sum of its parts. Given such a conceptual framework, it will be possible to design research by which the elements of satisfying and nonsatisfying encounters can be identified. It is proposed that these elements will overlap with dimensions of human social interaction that have been shown to exert influence in other classes of goal-oriented behavior.

This approach is influenced by work on the dynamics of both face-to-face encounters and group activity. It stresses the mutuality of behaviors (cf. Thibaut and Kelley 1959) and acknowledges that a service encounter is a form of social exchange in which participants normally seek to maximize the rewards and minimize the costs of the transaction (cf. Homans 1961). It is also assumed that it is at some point feasible and desirable to measure units of behavior, and to assess their contribution to the quality of eventual outcomes (cf. Bales 1950).

The study of the service encounter is also influenced by prior theoretical developments on dyadic interactions in the marketplace. These perspectives have usually centered upon the personal selling process (Evans 1963, Sheth 1975, Willett and Pennington 1966, Wilson 1977). For example, Sheth makes a relevant distinction between two interaction dimensions: the *content* versus the *style* of communication. The latter dimension recognizes the centrality of ritualistic behavior patterns in shaping the outcome of the buyer/seller interaction.

The ability to identify mutually satisfying factors in encounters will be helpful in the design of services, in the setting of service level standards, in the design of service environments, in the selection, training, and motivation of service providers, and in guiding customer behaviors. This approach suggests that the manager look to find ways to channel both provider and customer behavior if satisfaction with the encounter is to be maximized.

Service Encounters Are Human Interactions

At a superficial level the acts of ordering a meal, obtaining a car loan, making plane reservations, or picking up a suit at the dry cleaners appear to have little in common. At a social psychological level, however, all of these incidents are conceptually similar: Each act is a purposive transaction whose outcome is dependent upon the coordinated actions of both participants. As is the case in many types of dyadic interactions, one cannot predict the quality of outcomes with knowledge of only one actor's behavior. Instead, much of social behavior consists of joint activity—a major task for the interacting person is the *mutual coordination* of appropriate behavior vis-à-vis the other person (Thibaut and Kelley 1959).

Communication between a service provider and a customer is interactive; it is a reciprocal process rather than a linear one. The service experience which distinguishes one service organization from another is a result of the unique interaction between the experiencer and the contact person (Booms and Nyquist 1981). Since the success of a particular service vendor rests on the quality of the subjective experience, the nature of this experience is the critical determinant of long run market success. Facilities may be spotless and the service delivered on time as ordered—but if the customer leaves with a negative impression from the attitude of an employee, other efforts may be overlooked.

Although providers often behave as if they act *on* a static consumer, it is imperative to understand the consumer's participatory role in assigning meaning to marketing stimuli (Booms and Nyquist 1981). Indeed, it is more accurate to think of the service provider as acting *with* the customer. While marketers often emphasize short run indices of seller effectiveness, this perspective may be especially myopic in the service sector (Czepiel 1980, Schneider 1980). Schneider cites three examples of this myopia: Bank tellers' evaluations depend more on how they "prove out" at the end of the day than on the courtesy they display, airline reservation clerks are judged more on paperwork errors than on the goodwill they generate, and the short-term dollar volume generated by insurance salespeople is weighed more heavily than is success in establishing long-term interpersonal relationships. While indices such as accuracy and sales are clearly important, the point here is that other criteria relating to personal service should also be included in evaluating service personnel. To reiterate, the quality of the subjective product—the service experience—is the true outcome of a service interaction. This product is manufactured by *both* parties and must be approached as such. To paraphrase an old Zen saying, we know the sound of two hands clapping; what is the sound of one hand clapping?

Service Encounters Are Role Performances

A distinguishing feature of service encounters as a class of human interaction is the purposive, task oriented nature of the interaction. Specific short-term goals are clearly defined and agreed upon by society (procuring airline tickets, depositing a check). Due to this consensus, ritualized behavior patterns evolve which govern the course of the encounter. Each party to the transaction has learned (albeit with differing degrees of facility) a set of behaviors that are appropriate for the situation and will increase the probability of goal attainment. Each participant has a role to play; the script from which he/she reads is often strictly defined.

This socially-defined structure renders provider/

client interchanges especially amenable to a role theoretical analysis of the service encounter. Role theory, of course, is not new to marketing. Constructs adapted from role theory have been used to explain consumer behavior, especially with regard to expectation formation (Sheth 1967). The major areas in which the theory has been applied are in personal selling, role portrayals in advertising, and husband/wife decision making (see Wilson and Bozinoff 1980 for a comprehensive review of role theory in marketing).

A role theoretic approach emphasizes the nature of people as social actors who learn behaviors appropriate to the positions they occupy in society. Although the "actors" in a service setting may be very different individuals in their leisure time, they must adopt a relatively standardized set of behaviors (i.e., read from a common script) when they come to work or enter the marketplace. In fact, people are often defined by the service roles they play. When an individual is labelled nurse, clerk, or cab driver, one is able to generate a profile of this person based on the characteristics which are believed to covary with this title. The pervasive tendency to "fill out" one's knowledge of a person, given observation of religious, political, or occupational characteristics, is well-documented in the literature on person perception and "implicit personality theory" (cf. Tagiuri 1969).

This implicit structure is not confined to the service provider. The recipient of the service also plays a role. The customer/client role is composed of a set of learned behaviors, a repertoire of roles; the particular script which is read depends upon the demands of the specific service environment and other situational cues (Lutz and Kakkar 1976). The customer role in an elegant restaurant involves very different actions than an appropriate role in a fast-food setting. It will be argued at a later point that the root cause of many provider/client interface problems is the failure of participants to read from a common script. First, it is necessary to briefly introduce some of the basic concepts of role theory as they are relevant to an analysis of the dyadic service encounter.

