Turnover and Retention in a Tight Labour Market: Reflecting on New Zealand Research

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Abstract

In recent years, New Zealand has experienced a dramatic drop in unemployment and the overall unemployment rate is amongst the lowest in the OECD. The resultant tight labour market has made skills shortages, staff turnover and retention the topic of widespread media reports. Staff turnover and retention has also become a key focus of employers, managers and HRM specialists. This has prompted, as detailed in the article, renewed research interest in staff turnover and retention in New Zealand. Key findings of turnover and retention research are discussed and it is emphasised how age, income levels and (industry and geographical) location are major explanatory factors. It appears less clear how generational differences impact on job attitudes and behaviours. Using case study evidence from New Zealand call centres, it is detailed how employers have reacted to a tighter labour market and a relative small pool of suitable labour. In contrast to the prevailing picture of 'sacrificial' human resource management in international research on call centres, our case study research shows a 'mixed picture'. In some of the organisations researched, managers have experimented with various approaches, including new human resource development strategies, in order to attract and retain skilled and experienced staff.

Introduction

In the 'War for Talent' book (Michaels et al., 2001), it is suggested that in the current service and knowledge society, the power has shifted from the organisation to employees, who have a growing propensity to shift from job to job. In similar vein, staff retention and turnover have become a major public policy and employer concern in New Zealand in the last five years. This article explores why this is the case, what New Zealand research has found about retention and turnover, and what the reactions of employers have been. Overall, the article points out that the increased managerial interest in employee concerns, employee-focused flexibility and improved pay and employment conditions is in sharp contrast to previous management approaches.

To develop our understanding of staff retention and turnover in New Zealand, we draw on publicly available literature and statistics and in particular, we apply insights obtained through research projects on employment relations changes, adjustments to workplace relationships and organisational performance, gender and call centre employment, and two projects on retention and turnover. While the significant changes to employment relations legislation in the post-1999 period have influenced employer

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and employee approaches (see Haworth et al., 2006; Rasmussen, 2004; Waldegrave, et al., 2003), we have focused more on labour market trends and specific changes related to retention and turnover in this article.

As we show, employees have started to vote with their feet and the higher level of turnover is fuelled by both 'push' and 'pull' factors. The 'push' factors are related to the search for more interesting work, more training and development, appreciative managers and, sometimes, more money while skills shortages and a strong labour demand provide many 'pull' factors. This retention and turnover scenario is illustrated by our discussion of nursing in the health sector and, in particular, our analysis of employment practices in call centres. The health sector has experienced growing skill shortages since the mid 1990s and this has prompted more aggressive employee reactions, a comprehensive change to bargaining arrangements, processes and outcomes, and re-thinking of managerial strategies (Powell, 2005; North et al., 2005; Rasmussen et al., 2005). In call centres, renowned for their high levels of turnover, we are focussing on emerging employment practices which try to attract and retain experienced staff. As we suggest, New Zealand call centre experiences have always been somewhat at odds with the prevailing image found in the international literature (Hunt, 2004a and 2004b) and this disparity has been further accentuated by the recent tight labour market.

Changing Concerns: from high unemployment to skill shortages

In the early 1990s, after nearly a decade of neo-liberal public policy experiments, the New Zealand government and the public were concerned about unemployment; the level of unemployment (peaking at 11.1% in 1992), its ethnic and geographical distribution and the persistence of long-term unemployment. It prompted the establishment of a Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment which concluded that strong economic growth was necessary to overcome ingrained long-term unemployment. "The link between an improved economic environment and a skilled, adaptable labour force was another point stressed by the Task Force." (Deeks and Rasmussen, 2004: 373).



Since 1993, New Zealand has experienced very strong growth in employment and labour market participation and a remarkable fall in unemployment (see Figure 1 below). As can be seen from the unemployment graph, unemployment fell sharply in the 1992-1996 period and then again in the post 1999 period.

