

**THE RELATIONSHIP AMONGST LOCUS OF CONTROL, SELF-
DETERMINATION AND JOB SATISFACTION IN CALL CENTRES**

by

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I, Nasima Mohamed Hoosen Carrim, declare that “The relationship amongst Locus of Control, Self-Determination and Job Satisfaction in Call Centres” is my own work. All the resources I used for this study are sited and referred to in the reference list by means of a comprehensive referencing system.

I declare that the content of this thesis/article has never before been used for any qualification at any tertiary institute.

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ABSTRACT

Call centres across the globe experience high levels of absenteeism and labour turnover. The reason being: job dissatisfaction. South African call centres are also facing the same problem where absenteeism and labour turnover is on the increase. Job satisfaction is influenced not only by situational aspects of the job environment but by dispositional personality factors of the individual as well. The aim of the study was to determine the possible relationship among locus of control, self-determination and job satisfaction. The study population consisted of (N= 187) call centre agents from a Municipality in Gauteng. The results of the empirical study indicate there is a relationship between locus of control and job satisfaction.

Oproepsentrums oral ter wêreld ervaar hoë vlakke van afwesigheid en arbeidsomset. Die rede hiervoor is werksonvergenoegdheid. Suid-Afrikaanse oproepsentrums staar dieselfde probleem in die gesig omdat afwesigheid en arbeidsomset besig is om toe te neem. Werksbevrediging word nie slegs deur die situasionele aspekte van die werksomgewing beïnvloed nie, maar ook deur die persoonlike-ingesteldheidsfaktore van die individu. Die doel van die studie was om die moontlike verhouding tussen lokus van beheer, selfbeskikking en werksbevrediging te bepaal. Die studiegroep het uit (N= 187) oproepsentrum-agente van 'n Gautengse munisipaliteit bestaan. Die resultate van die empiriese studie wys dat daar 'n verband tussen beheerlokus en werksbevrediging is.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Aim

1.1. Introduction

There has been a global change in terms of employment from an agricultural and industrial to a service provider industry (Godbout, 1993). A new market has emerged that is characterised by work roles that focus on front-line service workers and customers, namely call centres (Lewig & Dollard, 2003).

The Queensland Government (2003: 4) maintains that call centres are found in industries such as banking, finance, insurance, travel services, telecommunications, road services, public utilities, agencies and sales.

According to Holman (2003) the growth in call centres is due to the benefits they offer to companies. Some of the benefits of call centres are that they can decrease the costs of current functions, they can improve customer service facilities and allow new ways of generating income (for example, exploiting customer data-bases for direct sales). Although they offer these benefits they have still been labelled “dark satanic mills or sweatshops of the twenty-first century” (Marr, 2004; Holman, 2004; Bell, 2005; Webster, 2005). The reason they were labelled as such was that it was perceived that customer service work was boring, monotonous, demanding and stressful (Chittock, 2002; Deery, Iverson, Walsh, 2002). These perceptions were not based on empirical evidence and it is only recently that work on call centres has been conducted (Taylor, Mulvey, Hyman & Bain, 2002; Holman & Fernie, 2000; Batt & Moynihan, 2002).

Bagnara (2000) says that the important point is not the number of agents in call centres but the fact that individuals are vital to their success. Research

and surveys indicate that human resources form a strategic factor when customers need to be satisfied. When the organisation wants to remain competitive, call centre agents is the main asset. Technology is unable to replace human resources that are skilled in communications, problem-solving and caring. Although organisations are aware of how vital the human resources are, attention is not paid to the training, retention and career development of agents. Surveys conducted in the European Union revealed that call centres have high turnover, workload and stress (ILO, 2001; Townsend, 2005).

Pennington & Bowes (2004) maintain that the call centre industry in South Africa has developed swiftly since its initiation in 1994. According to Knight (2004) the number of call centres in South Africa have increased three-fold since 1997, with approximately eighty thousand (80 000) South Africans working in them.

Figure 1.1: Increase in call centre

The following statistics reveal the increase in call centres:

1997: 185 centres

1999: 305 centres

2001: 410 centres

2003: 505 centres

(Gauteng Economic Development Agency, 2004)

Mr Ebrahim Rasool (Premier of Western Cape) wants to persuade companies in the United Kingdom to move their call centres to South Africa. He sees one hundred thousand (100 000) new jobs being created in the next five years in the call centre industry. Mr Rasool says: "We have lots of people in low-skilled jobs and have been successful at attracting some high-skilled manufacturing and technology work. What we need now is more middle-tier

jobs - for school leavers with good, but not outstanding, academic qualifications; this is where call centres will come in" (Knight, 2004:1). Mr Rasool hopes that South Africa's well-educated workforce and a planned deregulation of telephone services will attract firms from the United Kingdom to invest in the country. If UK firms are to invest in South Africa it is vital to attract and retain the ideal agents for call centres. By recruiting the wrong calibre of individuals to work in call centres will not only reflect a bad image of call centre operators overseas but will not allow organisations to take correct recruitment decisions (Knight, 2004).

