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EXPERIENCES OF DEMAND RESPONSIVE TRANSPORT AMONG VULNERABLE TRAVELLERS

A handbook on needs, demeanour, and interaction



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EUROPEAN
REGIONAL
DEVELOPMENT
FUND

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The publication was co-financed from funds of the Response programme, Interreg Baltic Sea Region, in compliance with the requirements set in Commission Implementing Regulation (EU) No 821/2014 (in particular Articles 3 to 5 thereof), Regulation (EU) No 1303/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council.

ISBN 978-91-7867-081-9

Layout: Universitetstryckeriet, Karlstad 2020

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research-based handbook provides an understanding about the experiences that vulnerable travellers have when they use demand responsive transport (DRT) modes. It deals with issues of importance when conducting this form of service: ways to interact with travellers, being sensitive to their needs and adapt to situations in the traffic environment. The handbook starts with a detailed description of the phases that a trip typically consists of and the different demands that needs to be accounted for. It details how important social structures are produced in interaction. Further, some concrete issues of driver-traveller interaction are discussed, followed by an identification of critical touchpoints during travel. It is argued that providers need to go beyond the mere managerial discourse on being 'service-minded', and pay more attention to the embodied, behavioural, multimodal and sequential aspects during training and education since these are important mechanisms for traveller and employee well-being. Travellers may be guided in how to more distinctively and actively use their own and the provider's resources, e.g. knowledge, capabilities and equipment.

The handbook also highlights general problems and challenges, having a user-perspective on the trip and suggests some solutions and opportunities that DRT-systems provide. The section discusses crucial aspects, such as service employee demeanour, traveller coping behaviour, and traveller misbehaviour. It is argued that transport providers should be aware of the principal forms of vulnerability, i.e. physical discomfort, commodification, and disorientation, which travellers may experience during traveller-driver interactions. Environmental designers may benefit from using this type of data on traveller behaviour, paying particular attention to the communication environment from a processual perspective. Marketing personnel in provider organizations could provide more accurate and timely information to travellers during, before, and after trips.

Armed with a more profound knowledge of travellers' real-time perceptions, transport operators might increase their ability to design more user-friendly services. This, in turn, could have a substantial impact in inducing travellers to switch from costly road-based special transport vehicles (such as various kinds of taxis for disabled travellers) to public transport. Travellers' real-time perceptions could be an alternative starting-point for design of DRT-service—especially in integrating various responsible organisations. In the case of public transport there are many actors—including the operators of various transport modes (bus, train, and tram), the various transport authorities, different regional authorities, and various traveller representatives. All of these parties could use this kind of concrete visual information as a platform for a more profound dialogue that promotes a long-term, accessible, and sustainable service system.

The handbook ends with some recommendations on how to develop methods for a better understanding of vulnerable travellers and how more specifically conduct group sessions where participants may analyse and develop co-designed future transport solutions. It is argued that transport provider awareness of the value co-formation activities in the practices described enables a more precise strategy for employee education and traveller involvement in the services. More service staff training in interactional techniques can thus be beneficial. Further, employee education could include discussions about general practices in services for functionally limited travellers and the delicate balance of assisting the traveller and letting the traveller decide how much assistance that is needed. The latter requires sensitivity to verbal and non-verbal cues that only can be picked up in the meeting with each traveller. All sections include suggestions for managerial implications.

LIST OF CONTENT

INTRODUCTION5

PART I – THE TRAVELLER DRT JOURNEY	7
Chapter 1 Phases and interaction in DRT-traveling	7
Chapter 2 Interaction between travellers and employees	12
Chapter 3 Crucial touchpoints in the traveller DRT journey	14
PART II - PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES IN DRT	16
Chapter 4 Problems and challenges in using DRT	16
PART III – SOLUTIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN DRT	21
Chapter 5 Demeanour in the traveller-driver interface	21
Chapter 6 How travellers cope with vulnerability in DRT	26
Chapter 7 Dealing with troublesome travellers	29
PART IV METHODS	36
Chapter 8 Methods for better understanding of travellers	36
EPILOGUE	41
REFERENCES	42

INTRODUCTION

The ambition with this handbook is that it will be a useful source of knowledge to understand advocacy groups that use demand responsive transport (DRT). It provides a guideline for public authorities to improve the users' travel experience with reference to specified target groups, in particular to reach a more in-depth understanding of the *needs* of vulnerable travellers, *how to interact* with them so that they will experience high value, and how it is for them to *use* different forms of DRT.

The handbook is an attempt to provide research-based insights into the needs and preferences of travelers with different kinds of *how to engage* travellers with different kinds of functional impairments, in the development of public transport and DRT services as well as design factors of *transition places* for a better intermodal travel experience. Moreover, the handbook will include instructions on how to conduct simple cost-effective *shadowing studies* by own staff and suggestions on how to conduct *innovation-oriented service co-design sessions*, also called experience-based co-design (EBCD) with vulnerable travellers and other citizens not yet using existing systems. In short, the handbook will provide a set of knowledge on how to make DRT more user-friendly.

However, there are of course many aspects that are not included, such as more detail knowledge on different disabilities, national laws and regulations, driving safe and soft, security issues (inside and outside vehicle), accidents, vehicles, and technical devices. Other more specific aspects include specific skills in verbal and non-verbal communication. Also not included are local routines on how to conduct and handle travellers, such as presenting oneself, checking name and address to destination, help with luggage, receipt, and how to get in contact with traffic management.

The public transport sector and other providers of mobility in Northern Europe face similar demographical and geographical conditions and challenges. Northern Europe is characterised by a low number of large cities and vast distances of rural areas in-between. The rural areas are scattered with small towns (5,000-100,000 inhabitants) that traditionally enjoy good access to public transport (PT) networks. Due to budget prioritisation, the regional public transport authorities (PTA) are often forced to focus on work commuters and trunk bus lines between primary and secondary residential points in the region or county, whereas sparsely populated large areas located beyond the major commuter roads are left with minimal and no services. Sparsely populated rural, remote and/or isolated geographical areas are charac-

terised by urbanisation, ageing population, declining economic growth and rising unemployment.

Public transport is regulated similarly throughout the Baltic Sea Region. The PTAs are usually slim organisations that plan and procure the operation of various transport services. The capacity of these public authorities and higher-level decision-making organs to address central challenges and take advantage from the new trends is largely missing.

PTAs serve vulnerable population groups that lack individual access to own transport, which are mainly disabled, elderly, migrants, under-age youth and unemployed people that travel to day-time activities, educational, service, social and health care institutions on a regular basis. Specific consideration also needs to be taken to female users, who are overrepresented among groups vulnerable to exclusion in public transport services. Available and accessible public transport services are not only a pre-requisite for vulnerable groups to avoid isolation in the home, but also to make the region attractive for incoming migration.

Due to high operational costs and a low number of passengers, PTAs reconsider the traditional regular public transport (RPT) with fixed routes and timetable and start develop affordable yet flexible and accessible business models and user options. Today's market for system providers in DRT is fragmented and limited to isolated initiatives introduced globally, not least in Northern Europe, due to a low competition and thus low innovation. Simultaneously, new social and technical innovations will force the PT sector to undergo fundamental and structural developments. Major trends such as digitalisation, ICT tools and Mobility-as-a-Service (MaaS) provide virtually endless opportunities, but also a number of challenges, for the PTAs. Yet, only few new corporate players in this field can meet the requirements of PTAs and private mobility providers.

Most public transport services, including medical transport, outside urban areas remain focused on providing local, analogue and timetable-fixed bus services. It is important to address the transport challenge of decreasing passenger volumes and a low level of cost-effectiveness of publicly funded organisations. There is a need to increase the capacity and usage of best practices in the public transport sector to take advantage of crucial societal trends – the open data revolution, digitalisation and demand-orientation.

The main common challenges of the public transport sector are to deliver inclusive mobility that respond to all citizens, in particular groups which depend strongly on PTAs for their mobility outside the home as well

as residents of rural, remote and isolated geographical areas. To find ways to better understand, protect and reflect the specific needs of vulnerable groups is critical to elaborate equal transport organisational solutions and, simultaneously, develop the technical aspects, efficiency and effectiveness of mobility services that complement rather than compete with new transport modes.

The background to the handbook is the establishment of the transnational consortium RESPONSE, an initiative financed by Interreg Baltic Sea Region and driven by the public transport sector seeking to develop and coordinate existing publicly funded transport services. The consortium seeks to identify crucial knowledge on the needs of vulnerable travellers and the potential of DRT. It consists of 8 organizations from 5 different countries in the Baltic Sea region and is a mix of transport authorities, entrepreneurs, research institutes, and universities. The key target groups for RESPONSE are national-level decision-makers and promoters of public sector coordination as well as regional and local public transport authorities responsible for non-discriminatory transport provision.

RESPONSE explores the untapped potential of DRT solutions, a transport offer that has been developed in the Baltic Sea region since the 1990s. DRT

offers accessibility, availability and reliability for vulnerable groups in sparsely populated areas. It supports seamless trips, digitalised business models and flexible, need-oriented service design unlike fixed bus routes. Simultaneously, it offers coordination of services and user groups and is significantly more cost-effective than special (medical) transport services.

The handbook consists of four parts. The first part describes phases of and interaction in DRT-traveling (chapter 1), concrete turn-taking patterns in interaction (chapter 2), and crucial touchpoints in a traveller DRT journey (chapter 3). The second part discusses problems and challenges in both delivering (chapter 3) and using (chapter 4) DRT, in terms traveller vulnerability, tricky touchpoints (in transition places and modal shifts), and troublesome travellers. This is followed by the third part that focuses on solution and opportunities in DRT. This part of the handbook is dedicated to crucial aspects of interaction between travellers and providers, such as traveller demeanour (chapter 5), how travellers cope with vulnerability (chapter 6), and how providers deal with travellers that misbehave (chapter 7). The handbook ends with a section on methods for advancing knowledge on vulnerable travellers and how to better adjust existing services to their actual needs (chapter 8-9).



Fotograf Thomas Harrysson

PART I

– THE TRAVELLER DRT JOURNEY

CHAPTER 1 PHASES AND INTERACTION IN DRT-TRAVELING¹

As the actual interaction between travellers and service provider employees in DRT is central, the concrete everyday interplay between these actors means that value is created or destroyed for the beneficiary; primarily for the traveller, but also for the employees (Grönroos, 2011). The way in which this interplay is accomplished will determine the outcome; something that has been explored in terms of ‘interaction value’ (Echeverri and Skålén, 2011) or more to the point, an ‘interactive relativistic preference experience’ (Holbrook, 2006:12) partly produced by the interaction per se. This means that the prerequisites for value can be created although not always perceived or felt by the traveller as in the case of arrogant or misbehaving travellers. The following section describes in more detail the phases of service procedures and what social outcome really is created in this interaction, and how bodily aspects is crucial for the result. The main content of the section is taken from the work of Echeverri and Salomonson (2017b, pp 6-11). Also included, is a section describing different turn-taking patterns—i.e. how the conversation goes back and forth in interaction. An understanding of the phases of service procedures and the social outcomes is crucial in order to remedy the fragmented regulations and responsibilities about accessibility in public transport that often focus on single specific physical and technical solutions in infrastructure or vehicles, on specific information, on specific traveller groups etc. – instead of turning the attention to the whole-trip perspective, i.e., the traveller’s perspective on the entire trip (see e.g. Trafikanalys, 2019).

Overall phasing of service procedure

In producing mobility services (DRT) for travellers with functional impairments employees typically use a specially-equipped vehicle, in the form of a minibus or a rebuilt taxi cab. The drivers digitally receive information about where to go and who to pick up, as well as information about the destination—based on previous phone orders from travellers. The general procedure then is to drive to where the traveller is, embark, drive, disembark, and finalize the service procedure. However,

the procedure also entails a multitude of tasks, e.g. assisting travellers to and from the vehicle, carrying bags if needed, checking travel information, fastening and unfastening seatbelts, adjusting seats, managing and securing traveller equipment, and managing payment etc. The parties jointly produce and reproduce this service pattern. Conducting this is the ‘know-what’ in this context, a learned knowledge at the employee and traveller level. Looking at this service procedure from some distance, it seems quite routinized, mundane, and straightforwardly reproduced by the interactants - just a matter of transporting people from A to B.

However, what stands out is the fact that the service procedure involves a myriad of more sensitive and complex issues which service providers have to deal with in parallel, e.g. handling difficult and unforeseen traffic conditions, navigating the ever-changing physical street environment, the timing of different journeys that travellers order, interacting smoothly with back office staff, dealing and interacting with travellers who have a wide range of functional impairments (some of which are not visible), adjusting the ambient conditions (e.g. temperature, lighting, radio volume, and AC) in the vehicle to different travellers’ specific needs, handling different types of equipment that travellers need for their mobility (wheelchairs, walking frames, canes, bags, etc.), and moderating the amount of interaction between travellers while being sensitive to their personal integrity.

Managing all these traveller-specific and situational factors, as an employee, is part of one’s learned set of service skills, the specific “know-how” regarding how to undertake familiar, partly unforeseen, and complex situations. Fully mastering this often requires many years’ professional experience, far beyond the training for this job. There is also some skill on the traveller side as these actively contribute to the service procedure in multiple ways, including information about personal needs and preferences; e.g. where to sit, whether the driver should take particular care when driving, how to handle traveller equipment, how to adjust the ambient conditions in the vehicle, where to be dropped off, and help getting to the door at the final destination. This also includes more sensitive social aspects such as indicating whether the traveller appreciates small talk or

¹ Based on Echeverri, P. and Salomonson, N. (2017b). Embodied Value Co-creation: A Turn-taking Perspective on Service Encounter Interactions, *Journal of Creating Value*. 3 (1), pp. 1-17. doi: 10.1177/2394964317693341

not, telling driver that s/he is driving too fast etc. All together, these factors both enable and limit the outcome of the service procedure.

Dealing with the many different situational factors in a timely and interactive manner seems crucial to a positive traveller (and employee) experience. Taking a closer look at the service procedure, five overall phases are identified in all the observed services:

First, the interactants mutually organize an *approaching phase* where both interactants display an initial attempt to getting close to each other. A wide range of turns are identified as constituting this approaching, and discussed later on in this findings section. Examples include the traveller's positioning on the street (waiting for the driver), the driver's searching and positioning of the vehicle, climbing out, opening the door and conducting other actions relating to the traveller's physical position.

Second, they *frame* the meaning and 'rules' of their interplay. This is a form of shaping the interaction before the very core service sequence occurs, e.g. choosing between and creating a 'joyful', 'informal', or maybe a 'serious', 'formal' embedding of the interaction. Both actors have the capability of, and actually conduct, this framing, although we observe that it is often the service employee who takes the initiative.

Third, we identify a phase of *delivery*; this is the core sequence (also found in other service settings such as having the food served at the table in a restaurant, getting a haircut at the hairdresser's, specific treatment by a doctor, etc.). In this context, this is when the employee, in cooperation with the traveller, supports the traveller in a number of activities: i.e. opening the door; getting into the vehicle; taking a seat, or, if in a wheelchair, positioning the traveller in an appropriate place aboard the vehicle; securing wheelchairs, or other forms of equipment, including bags; assisting, if necessary with the traveller's seatbelt; and accepting payment for the trip. This phase includes driving to the traveller's destination.

Fourth, the phase of *finalizing*, is identified when the interactants indicate that they are preparing to end the service procedure. This finalizing is enacted upon arrival at the final destination, preparing for and fulfilling the disembarking procedure, but also shown in embodied behaviours, accentuating how to interact.

Fifth, as part of the service procedure, there is a phase of *rounding off*. Creating traveller value in this phase is clearly more than just embarking and finalizing the service. It is associated with a specific politeness, a courtesy towards each other which includes sensitivity regarding tempo and paying due respect to the other

individual. This is prominent in service settings, when dealing with people who have functional impairments, but it also characterizes other service contexts. Figure 1 illustrates the five overall phases.



Approaching



Framing



Delivering



Finalizing



Rounding off

Figure 1. Five Overall Phases (Source: Authors' own.)

The different sequences are produced during interactions, but are also reproduced by these learned patterns as in the dialectic relationship between social actions and social structures in most routinized practices (Giddens, 1984: 2; Schatzki et al., 2001). The wide range of social outcomes realized during interactions are partly given its meaning by these overall sequences as sensemaking structures.