An Overview of Role Theory

Role theory is based on a dramaturgical metaphor. The study of a role—a cluster of social cues that guide and direct an individual's behavior in a given setting—is the study of the conduct associated with certain socially defined positions rather than of the particular individuals who occupy these positions. It is the study of the degree to which a particular part is acted appropriately (role enactment) as determined by the reactions of fellow actors and observers (the audience). Since one aim in the intangible service environment is to provide consistent service at an acceptable level across individual service providers, this perspective seems particularly fitting (Grove and Fisk 1983).

Each role that one plays is learned. One's confidence that one is doing the right thing leads to satisfaction with a performance (termed role validation) and success in interacting with others who are, of course, also playing their respective roles. One's role specific self-concept is formed by the reactions of others to the quality of one's role enactment. Some roles are more central to the individual than others (e.g., *Lover* versus *Golfer*). The self also can be thought of as a system of identities to which one is more or less committed (Jackson 1981), where commitment to a role implies a concern that one's role enactment be convincing (Sarbin and Allen 1968). Self-concept related to a role constitutes a role identity (McCall and Simmons 1966).

The concern that one be competent in performing a role is applicable in a service setting. If the service provider's occupational role is relatively salient in the self-concept, commitment to the effective performance of that role should be strong; giving good service will matter. In addition to the basic motivation to perform competently (White 1959), desire to perform a service role well should also be a function of group (i.e., company) cohesiveness. Service personnel are members of an organization; group membership brings with it a responsibility to act in accord with prescriptions that define one's position in the group (McCall and Simmons 1966), especially when this position is valued by the group member. For both of these reasons, the issue of morale as it impacts upon service can be viewed as a question of commitment to a role identity.

For both provider and consumer, the successful enactment of even the most basic service scenario involves the mastery of a wide range of behaviors. On the provider side, this learning process is often explicit. It may take the form of a training program or perhaps an apprenticeship to an accomplished role player. On the other hand, the consumer's burden is at times explicit (e.g., the elaborate directions for filling out forms and reporting to various offices when dealing with bureaucracies such as the Department of Motor Vehicles), but it is more typically implicit. Regardless, there are always behaviors which may come automatically to a veteran but which demand great cognitive activity by the novice. Anyone who recalls the adolescent apprehension over "doing the right things" on one's first solo outing to an expensive restaurant can attest to this (how to talk to the waiter, what to order when the menu is written in another language, how much to tip). The heuristic value of this approach is probably maximized in situations involving the execution of well-learned behaviors that

possess a high degree of social consensus as to appropriate and expected actions. Many routine service transactions fall in this category.

In the case of a person's encounter with either a novel situation or one perceived as warranting active problem solving (i.e., a high involvement situation), this perspective may still be useful. Though its explanatory power at the molecular level of behavior may be diminished, role theory can still be employed to specify *molar* orientations. It seems likely that the occupant of a novel role who has not yet developed a script specific to that role (promotion to a new job, one's first experience in dealing with an interior decorator or a lawyer) will attempt to employ an existing script similarly structured. Alternatively, he/she will use an idealized script that has been internalized through vicarious socialization. Thus, one may assign the role of *Lawyer* to the larger category of *Authority Figure*, and act deferentially—much as one would act with other known representatives of this category, such as *Physician* or *Teacher*. Or one might approximate behavior based upon expectations derived from TV, movies, or books regarding how lawyers and their clients are supposed to act.

While the gaps in a novel script are filled in by accumulated experience, reference to an idealized script at early stages delimits behavioral options by establishing the parameters of possible activity; a subset is created from one's total behavioral repertoire. Vague role knowledge may not provide specific guidance for appropriate role behavior, but it may go a long way in advising one what *not* to do or say. For example, a person may not know exactly what to talk about with a member of the clergy, but one is probably aware of some subjects which should *not* be discussed.

Role Expectations

Role expectations are comprised of the privileges, duties, and obligations of any occupant of a social position (Sarbin and Allen 1968). These expected behaviors must always be defined in relation to those occupying the other positions in the social structure. It is important to remember that a role player's behavior is interdependent with the behavior of those in complementary positions. One's role conduct must take into account the role behavior of others. The totality of complementary roles—to a bank teller, for example, there may be customers, co-workers, head teller, and branch manager—is a role set (Merton 1957).

One important result of proper role socialization is the acquired ability to predict the behavior of other role players. In role theory terms, this is known as "taking the role of the other" (Mead 1935). This empathic process whereby the actor anticipates the other's expected role behavior allows the actor to gauge his/her own behavior to the predicted behavior of others (Rose 1962). Research in personal selling has demonstrated that the salesperson whose behavior is contingent upon the behavior of the customer is more effective than one who does not adjust behavior to meet the customer's specific needs (Weitz 1981).

These predictions are based on expectations for behavior implied in common meanings. For example, a customer who walks into a clothing store is communicating consideration of a buying transaction or at least wants to browse. This behavior allows the salesperson to initiate the actions which correspond to a sales role. The salesperson's approach would not have the same meaning outside the store as inside, though in both cases a stranger is initiating conversation and perhaps asking questions of a somewhat personal nature. Once the shopper enters the store, he/she adopts the role of customer and a role-defined dyadic interaction familiar to both parties may begin.

While consumers and providers have common expectations about appropriate role behaviors, these expectations differ among encounters and are moderated by provider/consumer characteristics and perceptions, and by production realities (Czepiel et al. 1982). Provider/consumer characteristics and perceptions about the encounter dictate which behaviors comprise a satisfactory interaction and can serve to differentiate offerings of the same type of service. For example, within a class of service encounters (e.g., buying clothing) the behaviors of the role players will differ as a function of the learned expectations within that specific setting; different behaviors are expected in J. C. Penney stores compared to Brooks Brothers stores. Production realities refer to the set of dimensions associated with production characteristics such as time factors, technology, location, content, and complexity, that constrain the encounter and help determine which role behaviors are appropriate.