Call centres are regarded as 'unique work environments' that integrate computer and telephone technologies and at the same time have resulted in distinctive job design and work organisation (Taylor and Scholarios, 2003). Call centre work requires constant interaction with customers. Agents have to face abuse from customers on a daily basis. In these situations, call centre agents have to remain calm and controlled because they have to uphold the standards of the organisation with regards to customer service (Lewig & Dollard, 2003). Instant customer information, standardised scripts and minimum time spent between calls are the order of the day in a call centre.

Locus of control deals with the amount of control that people feel they have over their environment. People with an internal locus of believe feel that they are able to control their environment. On the other hand people with an external locus of control feel that what happens to them is as a result of luck or the actions of others (Martin, Thomas, Charles, Epitropaki & McNamara, 2005; Phares, 1968). Internals tend to be more satisfied in their jobs, are less absent, are less alienated from the work setting and tend to be more involved in their jobs compared to externals (Robbins, 1998). Considering, people spend most of their time working, their perceptions and attitudes about their jobs will have certain consequences (Locke, 1983; Sigelman & Shaffer, 1995; Tarver, Canada & Lim, 1999). Internals tend to exert more control compared to externals in certain work settings such as work flow, task accomplishments, operating procedures, work assignments, working conditions, relationships

with superiors and subordinates, goal-setting, work scheduling and organisational policy. Jobs which are highly demanding and low in autonomy result in greater job dissatisfaction for externals than for internals (Parkes, 1991; Spector, 1982). Regardless of the nature of the job, internals tend to be more satisfied with their jobs due to their perceptions of their jobs (Hackman & Oldham, 1975; Blau, 1987; Kosmoski & Calkin, 1986).

Self-determination positively influences job satisfaction due to its effects on intrinsic motivation (Hall, 2004). People who have autonomy in determining their actions and behaviour find work more interesting and rewarding, thereby creating satisfaction with their jobs. Higher levels of autonomy increase the amount of intrinsic rewards from work (Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). Liden, Wayne & Sparrowe (2000) state that self-determination is expected to improve job satisfaction because accomplishments are attributed to the individual. Call centres are characterised by tasks that are highly demanding, repetitive, stressful and low in autonomy (Taylor & Bain, 1999; Wallace, Eagelson & Waldersee, 2000). In addition, agents are under constant surveillance and tight control (ILO, 2001). Agents therefore do not have much autonomy and control over their work schedules.

The current study will investigate the relationship amongst locus of control, self-determination and job satisfaction in call centres.

1.2. Aim of study

The aim of the study is to determine the relationship between locus of control and self-determination which are the independent variables on the one hand and job satisfaction which is the dependent variable on the other.

A review of the literature indicates that research dealing with the relationship between locus of control, self-determination and job satisfaction in call centres

is lacking. Studies dealing with motivation (especially the concept of self-determination) and performance in call centres are limited (Wallace, Eagleson & Waldersee, 2000; De Vos, 2002). There are a number of studies conducted on job satisfaction in call centres (Putnam & Loppie, 2000; Holman, 2002).

The purpose of the current study is to determine the type of individuals who experience greater job satisfaction in call centres. The characteristics of individuals that will be focussed upon will be self-determination and locus of control.

Recruiting the ideal calibre of individuals as call centre agents is complicated. It is not as easy as it seems because the industry has a staff turnover of twenty five (25) percent and is notorious for not adequately selecting, developing and managing staff. Even when call centre agents have good interpersonal and computer skills, there are no guarantees that they will be good agents. There are no guarantees that call centre agents will stay for long periods on the job (Forster, 2002).

Choosing the right personnel for call centres will benefit organisations in the following ways, according to Invision (2001):

- ✚ By recruiting agents suitable for call centres will increase the efficiency of the organisation.
- ✚ Services levels will improve and this will lead to happier customers.
- ✚ The labour turnover and sick leave rates will decrease.

Research shows that there is a causal relationship between job satisfaction, labour turnover and absenteeism (Houlihan, 2000). When call centre agents' job satisfaction is low, labour turnover and absenteeism increases. This in turn leads to poor service delivery by call centre agents. Cost implications are monetary as well as in terms of productivity (Armistead, Kiely, Hole & Prescott, 2002). The rationale to execute this research project is to ascertain the type of individuals who experience job satisfaction within a call centre environment. By knowing the types of individuals (that is, those with an

internal/external locus of control and high/low self-determination) experiencing job satisfaction in this environment, will make recruitment and retention of these employees easier. In addition the costs of recruiting, training and retaining individuals with a particular orientation (suitable for call centres) will be less. Thirdly, organisations will be able to remain competitive and have satisfied customers. The quality of service rendered by call centre agents who are not satisfied in their jobs is affected. This study will also add to the growing research on call centres (Houlihan, 2000; Dean, 2002; Sprigg, Smith & Jackson, 2003).