Sequential organisation of social outcomes

In relation to the five phases, the interactants organize their actions sequentially, turn by turn, based on the specific characteristics of these individual turns. As such, the participants show each other interactional 'know-how', an acquired skill of knowing how to accomplish a service procedure that conforms to the other party's actions, but also to the general human social skills acquired and practiced. During each phase, they co-create different outcomes and what we here term 'social outcomes', realized by the ongoing sequences of bodily and verbal turn-taking. What we here label a social outcome is a social structure that is produced by the interaction, which also gives structure to the interaction, a dialectical relationship. In situations where the participants accomplish these social outcomes in accordance with contextual codes of good conduct it generally drives traveller wellbeing and, on the employee side, the sense of doing a good job. Grounded in the empirical material, four major social outcomes are identified, which are continuously reproduced via turn-taking activities. These are, by nature, difficult to illustrate, but the following quotations provide some contour to them (see also Figure 2 for an illustration of each social outcome).



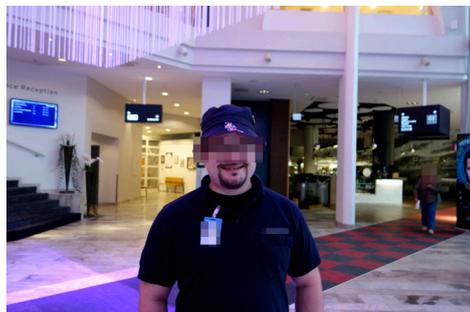
Adjustment



Responsivity



Socialization



Emotional charge

Figure 2. Four Classes of Social Outcome Continuously Produced During Micro-level Interaction (Source: Authors' own.)

The *first* social outcome is labelled 'adjustment' and is accomplished when the interactants 'read the situation'. It connotes what is socially achieved by the interactants in order to initiate and to make other actions adequate and relevant, as illustrated by the following quote.

It's also to some extent down to what kind of a person it is. But you can almost see on people if they want to talk or not... when they laugh and say something when jumping into the cab, you can believe that in any case, then they think it's good to talk... you don't go on and make a meal of the conversation either... Mostly, you can see it on their body language whether they're satisfied or not... Yep, I get out of the cab and I see quite quickly who the passenger is, most of the time, you go up to the passenger... Often, it's a case of "no, not necessary, everything's ok", and so on, they say. So they come, and then they say "you can drop me off here, I'll walk". "No, I'll drive you. You've got to get there." "Yes, yes, but it's not necessary." That's how they are.

The *second* social outcome is labelled 'responsivity' and is best described as a relevant response to a former adjustment.

Yep, then it depends on the kind of passenger, too. There are different kinds of disabled people, who are disabled both physically and mentally, so you have to kind of weigh up what to say and what not to say... But the ones who are physically disabled and understand everything you say, you try to explain how you get in and... But there's a bit of a combination at work there, you rely on experience there, and then you ask them a few things too if you notice that they want to.

The *third* social outcome is labelled 'socialization' which, in this context, connotes a specific form of small talk, a social function that displays and actualizes the traveller relationship per se.

"Well, I don't know", I said, "We'll have to see" And then I pressed and then I said "No, it's directly to Västtra kyrkogården." "Oh, how boring!" she said. "Ok, what do you mean?" "I said. Well, I think it's a lot of fun to go riding in a car. "Yeah, yeah", I said, "which route do you want to take?" "Well, take the longest route", she said. You're a bit of an on-board host... you have to open up a bit. Yeah you have to, I think, otherwise things don't work.

The *fourth* social outcome is labelled 'emotional charge' and displays the feelings involved.

"There was a lady who said that I hadn't seen her and she gave me a telling off all the way. And I was new, I'd only been driving about a month, so it made me sad and I dropped her off there. And then I thought about it. "Bloody hell, what a moaner. Is this how it's going to be?" ... And then there are those who become really happy, you know... You can always put them in a good mood, there's always something... These old biddies, they're often like little girls you know, carrying on and laughing and think that... you say "your hair's nice", that just makes them happy, and all that... I think it's fun and they do too.

The description that follows is a generalized version of a typical turn-taking pattern regarding how social outcomes are continuously reproduced during micro-level interactions, as such providing the prerequisites that lead to the experiencing of value.

Within the approaching phase

In this context, we identify the actual physical encounter between the interactants as a relevant starting point. The service provider (driver) has information on where to go and then leaves the cab to search for and approach the traveller. The traveller, on the other side and after ordering the service and leaving the house, positions him/herself in an appropriate location (in order for the driver to find him/her) and then approaches the driver. At that very moment, the social interaction starts, with or without verbal utterances, but always with embodied actions.

At a certain point, the interactants 'read the situation', so to speak, *adjusting* to conditions in the specific situation in order to approach the other in a relevant way. Typically, this social outcome is realized by glancing at the other (turn 1 and turn 2), checking the conditions, and identifying the specific street location of the other. If the traveller is blind, this exchange may be accomplished by addressing intention using bodily position, followed by a verbal response from the driver, in order to acknowledge the fact that the traveller has been recognized. Then, the driver encounters the traveller (turn 3), showing his/her presence and asking for the name and destination (turn 4), while the traveller then confirms using a verbal response or simply by nodding his/her head (turn 5). While conducting this, they shift to a production of *responsivity* to the other individual—e.g. by means of the driver telling or implicitly indicating to the traveller that things are under control (turn 6), something that normally is appreciated by the traveller as he/she are taken care of. While adjusting is a form of 'reading the other' and displaying an understanding of the elements of the other's action—i.e. a search for alignment to situational conditions—responsivity is the contextually-relevant reaction to the other

individual's action, a response based on the encoded information provided. In this sense, adjusting is necessary in order to enable responsiveness, as it precedes responsiveness. Somewhere here in the process, the participants typically enter into sequences of small talk to mark a shift away from more formal instrumental forms of interaction towards more informal person-centric forms (turn 7). If the other adjusts to this shift, by also being more personal or informal (turn 8), they enter into a third type social outcome, here labelled *socialization*. This differs from both adjustment and responsiveness as it is less instrumental. Finally, the interactants end the phase by displaying emotional markers—e.g. jokes, smiles, etc. (turn 9), indicating genuine or merely 'scripted' emotions. This social outcome is an *emotional charge* of the interaction.

Within the framing phase

The production of social outcomes in the second phase, more or less follow the same pattern. The interactants frame the up-coming interaction of entering and sitting in the vehicle by a similar turn-taking procedure. The driver pushes the wheelchair or leads the traveller to the vehicle (turn 10), once again *adjusting* to the travellers' abilities, attitudes, and environmental conditions in that specific situation (turn 11). Adjustment as a social outcome also initiates this second phase. Many travellers do not use wheelchairs, so they may choose a seat. Some seats make conversation easier, while others do not. By choosing a seat inside the vehicle, the travellers adjust to the situation. Based on that, the service provider is typically in the position to produce *responsivity* by moving hands gently and with integrity towards the traveller in situations where assistance is needed (turn 12). The service provider can also, during this turn, use short verbal phrases to let the traveller know that things are under control (e.g. "Okay.", "I'll push you now", "I've got you", "Here we are", etc.) Then again the interactants enter into *socializing* (turn 13), crossing a boundary of personal integrity and becoming informal. As during the previous phases, the interactants typically charge the interaction with emotional markers such as smiles, touches (turn 14), various mimicry, and the display of positive or negative *emotional charge*.

Within the delivering phase

In this empirical setting there is a phase that includes the specific transport of travellers to their final destination. Following the previous pattern, again the four distinct social outcomes are produced. To deal with the specific attachment of seatbelts, the handling of bags, the adjustment of seats and headrests, and the securing of wheelchairs, or dealing with other equipment (turn 15), the service provider *adjusts* to the traveller's functional prerequisites and needs. *Responsivity* is displayed during the

interactants' timely communication, asking each other questions and checking on comfort, speed, etc. (turn 16), while embedding for *socialization* in the form of small talk, personal comments, the telling of anecdotes (turn 17), directly triggering the *emotional* charging of delight or dissatisfaction (turn 18).

Within the finalizing phase

Somewhere during the service procedure, things are to be finalized. In this context, this is when the driver is approaching the final destination. Again, the identified social outcomes are triggered and realized during the interaction. The service provider *adjusts* not only to the planned delivery point, but also to the exact location in the street environment (turn 19), appropriately supporting the traveller's upcoming movements outside the vehicle. As during embarking, adjusting seatbelts, seats, bags, releasing wheelchairs, and different equipment etc. (turn 20), is also an issue during disembarking. The display of *responsivity* to specific needs using questions, looks, and smiles (turn 21) may again lead to *socializing* utterances indicating humour, or just a simple touch of the traveller's shoulder (turn 22). The delivery is *emotionally* charged by, for instance, a tilted head or a specific intonation indicating positive warmth and care, or a negative insensitive behaviour towards the other (turn 23).

Within the rounding off phase

However, the finalizing procedure does not mean that the service procedure is over. We have observed over and over again how individual service providers, just before leaving the traveller, do something very important for them. Instead of just dropping off the traveller at the final destination, they typically round off the service encounter by waiting for the traveller for just a few seconds by means of standing still, lifting their eyebrows, or just uttering with heightened intonation, e.g. "You okay now?" (turn 24), thus inviting the traveller to take the initiative by declaring, or just indicating, that everything is okay and satisfactory and that he/she will be able to manage things on his/her own. This awaiting is an *adjustment* to the other's process, leading to confirmation through a quick *responsive* nodding gesture (turn 25). They round off the sequential procedure by closing utterances such as "Bye", or *socializing* utterances such as "Take care", "See you next time", or "Have a nice day" (turn 26). Again, the service encounter is *emotionally* charged with markers of joy, seriousness, or even boredom (turn 27).

As shown in all these turn-taking sequences, the social outcomes during all five phases are truly reciprocal. Normally, interactions result in positive experiences and a sense of wellbeing for both actors. However, the empirical material reports numerous examples where one, or

both, of the actors misbehave. The more or less scripted behaviours influence the value experience.

Implications

- ◆ Providers need to go beyond the mere managerial discourse on being ‘service-minded’, and pay more attention to the embodied, behavioural, multimodal and sequential aspects during training and education since these are important mechanisms for traveller and employee well-being.
- ◆ Travellers may be guided in how to more distinctively and actively use their own and the provider’s resources, e.g. knowledge, capabilities and equipment in different service settings and situations.

CHAPTER 2 INTERACTION BETWEEN TRAVELLERS AND EMPLOYEES

Taking a closer look at the what is going on between travellers and employees (drivers) we can identify patterns of turn taking—i.e. utterances of individuals back and forth (turns) while talking, such as conversations between a traveller and a driver. In a study of embodied interaction in DRT² we identified four principle interactional turn-taking patterns—i.e. 1 Simple; 2 Substantial; 3 Intensive; and 4 Elaborated. Each is briefly described and illustrated using quotations. Each is also described in relation to typical turn-taking sub-activities underpinning their existence. The main content is taken from Echeverri and Salomonson (2017b, pp 11-13). We argue that the provided patterns of turn-taking illustrate typical ways by which the sequential organisation of social outcomes is organised and ultimately influences the forming of value during interaction. As will be evident in what follows, we identify an interactional initiative-response procedure grounded in the narratives.

Common to all four turn-taking patterns is a composition that includes two or more actors, typically a traveller and an employee, although other travellers and assistants (in the vehicle) and employees (back office) can be involved. These are positioned in a geographical and material/environmental context that both limits and gives structure to the interaction. Behaviour scripts, developed on both the provider and traveller sides and concerning how to act in specific situations, guide the interactants’ turn-taking procedure as this is also dependent on situational contingencies, e.g. travellers’ functional impairments, weather conditions, time limits, etc. including other conditions not focused on in this study.

Simple turn-taking: A basic interactional pattern is characterized by a limited number of interactional turns, providing information back and forth. Often, it is a verbal utterance or a specific spatial position communicating something of relevance to the other party, followed by a response confirming the first person’s initiative. What is also significant for this simple turn-taking interaction is the use of quite a few modalities that express needs or intentions during the situation, as in the following example taken from an interview with a traveller, a mother accompanying her son during a trip.

He [the driver] lifts my son into the car, puts on his belt, closes the door, goes to the other side, asks my boy - Can you manage by yourself? Yes [says my boy]! - Good [says the driver]. Then he gets into the car, puts his belt on, and asks me - Are you ready? - Yes [I reply]. - Good, let’s go.

Typically, the parties use simple words (e.g. “yes”, “right?”, “here”, “there we are”, “okay?”, “thank you”, or just step out of the car, looking at each other, etc.).

Substantial multimodal turn-taking: In relation to the previous interactional pattern, this is also characterized by the use of just a few interactional turns. What is significant for this substantial interaction is the use of a wide range of modalities that display needs or intentions during the situation. Typically, the parties take a much longer turn, using a myriad of modalities (more words, looks, mimics, gestures, and postures). The following quote from a passenger illustrates this.

And then I say: - It’s just an indication [pointing at stomach] that I feel pretty bad [pulling a face]. Then he shows [with a gesture of resignation] that I’m an irritating passenger [looking down]. But he [slowly] moves his jacket away from the front seat [sighing] which I interpret as an ‘okay then sit there’. So I do that [getting into front seat] and then he gets really furious at me [showing an angry face] and starts yelling [using a loud voice], explaining what to do and not to do and all that kind of stuff.

During a brief exchange, due to the richness of communication, each party interacts in a more full-on way and is thus more informative.

Intensive turn-taking: In relation to the two previous forms of interaction, this is characterized as high in frequency but not as substantial in terms of modalities. Each party interacts by using lots of turns, back and forth, each turn carrying less information. Typically, this type of interaction uses simple words or embodied

² Based on Echeverri, P. and Salomonson, N. (2017b). Embodied Value Co-creation: A Turn-taking Perspective on Service Encounter Interactions, *Journal of Creating Value*. 3 (1), pp. 1-17. doi: 10.1177/2394964317693341

markers, as in this quote from a passenger describing a normal interaction.

Well, it's the usual story, I say hi and they say hi. And then they ask how things are and I say thanks I'm fine. Then they sort out the attachments and continue talking and I answer them every now and then. Then they usually ask how I want the bags and the [safety] belt and so on. I answer and they adjust it [the safety belt], all the time asking if it's ok or should they tighten it a bit more? And I tell them how I want it. That's how it goes. Just before they leave me at the back [of the vehicle], they look at me and I look back and say that it's okay. During the journey we talk about things like the weather, the traffic ... it's quite nice actually.

The quote illustrates how the conversation goes back and forth, using brief questions and answers, replying to a myriad of different utterances. Due to the high frequency, the interaction is quite informative, but takes longer.

Elaborated turn-taking: Finally, interaction may be characterized as both substantial and high frequency, i.e. elaborated in both dimensions. Typically, such an interaction pattern is informative to both parties, takes more time, and involves the other interactant to a higher degree. The following utterance from a driver illustrates this.

Once there was an old lady with a personal assistant and she says: - And here comes a happy driver. - Yes, I say [the driver]. - So far, I am happy. But I didn't mean anything by it, I just looked happy. And then we went on down the road a bit and I had pushed the wheelchair and attached it and everything ... checking that she was fastened safely [using] the headrest. After we'd gone about 10 metres,

she started to yell: - The wheelchair's moving. - No, it isn't I said. It adjusts automatically using these automatic belts in the back. They just sound that way. But I felt I had to go outside the car anyway and check that she was fastened. And so I went out. But everything was ok. She was fastened and I said: - Now we can start? - Yes [she said]. And off we went. But after another 10 metres or so she yelled again at me saying: - I had to check again. So I went out and checked the attachment. Then she said: - No, I can't go anywhere if it's going to be like this! I said: - I can't do any more now. She was upset and I said: - In that case we'll have to call for another cab, if you trust that one more. She said: - Yes. - But you're fastened in accordance with all the rules with headrests and everything [I said]. But then she changed her mind and said: - I don't want you to get another cab ... I want to make my planned journey. I was frustrated and slammed the door, and then started the engine. Disputes like that often occur around here.

These four patterns are to be found during all five phases. As such, they represent generic patterns of turn-taking.