The expectations held by each role player about appropriate behaviors are multidimensional. The concept of "bridging the gap . . . between the producers and the consumers with respect to values, perceptions, possession, time, and place dimensions of exchange" [transaction] (Sheth 1982) is relevant here. If the salient dimensions of the encounter are clear, appropriate role behaviors can be identified and evaluated (Czepiel et al. 1982).

Role Expectations Affect Performance

The concept of expectations is not new to marketing. The consumer satisfaction literature defines product satisfaction as a function of consumer expectations and perceived performances. The greater the negative discrepancy between expectations and performance, the greater the corresponding dissatisfaction (Churchill and Surprenant 1982; Czepiel, Rosenberg, and Akerele 1975; Swan and Coombs 1976). The view adopted

here is similar: Satisfaction with a service encounter is seen as a function of the congruence between perceived behavior and the behavior expected by role players.

It should be noted that this relationship has received empirical support in some studies on personal selling. In a study of differences between sold and unsold prospects for insurance, Riordan, Oliver, and Donnelly (1977) found that role congruence—the absolute difference between a customer's perceptions of actual and ideal insurance agents—emerged as a parsimonious discriminator between those who purchased a policy and those who did not. An earlier study which used a somewhat similar population found that successful agents fulfilled expectations concerning similarity, expertise, friendliness, and personal interest (Evans 1963). In addition, a study of interactions between wholesale drug salespeople and retail pharmacists showed that the degree to which seller behavior differed from buyers' role expectations of a drug salesperson was related to degree of supplier loyalty (Tosi 1966).

A consideration of role congruence in a service setting is actually a two-dimensional issue of intra-role and inter-role congruence. Intra-role congruence reflects the degree to which the service provider's conception of his/her own role is concordant with the organization's conception of that role.[2] Inter-role congruence is the degree to which provider and client share a common definition of service roles.

Intra-role congruence. The first part of the issue has been addressed by some workers in the area of personal selling. In this domain it comes under the rubric of role ambiguity. A lack of role clarity has been shown to be a major source of job tension, dissatisfaction, and reduced innovativeness as workers are unsure of the exact nature of role expectations (cf. Kahn et al. 1964). This factor has been demonstrated to mediate satisfaction for industrial salespeople (Ford, Walker, and Churchill 1976), managerial personnel (Oliver and Brief 1977–78), and retail salespeople (Dubinsky and Mattson 1979), as well as committee members (Bible and Brown 1963) and teachers (Bible and McComas 1963).

Role congruence is partly determined by dispositional characteristics (i.e., some people are just not suited to certain roles) and by past experience and amount of interaction in that role (Sarbin and Allen 1968). This may explain why there is less incongruence found in friend roles than in occupational roles (Block 1952).[3]

The amount of overt communication about role expectations is obviously an important mediator (e.g., feedback from sales managers to floor personnel regarding criteria for advancement, or the formulation of explicit criteria in academe for promotion and tenure). Since such communication flows are facilitated in cohesive groups, it is not surprising that greater role consensus is found in small organizations (Thomas 1959). Schneider (1980) has proposed that incongruence between the service orientation of employees who are probably self-selected to be "service enthusiasts," and the perceived orientation of management as "service bureaucrats" who care only about maintaining the system, engenders role ambiguity and conflict. This process in turn translates into dissatisfaction, frustration, and intentions to quit.

Inter-role congruence. The second type of role congruence is equally crucial: the degree of agreement between both parties involved in the service transaction regarding the appropriate roles to be played. A lack of clarity is likely to influence the efficacy of group or dyadic performance. At the least, the necessity of expending effort to predict an individual's behavior (which is obviated by congruent role enactment) decreases the time available to expend on task activities. Early group dynamics studies demonstrated this quite clearly. For example, the existence of an unclear group structure was shown to impede the ability to survive of Air Force crews under stress (Torrance 1954). In another study, confederates under instructions to remain silent in a group problem solving session decreased productivity, as other members were hampered by ambiguous role expectations. These detrimental effects were eliminated if the confederate was identified as a listener at the outset of the session (Smith 1957). In other words, group effectiveness depends upon each member understanding the role expectations of the other members so that each is clear about his/her *own* role expectations.

It seems likely that accurate mutual comprehension of role expectations is a prerequisite for a satisfying service experience. This joint assignation of roles probably occurs during the initial encounter and persists throughout subsequent encounters in the service

[2]An additional variant of this issue centers on the problems that arise when the role conceptions of co-workers do not overlap with those of management. For example, the informal peer group may be highly cohesive yet devote the bulk of its attention to social interaction rather than goal performance (Davis 1969). This situation is exemplified by piece-work operations where overzealous workers who exceed the quota are branded as rate-busters and ostracized by peers. While such disparities in role concepts possess important implications for productivity and morale issues, further delineation of what constitutes the organization's conception of a role is a complex matter and beyond the scope of this article. For our purposes management's role-definition is assumed to be dominant.

[3]The amount of experience in playing friendship roles which leads to greater role congruity may be confounded by the large degree of self-selection exerted in such roles relative to other roles.

environment. As in everyday person perception, the first impression is a pervasive one. The service customer seeks to reduce risk by looking for tangible signs of capability to deliver the service. As a result, the first time customer will be especially vigilant as he/she assimilates such environmental clues as the appearance and demeanor of the service provider (Booms and Nyquist 1981).

This initial labelling process can be thought of as role assignment or "altercasting" (Weinstein and Deutschberger 1963). The outcome of this process drastically affects the subsequent tone and content of the interaction. As one partner identifies a salient role (e.g., a friend prefaces advice with "as your lawyer . . ."), the complementary role of the other partner is simultaneously defined. A pompous suit salesperson calls forth a different customer role than the obsequious haberdasher who is eager to please. For instance, it seems likely that the customer will be more assertive about any idiosyncratic preferences in style or tailoring in the second case than in the first, where he/she may be more intimidated and/or submissive. It is important to note that the long-term effectiveness of each type depends upon the customer's expectations. To paraphrase a hotel chain's motto, there will be no surprises.