Bagnara (2000) reported the following paradoxes in call centres:

- Technology and the organisation do not support communication flow, leaving agents to work alone in their relationships with customers.
- Most agents do not know the objectives of the call centre and are managed like “blue collar” factory workers.
- Call centres tend to be isolated from the rest of the organisation.

The following research questions can be generated from the literature review:

Research question 1: Is there a relationship between locus of control, self-determination and job satisfaction in call centres?

Research question 2: Do call centre agents with an internal or external locus of control orientation experience job satisfaction within call centres?

Research question 3: Do call centre agents with higher self-determination experience job satisfaction compared to agents who have lower self-determination?

1.3. Focus of the research

While this chapter provided a concise overview of call centres as well as the aim and purpose of the current study, a brief outline of the rest of the chapters will be given.

Chapter two (2) deals with call centres which will focus on:

- The definitions of call centres.
- Understanding the reasons for the emergence of call centres. A brief history of calls centres is provided.
- How call centres first began to what type of call centres organisations have today.
- The classification of call centres according to sectors of industry
- The different types of calls centres found.
- The characteristics of call centres which deal with the type of work call centre agents need to conduct as well as the environment in which they are operating.
- Factors affecting call centres which focus on the physical aspects (size of call centres, whether the call centre operates locally or internationally and so on).
- The different types of agents working in call centres, is also focused upon.
- The demographic variables and previous research conducted in call centres regarding these variables
- Alternative views of the typical call centres.

Chapter three (3) deals with job satisfaction which focuses on:

- Several definitions of job satisfaction.
- Different theories of job satisfaction (Maslow's need hierarchy, Expectancy theory, Equity theory and so on) that are pertinent to the current study.

- New trends in the world of work (more women entering the workforce, life style and so on)
- The idea as to why one has to understand job satisfaction.
- Intrinsic and extrinsic factors influencing job satisfaction within call centres.
- The consequences (turnover, absenteeism and so on) of job dissatisfaction and how it relates to call centres.

Chapter four (4) deals with locus of control which focuses on:

- Rotter's theory
- Criticism of Rotter's theory
- Attribution theory
- Criticism of Attribution theory
- The theory of control and learned helplessness
- Criticism of control and learned helplessness
- Locus of control and social learning theory
- Locus of control and demographic variables
- Characteristics associated with locus of control
- Locus of control and job satisfaction
- Locus of control and work characteristics in call centres

Chapter five (5) deals with self-determination which focuses on:

- An overall view of self-determination and the need for self-determination
- Intrinsic motivation
- Theories of self-determination
- Criticism of Deci's intrinsic motivation theory
- Self determination and job satisfaction
- Self-determination and locus of control
- Self-determination in organisations

Chapter six (6) deals with research methodology which focuses on:

- The three questionnaires (Rotter's locus of control, General Causality Orientation Scale and Minnesota Satisfaction questionnaire) used in the study
- How the data will be analysed (canonical, z-tests, analysis of variance and so on)
- The sample that will be used in the study

Information from the locus of control and job satisfaction chapters as well as results from statistical analysis will be integrated in an article. The reason being, no significant relationship was found between self-determination and job satisfaction in call centres. Conclusions will be drawn based on the findings from the research on locus of control and job satisfaction.

1.4. Summary of chapter

Research dealing with the relationship between locus of control, self-determination and job satisfaction in call centres is lacking.

Call centres within South Africa have increased in number from 185 centres in 1997 to 505 in 2003 (Gauteng Development Agency, 2004). Knight (2004) mentions that Ebrahim Rasool (Premier of the Western Cape) wants to persuade companies within the United Kingdom to move their call centres to South Africa. In this way approximately 100 000 additional jobs can be created in South Africa. Given these facts, South African call centres need to attract and retain the ideal candidates for call centres.

Foster (2002) asserts that choosing the right calibre of individuals to work in call centres is difficult because the industry has a labour turnover of 25%. Even when call centre agents have good interpersonal and computer skills, there is no guarantee that they will stay on the job for long periods of time.

Choosing personnel with the correct dispositions to work in call centres will not only increase the efficiency of the organisation in terms of service levels but the labour turnover and sick leave rates will decrease. In addition job dissatisfaction leads to labour turnover and increase in absenteeism rate (Invision, 2001).

Problems experienced by call centre agents are that the latter are treated like “blue collar” factory workers and end up working in isolation due to the fact that technology and the organisation do not support communication (Bagnara, 2000).

Chapter 2

Call Centres

“Telephone call centres have variously been described as ‘electronic sweatshops’, twentieth-century panopticons’ and ‘assembly lines in the head’ (Deery & Kinnie, 2004:3). Workers are called ‘battery hens’ and ‘galley slaves’ (Moore, 2002: 1).