In the late 1990s, when unemployment was hovering around 6%-7%, several researchers began to express concerns that skill shortages would become a major problem (Fallow, 1998; Rasmussen, et al. 1996). These predictions more than came true as recorded by an overview of media reports:

Since the introduction of the Employment Relations Act, the media have focused on two labour market themes: skill shortages and falling unemployment. This followed the strong employment growth that occurred well before the introduction of the Employment Relations Act. The reporting on skill shortages initially focused on the health sector, where the media painted a gloomy picture: overwork and poor pay were driving staff overseas to jobs with higher wages and better conditions, and this created a vicious cycle of staff shortages which placed more stress on those staff left. /..../ A similar picture of critical staff shortages was being painted for other essential public services such as police and education during 2000-2001. Since then, reporting of shortages has extended to just about every other industry sector, with many reports of regional shortages. (Rasmussen and Ross, 2004: 32-33).

Why was New Zealand 'suddenly' faced with skill shortages? The short answer is that this was a return to the normal state of affairs as New Zealand had experienced skills shortages in most of the post 1945 period and importing skilled labour had become a way of life. Additionally, skills shortages in other English-speaking countries made 'brain drain' a common media theme from the late1990s onwards.

However, skills shortages were also associated with public policy and employer approaches. The skill shortages can be linked to radical reforms in the public sector in the 1980s – previously a major training ground – and a sharp decline in employer investments in training and education during the high unemployment years. There was an overall decline in apprenticeship numbers by over 50% in the March 1998 to June 1993 period (Statistics NZ, 1995: 109) and the new industry training system, introduced in 1992, did not gather sufficient steam before 1998 (for an evaluation, see Deeks and Rasmussen, 2004: 384-390). Finally, the exceptional high level of employment creation was also part of the problem since it co-existed with relatively low productivity. This 'cheap labour' growth model made it difficult to afford internationally competitive wages. In fact, wages were so slow to react to a tighter labour market that one high-profile bank chief economist suggested in the media that the 'market wasn't functioning properly' (Rasmussen and Ross, 2004: 26-27).

In the last five years, the continuous strong economic growth, including considerable infrastructure investments, has resulted in a very tight labour market. This has made the Government, employer organisations and unions focus on the availability of skilled employees; skill shortages are now a major public policy issue. Just as importantly, it has prompted a change in the approaches of individual employers, managers and employees. It has certainly improved 'market functioning' – with some help from the

unions – as average wages have outpaced inflation. In particular, it has made staff retention and turnover a burning employment relations issue.

Findings From New Zealand Turnover Research

In this article, we will mainly draw on insights from three pieces of research: a telephone survey of employees, an analysis of employment and retention issues in the health sector and, in particular, case study research conducted in the call centre industry. It is important to stress, however, that retention and turnover concerns cut right across the New Zealand economy and there have been a variety of management approaches in dealing with these concerns.

In late 2000, as retention and turnover started to appear as a major issue, a telephone survey of employees found that there were multi-dimensional reasons for people 'moving' (see Boxall et al., 2003). This was the first major survey of staff turnover in New Zealand for over 15 years and it established that turnover was rife amongst young people and amongst low income employees. Staff turnover was often driven by the search for: interesting work, more training and development, and career opportunities. These are not exactly startling findings and many employers appear to be aware of these issues.

In particular, many employers appear to understand, at least in principle, that staff turnover is costly and that lower turnover rates can improve productivity and service quality. For example, the Department of Labour's Productivity Task Force has touted lower staff turnover as a major contributor to higher labour productivity. One of its case studies stresses that "A Napier piemaker has reduced staff turnover from 180% (1998) to 14% (2003) through better work practices." (Dept. of Labour, 2006: 1). Likewise, Telecom has used low staff turnover as one of its arguments in its effort to encourage overseas companies to outsource their support services to New Zealand: "A highly educated, English-speaking workforce with low staff turnover (typically between 5% to 25%)." (Telecom NZ ,2006: 1). This is in line with well-established research findings. For example, a 2001 Otago University study, in which 400 firms were surveyed and in-depth interviews of managers were conducted, found branding and staff retention to be key competitive factors. In their retention approach, these firms "... aimed to reduce staff turnover by promoting staff internally, providing career opportunities and a career path and often mentoring junior staff. These firms also encouraged staff to become multi-skilled; rather than just having professional skills, and rewarded them according to the competencies they had developed." (University of Otago, 2001: 1).