Role discrepancies. Problems arise when there is a discrepancy somewhere in the system. This inconsistency with expectations may be exhibited in one of two ways: (1) the employee's perception of job duties or qualifications differs from the customer's expectations of those duties, or (2) the customer's conception of the customer role differs from the employee's notion of that role.

This proposition can be illustrated by considering either of two extant taxonomies of marketing interactions. Both McMurry's (1961) classic continuum of personal selling and the breakdown in terms of employees' communication functions by Booms and Nyquist (1981) seem to share the recognition that the role requirements of employees can range from those of a virtual automaton to those of an equal partner vis-à-vis the customer.[4]

Consider the situation where the employee's role concept is at odds with that projected by the customer. An independent clothes shopper may resent the intrusion caused by the unwanted advice of a clothing salesperson who is regarded as a mere order taker. A counter clerk at McDonald's may not be prepared to make menu recommendations, or a waiter may brush off a patron with "not my station." A patient may resent an overly familiar manner in a doctor, and a doctor in turn may bristle at the patient who performs self-diagnosis.

In these examples it is clear that the role players are not reading from the same script. If the structure of service scripts is better understood, the transaction can be engineered for congruency, and there is a greater probability that a climate for service (Schneider 1980) will prevail.

The Service Script

A more precise analysis of the service script can perhaps be aided by recent developments in cognitive psychology. Although this area is in some ways far removed from the theoretical sociology of role theory, some cognitive psychologists also (perhaps coincidentally) rely on the heuristic value of the dramaturgical metaphor. Investigations of schematic information processing contain the assumption that much of social interaction is governed by learned assumptions regarding the course the interaction should take. The interface of psychology and artificial intelligence research has produced work on a priori plans or scripts. Abelson (1976) defines a script in this context as "a coherent sequence of events expected by the individual, involving him either as a participant or as an observer" (p. 33). Despite the differences in intellectual origin, this definition is quite compatible with the above discussion of role expectations.

If a script is thought of as a learned sequence of causal chains (cf. Schank 1980), it seems plausible to make the leap to service scripts (Smith and Houston 1983). This script would contain information about the role set—one's own expected behavior—plus the expected complementary behavior of others, and would reflect the individual's learned (or imagined) conception of the prototypical service experience. Information about a service encounter would be stored in different levels of memory[5] as a function of its degree of abstraction (Schank 1980). An illustration is provided by Schank's example of a "dentist script." Remembrances of specific visits to a dentist would be stored in Event Memory. Unless some truly unique event occurred ("I got a date with the receptionist"), this recollection would gradually be incorporated into Generalized Event Memory, a collection of events whose common features have been abstracted.

[4]McMurry's work is centered on personal selling, while Booms and Nyquist work in the area of service marketing. Though beyond the scope of this paper, it is interesting to speculate on where one area ends and the other begins. As an illustration, both approaches begin with order takers and end with positions involving the creative selling of intangibles (insurance salesperson).

[5]The notion of different levels of memory is no longer considered accurate. More properly, one would speak of differences in activation. However, as Bettman (1979) notes, a liberal interpretation of Craik and Lockhart (1972) can encompass an activation model and, using the terminology already in place, avoids the problem of defining new terms at length.

Knowledge like "going to a health professional's office," which is information about specific situations in general, would be stored in Situational Memory. Finally, goal-based information—a major component of a service encounter—would be stored in Intention Memory. This encoding process is depicted schematically in Table 1. It should be kept in mind that the dentist *also* possesses scripts corresponding to patient types (new patient, anxious patient).

Consumers can be thought of as possessing cognitive scripts for a wide variety of service encounters. Although a high degree of consensus can be expected across people regarding script components, a process-oriented approach must acknowledge the fluid nature of such a construct. A variety of variables will mediate the idiographic content of scripts. Most cultural expectations are for ranges of behavior rather than for specific microbehaviors. Some mandate variation rather than conformity, as with scientists or designers (Rose 1962). Expectations may change over time as a script becomes redefined, though acceptance of a new service script is probably facilitated by integration with the old one. As an example, the traditional gas station script included having one's car windows wiped. The revised version frequently no longer includes this act but retains other elements. A related example is consumer resistance to such new forms of transaction as the Universal Product Code, bank machines, and self-service gas stations (Lovelock and Young 1979). These changes involve the sudden learning of radical script changes.

Service Transaction—Mindless Behavior?

For the most part, routine service encounters take place in an almost automatic style with a minimum of cognitive activity. As an illustration, it seems likely that most people cannot accurately recall details of all the service interactions they experience in the course of a day (what a salesperson looked like, what happened when one bought a pack of gum). Like actors in a long running play, people in familiar situations often interact by rote with little conscious attention at the time and even less recall later. This tendency has been termed *mindlessness*; a person interacts with the environment in a passive fashion with a minimum of cognitive activity (Langer 1978). Research supports the idea that adults tend to spend a significant portion of time in a mindless state unless they are provoked into mindfulness (Langer, Blank, and Chanowitz 1978; Langer and Imber 1979). This provocation usually takes the form of an unfamiliar situation or perhaps embarrassment, a jolt back to reality. As long as the structure of a communication is familiar, regardless of its content, mindlessness appears to be the norm.