To conclude, the provider side may need to go beyond the mere managerial discourse on being “service-minded”, and may also need to pay more attention to the embodied, behavioural, multimodal, and sequential aspects during training and education since these are important mechanisms for traveller and employee wellbeing. The myriad of subtle multimodal elements (hands, gestures, body positions, etc.) included in the study and frequently used by interactants during interactions in producing well-being at traveller level, need to be ‘orchestrated’, managed in congruent ways and in accordance to traveller preferences. On the traveller side, the insights provided may guide individual



travellers in how to adapt to different service providers accurately turn-by-turn (in their efforts to serve), and guide them on how to more distinct and actively use the human and material resources provided in different service settings.

Implications

- ◆ The myriad of subtle multimodal elements (hands, gestures, body positions, etc.), need to be ‘orchestrated’/managed in congruent ways and in accordance to traveller preferences.

CHAPTER 3 CRUCIAL TOUCHPOINTS IN THE TRAVELLER DRT JOURNEY

Travelling is not only an issue within a specific transport system. For many travellers the trip also involves other systems such as healthcare, e.g. navigating within a large hospital and handling different healthcare procedures. Research has shown that in between such systems there are problematic gaps, in regard to organizational responsibility, traveller information, and sometimes personal security (Echeverri, forthcoming)³. For instance, in entrance areas and in waiting rooms the responsibility between organizations is not always clear, which sometimes lead travellers to experience a sense of being abandoned. If the traveller is at old age, having limited cognitive abilities and higher demands on security, this is a problem. Such places are known as “nodes”—i.e. geographical positions in between more distinct processes, crucial for the individual to handle. For transport organizations, identifying critical aspects at different point in the entire journey through the transport and care system, regardless of organizational interfaces, is important.

Understanding the whole journey of a traveller may provide some insights. The following example is from a DRT-trip with a connection. Before having the right to use DRT, the traveller needs to apply for authorization. Normally, it is quite easy to get but for several individuals this is an effort outside the comfort zone and risk misunderstanding the meaning of provided information. Therefore, clear and easy-to-read information, using ordinary vocabulary, explanations, and well-known wordings is beneficial.

Upon the *start* of the journey there is also need for easy-to-read information and an accessible call-centre. Then, if such resources are at hand - available information is still too often difficult to find and understand - there are risks of misunderstandings. Travellers do not always read all provided information. Next, is ordering a trip, typically at a call-center. A critical situation is

when relatives order the trip and when a planned trip is changed. It is important to provide confirmation and verification on the booking.

In relation to the very trip, the traveler needs to know exactly where to go and position herself in the specific street environment. What kind of vehicle to look for? How to deal with bad weather conditions (rain, snow, sun, warmth, etc)? What if the vehicle doesn’t come or is very late? Is the delay enough to re-enter own apartment or house? What if the traveller is not ready with clothing at take-off, etc? Important to have communication ability (mobile phone number) between traveller and driver and to minimize waiting time.

Next, is time for entering the vehicle, often in collaboration with driver. This interaction demand sensitivity to the travellers’ specific, personal, and situational needs. Inside the vehicle the comfort is crucial. Different groups have different demands, e.g. most wheelchair travellers prefer sitting forward facing. Here it is good if drivers are empowered to make or propose necessary changes of equipment and fastening inside the vehicle. Connections to other vehicles and transit areas are other challenges. During the very travel, where the traveller sometimes has lost the booking information on final destination, the trip will be more enjoyable if the driver is interested in the travellers.

On arrival, is time to disembark. Sometimes, travellers are not accompanied by an assistant even though they ought to and are therefore in need of assistance. Next, they enter and wait in the transit hall, identify a new transport, and get a guarantee that a the transport is coming. Then they enter and travel with new vehicle. Often, drivers’ time constraints lead to limited support. At the destination they disembark and find the right person at the hospital entrance. Having possibilities for self-service in waiting rooms (e.g. food, coffee) and meaningful distraction during waiting time.

Later in the process, navigating to and arrive at the destination and find the way back, including ordering a new ticket. Personnel at hospital also have time limits and it can be difficult for the healthcare employees to handle transport related issues and information. They are not experts on vehicle dimensions and it is often difficult to transform patient related information to transport related information. Booking procedures are not always user-friendly. How to change a planned trip upon delays?

Next, the traveller waits for a return trip and gets to car/bus stop for the pick-up. Here the navigation signs - where to go - need to be clear. Sometimes it is difficult for drivers to find travellers. Are they inside or outside the building? They payment methods and the pricing are not always easy to understand. Then, the same but

³ Based on Echeverri (forthcoming), Service eco-system. Not so eco. SAMOT Vinn Excellence Center, Karlstad University.

reversed procedure begins. A journey may take many hours for patients and hopefully they do not need to re-visit the hospital the very next day.

This example illustrates the myriad of touchpoints during a mundane trip with DRT. The travellers face more or less user-friendly elements of the system and service provider need to be very sensitive to the needs of the vulnerable traveller group. In the gaps between systems, responsibility is often not clearly defined.

Implications

- ◆ Providers need to recognize each DRT-travel as part of not only a specific transport system but also as part of a larger network of other systems, for example healthcare. This recognition enables decision making when it comes to issues such as responsibility, information and security.

PART II - PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES IN DRT

Traditionally, public transport is oriented towards creating a cost-effective service for citizens, produced either by public authorities, private organizations or in contracted collaboration (procurement). That normally leads to low-cost solutions with low but acceptable quality for the masses of travellers. DRT is an exception. It takes the qualitative aspects for the travellers in much more consideration. The different DRT-solutions depart more from the needs of the individual traveller than the needs of the transportation provider. A complicating factor is the diverged needs of the specific traveller segment, normally using the service. This wide range of functional impairments needs to be considered where each put considerable demands on managerial and production resources, vehicles, equipment, information systems, etc.

The crucial resource in DRT is human beings, both on the employee side (drivers, call centre etc.) and on the user side (travellers). Due to the nature of human beings, they are normally difficult to manage. Employees are instructed and educated to act in accordance with manuals, procedures and different kind of policies. The provided information in the transport industry on this 'know-what' knowledge is normally sufficient but often there is a lack of the practical skills of 'know-how', aspects that are not easy to communicate in education. Often, the perceived quality is linked to how to do things, rather than what to do. The details matter and details are difficult to articulate, both for employees and travellers. Lack of sensitivity towards vulnerable travellers, may be more important than we think. To deal with these aspects is an ongoing and challenging task.

A group of employees that is at the very centre of the DRT-challenges is the drivers. Through their every-day work, that includes experiencing a wide range of "tricky" situations and complex needs due to different impairments among travellers, they accumulate substantial knowledge about the possibilities and challenges in delivering DRT-service. Their perspective and knowledge are too often overlooked by managers and authorities. Research shows that this group often experience time constraints, making it difficult to actually perform a good work that leads to satisfied travellers. The allocated scheduled time for transportation may not consider road work. Drivers are obliged to coordinate different transport orders. Information on where to pick up and

drop travellers more exactly is sometimes missing. It affects the travellers, leading to delays, lack of comfort and irritation. But it also affects the driver negatively.

CHAPTER 4 PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES IN USING DRT

Vulnerability among disabled travelers in DRT⁴

Making transformative changes and improving the well-being of travellers are particularly important for travellers who experience vulnerability, i.e. travellers who, for some reason, lack a degree of control and agency in consumption settings (Anderson et al., 2013; Hamilton, Dunnett, & Piacentini, 2015). As Echeverri and Salomonson (2019) argue on pp 364-366, traveller vulnerability has been conceptualized as a temporary and fluid state of powerlessness (with specific populations being more at risk) accompanied by a strong emphasis on context-specific situations whereby the traveller lacks control and experiences an imbalance during marketplace interactions or due to the consumption of marketing messages and products (Baker, Gentry, & Rittenburg, 2005). As Baker et al. (2005) argue, everyone has the potential to experience vulnerability; however, traveller vulnerability is not, for example, the same thing as dissatisfaction, or unmet needs, since other factors have to play a contributory role (see also Elms & Tinson, 2012; Falchetti, Ponchio, & Botelho, 2016; Pavia & Mason, 2014; Rosenbaum, Seger-Guttmann, & Giraldo, 2017; Schultz & Holbrook, 2009). Instead, the actual vulnerability 'arises from the *interaction* of individual states, individual characteristics, and external conditions within a context where consumption goals may be hindered and the experience affects personal and social perceptions of the self' (Baker et al., 2005, p. 134, italics in original). Vulnerability thus resides in the relationship between a person and a stimulus object, e.g. an interaction at a retail store or the consumption of a traveller good (Baker, Labarge, & Baker, 2015). If the relationship is damaged, this will affect consumer agency negatively. Marginalized, discriminated against, or stigmatized groups in society match these criteria well, making them more prone to experiencing vulnerability (Baker et al., 2015).

⁴ Based on Echeverri, P. and Salomonson, N. (2019). Consumer vulnerability during mobility service interactions: causes, forms and coping, *Journal of Marketing Management*. Vol. 35 (3-4), pp. 364-389. doi: 10.1080/0267257X.2019.1568281

The conceptualization of traveller vulnerability highlights the lack of control and the imbalance in the relationship in terms of being two key aspects of vulnerability. The lack of control relates to situations where travellers, due to impairments in their personal characteristics, 0states and/or external conditions, are particularly unable to control their surroundings, the environment, e.g. when service providers are insensitive to disabled travellers' specific needs and limited own resources (Lee, Ozanne, & Hill, 1999), or when access to resources (e.g. health care, retail facilities, affordable products, public transport) is restricted (Baker et al., 2005). The imbalance experienced by the traveller can be related to something which, in previous research, has been conceptualized as a 'power imbalance' or 'power asymmetry' between service providers and their travellers (e.g. Lee, 2010, Menon & Bansal, 2007; Price & Arnould, 1999), i.e. services (often professional or governmental) where travellers experience the power being in favour of the service provider. This can involve services where the traveller is highly dependent on the provider's information, knowledge, and judgement, or services where there are no alternatives for the traveller (Lee, 2010).

Turning to our study about vulnerability (Echeverri and Salomonson, 2019, pp 372-374) the travellers expressed a generally positive view of the DRT service, but also highlighted situations when they experienced vulnerability grounded in interactions between themselves and the service providers (the drivers). Three different principal forms of experiencing vulnerability were identified during interactions: i.e. physical discomfort, commodification and disorientation. These are described in what follows, together with nine factors relating to traveller and service provider interactions which contribute to vulnerability.

Physical discomfort

The first principal form of experiencing vulnerability is in situations whereby travellers become car sick, feel increased pain or become more tired, i.e. experiencing situations that affect their physical wellbeing in a negative way, labelled physical discomfort in this context. Three different factors contribute to this form of vulnerability: 1) Driving style, i.e. drivers do not sufficiently adapt their driving to travellers' specific needs, driving in a fast and jerky manner, not slowing down enough on curves, or choosing roads that are bumpier, curvier or badly maintained; 2) Management of ambient conditions, i.e. drivers choose to have temperatures that are too cold/hot in their vehicles; or 3) Embodied action, i.e. drivers do not provide enough physical help to/from vehicles, or with bags. The last point is often based on instructions issued by the mobility service itself, i.e.

whether or not travellers have requested help with their bags. If travellers have not mentioned needing help with their bags when booking a journey, then some drivers may refuse to help even though they have the mandate to be flexible. Physical discomfort, as a distinct form of vulnerability, is shown in the following quote from a traveller, describing a situation whereby the driver had not adapted his driving style to this traveller's specific needs:

Well, there was one... I don't know how old he was, barely 30, worked for [name of the taxi company], and had his foot firmly on the accelerator. [...] He liked driving fast and furious. It doesn't feel nice when you're going downhill in [name of the town] at 100-110 km/h, over those speed bumps... and when you're sick already and on your way to the doctor's. It's not pleasant at all. (Man, aged 44)

Commodification

The second principal form of experiencing vulnerability includes situations whereby travellers feel like 'commodity items', i.e. treated in an insensitive and objectified way, with their sense of self, self-worth, integrity, and capabilities being compromised. This is the experience of being dehumanized, of not asking for 'permission' to act in a certain way, here labelled commodification—i.e. being treated as an object, rather than a human being. This form of vulnerability clearly stands out in the data when quotes indicate how travellers are overlooked and treated in a slightly nonchalant manner. Similarly, three different factors contribute to this form of vulnerability: 1) Attitude, i.e. drivers not sufficiently respecting travellers' abilities, and wishes, to do and decide things for themselves; 2) Approaching, i.e. drivers acting superior or nonchalant; or 3) Addressing, i.e. drivers not speaking to travellers directly and instead putting direct questions, information etc. to the assistants, relatives or friends accompanying them. The first-mentioned factor, attitude, is more common than the other two and includes situations whereby drivers put seatbelts on travellers without asking whether they can or want to do this by themselves. One traveller describes this kind of situation thus:

I find it difficult when they [the drivers] do things without my permission. They try to put my seatbelt on, or something... I'm too proud to admit that I have an impairment, so I try to do things for myself as far as I can. It's annoying when they do things that I can do myself, because I think they have no business doing that. (Woman, aged 28)

The quote illustrates situations of unsolicited assistance negatively affecting the traveller, in the sense of being overlooked as a human being capable of doing things

for him-/herself. The experience of commodification also shows itself in the way providers approach travellers. One example, driven by the ‘clash’ between drivers’ instructions and the needs of the traveller, is the traveller’s seating location within the vehicle. Some travellers express a need to sit in a certain seat because this makes the journey more comfortable and reduces the risk of them becoming tired or sick. Again, drivers have the option to be flexible if the situation allows that. Drivers who do not let travellers themselves decide where to sit (if this is not necessary) often communicate this in a nonchalant manner. One traveller describes a situation illustrating this way of approaching:

It’s not that I demand to sit in the front seat, but I do ask ... and then he [the driver] starts yelling at me straight away: “It says here [points at the driver’s information display unit] that you’re supposed to sit in the back seat.” And then I say: “Well, that’s just a... it’s just that I feel pretty bad.” And then he thinks I’m annoying. (Woman, aged 41)

The third factor, addressing, shows itself in different ways. An elderly and visually-impaired woman described a general sense of being objectified, how she sometimes feels like a ‘commodity’ being bluntly shipped from one point to another, indicating that the actual physical and communicational treatment of the traveller is insensitive to the human and emotional side of the personal interaction:

You feel a bit like a commodity. That sense... at least when it comes to some drivers. In some sense it’s true... But you sometimes get that feeling. (Woman, aged 64)

Disorientation

The third principal form of experiencing vulnerability includes situations whereby travellers feel resigned, being unable to control their surroundings, the physical environment, due to service providers not being sensitive to their spatial needs, here labelled ‘disorientation’. The identified factors contributing to disorientation are: 1) Navigation, i.e. drivers cannot locate the right address or, from the traveller’s perspective, choose the wrong route, leading to travellers not knowing when they will arrive and/or where they will be dropped off; 2) Coordinating, i.e. drivers do not say anything about additional travellers being picked up during the journey, leading to other travellers not knowing when they will arrive; and 3) Assisting, i.e. drivers do not leave their vehicles to assist travellers, who thus do not know whether or not they will have to make it on their own to/from the vehicle.

One traveller, with a visual impairment, addresses the navigation factor in the following quote, i.e. the need to be dropped off at the right spot, at the right address, from where she knows which way to walk:

Well, it depends on the driver [if all goes well]. It’s almost like a lottery. It’s worse if they can’t find the address. [...] Then you get irritated. [...] There are lots [of drivers] who aren’t from round here, and who haven’t been living in Sweden so long. (Woman, aged 94)

Another traveller describes the need to be informed of whether or not there are other travellers to be dropped off/picked up, i.e. a sense of being coordinated with other travellers.

Some [drivers] don’t say a word. And if I’m about to travel with other people [travellers], which is almost always the case, then it’d very nice if the driver said where we were going to pick up those people. They don’t always do that and then you just sit there like a package, more or less. And there are lot of... blind people who don’t know where they’ll be going then. (Woman, aged 64)

Finally, the way the travellers are spatially assisted is addressed under this disorientation label, as in the following quote, where a visually-impaired woman talks about her need to get some assistance to the vehicle:

A good driver doesn’t stay in his vehicle. On one occasion, he [the driver] sat parked on the other side of the street, not on my side where I live. It was a beautiful day and I was sitting in my garden waiting for the car. And for 20 minutes, he was sitting in his car looking at me. And he didn’t get out of it. And finally, he called out, “If you don’t come now, I’ll leave.” But I didn’t even know he was there. [...] There was sign saying ‘mobility service’ on the car, he pointed it out, but I couldn’t see it [she has a visual impairment]. [...] I think it’s bad that they don’t bother to get out of the car and open the door as they’re supposed to do. (Woman, aged 94)

Studies in regular public transport also highlight the behaviour of staff as a barrier for people with functional impairments. Johansson and Hagström (2019) describe problems in the form of staff who are stressed, unpleasant and inattentive, who drive in a jerky manner and brake suddenly, or who do not understand special needs that people with functional impairments have. The same study also mentions that people with impairments experience problems with being questioned, prejudiced or not seen by staff.