However, there is some disagreement in the research literature of how to tackle retention issues. Currently, there is a great deal of focus on generational differences ¹ and it is often suggested that different management approaches are necessary to limit turnover levels. However, there are also analyses how challenge the idea of generational differences and suggest that an adaptation of management practices would be a failure

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¹ This was, for example, the major theme at the 2006 conference of the HR Institute of New Zealand (for an overview of different research findings, see HRINZ 2006. *Human Resources*, August/September 2006).

(Bland, 2006a and 2006b; Hudson 2006). There is also the important question of how much *context* determines the management retention approaches. This may explain the findings of considerable variation in management practices: many New Zealand employers appear to have decided just to contain the problem or they have made it part of their business model.

The latter approach is when the employing organisation has geared its HRM practices to high turnover levels. This approach is related to the famous 'McJobs' which are often characterised by low pay, Taylorist work practices and limited career options. As recently acknowledged by New Zealand Tourism Online: "Historically high staff turnover or the difficulty attracting locals has been due to low remuneration rates, season job prospects and possible the lack of a clear career path." (NZ Tourism Online, 2004: 1). Thus, high staff turnover levels spill into recruitment difficulties as the Hospitality Association (HANZ) reminded its members in November 2004: "The hospitality sector is facing increasing difficulties in recruiting trained staff. This is significantly exacerbated by the high level of staff turnover estimated at 30%, which magnifies significantly the staff shortages." (HANZ 2004: 1). While the 30% probably is a gross under-estimation, there is no doubt that the hospitality industry, (together with retail, fast food and the call centre industries), has faced more staffing problems than other industries.

As shown in the 2000 telephone survey mentioned above, important reasons for staying are: staff relationships, interesting work, job security and relationship with supervisors (Boxall et al.; 2003: 206-7). In other words, important retention factors are the work itself and the workplace culture. Additionally, commuting, work-life balance, and satisfactory pay levels are other important factors. These results suggest that retention can be improved if employers target the work environment and particular employment conditions. As shown below, these suggestions have been headed to some degree by employers in the health and call centre industries.

The health sector and in particular nursing have also faced major retention problems for some time. This has prompted considerable re-adjustment in employment relations and employment conditions. Fragmented bargaining arrangements have given way, after fierce union pressure, to a national collective agreement and there have been significant pay rises as well as increased targeting of work practices (for an overview, see Rasmussen et al., 2005). As part of these adjustments, the Ministry of Health has promoted the 'magnet hospital' idea and launched the Magnet Network to counter retention issues and thereby contain health spending:

Costs are reduced because of lower staff turnover and shorter length of stay. Research has demonstrated a positive impact on organisational culture and increased institution stability. In terms of nursing outcomes, magnet hospitals have demonstrated enhanced recruitment and retention of highly qualified nurses. /.../ Turnover of nurses in New Zealand is approximately 19 percent across DHBs [District Health Boards] and 45 percent for new graduate nurses. In 2002 a pilot study to establish the cost of nursing turnover found that identifiable turnover costs were \$50,000 over a six-month period for a surgical and medical hospital units. Lower turnover results in substantial savings. (Ministry of Health, 2004: 1).

The pilot study mentioned above is an in-depth study trying to estimate both the direct and the indirect costs associated with turnover amongst hospital nurses (see North et al., 2005). By establishing the level, costs and consequences associated with nursing turnover, the basis for developing considered staff policies is established. While it has been found that turnover costs are very high – at least above \$20,000 on average – and have a major influence on patient care and staff morale, it was also found that some regional hospitals had limited or no turnover issues. This was especially so in sought-after and rural areas (remember, that workplace culture, commuting and work-life balance were found to align with staff retention). Furthermore, considerable variation between hospital units within the same hospital could also be detected. This suggests that the type of nursing work, the working environment and managerial approaches can all have an impact on the level of turnover (again, this aligns with survey results).