As long as the structure of a service script is followed, it may be deduced that the encounter is characterized by mindlessness. Any experience in a repetitive job, where one seems to lose time perspective and operate in a partial trance, will serve to illustrate this proposition. It can be argued that it is only when the experience somehow deviates from the service script that the participants are individuated and the situation takes on an affective valence. Suddenly, one must expend cognitive effort to orient behavior as the predictability of the role enactment is diminished. The result of this deviation may be either positive or negative. It is proposed that the jolt from mindlessness puts the customer in an evaluative set. Without this evaluation may not occur at all. Swan and Trawick (1978) found that for low involvement, frequently

TABLE 1
An Artificial Intelligence Approach to the Structure of a Dentist Script[a]

INTENTION MEMORY	HEALTH PROBLEM FIND PROFESSIONAL + MAKE CONTACT + PROFOFFICEVISIT
SITUATIONAL MEMORY	GO TO OFFICE + WAITING ROOM + ENTER OFFICE + HELP + LEAVE + BILLSENT
GENERALIZED EVENT MEMORY	Dentist visits include: —getting teeth cleaned—dentist puts funny tooth paste on teeth, turns on machine, etc. —getting teeth drilled—D does x-ray, D gives shot of novocaine, D drills, etc. also: Dentists fill the health care professional role in HEALTHCAREVISIT.
EVENT MEMORY	The time I went to the dentist last week: —I drove to the dentist. —I read *Newsweek*. There were holes in all the pictures. —I entered. —He/she cleaned my teeth. —He/she poked me in the eye with the drill. —I yelled. —The dentist didn't charge me.

[a]Adapted from Schank 1980, p. 263.

purchased goods, more than 50% of respondents did not recall forming any opinion at all about the product. There was no deviation from expectations, thus no reason to engage in the cognitive effort necessary to form an evaluation. When some deviation occurs, the customer attempts to discover the reason for the deviation. Sometimes the customer is pleasantly surprised (a bus driver may be unexpectedly courteous). Other events may be experienced negatively ("that woman didn't have to snarl at me when I asked her to wrap my package"). In general, it is proposed that extremes in evaluation (whether positive or negative) will only be experienced when some departure from expected role behavior is encountered and the abrupt cessation of mindless behavior necessitates active processing.

Predictability and Personalization of Service

Service marketers often find themselves on the horns of a dilemma: How to provide efficient, standardized service at some acceptable quality level, while treating each customer as a unique person? Paradoxically it may be argued that the customer often faces a similar conflict. There is a trade-off between the gain in personalization when one is treated as an individual and the loss in predictability as the guidance provided by role expectations dissolves. The circumstances which may give rise to both instances will now be briefly considered.

Negative Discrepancies

Under what conditions will a disruption of scripted behavior result in a subjectively negative experience? An answer may be found when a key dimension of role behavior is considered—level of involvement. Sarbin and Allen (1968) identify eight levels of role involvement along a continuum of self-role differentiation. At the low end is noninvolvement (a lapsed club membership) and casual role enactment (a customer in a supermarket). The level of ritual acting follows. This is a stage of relatively mechanical behavior, where the need to maintain behavioral consistency requires some involvement of the self. Examples include the waitress who puts on a big smile and the bank teller who inquires, "Is it hot enough today for you?" Engrossed ("heated") acting is the next level. The continuum ascends all the way to ecstasy and bewitchment, which might characterize situations where a consumer becomes totally engrossed in a product. Such extreme involvement may be found during the consumption of aesthetic experiences imparted by art, music, etc. (cf. Holbrook 1980; Levy, Czepiel, and Rook 1980). It seems likely, however, that most (though certainly not all) service encounters are rooted in the lower regions of involvement.

At the low end, minimal visceral participation is involved. It seems likely that a high premium will be placed upon efficiency and predictability. As anyone who has ever been frustrated by the blundering of an inexperienced fast-food employee knows, disruption of the routine, leading to slower service, usually results in a negative experience. Other workers have noted the tendency of clients to become aggressive toward a contact person when dissatisfied (Eiglier and Langeard 1977).

During low end service encounters, the treatment of customers as individuals and not as role occupants will probably not pay. Despite occasional promises to "have it your way," consistency and speed are the scripted attributes which are important and desired by the customer.

Positive Discrepancies

In contrast, the personal touch is desirable in other service situations. The assembly line nature of some medical clinics is seen as a major drawback, and one would certainly hope that a hair stylist would not use a prepackaged mold to cut one's hair. These represent situations of higher ego involvement; their greater centrality to the self results in the high intensity role enactment described as engrossment (Goffman 1961). In such situations we hope that the service provider treats us as a person instead of a number.

More Isn't Always Better

It may be postulated that satisfaction is positively related to predictability for low involvement services, and positively related to flexibility/personalization in the case of high involvement services. The point here is that greater personalization of services does not necessarily result in a more positive service experience. Instead the subjective outcome depends upon the unique demands of the situation. This differential also functions within a class of services. While we expect attentive service at a high priced department store, such attention would seem incongrous in a bargain basement. In a similar vein, an early study of the waitress-diner dyad showed that the optimal relationship varied with the standing of the restaurant (Whyte 1948). In better eating places, waitresses suppressed the desire to talk back to customers, and the formality of their behavior was positively related to the perceived status of the diner. On the other hand, in lower standard restaurants it was the norm for a waitress to put customers in their place. Waitresses who conformed to this norm actually received larger tips than those waitresses who acted a middle-class script and were respectful to their customers. Apparently conformity to the role expectations of the consumer is

rewarding, even if following the script results in objectively less desirable treatment. The crucial element for improving routinized service transactions may be to give the customer what he/she expects, with no surprises.

Implications for Service Marketing

Viewing service transactions from a role theory perspective has a number of advantages. Role theory compels us to adopt an interactive approach since roles are defined in a social context. Furthermore, appropriate role enactment is determined by the reactions of others. The quasi-ritualized nature of role behavior makes it possible to examine the structure and content of interacting roles apart from the specific individuals occupying the roles. Thus individual difference variables are seen as moderating factors rather than as determinants of behavior.

The concept of role expectations and predictability is an especially powerful one for understanding the nature of the service transaction. These expectations form the basis for service scripts. Using these concepts, deviations from scripted behavior can be examined for both positive and negative consequences. Deviations may occur because one of the parties to the interaction steps out of role, the participants do not share common role definitions, or because the actors are not reading from a common script. Whatever the reason, behavior that is unexpected reduces mindlessness and mandates increased cognitive activity, which results in a closer scrutiny of the service situation—for better or for worse.