2.1 Introduction

According to Deery & Kinnie (2004:1), the number of people employed in call centres in the past five years is tremendous. Approximately two in every one hundred workers in the United Kingdom are call centre agents. In the United States three percent (3%) and in Europe one percent (1%) of the population works in call centres.

The call centre industry in South Africa has grown tremendously, experiencing growth rates of up to thirty five percent (35%) since 1996. In larger call centres the growth rate has levelled off. Growth rates of 20-25% are expected in the next few years, mostly in small to medium sized call centres (10-50 agents). Experts predict the number of call centres agents to be approximately 50 000 and the industry has the ability to create another 50 000 to 100 000 jobs in the next two years (Wesgro, 2001:1).

Pennington and Bowes (2004) maintain that a report by the Financial Mail (12/11/04) indicated that there are approximately 450 call centres in South Africa and provide major employment opportunities. Surveys conducted by Deloitte, Mitial and Radian revealed that call centres throughout South Africa are currently employing 80 000 individuals, with a growth rate of 40% per annum being expected for the next three years. This growth is expected to

come from foreign call centre organisations investing in South Africa. Approximately, 10%-15% of South African call volumes are offshore work but the figures for Cape Town are close to 30% (up from 19% a year ago).

A brief outline of the rest of the chapter now follows. In order to understand the concept of call centres one needs to understand the definition of call centres, as well as the definition of call centre agents. Various researchers have defined call centres differently. The history of call centres focuses on the four (4) phases in the evolution of call centres. The focus is on how call centres started and the current state of call centres in terms of technology, products and services. The classification of call centres deals with the type of sector within which one may find call centres. Sectors include utilities, education, banking and so on. There are two types of calls centres. Inbound call centres mostly receive calls from customers. Call centre agents mainly make outgoing calls in an outbound call centre environment. These may be to sell products to prospective buyers. Characteristics of call centres focus on aspects such as hot-desking (where work stations are shared), where the agent is constantly monitored by the supervisor, where tasks are monotonous and agents have little autonomy and stress levels are high. The difference between the production line and empowerment way of work will also be focused upon. The production way of work is highly repetitive and requires little skill. The empowerment way has semi-professional, empowered workers. There are many factors affecting call centres. Factors such as the size of call centres, whether call centres are situated within the organisation and the hours of work as well as the time zones within which call centres operate. Call centre agents are made up of three types: the skilled, semi-skilled and the unskilled. These three different types of agents as well as the type of call centres each type will be found in will be described more broadly. The type of call centre researched in the current study will be discussed as well. Demographic variables such as age, tenure, gender, home language, educational level, race and marital status will be discussed in terms of call centres. Lastly, an alternative viewpoint that does not view call centres as ‘satanic mills’ will be given.

2.2 Defining call centres

A call centre may be defined as “...a dedicated operation in which computer-utilising employees receive inbound-or make outbound telephone calls, with those calls processed either by Automatic Call Distribution (ACD) system or predictive dialling system” (Bain, Bunzel, Mulvey, Hyman & Taylor, 2000: 12).

Dean (2002:414) identifies three elements of call centres:

- The call centre is viewed as a dedicated operation with agents being completely focused on the customer service function.
- Agents use telephones and computers simultaneously.
- Calls are processed and controlled by an automatic distribution system.

The above-mentioned definition may be used for call centres that have low skilled and low paid service workers who receive customer requests. Where the environment is tightly controlled, heavily monitored and the systems that are in use are time-restricted. On the other hand, this definition may be used for a call centre where highly skilled, highly paid knowledge agents receive calls from business customers about online service arrangements. Although a difference exists between the two types of call centres, they essentially both integrate telephone and computer technologies (Dean, 2002: 414).

The Queensland Government (2003: 4) maintains that call centres may be defined in the following way:

- Call centres consists of help desks.
- Call centres have hotlines.
- Call centres are viewed as contact centres.
- Agents perform call centre work from home.
- The primary function of agents is to respond to telephone and other requests from clients.

The Queensland Government (2003: 4) views the work of call centre agents as follows:

- Agents have to answer large volumes of phone and/or electronic requests.
- Agents are trained and skilled in customer service.
- Agents may be based at a single or multiple computer workstations.
- Agents are equipped with a computer workstation, a telephone (with a headset) and additional task-related documentation.

Sprigg, Smith and Jackson (2003: 1) have the following definition of a call centre: “a work environment in which the main business is conducted via a telephone whilst simultaneously using display screen equipment (DSE). The term call centre includes parts of companies dedicated to this activity such as internal help lines as well as whole companies.”

Furthermore, Sprigg et al (2003: 1) define a call centre agent as follows: “an employee whose job requires them to spend a significant proportion of their working time responding to calls on the telephone whilst simultaneously using DSE.”