Implications

- ◆ Providers should understand the concept of traveller vulnerability.
- ◆ Providers should be aware of the principal forms of vulnerability, i.e. physical discomfort, commodification, and disorientation, which travellers may experience during traveller-driver interactions.

Tricky touchpoints in transition places and modal shifts⁵

In a study of 36 video-documented trips (16 with functional impairments, 20 without functional impairments), respondents commented on their previous travel experiences, as well as their present experience Echeverri (2012, pp 2211-2220) conclude that among the issues frequently reported, some were considered to be more problematic, important and overarching. In particular, respondents reported on their problems in managing nodes between different transport modes (transit areas, walking passages, layout, and so on). The final link (from final transport mode, via transit halls, and further on to the final destination) was especially problematic. Electronic information systems were not always working, and some of them were difficult to use. It is apparent that the outcome of the service process is dependent on the links between its parts.

The study reveals that a wide range of services are crucial for the traveller. For example, infrequent and functionally impaired travellers need to handle various aspects of an information system, such as ordering and using the telephone or Internet services; managing personal interaction and talking to service persons before, during, and after the trip; and using equipment, elevators, and so on. Handling automatic self-service telephone 'menus' (to obtain special help during or before the actual trip) was difficult (even for frequent travellers). The overcrowded and noisy environment made it more difficult for respondents to hear what the automated voices were saying. Some new services (such as turning on footlights for the subway and using the telephone service) suffered from malfunction. In addition, there was a lack of informative signs and tactile references in the physical layout. The information placed at the travellers' disposal (signs, timetables, and so on) was not always helpful in supporting the process dimension of the trip.

At a traveller level, it was obvious that physical attributes, spatial factors, self-service machines, guiding sounds, communication signs (or lack thereof), and transport noise are important cues. If these are inappropriate, the travel process is perceived as difficult,

less accessible, and somewhat insecure. Because of these problems, travellers with functional impairments hesitate to use public transport—with resulting social segregation and high community cost. Able-bodied travellers, especially in the 'infrequent traveller' group, showed similar perceptions. People who are not used to the environment find it difficult to navigate the transit environment.

Whilst the option for the travellers is to stop at time schedules or line system maps, the moving walkways, escalators, footbridges, pavements and the endless subways that stretch down the length of transit areas convey the message to travellers that they are expected to keep going. This high load environment (noise, odour, rush and tear) with a minimum of verbal interaction (however overcrowded) exhibits a sense of urgency and activity. This has implications for design and content of schedules, maps, signs and symbols. Such elements need to be simple, easy to understand and give hands on information of how to navigate in the system. The design of communicative elements in transit areas need to take the process dimension and the spatial position into consideration.

Disabled travellers reported a sense of being stigmatised (Preiser & Ostroff, 2001) and there is a need for information that is designed with a practical view to optimising the flow of travellers. Travellers are in constant motion and need reference points to direct their moves to their chosen destination. The study identifies cues that have not been reported in other accessibility studies and the findings point to potential areas for theory development. For example, the process aspect of signs and lay-out has not been reported elsewhere.

Using public transport is associated with specific values and norms (which are not always positive). For those who normally use private vehicles, public transport is partly perceived as something 'necessary evil'. In contrast, for disabled individuals public transport is associated with social well-being and quality of life. For these, the individual ability to access public transport is associated with having a 'normal' life.

A final methodological remark is the fact that the traveller being observed and the observer (researcher) do not always perceive the same aspects in the travel environment. Reported and observed usability problems to some degree elucidate different parts of usability. This gives argument for the non *à priori* research approach.

It is apparent that the servicescape in public transportation needs to be organised in a way that facilitates traveller mobility for all travellers. What is easy and logical for able-bodied and frequent travellers is not necessarily easy and logical for disabled and infrequent travellers.

⁵ Based on Echeverri, P., (2012). Navigating Multi-modal Public Transport Systems: Real Time Perceptions of Processual Usability Using Video Methodology. *Procedia-Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 48, 2211-2220.

Implications

- ◆ Environmental designers could benefit from using this type of data on traveller behaviour—paying particular attention to the communication environment from a processual perspective. Marketing personnel could provide more accurate information to travellers during, before, and after trips.
- ◆ Armed with a more profound knowledge of travellers' real-time perceptions, service operators would be better placed to design effective services. This, in turn, could have a substantial impact in inducing travellers to switch from costly road-based special transport vehicles (such as various kinds of taxis for disabled travellers) to public transport.
- ◆ Travellers' real-time perceptions could be an alternative starting-point for design of DRT-service—especially in integrating various responsible organisations. In the case of public transport there are many actors—including the operators of various transport modes (bus, train, and tram), the various transport authorities, different regional authorities, and various traveller representatives. All of these parties could use this kind of concrete visual information as a platform for a more profound dialogue that promotes a long-term, accessible, and sustainable service system.

Troublesome travellers⁶

Not all travellers act as expected. Some deliberately act in a dysfunctional, thoughtless or abusive manner and cause problems for the company, its employees, and other travellers. From the research of Echeverri, Salomonson, and Åberg (2012, p 428) we know that this is a problem for employees, not only in transport. Why is it so?

This phenomenon has been captured under different labels such as 'jaycustomers' (Lovelock, 1994) 'aberrant consumer behaviour' (Fullerton and Punj, 1993), 'dysfunctional customer behaviour' (Harris and Reynolds, 2003), 'deviant customer behaviour' (Moschis and Cox, 1989), 'problem customers' (Bitner et al., 1994), and customer incivility (Sliter et al., 2010). Among the wide range of different types of misbehaviour faced by frontline employees that is reported in the literature we find rage and violence (Grove et al., 2004), vandalism (Goldstein, 1996), sexual harassment (Gettman and Gelfand, 2007), drunkenness (Bitner et al., 1994), condescension and displaced frustration (Sliter et al., 2010), impoliteness and unfriendliness (Hur Moon, and Han, 2015, Walsh, 2011; Wilson and Holmvall, 2013), and disproportionate demands (Choi et al., 2014; Dormann

and Zapf, 2004). What is also reported is a growth in the number of violent incidents against frontline employees (Huefner and Hunt, 2000; Nelms, 1998; Rose and Neidermeyer, 1999), as well as increased aggression (Gabriel and Lang, 1997). Some research even suggests that traveller misbehaviour is the norm rather than the exception (Harris and Reynolds, 2004) and that frontline employees exposed even can experience this as an unconscious 'toxicity', something that has a long lasting negative effect on employees' feelings, the work environment and their relationships with customers and other employees (Stein, 2007; Harris and Reynolds, 2003).

In public transport, as described in Salomonson and Felleson (2014, p. 54), drivers as well as staff selling and checking tickets are subject to traveller misbehavior and incivility (AFA Försäkring, 2009), i.e. physical violence, verbal threats and abuse, drunkenness, the harassment of other passengers, unreasonable demands, and fare evasion (Boyd, 2002; Felleson, Salomonson, & Åberg, 2013; Fullerton & Punj, 2004; Suquet, 2010). A study of 88 transit agencies (U.S. and Canadian transit agencies and a Chinese BRT system) regarding which types of traveller assault have been problematic shows that verbal threats, intimidation, or harassment was considered to be the most problematic (TRB, 2011). The second most problematic type of assault was spitting, followed by assaults involving projectiles being thrown at or inside buses. Travellers "crossing the line" and deliberately violating what is seen as generally accepted norms of conduct are thus far from unknown in the public transport sector. Several statistical sources show that rail and bus operators are facing escalating problems with passengers who threaten and assault both staff and other passengers (AFA Försäkring, 2009; Bruyere & Gillet, 2005; Essenberg, 2003; Kompier & Di Martino, 1995; Kommunal, 2008; SEKO Kommunal, 2005; SWEA, 2008; TRB, 2011). A study of railway and metro frontline staff in Sweden demonstrates that nearly half of them had reported being threatened by passengers during the preceding year (Novus Opinion, 2009). Further, the Swedish work environment agency (SWEA) has reported that nearly half of all reported work-related injuries in public transport were related to violence, or threats of violence, between 2005 and 2007 (Strandberg, et al., 2008).

Implications

- ◆ Providers need to be aware of the different forms of traveller misbehavior and uncivility that can take place in DRT.

⁶ Based on Echeverri, P., Salomonson, N. and Åberg, A. (2012). Dealing with Customer Misbehaviour: Employees' Tactics, Practical Judgement and Implicit Knowledge, *Marketing Theory*, 12 (4), pp. 427–449; and Salomonson, N., and Felleson, M. (2014). Tricks and tactics used against troublesome travelers - Frontline staff's experiences from Swedish buses and trains. *Research in Transportation Business and Management*, 10, 53–59.

PART III – SOLUTIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN DRT

In the last 15 years, a new way of thinking and viewing transport services has emerged. The traveller is viewed as a traveller to different service offerings, which is includes a shift from being a passive receiver of service to active collaboration - travellers as co-creators. The literature on service management and marketing in general, as well as in the public transport domain, has been pre-occupied with accounting for how travellers evaluate service encounters in terms of traveller satisfaction (cf. Meuter, Ostrom, Roundtree, and Bitner, 2000), and has been uni-directional (Echeverri and Skålén, 2011; Oliver, 2006). More recently the contemporary view of marketing, whether it is a matter of private, public, or voluntary organizations is dominated by the notion of value co-creation, stipulating that value is co-created at the interface between a traveller and a service organization, based on the integration of a wide range of resources, and experienced in-use or in-context (Vargo & Lusch, 2004a, 2008). More specifically, this is realized in the very interaction between the provider and the traveller (e.g. Grönroos, 2011; Vargo and Lusch, 2004a). Value resides in actions and interactions, being collectively produced but subjectively experienced as an interactive relativistic preference experience (Holbrook, 2006). The perspective is rooted in and informed by early service marketing research during the late 1970s/early 1980s, and articulated by Grönroos (2011), who defines interaction as a reciprocal action whereby two or more parties have an effect upon one another.

In service contexts, such as in DRT, interactions are mostly thought of as service encounters and as dialogical processes that merge into one integrated process of coordinated action. Most research as well as transport managers treats the specific social interaction as a black box, something taken for granted (Grönroos, 2011). How interaction is realized, more specifically in service encounters including the wider array of social resources, is often unclear. This is crucial for the practice of DRT. If the traveller is actually co-creating the value as an outcome of the service, the travellers resources, active behaviour, engagement, motivation, and contribution is key. Understanding how the traveller are active in this collaboration with the resources of DRT-systems become a natural point of departure, not just checking traveller satisfaction with the service as a whole. How do travellers understand and handle or-

dering, information, mobility, equipment, telephones, apps, drivers, vehicles, payment, in a timely collaborative manner become important knowledge and competence, beyond the transport production including employee activities? In this part III, the chapters describe this understanding and how research can provide knowledge on DRT-transport experiences.

CHAPTER 5 Demeanour in the Traveller-Driver Interface⁷

A crucial aspect in all kind of service encounters is how value co-formation is actually realized during service encounters. Below we will describe and illustrate six overarching demeanour practices—i.e. how service employees in a concrete manner conduct in relation to travellers. The main content is found in Echeverri and Salomonson 2017a (pp. 95-100) and it is argued that demeanour are to a substantial amount routinized and often referred to as value forming (positive or negative). They are bi-directional and includes two or more value forming sub-activities. The practices fleshed out in what follows illustrate what doings and sayings employees and travellers are involved in and represent the core mechanism of the formation of value during the service encounter. Each demeanour practice and linked sub-activities are defined and described in detail, together with illustrative quotes. Typical bi-directional sequences are also described and illustrated.

Expressing Mood

This first overarching demeanour practice mirrors a key aspect of what interactants (typically an employee and a traveller) mutually produce during interaction. It deals with temper, i.e. expressing an emotional state, but also cognitive aspects (expressed through actions) such as consciously infusing calmness, patience and a sense of control into the service task and the situation to hand. Expressing mood adds information to meanings accompanying the bi-directional interactional sequence, and this is something both actors contribute to via different interactional patterns. The practice is normalized and two categories of sub-activity are identified, i.e. emotionalising and calming. Both can vary in meaning and form, but they do contribute substantially

⁷ Based on Echeverri, P. and Salomonson, N. (2017a). Bi-directional and Stratified Demeanour in Value Forming Service Encounter Interactions, *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 36, pp. 93-102. doi: 10.1016/j.jretconser.2017.01.007

to value co-formation and the overarching practice of expressing mood.

Emotionalising: This category of value co-forming activity is defined as the bi-directional interaction between an employee and a traveller which forms an emotional embeddedness. This can take various forms and might include displaying happiness or sourness, cheerfulness or irritation, encouragement or just being in a bad mood. A typical bi-directional sequence occurs when a traveller approaches an employee and the employee is acting out an emotion, in turn making the traveller co-act this emotional role.

A driver was in a very bad mood and raised his voice to everybody. He was very grumpy towards an old lady. This makes you feel alone and helpless ... You should see on them that they're happy to be working.

Calming: In contrast to the previous category, this includes activities that mutually instil a sense of calmness, of being patient, or displaying a stress-free mentality. This is something other than being emotional and is quite central to expressing what interactants have in mind (mood) and is forming value. If emotionalizing gives energy to the interaction, calming displays a firm grasp of the issues to hand. Calming is not a zero emotion, rather an activity of being in control and is thus a connotation of security. Typically, the bi-directional aspect is displayed when a traveller approaches an employee and the employee acts calmly, thus inducing the traveller to take enough time to contribute to the enactment of a smooth service process.

It matters a lot to me that the drivers show they understand that it [undertaking the procedure] takes time. Sometimes, I use a wheelchair and sometimes I don't. It depends on the shape I'm in.

Caring

The second overarching demeanour practice includes activities that co-form a sense of consideration for the other's physical and emotional wellbeing. Caring is key to service production and a joint action based on helping and being helped, a practice both interactants contribute to. This overarching practice is in turn based on five distinct sub-activities: paying attention, being considerate, lending a helping hand, body position, and exceeding the normal scripted procedure.

Paying attention: This category includes activities where the interactants *passively*, although very observantly, co-form an understanding of the important needs and solutions regarding the situation in question. The interactants remain in this position in the sense

that they pay attention to each other include being observant, perceptive, sympathetic, and listening. Bi-directionality is when the employee's attentiveness is followed by a traveller providing needs, followed by the employee listening and showing understanding, and finally traveller adjusts to the care given.

They must see the needs I have as a traveller, my physical needs. They need to help me into the vehicle and put my safety belt on. Getting the help you need without asking for it.

Being considerate: This category includes activities where the interactants *actively* co-form an understanding of the important needs and solutions of the particular situation. In contrast to the previous category, being considerate involves an active approach in the sense that the interactants either ask for or provide needs or undertake a physical activity that demonstrates consideration. Instances of value co-formation include activities such as asking about needs or accommodating requests.

I want them to listen to me, to let me finish talking. If they have both listened to me and let me finish talking, then they've treated me well. They should ask me if I need anything else.

Assisting: The category includes activities where the interactants co-form the required physical help and care. Instances of co-formation activities include employees providing physical help by carrying travellers' luggage/bags or aids (e.g. walking sticks or walking frames), or by helping travellers to put on safety belts and adjust their seats in some way. The traveller tries to use facilities or ask for help, and the employee supports the traveller process by helping the traveller. The traveller co-forms the care by commenting or making adjustments.

They should help me when I have something to carry, and they should help me to fasten my safety belt.

Positioning: This category includes activities where the interactants co-form their physical positioning vis-à-vis each other. Examples of co-formation activities include employees opening doors for travellers, awaiting travellers outside vehicles, or approaching and accompanying travellers to their doors. It is obvious that interactants position themselves in relation to each other in specific patterns and, in doing so, show that they care. An interesting thing is that body positioning is also a bi-directional construction. Both actors adapt to the other's position, bringing flow to in their joint action.