Propositions

Using the concepts developed above, it is possible to derive a set of propositions which can be used to examine service encounters.

P1: *Service encounters can be characterized as role performances.*

The structure of the encounter is socially defined with associated meanings that guide and direct the behavior of the interactants.

P2: *Role behavior is ritualized, learned behavior.*

a. *The content of roles is relatively consistent across actors.*

This implies that a high degree of consensus should exist, across individuals, regarding the content of the roles. It should be possible then to discover the content of service provider roles, i.e., role definitions, and to extract the key elements.

b. *Facility in role performance is a function of experience and communication.*

From this proposition we would expect that novices in a service encounter would expend more cognitive effort than experienced role players. From an organizational point of view, we would also expect communication about role expectations to facilitate the learning of role behaviors and to mediate experience.

c. *Service scripts, containing information about the role set, are learned by both service providers and customers.*

Experienced role players should have more elaborate scripts than novices. Radical changes in the service script should encounter greater resistance from experienced role performers, since this involves discarding a reasonably efficient, well-developed script and learning a new one.

P3: *Role similarity is a potential basis for classifying services.*

If the key elements of service provider roles are extracted, it should be possible to categorize services in terms of role similarity rather than industry similarity. For example, a bank teller's role may have more in common with an airline reservation clerk's role than with that of a bank loan officer. Such a classification scheme would facilitate the development of general service principles underlying encounters.

P4: *Role behaviors are interdependent. The appropriateness of behavior is determined by others.*

For a service provider in a service setting, *others* include management, coworkers, and customers. Thus, the role player will adjust to the feedback received from all members of the audience. When these groups are not in agreement, we would expect role ambiguity to be high. Because role behaviors are interdependent, each player attempts to identify the other's role early in the interaction to facilitate prediction and also to adjust personal behavior accordingly. Thus, role assignment takes place early in the encounter and influences subsequent interaction. We would expect that the early stages of the encounter are more important to the ultimate success of the

interchange than are the later stages.

P5: *Congruent role expectations facilitate social interaction.*

a. *When customers and service providers read from a common script (high inter-role congruence), the encounter is more satisfying.*

b. *When service employees and the organization share common role expectations, role clarity and job satisfaction increase.*

Both of these propositions reflect the importance of the *shared* nature of the experience. Congruent role expectations enhance predictability and, hence, decrease the amount of effort which must be expended to complete the transaction. Predictability is most desired in services with low involvement. However, even for high involvement services such as education and therapy, role expectations exist and form a basis for prediction. The script for a visit to a therapist, for example, may include a great deal of variation and the therapist's behavior may not be totally predictable. This is because the role of therapist includes variability rather than conformity. If the patient's script calls for a supportive, nondirective type of behavior and the therapist presents "canned" solutions, inter-role congruence will be low and dissatisfaction is likely to be high. The degree of predictability needed will vary across service encounters, not the need for predictability. The subpropositions above imply that management must be wary of communicating inconsistent or contradictory expectations to employees on the one hand and customers on the other, regarding service levels, image, customer base, etc.

P6: *Discrepant role expectations decrease efficiency.*

When role expectations are discrepant from actual behavior, communication will be inhibited and productivity reduced. When role players read from different scripts, considerable confusion is likely to result and the encounter no longer follows a predictable sequence. This should result in increased dissatisfaction.

Future Directions

These propositions represent only some of the more fundamental relationships that can be derived from a role playing perspective. Many others could be generated and tested.

In addition to empirically validating these propositions, the discussion of role theory and service encounters gives rise to numerous other questions. A brief description may indicate some issues for future investigation.

At the beginning of this article it was necessary to delimit service encounters, considering only face-to-face interactions between a buyer and seller. To what extent do role theory concepts hold when we relax our definition of a service encounter? For example, do role expectations operate similarly when the interaction takes place over the telephone? Another interesting question concerns man/machine interactions. Most automatic teller machines appear to be programmed to simulate the role of a bank teller. Some even call the customer by name. Can we talk about a man/machine dyad? An ATM role? To what extent is a theoretical structure like role theory applicable in this situation?

Another direction for future investigation might well include polyadic interactions, those interactions which include multiple service personnel. One might hypothesize that interacting with several service providers (a maitre d'hotel, wine steward, waiter, and bus boy) could be studied as a series of dyadic interactions. An interesting question here would be how the customer integrates the experience. One possibility would be to use an averaging process. An alternative might be a lowest common denominator or weakest link model. Of course it is possible that the dyadic model is not appropriate for analyzing polyadic interactions at all. A group dynamic approach may be more suitable, particularly when the customer interacts with service providers as a group.

These examples illustrate only a few of the many areas in which the concepts presented could be extended. Other researchers could easily expand this list. Regardless of the particular route chosen, it is hoped that the concepts developed in this paper will stimulate further research.

Conclusion

Role theory and the related concepts developed here make it possible to consider both customer-service provider interactions as well as service provider-organization interactions. The emphasis is on the joint behaviors of the actors. The setting the organization provides, together with the implicit and explicit cues it gives service employees, helps to determine the content of the employee role which, in turn, has an impact on and is affected by the customer role.

Using a mid-range theoretical structure such as role theory to examine service encounters permits us to de-

velop general principles applicable in a range of service settings across individual role performers. It minimizes the need to treat each service encounter as a unique experience. Furthermore, the theoretical structure permits marketing researchers to integrate findings from other social science disciplines and to apply them in a service setting. Since control of the service encounter is a crucial area of managerial concern and a difficult task to accomplish, the perspective gained is important.