Bagnara (2000) says that Merchant (1998) defined call centres as “physical or virtual operations in which a managed group of people spend most of their time doing business by telephone, usually working in a computer-automated environment.”

Bagnara (2000) further states that call centre agents are knowledge workers as they participate in activities that include manipulating internal and external knowledge.

There are thus different definitions of what a call centre constitutes and also what a call centre agent does. Most of these definitions focus on the generic components of operations in call centres and the work of agents. Whether a call centre agent works from home or an office, the basic tenets of what

constitutes a call centre, however remains the same. That is, that call centre agents use a telephone and computer technology simultaneously to service customers. In addition, call centre agents need to be knowledgeable of the contents of the job when rendering a service.

2.3. History of call centres

According to Bagnara (2000) there are four phases in the evolution of call centres:

Phase 1: The first call centre in the 1960s was a claims office with a toll-free line where standard requests were answered. From then onward call centres were hidden, invisible offices behind phone-based services which made customer's access to organisations simple. Call centres were also used for public administration and for booking purposes. Agents had little knowledge about a specific product and fault. Agents had fundamental communication skills such as politeness and kindness and basic linguistic skills. Tasks were repetitive and boring and work entailed quantitative, cognitive overload. Workstations were designed in such a way that agents were protected from noise and this led to social seclusion. Demands from customers were centralised and replies were specialised as well as kept short and simple.

There are some call centres agents these days that share many of these features. Especially call centres that use Computer Aided Telephone Interview (CATI) techniques. These are similar to the original call centres in terms of the competencies agents have as well as the main technology and work environment. Computers register and quantify the different requests. An alternative to this is the Interactive Voice Responder (IVR) where the requests and replies for low-premium customers is done automatically.

Phase 2: During the 1970s and 1980s, claim factories had Automatic Call Distribution (ACD) systems that dealt with a huge quantity of repetitive

requests. During this period, customers preferred personalised compared to mass-market goods and services and individuals needed help in using the products they had bought. Claims did not play such a major role because new personalised products and services had taken its place. Agents had to assist the customers through the whole life-cycle of products and they had to be in touch with the dynamics of questions and answers. This system works well when there are only a few customers and products but even then the cognitive burden is high.

Agents had to answer standard claims dealing with a few products and services. Agents were however unable to deal with the new situation and their performance decreased. Long queues and low-quality replies were the norm of the day.

During the late 1980s, the integration of computers and digital telephones, called Automatic Call Distribution improved performance and decreased queues.

Agents' working conditions did not improve much. Although steps were taken to deal with noise interference and open-plan offices were introduced, social isolation prevailed. The skills agents possessed were still limited. Communication was at a basic level and monotonous tasks and boredom increased stress levels.

Due to the peaks during the day, week or season, people were employed as and when they were needed. This led to the "three thirds rule". The employees in the call centre thus consisted of one third full-time employees, one-third part-time employees and one-third temporary employees. Tayloristic design and practice was adopted.

Stress, high absenteeism, high turnover and problems in personnel recruitment, management and retention were the order of the day.

Phase 3: During the 1990s, the call centre was a profit rather than a cost centre. It was also a communication node dealing with customised interactions, where communication was dynamic and long-lasting and the objective was customer care and retention. A problem with communication implied a loss in revenue. The call centre was where customers' needs and their changing attitudes were discovered. Call centres not only had a proactive function but marketing, testing, promotion and sales objectives as well. Interactions were customised and transactions were kept track of and used. That is the history of transactions with clients could be stored and retrieved at a moments' notice. Also, recording and processing the transaction of customers gave information of not only their desires and skills but their spending attitudes and opportunities as well. The service was now really customer-oriented.

Agents had to understand customers' requests as well as finding, accessing and manipulating knowledge in the company. Communication skills were excellent because the agent had to manage unforeseen circumstances. Stress was now due to unpredictable circumstances and work was done in teams due to difficulty of demands.

Phase 4: Call centres are now becoming business centres. They are now profit-seeking nodes. It is no longer the customers who only phone the call centres but call centres themselves make calls for learning marketing, promotion and selling. The call centre integrates ACD, CTI and new Interactive Voice Responder (IVR) technologies with web-based communication. The essence is to still to improve relationships with customers. The calls are fewer and multi-channels communication is more common. With high-speed digital telephone networks, re-routing messages and calls may be done anywhere. Agents who are based in remote locations can be managed as if they were geographically in one location.

The Web-Enabled Call Centre (WECC) is a virtual call centre. Customers visit the web-site and agents are contacted through call-back, Voice-Over

Internet Protocol (VoIP) and text chat. Customers can be contacted by integrating the different media or through differentiation.