They [drivers] should be polite and leave the car and help me when I'm entering and then accompany me to the door [at the destination] when I'm leaving.

Exceeding: This category includes activities that co-form more service than may be expected. This is very common in service production. Most service processes have a basic pattern of interaction, a skeleton-like structure, a scripted procedure. The interactants follow this pattern to varying degrees, but distinctively add to it from their respective sides. This can include everything from stretching out with a pen to giving extra information. Exceeding is of key importance in caring. It entails adding to a scripted and predetermined procedure and, in doing so, co-forms a mutual perception of service that is above expectations.

The driver waited for me for 40 minutes and made sure that I got home. He looked after me in a way that the mobility service doesn't usually do.

Connecting

The third overarching demeanour practice includes activities that co-form a sense of connection on interpersonal level, something that develops and/or maintains social contact, a social bond, or a deeper relationship between the interactants. This practice goes beyond previous practices in that it addresses the relational dimension. Connecting is about defining the kind of relationship that is desired and can be characterized in many ways (e.g. distance, closeness, etc.). Three categories of sub-activity are identified: small talk, personalizing, and formalizing.

Small talk: This category relates to activities that co-form the conversational lubrication of social contact. During small talk, the actors orient themselves towards each other with the sole intention of establishing and maintaining social contact. It (mostly) lends the interaction a friendly and positive touch. Instances of small talk include; "here we are again", "that's very kind of you", "that's life isn't it", "see you next week?" etc. In connection with such simple utterances, small conversations might arise which mark and define the type and level of the relationship.

He talked about the weather ... He was talkative, so I forgot about my pains ... Nice when they make me laugh ... when they talk and they're sociable.

Personalizing: In this category, we include activities that socially bond interactants together by giving things a personal flavour. Instances of this kind of value co-formation are seen when the interactants share informa-

tion of personal significance to them, e.g. information about their families, personal interests, or what they plan do at the weekend. A sense of personal relationship is created which strengthens the social bond between them, irrespective of whether it is weak or strong. This type of activity is distinct from small talk, which only lubricates the interaction itself.

It felt like we were acquainted when we talked. She had an amicable manner.

Formalizing: This category includes activities that produce a sense of courtesy and civility between the interactants. Instances of value co-formation occur when the interactants greet each other and articulate forms of politeness during different parts of the interaction. In doing so, they mark the fact that the interaction is institutionalized, giving it a formal frame. Formalizing activities rely on socio-cultural conventions (e.g. showing respect, integrity, etc.) and provide a structural set-up to adhere to. This connotes the socio-cultural baseline of interaction. Reproducing this premise (a representational practice), by formalizing activities, helps them to feel more relaxed.

They [the drivers] should introduce themselves by name, and wish you a nice day and a pleasant journey. In brief, behave in a nice and pleasant way ... They should be genuinely polite.

Responding

The fourth overarching demeanour practice includes activities that jointly form a sense of responsiveness during the interaction, a definition and understanding of what is considered to be important by the other party. Responding is more than connecting and caring. Individuals can connect and/or care without being responsive. Responding to what matters to the other is a core mechanism of value formation activities. This practice is based on five different sub-activities: adjusting, giving feedback, disputing, dominating, and ignoring.

Adjusting: This kind of activity relates to adjustments needed in order to meet the interactants' wants and needs. Instances of co-formation can be identified during interactions whereby individuals exchange information about their wants and needs before, during, and after the interaction. Adjusting is about adapting resources and/or behaviour to one another.

It shouldn't be a stressful conversation [with call centre staff], instead you should be able to talk until you've reached a solution. If you get a suggestion [about a trip] that doesn't work, then you should be able to discuss it and find out if there's another car that suits you better.

Giving feedback: This category includes activities that co-form a sense of acknowledgement of the reception and correct understanding of information. Instances of this include when interactants confirm to each other or repeat their requests for additional feedback. This common type of activity stresses the importance of mutual affirmation.

That they [call centre staff] make sure to repeat what I've said so that they get it right."

Disputing: Another kind of sub-activity when responding is disputing. Often, this is related to negative connotations such as misdirected arguing against the other person on a specific issue. But it can also be positive, i.e. in situations where there is conflicting information to hand and there is a need to clarify things. In such situations, there is a need to argue and, in doing so, to facilitate action. If feedback deals with mutual confirming and requesting, disputing deals with mutual clarification, argumentation, and the processing of information.

The driver shouldn't say that we weren't on time.... The boat arrived on time at 4.27 and we went to the taxi that we'd booked for 4.45. Then the driver was standing by the car saying we were late.

Dominating: Another type of sub-activity is dominating. It concerns the amount of ascendancy, the execution of power and command during the interaction. It is distinct from disputing in that an individual can dispute without dominating, and dominate without disputing. Dominance is about being keen to exert control over the other party and can be loud or quiet, emotional or cognitive, wordy or laconic. Domination can also be both positive and negative as regards the interaction, partly due to socio-cultural norms and preferences.

The driver waited for me at the wrong place. I called [the call centre] again but then the driver didn't want to come and get me, instead insisting that my daughter could drive me to him. Finally, he reluctantly came to the right place and was very annoyed ... I felt completely brushed aside ... I got a sharp scolding.

Ignoring: The sixth type of sub-activity used in responding is ignoring, which demonstrates a mechanism that neglects and reduces the influence of the other party. Both actors need to ignore the other to a certain extent; this can be either effective or ineffective, positive or negative, or can be seen as displaying patience or disrespect. A typical sequence here is: The traveller ignores the employee as a person, the employee ignores the

other party as traveller (e.g. talking to his/her assistant instead of to the functionally-limited traveller), the traveller adapts to this displayed ignorance, the employee ignores redundant or irrelevant talk by the traveller, the traveller ignores the silence of the employee, the employee ignores additional responses.

He didn't talk to me. Instead, he turned to my assistant ... He ignored me.

Substantializing

The fifth overarching demeanour practice mirrors how interactants flesh out the inherent body of information on which the conversation focuses. This practice is displayed in situations where the actors explain something, or exchange facts about an issue. By giving substance to the issue, and accepting or rejecting it, both parties help to define and mutually understand what is relevant in the situation, and what is not. Substantializing is based on two different sub-activities: explaining and being factual.

Explaining: This category includes activities that make sense of issues which initially contained some uncertainty and were in need of clarification. Explaining is what individuals do when describing relationships between phenomena, i.e. why things are as they are, why the train is late, why the ticket machine is not working, etc. This is an established practice during most service processes. Instances of a value co-formation activity in this category could include when interactants explain (or explain away) or when they deepen (or overcomplicate) an issue in order to enlighten either themselves or the other person. Providing explanations is a very common activity during service interactions, in most cases being linked to positive connotations (but exceptions do occur). Both parties contribute to this practice by providing, adding, changing, and/or accepting statements.

The driver should be friendly and he should listen and explain things to me when I have stupid questions.

Being factual: Another sub-category of the practice of substantializing is being factual. This is different to explaining. Being factual is a bi-directional activity whereby both actors orient and/or limit themselves to facts. In doing so, they peel away all emotionality, redundant talk, and explanations and stick to the factual, concise, and objective matters in hand. This class of sub-activity keeps to the core, i.e. the most important, information and, in doing so, the interactants mutually refine and clarify the bare bones of what they need to know (e.g. where, when, who, and how), thus skipping

background explanations, additional information, relational talk, and ambiguous connotations. This helps the interactants to avoid, or limit, any uncertainty that might occur during the interaction, and speeds up the interaction process.

That they [call centre staff] give clear answers about when the car will arrive at my place, whether I'll need to travel together with other passengers, and when the car will arrive at my destination ... They need to be factual about when and where the vehicle will arrive.

Embedding

The sixth and final demeanour practice mirrors the fact that service is embedded in the very core tasks of service production. We treat this as a separate practice, parallel to other practices. The label connotes that demeanour is embedded in regular organizational procedures and that these are used to influence the traveller while he/she is involved in these procedures. This means that embedding is also a joint process and that three sub-activities are identified: delivering, ambiencing, and knowledge gaining.

Delivering: A sub-category of embedding which concerns the way the core service is executed. In this context, it can be illustrated by means of the desire for a convenient, but still effective, journey (keeping to the timetable), a wish for the employee to concentrate on the core service task, and not on extraneous activities, and a wish for the traveller to contribute to the work flow, and to sit still during the trip. In that sense, transportation is a joint action and is only realized when travellers are aboard.

The driver kept to the timetable. There was another passenger in the car who was going further than me, and that was okay. It was good that they made this work.

Ambiencing: Another cluster of sub-activities used in embedding is ambiencing, which includes all efforts made by the employee and the traveller to create a nice (indoor) environment. The traveller experience is dependent on a wide range of ambient conditions (noise, odours, lighting, whether the vehicle is clean, etc.). This environment can be arranged in a proper way, beforehand, and then maintained during the trip. Arranging these ambient conditions is normally standard procedure for the employee and influences the traveller greatly.

He [the driver] was very kind and turned down the air conditioning since I can't stand the cold.

Knowledge gaining: The third cluster of sub-activities used in embedding concerns knowledge that is gained, prepared, and used before, during, and after entering into the service process (the employee and traveller processes partly overlap). This includes basic employee training and traveller learning, employing actual know-what and know-how regarding organizational prerequisites, work procedures, traffic systems, actual conditions, real-time checks on traffic updates (e.g. delays), etc. Both the employee and the traveller add to this value-forming activity by bringing questions, and information, regarding needs and preferences during a mutual exchange.

She [call centre staff] understood my special needs and was clear, and she informed me. The whole thing was handled efficiently.

Modalities used

As indicated, it is possible to identify an additional level in this stratified phenomenon, a sub-sub-level of a wide range of multimodal communication by which the interactants use specific context relevant modalities in the actual production of activities. In quite many of the narratives these elements are referred to, explicitly or implicitly, in terms of body language or nonverbal communication. These paralinguistic codes (messages originating from tone of voice, speech tempo, and other sometimes patronizing paralinguistic markers) are, implicitly, used indirectly or in parallel with verbal expressions. These sub-sub-activities are shown to have a specific function during the analysed interactions. The shared meaning that comes from the connotations of this multi-modal use adds to what is otherwise articulated using words or written information. This resource provides the possibility of creating a wide range of communicative activities, e.g. the practices and sub-activities described. When communicative skills, both verbal and nonverbal, are activated and the wide range of expressions is articulated during interaction, they convey meanings and attitudes. These markers do not just provide clues as to how to understand what is being said (and not said), they also structure the interaction as such, and inform the interactants as to how to navigate within the myriad of interaction components. Each of these demeanour practices can be used by drivers and by so doing create value for vulnerable travellers in DRT.

From this, we can offer some implications for the employees and travellers of service work. Value is realized when interactants enact the identified practices and sub-activities as they are scripted in a specific service context. From a managerial perspective, it is

not enough to provide basic services. Value is formed by the ‘contour’ of the service encounter, rather than by value propositions. Preferably, the interactants will enact these in a congruent way that makes sense to both actors in each specific temporal and spatial situation. Individual travellers and employees are likely to have differing views of their interactive roles, partly due to their skills and their interest in contributing to service work. Their pre-understanding and view of their role are likely to influence the take-up of different types of practices and activities. Both need to be sensitive to bi-directional input and to how to interpret the actual use of different modalities. Intercultural conditions might also be an issue. The outlined classification of interactive practices can guide managers in developing services for a wide range of service encounters in different areas.

Implications

- ◆ A provider awareness of the value co-formation activities in the practices described enables a more precise strategy for employee education and traveller involvement in the services. More service staff training in interactional techniques can thus be beneficial.
- ◆ Employee education could include discussions about general practices in services for functionally limited travellers and the delicate balance of assisting the traveller and letting the traveller decide how much assistance that is needed. The latter requires sensitivity to verbal and non-verbal cues that only can be picked up in the meeting with each traveller.

CHAPTER 6 HOW TRAVELLERS COPE WITH VULNERABILITY IN DRT⁸

Another way to understand vulnerable travellers in DRT-transport is to take a traveller perspective. What is really perceived during a trip when having some kind of functional impairment? The following, is a description of a couple of strategies travellers use, necessary to cope with the situation. The main content is taken from Echeverri and Salomonson 2019, pp 376-378, where it is argued that understanding these coping strategies may increase the ability and skills of employees in delivering good DRT-service.

Proactive and reactive coping strategies

The experience of being vulnerable in DRT, having a feeling of being powerless, allow travellers to develop active strategies to cope with the negative aspects of

the service situation. A wide range of strategies can be detected and are clustered within ten distinctive categories. All of them address a time dimension, i.e. when actions are taken, before or after a harmful incident. We label these strategies as either ‘proactive’ or ‘reactive’. The former prevents a potentially negative incident while the latter mitigates it. Both are grounded in the procedural knowledge of the travellers and thus possible to foresee or react to. But all these strategies also receive a structure, some form of articulation. Some are expressed clearly by the travellers (often verbally), while others are expressed more vaguely (often non-verbally). Why is this the case? We understand this as a way of regulating the interaction in an appropriate way. We label these strategies either ‘explicit articulation’ or ‘implicit articulation’. The former provides reasons for traveller needs which directly inform the concrete service procedure, while the latter more vaguely indicates aspects of human attitude, reasons for specific traveller needs. These two dimensions allow us to distinguish between four principal forms of active coping strategies. How these four coping strategies work in relation to experiencing vulnerability are described in what follows, where examples illustrate the situations described by the travellers.

Proactive and explicit articulation: This coping strategy includes situations where travellers interact with service providers in order to prevent situations of vulnerability from arising in the first place, and where they explicitly articulate the reasons for this in terms of specific needs.

Two forms of proactive and explicitly-articulated coping sub-strategies are identified with both being related to travellers’ vulnerability manifested as physical discomfort. The first form concerns how to act in relation to *providers’ core delivery*. In this context, it includes driving issues, such as when travellers ask drivers to drive carefully and not too fast since they would otherwise become car sick or experience more pain. The second form deals with *travellers’ co-action*. This includes situations concerning travellers’ seating locations inside the vehicle, e.g. when they inform drivers that they want to sit in a particular seat inside the vehicle (usually the front seat) due to the risk of becoming car sick or experiencing increased levels of pain during the journey, or increased pain when trying to move from outside the vehicle into other seats inside the vehicle (usually the back seat). An example of the second form of coping can be seen in the following quote:

I had been to a dinner and was going home, and when I got to the vehicle, I said to the driver: “I’d like to sit in the front seat... because I’ve just eaten. Even though I

⁸ Based on Echeverri, P. and Salomonson, N. (2019). Consumer vulnerability during mobility service interactions: causes, forms and coping, *Journal of Marketing Management*. Vol. 35 (3-4), pp. 364-389. doi: 10.1080/0267257X.2019.1568281



haven't eaten so much I sometimes get sick afterwards". I know that if I'm sitting in the back of the car, and he drives jerkily, and then maybe he'll have to stop the car because... (Female, aged 41)

Proactive and implicit articulation: This type of coping strategy is also aimed at preventing vulnerability, but is conducted in an implicit manner. Travellers try to accomplish this without clearly expressing to drivers the actual reasons for their needs in order to avoid sharing potentially sensitive information (e.g. relating to their impairments), to avoid situations where they could be perceived as dependent or less competent or to avoid situations where drivers get upset.

Three forms of proactive and implicit coping sub-strategies are identified; each relating to a specific form of vulnerability. The first form is *traveller informing*. This relates to physical discomfort and includes situations whereby travellers give directions regarding which way to drive in order to avoid bumpy roads and shorten journey times, which could otherwise result in discomfort such as pain and car sickness. The second form, *preventing disrespect*, relates to travellers' vulnerability manifested as commodification and includes situations whereby travellers, who want to do things and make decisions for themselves, tell drivers they can put on their seatbelts themselves, or that they want to sit on a particular seat in the vehicle. This is done in order to prevent situations whereby drivers do not respect

travellers' ability and desire to do things and make decisions for themselves. The third form, *ascertaining service duration*, relates to disorientation and includes situations whereby travellers, in order to avoid any uncertainty concerning how long the journey will take, or whether or not they will be able to get to the door once they have arrived at their destinations, ask the drivers if they will pick up other travellers or instruct them to drop travellers off at a particular place. One traveller describes how she acts in order to avoid uncertainty regarding journey times:

When I've gotten into the vehicle, I ask [the driver]: "Are any more people going with us or not?" Then they usually answer. It's very nice to know this. (Female, aged 28)

Reactive and explicit articulation: Yet another type of coping strategy is when travellers reactively deal with situations in order to mitigate the vulnerability which they have experienced and which has already emerged, while clarifying the reasons for this on the basis of their needs.