REFERENCES

Abelson, Robert F. (1976), "Script Processing in Attitude Formation and Decision Making," in *Cognition and Social Behavior*, John S. Carroll and John S. Payne, eds., Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bales, Robert F. (1950), *Interaction Process Analysis: A Method for the Study of Small Groups*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bateson, John (1977), "Do We Need Service Marketing?," in *Marketing Consumer Services: New Insights*, P. Eiglier et al., eds., Cambridge, MA: Marketing Science Institute, report no. 77–115, 1–30.

Bell, Martin (1981), "A Matrix Approach to the Classification of Marketing Goods and Services," in *Marketing of Services*, J. H. Donnelly and W. R. George, eds., Chicago: American Marketing.

Bettman, James (1979), "Memory Factors in Consumer Choice: A Review," *Journal of Marketing*, 43 (Spring), 37–53.

Bible, B. L. and E. J. Brown (1963), "Role Consensus and Satisfaction of Extension Advisory Committee Members," *Rural Sociology*, 28, 81–90.

——— and J. D. McComas (1963), "Role Consensus and Teacher Effectiveness," *Social Forces*, 42, 225–233.

Block, J. (1952), "The Assessment of Communication Role Variations as a Function of Interactional Context," *Journal of Personality*, 21, 272–286.

Booms, Bernard H. and Jody Nyquist (1981), "Analyzing the Customer/Firm Communication Component of the Services Marketing Mix," in *Marketing of Services*, James Donnelly and William George, eds., Chicago: American Marketing.

Churchill, G. A. and C. F. Surprenant (1982), "An Investigation into the Determinants of Customer Satisfaction," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 20 (November), 491–504.

Cotham, James C., III (1968), "Job Attitudes and Sales Performance of Major Appliance Salesmen," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 5 (November), 370–375.

Craik, Fergus and Robert S. Lockhart (1972), "Levels of Processing: A Framework for Memory Research," *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 11, 671–684.

Czepiel, John A. (1980), *Managing Customer Satisfaction in Consumer Service Businesses*, Cambridge, MA: Marketing Science Institute.

———, E. Gutman, M. Solomon, and C. F. Surprenant (1982), "A Contingency Approach to Understanding Service Encounters: Theoretical Inputs for Management Action," paper presented at the Workshop on Research into the Management of Service Businesses, London Business School.

———, L. Rosenberg, and A. Akerele (1975), "Perspectives on Consumer Satisfaction," *Proceedings*, Chicago: American Marketing, 119–123.

Davis, J. H. (1969), *Group Performance*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Dubinsky, Alan J. and Bruce E. Mattson (1979), "Consequences of Role Conflict and Ambiguity Experienced by Retail Salespeople," *Journal of Retailing*, 55 (Winter), 70–86.

Eiglier, Pierre and Eric Langeard (1977), "A New Approach to Service Marketing," in *Marketing Consumer Services: New Insights*, P. Eiglier et al., eds., Cambridge, MA: Marketing Science Institute, report no. 77–115.

Evans, Franklin (1963), "Selling as a Dyadic Relationship—A New Approach," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 6 (May), 76.

Ford, N. M., O. C. Walker, and G. A. Churchill, Jr. (1976), "The Psychological Consequences of Role Conflict and Ambiguity in the Industrial Sales Force," in *Marketing: 1776–1976 and Beyond*, K. L. Bernhardt, ed., Chicago: American Marketing.

Ghiselli, Edwin E. (1978), "The Validity of Aptitude Tests in Personnel Selection," *Personnel Psychology*, 26 (Winter), 461–477.

Goffman, Erving (1961), *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Grove, Stephen J. and Raymond P. Fisk (1983), "The Dramaturgy of Services Exchange: An Analytical Framework for Services Marketing," in *Emerging Perspectives in Services Marketing*, Leonard L. Berry, G. Lynn Shostack, and Gregory D. Upah, eds., Chicago: American Marketing.

Holbrook, Morris B. (1980), "Introduction: The Esthetic Imperative in Consumer Research," in *Symbolic Consumer Behavior*, Elizabeth C. Hirschman and Morris B. Holbrook, eds., Ann Arbor: Association for Consumer Research.

Homans, George C. (1961), *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*, New York: Harcourt.

Jackson, Susan E. (1981), "Measurement of Commitment to Role Identities," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40, 138–146.

Judd, Robert C. (1964), "The Case for Redefining Services," *Journal of Marketing*, 28 (January), 58–59.

Kahn, Robert L., Donald M. Wolfe, Robert P. Quinn, J. Diedrick Snoek, and R. A. Rosenthal (1964), *Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity*, New York: Wiley.

Kelley, Harold H. and John W. Thibaut (1978), *Interpersonal Relations: A Theory of Interdependence*, New York: Wiley-Interscience.

Knisely, G. (1979), "Greater Marketing Emphasis by Holiday Inns Breaks Mold," *Advertising Age* (January 15), 47–51.

Langer, E. (1978), "Rethinking the Role of Thought in Social Interaction," in *New Directions in Attribution Research*, J. Harvey, W. Ickes, and R. Kidd, eds., Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

———, A. Blank, and B. Chanowitz (1978), "The Mindlessness of Ostensibly Thoughtful Action: The Role of