Media integration in call centres can lead to knowledge manipulation and integration as well as collaboration and team work. Specialisation can lead to call centres focusing on a few products in which the content is a vital ingredient of the agent's competence. When customers contact agents through web sites either through call-backs, voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) or text chat, the agent will then be like a teleworker.

The amount of communication using other media other than a telephone is negligible. One-third of call centres include customer service, sales and marketing. Human resources should be supplemented with technology. Highly skilled agents are essential if the call centre is to be successful and proactive. Call centres will not be able to gain the trust and forge long-lasting relationship with customers by replacing human resources.

2.4. Classification of call centres

There are many different sectors using call centres and different type of activities. The different jobs and activities that take place in call centres affect the overall job design and therefore it is vital to categorize call centre activities.

Figure 2.1 Call Centre market sectors



(ETSI, 2003: 10)

The sector that will be focused upon in the current study is the Utilities sector and Emergency Services. Calls for utility services are handled by call centres. These include electricity, water, sanitation, rates and taxes. These types of calls centre have been in operation for many years and customers are accustomed to using them for billing information, emergency reporting and other queries. Many of the utility companies provide internet facilities so that customers may view their billing information on-line.

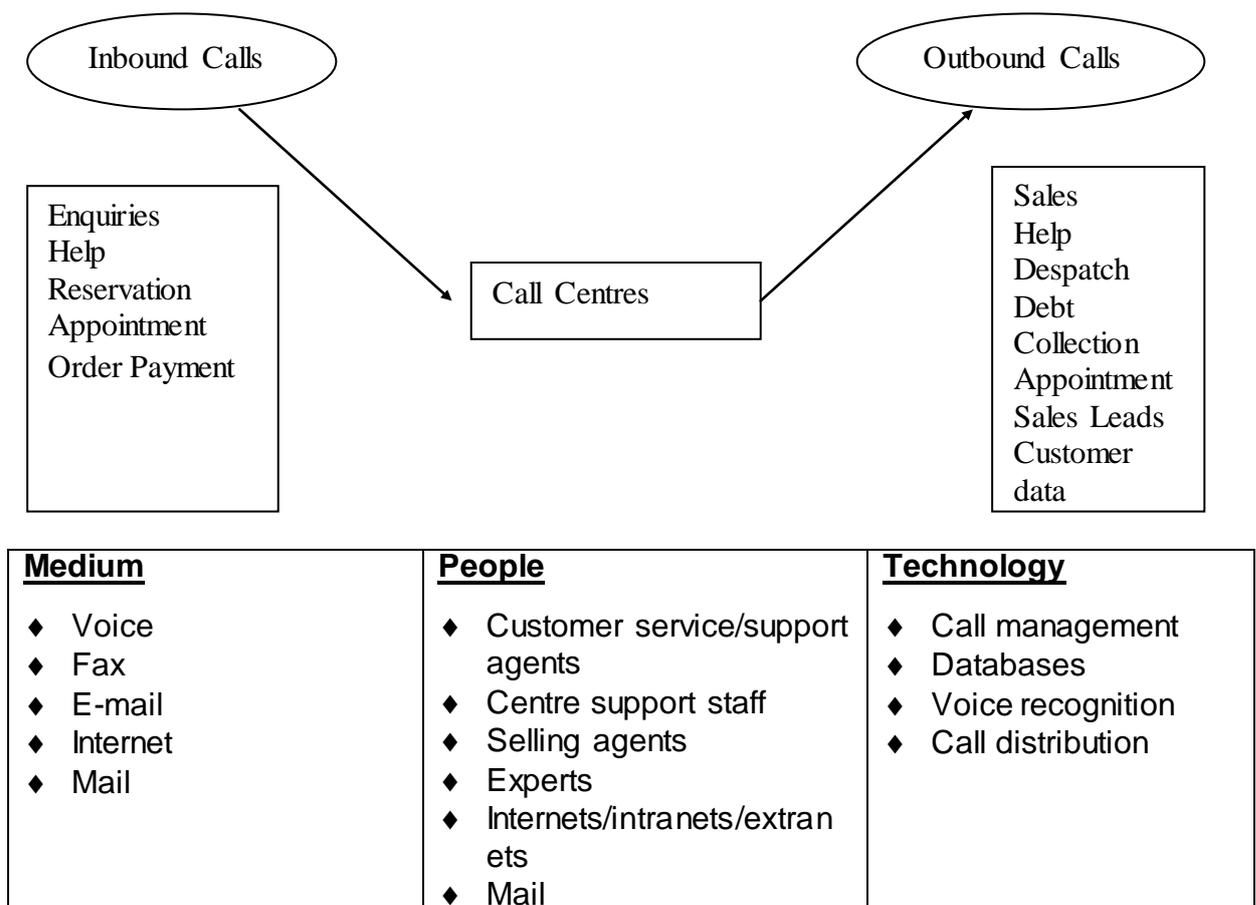
Agents who work in the Emergency Service call centres tend to handle calls when members of the public report accidents, medical emergencies, fires, bomb threats, murders, rapes, burglaries and so on.