Two forms of reactive and explicit coping sub-strategies are identified and both of these relate to travellers' vulnerability manifested as physical discomfort. The first form is *tempering bodily inconvenience* and includes situations whereby travellers, during their journeys, ask drivers to slow down because they are experiencing pain or feeling sick. The second form deals with how to *mod-*

erate ambient conditions and includes situations whereby travellers ask drivers to turn on/off the heating/AC, while explicitly stating that they are feeling too hot or cold. The following quote illustrates the first form of coping:

Usually, I'm very good at saying: "Don't drive so fast and jerkily. Drive slower because I feel sick." I often say that. (Female, aged 28)

Reactive and implicit articulation: Finally, coping strategies can be reactive and implicit. Travellers react in situations whereby they experience vulnerability, but they do not explicitly state the reasons for their needs. Three forms of reactive and implicit sub-strategies are identified. The first form, *insinuating discomfort*, is related to travellers' vulnerability manifested as physical discomfort. It includes situations whereby travellers get tired, or experience pain, due to carrying their bags to/from the vehicle or due to how drivers drive, commenting on the weight of these bags or making themselves noticed through paralinguistic respiration, e.g. a sigh, grunt, gasp or throat-clearing, or through interjections, small 'non-words', such as 'ouch!', 'oops!' or 'oh-oh!'. An example of the last two is illustrated in the following traveller quote:

I was travelling to the hospital and had a real headache. Wasn't well at all. The driver was driving fast and quite carelessly, but I didn't feel like starting an argument with him about how to drive. Didn't have the energy to explain... tell him why I wanted him to go slower. Instead, I made discrete noises on curves and sighed noticeably when he accelerated fast or braked suddenly. This seemed to work after a while [as he drove slower]. I've noticed that some drivers don't like it when I tell them to drive more carefully. (Male, aged 44)

A second form relates to commodification and includes situations whereby travellers implicitly indicate that the driver is violating their integrity, e.g. when a traveller raises his/her voice to gain the driver's attention. This can occur when a driver, instead of talking directly to a traveller, asks the traveller's assistant if he/she wants to sit on a certain seat inside the vehicle. As with the insinuating discomfort quote, this is also an example of paralinguistic use, in this case vocal amplitude. It is a form of communication that can nuance meaning or convey emotions. We label this *indicating disrespect*, and it is illustrated in the following quote:

He [the driver] didn't talk to me. Instead, he turned to my assistant ... He ignored me. I tried to talk louder. (Male, aged 44)

The third form, *indicating uncertainty*, relates to disorientation and includes situations whereby travellers, at the very moment they begin or end their journeys, experience uncertainty regarding an uneven and/or slippery surface, an inconvenient curb position, a slope, or weather conditions. Travellers' reactions in these situations include asking (without referring to impairments) the driver to help them get to the vehicle or to move the vehicle to a better place for the drop-off. The underlying reasons (their impairments), are only implicitly expressed to their drivers. One elderly female with visual impairment describes a typical situation:

I experienced my porch steps as slippery and asked the driver to meet me. There are some small steps down from my porch, only six ... But I'm ashamed to say that the rocks in my garden path are laid a bit unevenly ... I know they're there but I'm afraid of stumbling on them so I think ... It's much better if they [drivers] come and get me at my door. But I don't feel comfortable to always tell them about my impairment. It's to private. (Female, aged 94)

Thus, all these reactive and implicit coping strategies are used by travellers instead of articulating the underlying reason for their discomfort. Instead, travellers make indirect comments using irony, humorous metaphors, understatements, or non-verbal communication which disguise what drivers may otherwise interpret as criticism or as a sign of travellers' 'weakness' and dependency (due to their impairment). As was also illustrated, travellers sometimes do not want to articulate the reasons for their discomfort because they feel that their health prevents this – i.e. they lack the energy needed.

Implications

- ◆ Providers should understand the concept of coping, i.e. the ways travellers handle vulnerability.
- ◆ Providers should be aware of how the three forms of vulnerability are addressed by travellers using four main classes of coping strategies reflecting forms of proactiveness/ reactivity and explicitness/ implicitness.
- ◆ Providers should rely on the resources and coping strategies travellers use during service interactions, i.e. that travellers often provide information both proactively and reactively, and articulate it explicitly and implicitly in various ways.
- ◆ Employee training can include interaction techniques through which they learn to interpret the subtler signals given off by travellers.

- ◆ Adopting a more resource-sensitive approach can enable service providers to reduce or avoid creating power imbalances in exchange contexts.

CHAPTER 7 DEALING WITH TROUBLESOME TRAVELLERS⁹

Travellers' misbehaviour has implications, especially for frontline employees who have to deal with such issues on a day-to-day basis. A public transport system where customers behave badly towards both each other and employees, and where threats and violence are common, risks becoming both expensive and unattractive (cf. Berry & Seiders, 2008; Grove & Fisk, 1997; Huang, 2008; Martin, 1996). Misbehaviour also constitutes a severe work environment hazard (Grandey, Dickter, & Sin, 2004; SWEA, 2008; Yagil, 2008), being detrimental to the long-term motivation and well-being of employees (Ben-Zur & Yagil, 2005; Dormann & Zapf, 2004; Harris & Reynolds, 2003; Reynolds & Harris, 2006; van Dierendonck & Mevissen, 2002). Developing successful ways of dealing with customer misbehavior, on both an operational and a strategic level, thus represents a key challenge facing the public transport sector.

Research has shown how public transport employees adopt different strategies in order to cope with troublesome travellers (Echeverri, Salomonson and Åberg, 2012; Salomonson and Felleson, 2014). In the following, we present a number of ways to handle troublesome travellers. troublesome travellers and the main content is taken from Echeverri, Salomonson, and Åberg 2012, pp 431-433, 435-441

Using implicit knowledge in the practical judgement of traveller misbehaviour

The relevance of the construct implicit knowledge is seen in the fact that the actions employees use in service encounters, to cope with emotionally charged dysfunctional behaviour, include a number of skills, know-how, capabilities, and experiences—a wide range of more fuzzy knowledge resources. There are reasons to put analytical efforts also to these fuzzy knowledge resources beyond the more salient phenomena such as reflective thinking, decision-making, interpretations, i.e. what people perform. We can expand our comprehension of employees dealing with traveller misbehaviour by examining their ongoing practices and paying regard to instances of both implicit knowledge structures and practical judgement procedures, both discussed in this section.

Implicit knowledge

Much current thinking in relation to crisis management, learning from failure and practice-based studies, reveals the significant role of implicit knowledge—a specific mode of knowing—in explaining actions such as in service encounters. Implicit knowledge is traditionally discussed in terms of tacit knowledge (Nonaka et al., 2000; Polyani, 1967), and more recently in terms of processual knowledge (Kakihara and Sørensen, 2002), or knowledge-how (Gourley, 2006), necessary for practical judgement. This notion is originally based on the idea of separating knowledge into explicit and tacit, first introduced by Polanyi (1958), where 'tacit knowledge' is believed to escape representations and measurement but still matters when undertaking specific operations and activities. It is thought of as something mute and inarticulate that we cannot fully explain. In this paper we coin this tacitness as 'implicit' due to our assumption that it is within reach of human investigation, possible to articulate and communicate, and not a mysterious residual. We argue that including implicit knowledge is a fruitful step to take for more in-depth analyses of employees dealing with traveller misbehaviour. However, this proposal is open to certain objections discussed in the following.

In research, the notion of tacit knowledge has been found to be a profound philosophical question and the concept has no clear-cut definitions. A widespread view of tacit knowledge within organizational settings is the knowledge-based view of the firm displayed in the knowledge management literature. It holds that tacit knowledge can be managed as an organizational resource and has been shown to be important for the success of individuals (Nestor-Baker, 1999; Wagner and Sternberg, 1985), as well as being important for the work of organizations (Baumard, 1999; Hall, 1993; Lubit, 2001; Prahalad and Hamel, 1990). The field of knowledge management has produced a number of studies of how tacit knowledge is created (Nonaka and Takeushi, 1995; Von Krogh, Ichijo and Nonaka, 2000), disseminated (Davenport and Prusak, 1998; Dixon, 2000), and used (Boisot, 1998; Choo, 1998; Pfeffer and Sutton, 1999; Seely-Brown and Duguid, 2000). In knowledge management discourse, tacit knowledge is said to be 'embedded' in 'repositories' (e.g. individuals, roles and structures, organizational practices, culture, and the physical structure of the workplace) or 'reservoirs' (e.g. organization members, tools, and tasks, and combinations of these three elements) (Argote and Ingram, 2000: 152–153), or 'materialized' into 'knowledge object[s]' such as documents (Garavelli et

⁹ Based on Echeverri, P., Salomonson, N. and Åberg, A. (2012). Dealing with Customer Misbehaviour: Employees' Tactics, Practical Judgement and Implicit Knowledge, *Marketing Theory*, 12 (4), pp. 427–449; and Salomonson, N., and Felleson, M. (2014). Tricks and tactics used against troublesome travelers - Frontline staff's experiences from Swedish buses and trains. *Research in Transportation Business and Management*, 10, 53–59.

al., 2002: 270). Furthermore, tacit knowledge is deeply rooted in each individual's actions and experiences, as well as in the ideals, values, and emotions they embrace. Subscribing to the view that knowledge is not like other resources, numerous writers argue (with a sigh of resignation) that there is one component of knowledge that we cannot fully codify and represent; that there always is something indeterminate, fluid, and ambiguous in knowledge—which is thought of as the tacit component (Baumard, 1999; Lam, 2000). Although, some doubt if it can be managed like other forms of resources (Grant, 1996; Teece, 1998) it is claimed to be central for individual action even if research efforts on this is limited.

The existence and the possibility to articulate implicit (tacit) knowledge are thought of as both a philosophical and a methodological question, having historical roots. Our current understanding of the concept of implicit (tacit) knowledge can be attributed to the work of authors such as Baumard (1999), Collins (2001), Janik (1988), Neisser (1976), Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995), Reber (1989), Schön (1983), Scribner (1986), Simon (1973), von Krogh and Roos (1995), and Wagner and Sternberg (1986). Baumard (1999) traces implicit knowledge structures back to the ancient Greek concept of “*phronesis*”, as the result of experience that cannot easily be shared, as knowledge that is personal, profound, non-scientific, and “generated in the intimacy of lived experience”. In line with that Fukami (2007: 4) labels this “practical wisdom” and describes it as “the ability to interpret and adapt knowledge to a particular context, situation, or problem”.

As shown in the literature, mainstream understanding of the tacitness of knowledge has been subject to debate, in particular when it comes to the concept's elusive and immeasurable characteristic. For example, Armstrong and Mahmud (2008) demonstrate that tacit knowledge is derived from several distinguishing characteristics such as knowledge that people do not know they have (Forsythe et al., 1998), and which resists articulation or introspection (Cooper and Sawaf, 1996; Morgan, 1986). In contrast with this view Boisot (1998) says that there are three ‘quite distinct variants’ of tacit knowledge: (1) ‘Things that are not said because everybody understands them and takes them for granted’; (2) ‘Things that are not said because nobody fully understands them. They remain elusive and inarticulate’; and (3) ‘Things that are not said because while some people can understand them, they cannot costlessly articulate them’ (Boisot, 1998: 57). Such a definition underscores the ‘implicitness’ of this kind of knowledge and make it relevant for analysis in the context given in this study. Perraton and Tarrant (2007) argue that the concept of tacit knowledge merely is a term given to a phenomenon that the observer thinks that he or she does not un-

derstand; used as such, it gains no explanatory power. However, they also note that, despite tacit knowledge neither being codified nor even capable of being codified or communicable in language, it can nevertheless, apparently, be communicated between people within firms and organizations provided they have a sufficiently common degree of cultural understanding. It may even be communicated between firms and over distances, and its transfer may be formally contracted between firms. This puts it within reach of examination. Hence, although tacit knowledge may be considered by some to be a bane to articulation, others consider it to be measurable (e.g. Ceci and Liker, 1986; Forsythe et al., 1998; Sternberg and Grigorenko, 2001) arguing that it cannot be understood through direct articulation but must be inferred from actions and statements (Forsythe et al., 1998). In line with this view Gourley (2006) proposes a framework suggesting that different kinds of knowledge are related to different kinds of everyday behaviour. Knowledge, by this account is managed indirectly through managing behaviour. To gain understanding of employees' implicit knowledge structures thus require an understanding of their ongoing practices.

Practical judgement

Drawing on Baumard (1999) who claims that there are two sides to tacit knowledge: (1) ‘a cognitive dimension, e.g. paradigms, mental models, representations’, and (2) ‘a technical dimension, e.g. know-how, expertise applied to a specific context’ (Baumard, 1999: 59), it seems to be suitable to disconnect the concept of implicit knowledge from practical judgement. Implicit knowledge is always enacted in a practical dimension of doing, performing, assessing in different situations.

In line with this, Insch et al. (2008) propose a multidimensional model of the underlying dimensions of tacit knowledge, adding to Baumard's (1999) cognitive and technical skills dimensions, a third dimension that incorporates Wagner's (1987) concept of a social dimension of tacit knowledge, e.g. knowledge of self, tasks, and other people. Hager (2000) makes a related point when arguing that much of what gets classified as tacit knowledge actually appears to be the professional exercise of judgement, problem solving in novel circumstances—agents could give an account of their reasons and may often have to do so (in Perraton and Tarrant, 2007). As Styhre (2004) points out, knowledge is the totality of a human being's capacities and skills and must be examined as such, not through his or her abilities to express, represent, or codify these capacities.

In brief, knowledge must be examined as knowledge and not as a text or a symbolic system. This is also demonstrated in Beckett's (2008) conceptual analysis of holistic competence, where the term judgement-in-con-

text is central, referring to sensitivity to specifics in the immediate workplace context and the employees' actions in making judgements regarding how to proceed. Judgements are practical in the sense of being appropriate to the context in which they are embedded. Hence, to unearth the formation of employees' coping strategies we need to address implicit knowledge structures as well as practical judgement made in the interaction.

How drivers deal with troublesome travellers using implicit resources

From previous coping research, we thus know that employees' management of misbehaving travellers involves a range of different tactics (cf. Hochschild, 1983; Noon and Blyton, 1997; Reynolds and Harris, 2006). The traveller interaction as such gives rise to this diversification, but it is also obvious that the formation of tactics involves other moderating factors explaining the link between incidents and tactics. As will be evident below, we identify a more or less salient judgement procedure, mirrored in the stories drivers and travellers tell us, includes typical response approaches. On a practical level, this judgement guides employee behaviour (e.g. tactics). Further, these different forms of practical judgements are informed by structures of implicit knowledge, underlying the judgement of traveller misbehaviour.

The practical judgement per se is informed by implicit knowledge of various kinds. The relationship between practical judgement and implicit knowledge should be perceived as lying on different levels vis-à-vis tactics. Incidents of traveller misbehaviour are directly moderated by a judgement procedure before being manifested in tactics. During various judgement procedures, implicit knowledge is brought to the fore. In the following section we *first* describe tactics used by drivers. These categories of tactics are characterized and *secondly* commented on in relation to patterns of links to practical judgement and implicit knowledge.

Tactics

Tactics are intentional behaviours practiced on the basis of both a given misbehaviour incident and practical judgements made. Three levels of tactics are distinguished, ascending from a more or less routinized manner to a higher degree of reflection over various aspects, goals, and consequences for both the organization and the traveller.

Routine

First, incidents of traveller misbehaviour can be dealt with using an action labelled '*Routine*'. Some incidents

do not seem to generate much of reflective response, consequently the employee acts in an immediate and seemingly spontaneous manner. This category is close or almost similar to coping (see coping research presented in our literature review). In this category, we noticed six different tactics: hanging up, referring to rules, ignoring, lying, arguing and apologizing. A typical routinized tactic is the action of ending the conversation without trying to resolve the travellers' initial problem. This strategy seems to be triggered particularly when travellers use foul language or act in a rude and insulting way, as illustrated in the following quote.