Clearly, hospitals are trying to target work and employment conditions which may reduce retention. The 'threshold factor' of pay has been targeted through significant across-the-board pay rises and specific workplace payments, the magnet hospital idea and considerable attention to management practices and the working environment. Additionally, the limited retention issues in certain hospital units indicate that the emphasis on work-life balance and commuting could be increased. The well-established research findings of a high level of leaving intentions amongst nurses (Cobden-Grainge and Walker, 2002, Gower and Finlayson, 2002) as well as an aging nursing workforce (currently, nearly half of all nurses are aged 45 years and over), indicate that it was high time to react to retention and turnover issues.

Research on Employment Practices in New Zealand Call Centres

There has been much attention in academic research to call centres and the work carried out in them. The majority of this research has been derogative about the labour process used to provide the personal customer interaction via the telephone, a customer service operators represent the 'voice' of a 'face-less' organisation. Many researchers decry the conditions in which these operators have to respond to a stream of telephone calls, answer customer queries, provide information or sell products (Hannif and Lamm, 2005; Holman, 2002; Holtgrewe and Kerst, 2002; Taylor and Bain, 1999; Taylor, Hyman, Mulvey, and Bain, 2002a, 2002b; van der Broek, 2004; Wilk and Moynihan, 2005). The labour process in call centres is facilitated by Integrated Communications Technology (ICT) which provides a seamless operation so that each caller can be dealt with quickly and efficiently. The technology allows too the continuous monitoring, recording of calls and provides statistical measurements to assess the performance of each operator. Average handling time (AHT), adherence to schedule, (ATS), wrap time and call resolution are just some of the measures taken to determine how responsive and efficient the call centre operator has been.

² The Cost of Nursing Turnover Study has been funded by the Ministry of Health and the Health Research Council. It is part of an international project to examine the cost of nurse turnover and the impact of turnover on patient safety and nurse health and safety outcomes. Team members represent five countries and co-principal investigators are Dr LindaO'Brian-Pallas (Toronto University, Canada) and Dr Judith Shamian (Office of Nursing Policy, Health Canada). For further information, please contact A/Prof Nicola North, University of Auckland (n.north@auckland.ac.nz).

Overall, these features are criticised widely in the research for contributing to the stress associated with call centre work. It is claimed that this stress leads to the high turnover or 'churn' as commonly reported in the call centre industry sector with attrition rates of 50 to 100 per cent reported in the US (Srivastava and Theodore, 2006). Some call centres have tolerated high turnover by adopting a sacrificial HR policy (van der Broek, 2004; Wallace, Eagleson, and Waldersee, 2000) and they simply replace their frontline staff as they burn out. Such call centres have large recruitment drives and take in 'batches' of call centre operators for mass induction and training which may only last one day before the call centre representatives (CSRs) 'go live' on the telephones. Although widely acknowledged that turnover is a problem in call centres, the international research on the retention of staff in the call centre environment has been limited to studies focussed on why staff absences occur or how call centre work could benefit from providing more flexible work practices (Deery, Iverson, and Walsh, 2002; Knowles, O'Cathain, Morrell, Munro, and Nicholl, 2002; Pearson and Thewlis, 2002). In New Zealand, annual benchmarking surveys of call centres indicate that the mean turnover rates in call centres has ranged from 1999 to 2003 from 18 to 21% (see Figure 2). These figures have to be read in conjunction with the knowledge that the literature has found that turnover is typically under-reported by companies.

Figure 2: Mean Staff Turnover Rates in NZ Call Centres

Year	Mean Percentage FT Agent Turnover	% of Call Centres with no Agent Turnover, (n=161 call centres)
1999	18%	5%
2001	21%	2%
2002	18%	12%
2003	21%	15%

Source: (ACA Research Pty Ltd., 2002, 2003)

Another criticism of the international research on call centres is that they have limited or non-existent career opportunities and a 'glass ceiling' is still evident despite women's numerical dominance of the sector (Belt, 2002; Belt, Richardson, and Webster, 2000; Belt, Richardson, and Webster, 2002; Belt, Richardson, Webster, Tijdens, and Klaveren, 2000; Deery and Kinnie, 2004; Durbin, 2006). Research in New Zealand suggests, however, a contrasting situation with women developing distinctive career paths and often managing the call centre operation even in traditionally male dominated sectors such as banks (Hunt, 2004, 2004 (b)). The findings discussed below suggest that different HR practices are being used in the New Zealand call centres, to retain women call centre workers, to encourage them to develop new skills and to accommodate their different labour market needs.