2.5. Types of call centres

Call centres can be of two types according to (Explanation-guide, 2005; Buchanan & Koch-Schulte, 2000):

- Inbound call centres- inbound calls are calls that are initiated by the customer in order to obtain information, report a malfunction or ask for help.
- Outbound call centres- outbound calls occur due to the agent initiating the call to a customer mainly with the aim of selling products or providing a service to that customer.

Figure 2.2 Call Centre systems model



(Armistead, Kiely, Hole & Prescott, 2002: 247).

ESTI (2003: 11) maintains that research reveals that fifty percent (50%) of call centres conduct inbound business, fifteen percent (15%) outbound business and thirty five percent (35%) are conducting both inbound and outbound business.

The following table depicts the range of call centre design and focus and is an elaboration of figure 2.3:

Figure 2.3 Range of Call Centre design and focus

TYPE						
	Help & Advice Lines	Helpdesks	Customer Services	Information Lines	Tele-transactions	Telesales/ Tele-canvassing
Basis	Inbound	Inbound	Inbound	Inbound	Inbound	Inbound or Outbound
Activity	Direct Support	Problem solving and diagnostics	Customer relationship management	Service provision	Transactions	Resource Generation
Process	Non/ Semi-routine	Semi-routine	Routine	Routine	Routine	Routine
Examples	Counselling Advice Guidance Specialist Information	Technical support Emergency and specialist services such as legal or medical guidance (non-routine calls referred to specialists)	Product support Breakdown services Complaint handling	Travel information Directory enquiries Government information services	Airline reservations Direct insurance Tele-shopping Bill payment Tele-banking	Telesales Market research Fund-raising

(Houlihan, 2000: 229)

Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000) argue that the survey results revealed that inbound call centres made up the majority of operations in the industry, the totals being 61 percent. Agents feel that inbound or customer service centres are better because they are easier to work in and the pay is better. In retrospect agents felt that outbound call centres were not appealing because it involves more work for less pay (some pay was incentive or performance based) and relied more on part-time or casual workers. Agents working in outbound call centres many a times showed the desire to move to inbound call centres.

The following problems were found in outbound centres according to Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000):

- ◆ The tasks were difficult to perform due to high performance standards based on quotas.
- ◆ The pay was low, there was little job security and the hours of work were limited due to the use of non-standard employment contracts.
- ◆ Agents ran into ethical dilemmas in high-pressure sales and survey environments.
- ◆ Little training was offered and there were few chances for self-improvement or advancement.

Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000) also found in some centres that there was a direct link between meeting performance standards and future employment. Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000) found the following in inbound call centres:

- There were more training and advancement opportunities. Training periods were between two to four weeks and were paid.
- Agents were encouraged to upgrade their skills either through in-house courses or subsidised course work outside the organisation.
- Agents were permanent full-time employees.
- Agents were paid a higher salary.
- Work is less stressful compared to outbound call centre work.

Most inbound call centres are part of the organisation. Thus the agent has a chance of being promoted. With outbound call centres this is not the case.

2.6. Characteristics of call centres

Deery and Kinnie (2004: 3) maintain that previous research on the characteristics of call centres provide a gloomy picture. According to Houlihan (2000: 230) call centres are high-pressure work environments. Armistead, Kiely, Hole and Prescott (2002: 247) feel that the call centre environment may be seen as a socio-technical system which consists of a variety of information and communication technologies used to drive the agents' work pace and to monitor the agents' work output in order to maximise efficiency. Call centres have to balance conflicting principles of standardisation of processes and customisation of products and the principles of brevity of calls versus quality of customer service, to different degrees.

The following are some of the characteristics of call centres:

2.6.1 Hot-desking

Hot-desking implies that agents are not allocated a specific computer workstation. Agents will use a workstation that is available or allocated during a shift. Agents are given mobile drawers and equipment for work and personal purposes (The Queensland Government, 2003: 24). Many agents find hot-desking to be depersonalising and they prefer to sit with their team members (HELA, 2001).

2.6.2 Performance monitoring and targets

The majority of call centre agents' performance is monitored either quantitatively or qualitatively. Monitoring may occur for the individual, team or entire call centre level (Buchanan & Koch-Schulte, 2000). There are two types of call monitoring techniques:

- ✚ Electronic Performance Monitoring (EPM): Technology is used to monitor and record minute-by-minute details of work. This enables the supervisor to ascertain the amount of time spent on all aspects of work. The time that telephones are not answered can also be monitored (The Queensland Government, 2003: 24). The "information panopticon" reminds agents that although no supervisor is physically present, every aspect of their performance is constantly measured (Deery & Kinnie, 2004: 3). Moore (2002: 2) reported that the Trade Unions Congress found in their survey that telephone conversations were recorded and timed and supervisors would reprimand agents when the latter did not stick to the script or took too long on a call. Some agents said that they were set time limits of as little as two minutes twenty eight seconds for each call. Many call centres had "shame boards where the names of agents who failed to meet targets were recorded.
- ✚ Audible Monitoring: This technology allows the supervisor to listen to the agents' telephone conversations with customers (The Queensland Government, 2003: 24).