They can be verbally abusive but they cannot hurt me physically. So, I can say to a traveller: "Swearing is unacceptable so you either behave in a civilized way or I'll hang up". It's no more difficult than that. And if they don't behave, and just carry on ... Click! Gone!

Another example is to handle the situation by referring to organizational rules or procedures. Due to organizational restrictions, the employees deny the travellers' requests while at the same time avoiding personal attack. However, the employee does not reflect upon any alternative solutions for the traveller. One employee in the mobility services industry expresses how she handled an angry traveller, by referring to rules, thus:

So I explained to her in a calm way: "Yes, but unfortunately we're not allowed to drive these and it's a decision that's been made by municipal management so there's nothing we can do".

Paradoxically, organizational restrictions are often the source of traveller misbehaviour (Rosenthal et al., 2001), while also being used by employees to diminish deviant behaviour. Ignoring the traveller is yet another example of how difficult travellers are managed. Corresponding to Reynolds and Harris' (2006) study, employees described how they sometimes disregard misbehaving travellers. By letting the traveller talk, and not paying him/her very much attention, employees manage to keep calm while the traveller is letting off steam. We interpret this type of action as a neutralizing approach, leaving the traveller and the employee in 'status quo'. Another routine-based tactic described by the employees is lying to the travellers. Using dishonest explanations is a way of effectively dismissing difficult travellers. This was not, however, a frequently-used tactic. One example of its use was dealing with traveller misbehaviour in the form of drunkenness, when the employee lied about the fact that many other calls were on hold.

Most people understand, but not all. Especially not those who've been drinking. They really like to keep the conversation going. [...] It's often true, but not always [that there are many other travellers on hold]. It depends on how tiresome the person is. You notice when someone is very talkative.

Two additional actions identified in the same category of routine-based tactics concern either arguing with the traveller or assuming responsibility and apologizing for the situation. As for the former action, we found examples of situations where employees actively resisted traveller misbehaviour and held the traveller solely accountable for the situation. Routine-based tactics, enacted by 'telling the traveller off', were especially common in situations where travellers acted in an authoritarian way and did not listen to what the employee was saying. The opposite mode of action expressed by employees, in respect of routine-based tactics, was assuming the entire blame instead and apologizing for the incident, albeit not actually solving the traveller's problem. In this way, they avoided an escalating incident. Routine-based actions seemed to be mostly applied when travellers' refuse to listen or are perceived as particularly difficult to handle, but it is not confined to such situations.

Situational

In our empirical material we also found several tactics representing more elaborative responses, even though the employees are emotionally affected or upset, whereby the employees react in a more rationalizing way, referring to diverse aspects and consequences. Tactics based on situational consideration points to the conscious control of action characterized by an expressed willingness to solve problems rather than just endure it or reducing it. Furthermore, this action indicates the employees' ability to consider the travellers' situation as well. Within this category we found that explaining to the traveller is a common tactic used by employees. This is differentiated from merely referring to the rules or arguing with him/her since the employee also 'educates' the traveller. In doing so, they are able to calm the traveller down and also strengthen the possibility of avoiding the same situation again with that specific traveller. Explaining how the service is enacted is, therefore, an action which illustrates how the employees take more extensive implications into account. The excerpt below demonstrates an employee's reasoning as regards her own perception of the importance of understanding, and how she tries to apply that when interacting with misbehaving travellers:

[...] to try to get the traveller to understand why this has happened. Because, without that understanding... I'm the kind of person who really needs to know why I do the things I do because, otherwise, it won't mean anything. It's really important and I try to do that to other people as well. If they have some understanding, there's usually no problem.

Another way is to use humour and joking to reduce incidents of misbehaviour and to try and turn them into positive experiences for the traveller instead:

Then you ask: "There's no other day [when you can travel]? You can't have dinner on Sunday instead? Because then there are some really good times available [to book for travel]". You try and turn it into a positive thing, saying: "I promise that the weather will be much better on Sunday". Or something like that. You joke with them.

The situational tactics also include solving the travellers' problems by taking the initial causes of travellers' misbehaviour into consideration. In our study, this was done in two different ways; either the employees tried to get the relevant facts from the travellers, despite their misbehaving, in order to solve things, or the employees offered alternative solutions to the travellers' problems. An employee explained this:

There are many things you can do. Change the [travel] times, before lunch or after lunch. Or suggest: "Do you really have to go shopping so early? There's much more time in the evenings. You're all alone and you can get as much help as you need in the grocery store". Many travellers appreciate that. They say: "Yes, you're right!". If you provide good solutions, you'll be able to sort things out. It's really rewarding.

Finally, within the category of situational tactics, we also note employees handling traveller misbehaviour by handing over to someone else. This can involve situations of misbehaviour where the traveller threatens the employee, when he/she and the employee are not getting along due to some previous failure in their interaction, when he/she does not calm down, or when he/she is acting in an authoritarian way and demanding to speak to management. The following excerpt demonstrates how the employee does not simply dismiss the misbehaving traveller but instead tries to solve the situation by letting the traveller talk to someone else within the organization:

Or ask someone else to take the call. It's not wrong. If something gets really inflamed. Then you can say: "Please

hold and I'll put you through to my colleague". Then you transfer the call and things usually turn out for the better.

Contextual

A third category of employee tactics, when handling misbehaving travellers, is characterized by critical reflection on tasks, goals, and additional conditions such as organizational goals and the traveller's situation. We labelled these tactics as being based on contextual consideration. For example, some employees express how they react to traveller misbehaviour by giving them enhanced service.

*Of course, the traveller should get the most benefit from it. Because, at the end of the day, that makes them happy. They're happy afterwards, and I know it. So, if I arrange a really good journey for this traveller, he might think: "S**t, it wasn't really necessary for me to get so angry".*

In some situations, giving enhanced service also entailed the employee disregarding internal organizational rules in order to assist the traveller. Another form of contextual tactic is that employees try to relate to the traveller's life situation. One such example is when employees of the municipality's mobility service consider how travellers calling to book transportation may have different impairment problems:

A lot of the time, it's part of their illness. Eventually, you learn which travellers have problems affecting the way they act. I mean, we aren't all the same. No persons are alike. We all have different characteristics. Some of them don't mean anything bad by what they say.

Within the category, we have also identified actions aimed at establishing a personal relationship with the traveller. By doing this, they evade problematic incidents and are also in a position to prevent and reduce future traveller misbehaviour.

We conclude that traveller misbehaviour is met with distinct tactics when managing travellers. We also conclude that these tactics are of different sorts each reflecting different levels of reflection. More importantly, the fact that these separate tactics are related to the employees' ability to consider various consequences as well as previous experiences implies that the employees' knowledge structures guide the formation of tactics. Each tactic is related to a specific practical judgement that concerns the employees' reason for acting in a certain way. Further, implicit knowledge is related to the practical judgement made. These links are described in the following.

Patterns of links

As already mentioned, we show that it is fruitful to separate more diffuse intuitive knowledge resources (implicit knowledge that is possible to represent and communicate) from more salient phenomena such as assessments, decision-making, interpretations (practical judgement) e.g. what people perform (cf. Baumard, 1999, Hager, 2000). Implicit knowledge influences practical judgement, which in turn drives action. In enacting the various practical judgements, different resources are at hand and in use. These are not always verbally expressed, instead being referred to as implicit knowledge. In understanding the meaning of the practical judgement made, this implicit knowledge is a key element since this type of knowledge is used in the management of traveller misbehaviour incidents. Or, in other words, why employees act the way they do is dependent on implicit knowledge.

Within the three major types of tactics used (Routine, Situational, and Contextual), we identify (as seen in Table 1) three different forms of practical judgement (Rules, Balanced adjustment, and Reflection) and three implicit knowledge resources (Norms, Habitual schemes, and Multi-perspective). Based on our findings that traveller misbehaviour is met by distinct tactics which are guided by practical judgements informed by implicit knowledge, we identify three patterns: (1) Routine–Rules–Norms, (2) Situational–Balanced adjustment–Habitual schemes, and (3) Contextual–Reflection–Multi-perspective. These combinations explain the formation of employees' tactics when handling traveller misbehaviour.

Routine – Rules – Norms

As regards the first tactic, routine, we identify a practical judgement form interpreted and labelled 'Rules'. This form guides the routinized tactics. Employees' reactions suggest an impulsive and intuitive approach to misbehaving travellers, such as checking the level of importance or finding a neat way of getting rid of them (and their problems). Rule-based judgement not only refers to but is also restricted to previous experiences and solutions, or 'normal' ways of handling travellers not taking into consideration for example the travellers' point of view. This is, in a sense, practical judgement by rule-of-thumb or by following specific instructions within the organization. Most importantly, this action reduces the complexity of the situation; hence, the issue at hand is managed smoothly and effectively by habitual behaviour. Furthermore, in our perspective, practical judgements are always formed by an implicit knowledge structure. Seeing that routinized tactics and rule based judgement are foremost characterized of employees' habitual behaviour and perceptions of human beings,

the implicit knowledge resource rests upon ‘norms’, i.e. rules are enacted by experiences and learned norms. In this regard, social competence is a key resource, as is learned nonverbal behaviour. By means of multimodal communication beyond words, the employees have an impact on their travellers. Further, norms can be ethical (what one is supposed to do or not) or organizational (the way employees normally handle negative incidents at a specific company). When employees refer to some kind of rule-of-thumb, this displays a fundamental ethical norm regarding what constitutes a good way of acting. Organizational norms refer to explicit or implicit procedures, but could also reflect a specific corporate culture. On this level, subjective values and different work experiences are basic implicit resources explaining why practical judgement sometimes takes the form of being rule-based. Norms also include the way that one, as a human being, wants to be treated. For example, we identified situations where employees terminated calls because they felt personally mistreated by travellers. Similarly to findings within coping research, such actions are closely linked to emotionally charged responses.

Situational – Balanced adjustment – Habitual schemes

Employees’ tactics based on situational consideration identified on our study, are more complex than routine based tactics, since they not only consider previous experiences but also institutional issues. When employees reflect on and consider various consequences it is done by a practical judgement procedure form which we interpret and label as ‘Balanced adjustment’. Balancing different options, on the basis of their consequences, or considering the traveller viewpoint both constitute examples of such a practical judgement procedure. This, in turn, calls for a specific, implicit knowledge resource, which we label “Habitual schemes”. These can be cognitively elaborated, for instance, when employees refer to different scenarios (“If I do this, A and B probably will happen and lead to ...”) or refer to balanced adjustments based on different possible consequences in either a short- or long-term perspective. Implicit resources include knowledge of organizational functions, other organizational instances, and responsibilities, for instance they consider how an action in one part of the organizational system may have a negative impact somewhere else.

Contextual – Reflection – Multi-perspective

The practical judgement which guides contextual tactics is a form that reflects the ability to see beyond present conditions. This ‘reflection’ form of judgement emphasizes long-term thinking and reflections upon alternative ways of doing things. Hence this specific form

reflects on personal action using cognitive loops (see theory on ‘double loop learning’, Argyris and Schön 1978). As the following quotation illustrates, it is a mode that takes into account the long-term consequences, based on the employees’ experiences.

*During the early years, it affected me. You got offended. Why do I sit here and take all this s**t? I can’t do anything. It’s not something I can change, but I still get a lot of s**t. But over the years, and the longer you’ve been here, you understand why it’s like this. So there’s no point in getting offended—try to talk about it and try to be friendly to the traveller. So that, next time, it’ll be better.*

Considering the emphasis on employees’ ability to address a number of objectives, the implicit knowledge structure lies on a ‘multi-perspective’ approach to misbehaviour incidents. Alternating optional objectives or alternating between perspectives (often, misbehaviour incidents are linked to other organizational actors) are both instances of implicit knowledge being used to manage traveller misbehaviour. Within this category, we find instances of taking into account the traveller’s entire life situation, as well as organizational goals.

Using appearance, interactional abilities and the environment to deal with troublesome travellers

A study by Salomonson and Felleson (2014) consisting in-depth interviews with conductors on regional trains and bus drivers on local buses in Sweden, shows several instances of traveller misbehaviour, e.g. verbal abuse, threats, and even physical violence. These alarming incidents were dealt with by staff using a range of individual strategies aimed at averting or controlling misbehaving travellers. The study (Salomonson and Felleson, 2014, pp. 56-57) demonstrates the importance of the employees’ appearance and their interactional abilities, in addition to their use of the physical environment, when handling incidents of misbehavior.

Strategies based on appearance

In a number of cases, the employees’ body posture, gestures, and aesthetic appearance were effectively used to deal with deviant customers. These qualities also had a preventive and deterrent effect as the physical appearance of staff decreased the occurrence of misbehavior. Often, appearance is about either strengthening the position of power vis-à-vis the customer or, on the contrary, toning it down. The uniform that train crew wear is perceived to be provocative by certain travellers, and then it can be important not to strengthen the position of power any further.

Strategies based on interaction

Employees' verbal skills were also important when dealing with and preventing misbehavior. In this regard, numerous strategies were used, e.g. letting the traveller talk, acting calm, keeping a friendly tone, and establishing trust. A heated discussion can, for instance, be toned down simply by means of the employee showing that he/she is actively listening to the traveller. Several respondents talk about the need for a light touch, balancing things and being able to act "smart" when interacting with the troublesome traveller:

In order to attempt to get things in balance, as I usually call it, you need a good knowledge of people, most of the time. You must be able to deal with the case in a balanced way, you must be able to judge "Is this worth it?", "What will happen?", "What exactly are my guidelines for doing this?" [...] "How will this turn out, where is the person going?" (Male train conductor)

Strategies based on the physical environment

In addition to the employees' appearance and interactional skills, several strategies also related to the physical environment and the employee's physical location in relation to an aberrant traveller. The physical environment is perceived, in many cases, as a limitation since public transport employees have few possibilities of avoiding abusive or threatening travellers. The physical environment was also utilized, however, in preventive strategies, for example keeping an appropriate physical distance from the traveller, always facing him/her (i.e. not turning your back), and not blocking the way. The employees are of the opinion that their position vis-à-vis the traveller is important; for instance, they are reluctant to position themselves between the traveller and the doors or to turn their backs on a threatening traveller. They are aware of how the physical environment looks and they make sure they are correctly positioned in relation to the doors and the traveller.

Implications

- ◆ The tactics can be used by managers for training new employees, in connection with team-building activities, and in advancing quality perceptions at the traveller level.
- ◆ Minor actions by employees seem to be promising with regard to dissolving traveller misbehaviour, e.g. giving travellers explanations, apologizing for any inconvenience, assuming responsibility for problems, displaying a willingness to help and draw traveller information to the attention of the company's back-office.

- ◆ A demand for more multi-perspective thinking at the individual level has implications for recruitment procedures.
- ◆ Also, consider if the employees' physical appearance, e.g. uniforms, can induce a sense of power imbalance between them and the travellers and if an understanding about employee movement and positioning in the physical environment – in relation to the traveller - can be included in employee training.

PART IV METHODS

This third part of the handbook will describe and discuss alternative methodologies of how to really understand the needs and experiences of DRT-travellers.

CHAPTER 8 METHODS FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF TRAVELLERS

Traditionally, organizations get the understanding of traveller by using surveys, measuring travel behaviour, demographics, satisfaction, etc. While such methodologies may provide generic information on wider samples, suitable for evaluating the service system as a whole, it has some impairments. The information that is measured is limited to the variables the investigator can come up with in beforehand. Normally, there is a high risk that other aspects important for the traveller is out of sight. Further, often travellers have problems in understanding questions, providing partly misleading answers, or just find the questions irrelevant. Often questions are created based on a statistical 'average' traveller while the individual traveller face different conditions that make it partly difficult to answer survey in an accurate way. Other popular methodologies are the use of focus groups. Gathering individuals having experience of traveling with the given service and ask them about it in a systematic 'focused' way, step-by-step approaching the very essence of travel or deliberately focusing on specific aspects that may be important for the travellers. Such approaches typically reach a much richer understanding of their perceptions, actual needs, and what may be developed.

However, all these methodologies suffer from being linked to aspects that can be recalled before or after a service. It is limited to what can be stored in memory and risks to be influenced by post- or pre-purchase rationalizations or just limited knowledge. In the following, we will provide a short overview of other suitable methodologies.