In order to determine whether women were developing career paths in their call centre jobs, our research interviewed 32 women who had experienced some career progression. Due to the widespread application of call centres across a diverse range of industries, case studies from six different sectors were chosen. The sample included inbound and outbound call centres - an outsourcer, bank and food manufacturer; inbound only call centres a government public service organisation and an exporter of primary produce, and an outbound-only call centre, a market research company. In order to investigate Human Resource practices and to triangulate data, six managers

from each case study were also interviewed (bar one, these were all male). Data was also collected from a total of 40 Customer Service Representatives (CSR's) via focus groups, informal group interviews or via written surveys.

The case study research has found a number of *positive findings*. It is evident from the research that many of the interviewed women were passionate about their call centre jobs and that they got a 'buzz' out of this particular kind of work. These women provide a different perspective on call centre employment to that predominantly found in the literature (Hunt and Rasmussen 2006; Hunt, Rasmussen and Lamm 2006). In this article, we focus on changing management practices. These practices go beyond the traditional token 'fun days' to relieve stress and boredom. Instead we found creative recruitment practices, the use of pilot studies and trying out new ideas, climate surveys to proactively develop a supportive culture, continuous management-staff discussion to empower staff and the encouragement of workforce diversity. Some of these management practices are illustrated below.

There's an opportunity to be a little bit creative in the market as well – to source the candidate we need. Our busy time is 9 to 2 so being able to recruit part timers is one thing. We have to be able to respond to the changes in the market very quickly and tailor our intakes with this. We don't have a stable resource base by any means in our workforce. It goes like this (up and down) constantly (Female call centre manager, Case Study One 2004)

We have a group of CSR's called our synergy group and they come up with ideas themselves. For example we are going to introduce a Trolley run where we are going to have scones and jam and with the Olympics coming up we will encourage teams to pick a country. We have various theme days and have monthly and quarterly awards – that's recognizing your top performing staff members, recognizing those who have made the most improvements and rewards for quality (Female HR Manager, case study one, 2004)

Recognition is really important and that's one of things that came through very clearly through the climate survey, and we do well at that certainly the messages have been keep doing what you have been doing and doing more of it. Particularly me, emails from me make a real difference ...even if it's just 'thanks for your help, I know it's been a bit tough lately' (Female Call Centre Manager, Case Study one 2004)

We have two career paths, which starts to split of between those that are interested in people, those that are interested in process (Female Call Centre HR Manager Case Study one, 2004).

It's a lot more than a job, I don't even see it as a job, leaving it is never an option that occurs to me, I am so passionate about it....The great part of our business is that we have those people who are really prepared to give everything and equally no one has kept them down. No one has said you are only a 21 year old, you don't know anything, we just like them to get on with it and have structures where they can do it. We encourage them to make the changes happen so they start doing it... that's pretty much the philosophy we have here (Female Operations Manager, Case Study two 2005).

Some of the case studies demonstrate too that employers are providing family friendly practices to keep their female staff. At one case study, this includes switching rosters for mothers with students during the school holidays while another actively targeted return-to-work mothers. Work life balance was a theme that recurred across the case studies and staff at both entry level and management felt they had a degree of flexibility in their call centre work. Some of this was around their ability to have control over the hours or days that they worked

We recruit specifically for return to work mothers...it might be somewhere at the Crèches, where might put some advertising in to get people or have open days to get them to come in and see what a call centre is all about (Call Centre Manager, case study one)

Yes, they always very flexible when I started, I couldn't start till 9.00 I would drop my son off at 8.30 and I would walk out the door at 4.30. The manager accepted that I was family focused and my main priority was my child (Female Call Centre Manager case study four 2005)

Women are developing roles as leaders in the call centre environment and many women are learning the technical skills as well as getting opportunities to take part in management training. Two of the women interviewed (from different case studies) had been chosen to take part in University-level leadership development programmes. Some of the women had experienced rapid career progress partly because of the maturity of the industry but overall there is clear evidence that the skills these women bring to their call centre work are appreciated and in demand. Some call centre managers reported having no problems with retaining staff, mainly because of the way the call centre was run.