Placebic Information in Interpersonal Interaction," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36, 635–642.
——— and L. Imber (1979), "When Practice Makes Imperfect: Debilitating Effects of Overlearning," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 2014–2024.
Levy, S. J., J. A. Czepiel, and D. W. Rook (1980), "Social Division and Aesthetic Specialization: The Middle Class and Musical Events," in *Symbolic Consumer Behavior*, E. C. Hirschman and M. Holbrook, eds., Ann Arbor: Association for Consumer Research.
Liechty, M. and G. A. Churchill, Jr. (1979), "Conceptual Insights into Consumer Satisfaction with Services," in *Proceedings*, Chicago: American Marketing.
Lovelock, Christopher H. (1980), "Toward a Classification of Services," in *Theoretical Developments in Marketing*, C. W. Lamb and P. M. Dunne, eds., Chicago: American Marketing, 72–78.
——— and Robert F. Young (1979), "Look to Consumers to Increase Productivity," *Harvard Business Review*, 57 (May–June), 168–178.
Lutz, R. J. and P. Kakkar (1976), "Situational Influence in Interpersonal Persuasion," in B. B. Anderson, ed., *Advances in Consumer Research*, V. 3, Cincinnati: Association for Consumer Research, 370–378.
McCall, G. J. and J. L. Simmons (1966), *Identities and Interactions*, New York: Free Press.
McMurry, Robert (1961), "The Mystique of Supersalesmanship," *Harvard Business Review*, 39 (March–April), 114.
Mead, George H. (1935), "Mind, Self, and Society," in *Works of Mead*, Charles W. Morris, ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Merton, Robert K. (1957), "The Role Set," *British Journal of Sociology*, 8, 106–120.
Oliver, Richard L. (1974), "Expectancy Theory Predictions of Salesmen's Performance," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 11 (August), 243–253.
——— and A. P. Brief (1977–1978), "Determinants and Consequences of Role Conflict and Ambiguity among Retail Sales Managers," *Journal of Retailing*, 53 (Winter), 47–58.
Pennington, Allan L. (1968), "Customer-Salesman Bargaining Behavior in Retail Transactions," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 5 (August), 255–262.
Rathmell, John M. (1966), "What Is Meant By Services?," *Journal of Marketing*, 30 (October), 32–36.
Riordan, Edward A., Richard L. Oliver, and James H. Donnelly, Jr. (1977), "The Unsold Prospect: Dyadic and Attitudinal Determinants," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 14 (November), 530–537.
Rose, Arnold M. (1962), "A Systematic Summary of Symbolic Interaction Theory," in *Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach*, Arnold M. Rose, ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Sarbin, Theodore R. and Vernon L. Allen (1968), "Role Theory," in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed., V. 1, Gardner Lindzey and Elliott Aronson, eds., Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
Schank, Roger C. (1980), "Language and Memory," *Cognitive Science*, 4, 243–284.
Schneider, Benjamin (1980), "The Service Organization: Climate is Crucial," *Organizational Dynamics*, 9 (Autumn), 52–65.
Sheth, J. N. (1967), "A Review of Buyer Behavior," *Management Science*, 13, 8718–8756.
——— (1975), "Buyer-Seller Interaction: A Conceptual Framework," *Proceedings*, Sixth Annual Conference, Association for Consumer Research, 382–386.
——— (1982), "Toward An Integrated Theory of Marketing," presentation given at the AMA Doctoral Consortium, University of Minnesota.
Shostack, G. Lynn (1977), "Human Evidence: A New Part of the Marketing Mix," *Bank Marketing* (March), 32–34.
Smith, E. E. (1957), "The Effects of Clear and Unclear Role Expectations on Group Productivity and Defensiveness," *Journal of Abnormal Sociology and Psychology*, 55 (no. 4), 213–217.
Smith, Ruth A. and Michael J. Houston (1983), "Script-Based Evaluations of Satisfaction with Services," in *Emerging Perspectives in Services Marketing*, Leonard L. Berry, G. Lynn Shostack, and Gregory D. Upah, eds., Chicago: American Marketing.
Swan, John and Linda Coombs (1976), "Product Performance and Consumer Satisfaction: A New Concept," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 13 (April), 25–33.
——— and I. Fredrick Trawick (1978), "Testing an Extended Concept of Consumer Satisfaction," in *New Dimensions of Consumer Satisfaction and Complaining Behavior*, Ralph L. Day and H. Keith Hunt, eds., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 56–61.
Tagiuri, Renato (1969), "Person Perception," in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed., V. 3, Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, eds., Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
Thibaut, John W. and Harold H. Kelley (1959), *The Social Psychology of Groups*, New York: Wiley.
Thomas, E. J. (1959), "Role Conceptions and Organizational Size," *American Sociological Review*, 24, 30–37.
Torrance, E. P. (1954), "The Behavior of Small Groups under the Stress of Conditions of 'Survival'," *American Sociological Review*, 19, 751–755.
Tosi, Henry L. (1966), "The Effects of Expectation Levels and Role Consensus on the Buyer-Seller Dyad," *Journal of Business*, 39 (October), 516–529.
Uhl, K. P. and G. D. Upah (1983), "The Marketing of Services: Why and How Is It Different," in *Research in Marketing*, V. 6, J. N. Sheth, ed., New York: Elsevier.
Webster, Frederick E. (1968), "Interpersonal Communication and Selling Effectiveness," *Journal of Marketing*, 32 (July), 7–13.
Weinstein, E. A. and P. Deutschberger (1963), "Some Dimensions of Altercasting," *Sociometry*, 26, 454–466.
Weitz, Barton A. (1981), "Effectiveness in Sales Interactions: A Contingency Framework," *Journal of Marketing*, 45 (Winter), 85–103.
White, R. W. (1959), "Motivation Reconsidered: The Concept of Competence," *Psychological Review*, 66, 297–333.
Whyte, William F. C. (1948), *Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
Willett, Ronald P. and Allan L. Pennington (1966), "Customer and Salesman: The Anatomy of Choice and Influence in a Retail Setting," in *Science, Technology and Marketing*, R. M. Haas, ed., Chicago: American Marketing.
Wilson, David T. (1977), "Dyadic Interactions," in *Consumer and Industrial Buying Behavior*, Arch Woodside, Jagdish Sheth, and Peter Bennett, eds., New York: North-Holland, 355–365.
——— and Lorne Bozinoff (1980), "Role Theory and Buying-Selling Negotiations: A Critical Overview," in *Marketing in the 80's*, Richard Bagozzi, ed., Chicago: American Marketing, 118–121.
Wyckham, R. G., P. T. Fitzroy, and G. D. Mandry (1975), "Marketing of Services: An Evaluation of the Theory," *European Journal of Marketing*, 9, 59–67.