Shadowing studies

A method to better understand travellers is to not only ask them about how it is to travel, using more or less open-ended questions in surveys, traditional interviews,

or focus groups. Instead, or as a complement, we can follow them during actual trips, something which has been labelled "shadowing". By this approach it is possible to grasp their experience while they are highly involved and aware of the specific travel conditions and can easily recall their perceptions. Not only the methodology increases the possibility for the traveller to give a more accurate response, it also easier for them to point to specific details and elements. Such details provide the developer with managerial information to be used for changing or developing the service operation. We will give some examples of shadowing from our own research. Each of them shares the basic approach but differ in some regards.

Shadowing study no 1¹⁰

One of our studies, were shadowing was one of several methods, was designed as follows (Echeverri and Salomonson, 2019, pp. 369-370). We (the researchers) conducted multiple in-depth semi-structured interviews with eleven travellers (six women and five men) with a wide range of functional impairments. In-depth semi-structured interviews enable access to rich, contextual data and also allow the flexibility to further explore topics arising during the interviews (Miles & Huberman, 2004). Among the impairments the respondents identified to us were chronic pain, effects of stroke, fibromyalgia, chronic tiredness syndrome, sensitiveness to infections (due to a stem cell transplantation), visual impairment, physical impairment, difficulty handling unfamiliar situations and people, memory problems, and difficulty handling stress and orienting oneself outdoors. The age of the informants ranged from 28 to 94. The purposes of their journeys included mundane things like shopping, visiting relatives and friends, going to the cinema or theatre, engaging in other types of social activity, or going to the doctor/dentist/pharmacy.

The data set is based on a go-along approach while collecting data. First, we interviewed travellers at home, grasping important contextual factors, e.g. their impairments and how these affect them in their day-to-day lives, their life situations and interests, their person-

¹⁰ Based on Echeverri, P. and Salomonson, N. (2019). Consumer vulnerability during mobility service interactions: causes, forms and coping, *Journal of Marketing Management*. Vol. 35 (3-4), pp. 364-389. doi: 10.1080/0267257X.2019.1568281

al needs and experiences in relation to the mobility service, and their interactions with the drivers. For grasping this kind of information, doing interview at the respondents' home is beneficial, and could add important information to the shadowing techniques. This kind of "door-to-door" methodological approach is sought for in research about disabled travellers' journeys with DRT and public transport in order to be able to formulate goal from a traveller perspective. Disabled travellers' trust and confidence in public transport as a means of transport requires up-to-date, relevant and accurate information and service in a whole-trip perspective, door-to-door, all day, all year (Trafikanalys, 2019).

Then we accompanied them on a journey using the mobility service to one or two destinations which the travellers themselves chose. During the journey, we continued with the interviews, encouraging them to comment on a wide range of issues experienced while using the service. This was done due to our interest in understanding their perceptions, thoughts and meanings in connection with using this service. Accompanying disabled travellers in shopping situations, or when they are using different services, has proven to be appropriate in previous studies when examining, for example, accessibility (e.g. Kaufman–Scarborough, 1999). Our participation in the journeys were approved by the mobility service organization and the drivers were informed of our role as independent researchers.

During the journey, we also took field notes, photos, and audio recordings, documenting crucial situations and interactions, e.g. interactive behaviours between travellers and drivers, their demeanour, their use of equipment, information exchange, etc. At the destination, we completed the interview, asking the travellers to reflect on things that had happened, the drivers' performance, the travellers' role in the service process and how they personally experienced it in relation to their functional impairments (positive/negative/indifferent). Using this *in situ* procedure, we were able to unearth contextually-relevant factors and to get access to naturally occurring data that we deemed important for gaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (cf. Silverman, 2006). Each go-along interaction with the travellers lasted about two hours.

In order to get an in-depth understanding of the service per se, we also studied the service provider side (the drivers handling the mobility service process). We accompanied four other drivers, with each journey lasting between 1.5 and 2 hours, in more or less the same way as the travellers, applying the go-along approach and data collection in the field (semi-structured interviews and observations), in their natural environ-

ment. The drivers were asked to drive to different locations illustrating different aspects of their work. During the journey, and at the locations, they described their work in general and how they interact with the travellers in both everyday situations and in situations that work especially well, or do not work well. No travellers were present during these journeys. Five interviews were also undertaken, each lasting between 1 and 1.5 hours, with other drivers at their office. The interviews with the travellers and the drivers were digitally recorded (audio) and transcribed.

As in all research, conducting shadowing techniques (a form of participant observation), risk having an impact on the interactions under investigation. However, and in our study, we tried to minimize this risk by conducting initial interviews, before the observations, with the informants. Here we clarified our research interest and our independent role in relation to the mobility service organization. We also described that the study will be anonymized. We believe that this made the informants more at ease, more prone to act as the usually act in these situations. In addition, our questions during the observations were included as a natural part of our conversation with them. Our ambition was that this would provide us with their narratives about how they usually act.

Shadowing study no 2¹¹

A specific and quite unusual form of shadowing is to go "under-cover". Sometimes, that is both legal, appropriate, and beneficial for both the respondent and the investigator. This can be managed as we did in a study of DRT-drivers (Echeverri and Salomonson, 2019, pp. 370-371). One of the investigator researchers took on the role of a wheelchair-bound traveller while the other acted as his personal assistant. Over 10 journeys (each lasting between 15 and 45 minutes), journeys which were approved by the mobility service organization, we made detailed observations of the service procedure, taking field notes and photos (using an iPad and a smartphone). This technique is close to mystery shopping observations; a concealed form of participant observation where actors act as travellers or potential travellers to study the processes and procedures used in the service delivery (Wilson, 1998). It has for several decades been widely used in retail, health care, hospitality, and other B2C service sectors to evaluate intangible service experiences (Ford, Latham, & Lennox, 2011).

Shadowing in this form can provide richer knowledge of the experiential nature of services and the technique can ensure that the experience is natural and not

11 Based on Echeverri, P. and Salomonson, N. (2019). Consumer vulnerability during mobility service interactions: causes, forms and coping, *Journal of Marketing Management*. Vol. 35 (3-4), pp. 364-389. doi: 10.1080/0267257X.2019.1568281

contrived for the sake of the observer (Wilson, 1998). The technique raises ethical issues, i.e. observing people without their consent. Besides the approval from the mobility organisation to conduct these observations, the drivers were also aware that observations could take place – but not when. In fact, mobility service organisations regularly conduct such observations for quality reasons. At the same time, as discussed in the literature (e.g. Jorgensen, 1989; Wilson, 1998), services are often performed in settings where employees are often observed by other travellers. To be observed as an employee can therefore be seen as normal everyday circumstance.

The findings relate mainly to go-along observations and the individual interviews with travellers and drivers. However, using this introspection approach of ‘undercover’ observations, we came very close to the experience of using and producing the service. This made us more sensitive in our interpretation of what goes on during DRT-procedure, and on contextual cues, physical objects, and equipment used in the service. Another argument for this kind of data collection is the possibility of better being able to concentrate on the actual interaction between us and the service provider—i.e. specific physical/manual procedures, looks, facial expressions, mimicry, body positions, all modalities that are important elements of the production of the traveller experience.

To this, it is beneficial to add information on background prerequisites and organizational impairments of the service performance in general. Throughout the study, we acted with the organization’s permission but as independent researchers. We decided what was of interest to study and had no obligation to report results to the organization. We deemed our independence as important in order to reach trust among the informants. How to approach and study travellers in an ethical way was thoroughly discussed with the service-providing organization that also assisted us in the sampling process and to get access to informants. We instructed the organization that we wanted variation in gender, age, impairments, and number of years in the occupation. The study was conducted in the southwest part of Sweden.

These rich and empirically-grounded descriptions grant us access to information about the relevant factors of this phenomenon, putting us in a position where we can provide more in-depth and valid explanations of what forms of vulnerability travellers experience and how they cope with these forms of vulnerability. We argue that this in situ research approach has greater merits when it comes to exploring this phenomenon than the more commonly-used data collecting methods

found in service research, especially methods such as a priori-defined traveller surveys and interviews.

Shadowing study no 3¹²

In a study of travellers with functional impairments (Echeverri, 2012 pp 2211-2220) aiming at a more in-depth understanding of actual experience of critical factors during travel, the following methodology was used. It illustrates one way of shadowing methodology.

Two samples of travel processes were analysed. The first sample consisted of individuals with different functional disorders such as (i) complete loss of sight; (ii) complete loss of sight with hearing aid; (iii) severe visual impairment; (iv) inability to use lower extremities (wheelchair user); (v) reliance of walking aid (‘rollator’); (vi) complete loss of hearing; (vii) a parent with a child in a baby carriage; and (viii) cognitive limitations). The second sample consisted of people without any functional impairments. Individuals from both groups were to complete a ‘well-known’ travel chain and an ‘unknown’ travel chain, ending up in a 2x2 matrix.

The travellers were equipped with a mobile microphone to report on critical issues during the trip. They did this during a trip from their homes to a chosen destination. During the trip, a second person (a researcher) used a mobile video camera. This person followed the traveller to document the physical and communication environment. The travellers were instructed to contribute by a ‘think-aloud’ methodology—a psychological method for documenting spontaneous perceptions of the travel experience. This data collecting procedure was used, partly in order to encourage the respondents to associate beyond the most obvious issues, such as problems and negative critical incidents, and report on things at a non a priori basis.

The gathered data consisted of video recordings of 1-2 hours for each of the travellers. Although, the majority of the recordings were of limited value—especially those when the traveller was merely sitting in a transport mode waiting for to be transported—many sequences were of greater value for the research purpose. These included recordings of the traveller leaving one mode, passing (say) a transit hall, and then continuing by another transport mode. In the videos, we were able to identify the travellers’ mobility, behaviour, and gestures—as well as the various physical objects that formed elements of the process. The data material show how the respondents points, ask, touch, and smell different aspects of the environment. If something in the service environment was of significance, the respondent was able to comment on it using the mobile microphone.

12 Based on Echeverri, P., (2012) ‘Navigating Multi-modal Public Transport Systems: Real Time Perceptions of Processual Usability Using Video Methodology. *Procedia-Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 48, 2211-2220.

This data approach guided the analysis of what is important for the traveller and how to interpret its influence and meaning. This approach enabled a more profound understanding of the contextual setting by having the respondent point out important aspects and provides his or her interpretation of it.

Following this *in situ* approach, based on open coding of data, the investigation uncovered factors that are relevant for the travellers. In that sense, they are utilized to sort out critical issues and ease our understanding of how to interpret their experience. Usability was used as a sensitising concept to guide the analysis, because this concept includes functional capacity, environmental demands and traveller activity (Carlsson, 2002). Because the data collection was close to the actual perceptions of the travellers, it can be argued that the methodology had high face validity.

This methodological approach should be seen in the light of traditional methods. To date, the primary source of information (data collection) about travel processes has been self-reporting (Gitlin, 1999; Steinfeld & Danford, 1999) and questionnaires or structured checklists focusing environmental components alone (Lavery & Knox, 1998). Given the definition of usability in travel processes such methods are of limited value. By definition, they lack information on the personal component. It is difficult for the user to assess usability without taking into account the activities that will be performed in the transport system. Other techniques have been focus groups, structured interviews, and informal discussions. For our purpose information is required about individual capacity, traveller activities and environmental factors. But valid and reliable methods for producing such information are scarce (Cooper et al, 2001). Usability problems are seldom assessed in a travel chain perspective. Only a few studies focusing on usability in the entire travel chain have been found (Jensen, Iwarsson & Ståhl, 2002; Carlsson, 2002) and none includes different kinds of vehicles during a door to door trip. All studies are more or less based on a limited number of predefined categories for data coding, with negative implications on validity. More elaborate methods should include context specific information regarding aspects before, during, and after the trip, as well as aspects linked to use of equipment, time, security, and employee conduct. For an overview of methodological issues and problems, see Carlsson (2002) who conclude that dynamic environmental variations in public transport make accessibility assessment substantially complex (time of year, time of day, weather conditions, variations due to bus drivers, etc.). Research on traveller perceptions during public transport need more open approaches and information from travellers in real time.

CHAPTER 9 EXPERIENCE-BASED CO-DESIGN FOR SERVICE INNOVATION

There is a growing interest in activities and methodologies for creating innovation in service. A specific area is called service design and typically involves developers of different kinds active in trying out creative methods for developing services. In an overview of service design and how to involve customers in service developments, Vink (2019) argue based on research that among developers there is great interest in the transformative potential of involving the users in innovative work (Miettinen and Koivisto, 2009; Stickdorn and Schneider, 2011). Vink (2019) also show that there have been significant investments into service design by governments, public organizations, private companies and communities around the globe (Bason, 2017; Mulgan, 2014; Sangiorgi, 2015). In academic literature service design has been called out as driver for innovation (Secomandi, 2018; Clatworthy, 2011) and linked to social change (Koskinen, 2016; Penin, 2018).

The contemporary view on designing services do not only focus on services per se, rather it focuses on creating the conditions for value creation in general. In this view, service design is co-design and may involve all actors that collaborate in the design process, e.g. service providers (management, communication, drivers, call center), service users (different traveller groups), design experts, throughout the design process. Emphasis is placed not on the physical resources used in the process, but rather the skills and knowledge of participating actors. The focus of the service co-design process is on the experience of users and the value users obtain when using a service (Wetter-Edman et al., 2014). The idea of co-design means more than just being responsive to travellers and listening to their needs; travellers need not just to be active partners 'having a say' about their travel but directly contributing to the design of that travel.

A typical set-up of EBCD-session

The basic idea behind EBCD-approaches is the interest in the traveller process, often metaphorically called the "traveller journey". In DRT services, the "journey" is concrete and not perceived as a metaphor. EBCD involves gathering experiences from patients and staff through in-depth interviewing, observations and group discussions, identifying key 'touch points' (emotionally significant points) and assigning positive or negative feelings. Staff and travellers are brought together to explore the findings and to work in small groups to identify and implement activities that will improve the service or the care pathway. The approach uses storytelling to identify opportunities for improvement and

focuses on the usability. It empowers staff and patients to make changes. Because the approach is qualitative, not quantitative, it provides rich insights into the experience of patients. By filming (optional) the stories of people's experiences, and then bringing staff and travellers together to prioritise areas for improvement and define key actions, it becomes extremely focused and leads to clearly demonstrable results.

The first activity is likely to be observation. This is an extremely important stage that involves spending time within the service, watching how the teams and systems operate on the ground. This stage involves noting what you see and thinking about how you respond to it, focusing on anything that seems impressive, unusual, surprising, confusing or worrying. Try to imagine you are a traveller, or are seeing the service through fresh eyes as a visitor to that area.

Once you have carried out observations, the next task is to recruit staff – including frontline employees (drivers, call-centre), administrative and others. A group of individuals are then recruited from the traveller base, providing a traveller perspective of the service. Later on, product developers, strategists, sales persons, communication managers, etc, from the delivering organization will be involved.

Normally, you start probing the traveller experiences by doing individual interviews. Let them tell you their story and to provide details of trips and tricky situations. While you're listening, make a note of comments that require clarification or more detail. As the patient is talking, listen out for key points and 'touch points' – themes that particularly resonate, and that may have also arisen in interviews with other people.

The gathered the group of individuals are equipped with pen and papers, whiteboards, etc. A session leader steer the conversation towards describing the very process of travel and all the relevant actors involved in it. You can divide into smaller groups, gathering specific professionals or group of travellers, to focus on a specific issue or problem. The group conversation can be quite unstructured so on some occasions there is a need to sum-up and prioritize from the list of highlighted aspects. A wide range of concrete methods can be used such as, brainstorming, stick notes (moved around into categories), voting on suggestions to reach consensus, and other visualizations to illustrate.

The result can be a service blueprint, a process map, with identified sub-processes and sub-sub-processes. During the collaborative work describing all the details, the group add comments on critical aspects. The visualization is a form of traveller story of what is actually experienced out there. Before ending the group session, the group participants provide a list of problems and suggestions for changes. The session leader then iden-

tifies ways and forms of delivering the results in house and to the involved participants. EBCD sessions requires emotional investment from staff and travellers alike so providing feedback after some time is highly appreciated.

EPILOGUE

This handbook has come to an end in the search for a more in-depth understanding of how it is to travel with DRT-transport modes. Our suggestions are based on research and may provide a source for others in pointing out even more implications for actors responsible for and deliverer of existing and future DRT-solutions. We thank all the partners of RESPONSE consortium for inspiration in writing up this manuscript. For further contacts:

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