I have no issues with retaining staff and it is the same in Australia. I have used TAFE for training and it's neat as these people have chosen to study and you know they have the commitment, and they've got passion. Sometimes they just need a chance, they are the most loyal employees I've ever seen, and you know wonderful people (Customer Service Manager, Case Study 4, 2004).

Some call centre managers are people managers, but are not so good at understanding the technology or the IT they are using. This is something I have excelled at and now I am directly responsible for 9 call centres, and I have some as small as 6-90 to 95. There are three geographically diverse call centres (Female Call Centre Manager, Case Study 6, 2006).

A lot of managers generally believe their career is the responsibility of their employer I say to my leadership teams that their career is their career but we will help them achieve their goals (Call Centre Manager, case study 6, 2006)

The Call centre was opened in October 2001 and I started in April in 2002 – it was brand new, when I started the majority of the workers were females. There was only 4 guys so it wasn't hard for us to progress It was pretty easy, I was promoted within six months (Female Project Manager Case study 5, 2006)

I don't work for the money, I come to work because I am *passionate* about what I do, because I can see me doing something good every day, I get results and that's a good thing, the money is great, it provides roof, shelter, food, shoes and handbags (*laughs*) (Female Call Centre Manager, case study 1, 2003)

The overall picture is one of widespread change and experimentation. Individual managers experiment with different management practices and they often listen and follow suggestions from their staff. This is clearly a learning process where managers and staff are trying to accommodate the needs of both the organisation and the individual employee. As we have stressed previously (Hunt, 2004a and 2004b), context is important as some types of call centres – for example, outbound market research companies – and some types of call centre work – for example, low-skill, scripted questions and answers – leave less scope for a stable and pleasant work environment. It is also necessary to stress that the evidence of changing management practices are mixed (Hunt, Rasmussen and Lamm 2006).

Conclusion

It is surprising that there was such a limited research interest in retention and turnover in New Zealand in 1980s and 1990s. It indicates that there were other labour market concerns and that the much talked about management saying that 'employees are our most important asset' was just that – talk! While there appears to be widespread understanding, at least in principle, that turnover can be costly and can damage production and service quality, research has shown that the gathering and the use of retention and turnover information have been insufficient or, in many cases, non-existent.

Still, the recent focus on retention and turnover has prompted more research and these research projects have re-confirmed the importance of interesting work, career opportunities and satisfactory employment conditions. This article has highlighted that the government, employers and employees have started to re-access their priorities. In particular, our case study research in call centres have found interesting examples of individual managers experimenting with new management approaches and practices. However, as we have emphasised elsewhere (Hunt and Rasmussen, 2006; Hunt, Rasmussen and Lamm, 2006), *context* is important and the findings on management practices are normally *mixed*. While individual managerial experiments have started to surface in more generalised changes across occupations and industries there are still a large number of jobs where interesting work, career opportunities and satisfactory employment conditions are just not part of the deal.

Although this article has emphasised how current attempts to contain turnover look spectacular when compared to the labour market of the 'New Zealand experiment' from mid 1980s to mid-1990s, this may be overstating the problem and focusing on the negative. Current recent retention and turnover levels fall way short of the higher turnover levels of the labour market in the 1960s (Dept of Labour, 1972). The 1960s were seldom seen as 'crisis years' and a great deal of progress, that is, equality, reduced working time, improved work environments, coincided with the tight labour market conditions at that time. It is necessary to remember that, amongst economists, high

labour mobility has commonly been seen as a positive indication that the 'market' is working. The recent changes to public policies and management approaches have benefited many New Zealand employees and these changes may also move the economy some way towards the elusive 'knowledge economy'.

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