The extent and use of these types of performance management techniques varies depending on the call centre management techniques used and the type of work conducted.

Moore (2002: 2) says that a study conducted by the Trade Union Congress in 2001 found the following complaints coming through with regards to call centres:

- ◆ High levels of monitoring of work.
- ◆ Agents being timed over how often they go to toilet as well as how much time they spend there.
- ◆ Agents have to ask permission to go to toilet and they also have to explain to their supervisors why they have a need to go often to the toilet.
- ◆ Breaks are not enough and at some call centres there are no breaks.
- ◆ Stress and other health problems were reported to be high.
- ◆ Some agents had to ask permission to get a drink of water and others had to pay for disposable cups.

The information received, also known as “key performance indicators (KPIs) or call centre statistics are used as tools for assessing the performance of call centre agents (The Queensland Government, 2003: 24).

KPIs that are mostly used according to Parry and Marr (2004: 57) are:

- abandoned call rate
- average speed of answer
- queue time (amount of time caller is in line for answer)
- Amount of callers who were satisfied on first call.
- Abandonment rate (the number of callers who hung up before their calls could be taken.
- Average talk time (the number of times the caller spoke to a particular agent).
- Adherence (whether the agents are at their workstations or not).
- Average work time after call (time needed to complete paper work or do research after the call is completed).
- Percentage of calls blocked (the number of customers who found the phones engaged and could not get into the queue).
- Time before abandoning (average time the caller waited in queue before hanging up).
- Inbound calls per eight-hour shift.
- Total calls

- Service levels (number of calls answered in less than x seconds divided by number of total calls).

Agents had to achieve set targets for the above-mentioned points. These targets are usually coupled to incentive or reward systems. Moore (2002: 2) indicates that most call centre agents have no control over their work. As soon as one conversation is complete, the computer routes through the next. Agents complain that there is no time to recover from a conversation with an abusive caller. Some agents complained that they only had a 75 minute break during a 12-hour shift. While others complained that they worked without any breaks.

Call centre agents according to Parry and Marr (2004: 56) are assessed in terms of their productive value and efficiency. The human aspect in call centres is not taken into account. The trend followed in many call centres in terms of measuring and assessing performance is Taylorism. Taylor 's view was that one needs to match individuals to a task and then supervise, reward and punish them according to their performance. Taylor did not believe in people having skills and all work could be analysed step-by-step, as a series of unskilled operations that could be combined in any type of job (McPhail, 2002).

Buchanan (2000) reports that agents are concerned about quantitative monitoring compared to qualitative monitoring. Agents don't mind the qualitative monitoring as they receive feedback from managers on how they can enhance their skills and professionalism. With quantitative monitoring the emphasis is to answer as many calls in as short time as possible and this is harming both the agents as well as the customers as the service is not based on quality.

2.6.3 Performance appraisal systems

Performance appraisals are commonly used in call centres. They are usually conducted regularly (e.g. three monthly) and deals with the grading and scoring of workers on different work-related categories. The type and nature of the grading scale is usually developed and implemented by the call centre supervisor or team leaders. Performance appraisal systems are usually used to establish bonuses and performance pay increases (The Queensland Government, 2003: 24). Performance appraisal is usually aimed more at being friendly with the customer rather than meeting the needs of the customer (Houlihan, 2000: 230; Gilmore, 2001: 153).

2.6.4 Task variation

The call centre agent usually uses the computer and telephone for all job functions. It is usually not necessary for agents to leave their work stations except on allocated breaks. Work in call centres is tightly controlled and highly routine. Tasks are made simple, services follow pre-determined design specifications and the production process is made to minimize labour costs (The Queensland Government, 2003: 24). Research indicates that certain call centres allow for more challenging and interesting jobs and where the skills of agents are acknowledged and valued (Houlihan, 2000: 229). This usually occurs where service work requires subjective interpretation and agents need to use their discretion to meet the needs of customers. In this case simple methods of control will not be appropriate to monitor agents (Deery & Kinnie, 2004: 3).

2.6.5 Limited autonomy and workers forecasting

The number of incoming calls from customers determines the workload of call centre agents. Call centre jobs are regarded as “dead-end” with low status, poor pay and few career prospects. Work is automatically allocated to

telephone operators to decrease waiting time and increase the speed of work. The manner in which agents show their feelings toward the customer has a vital effect on the quality of the interaction. Therefore the attitude of agents is vital to the quality of interaction and tightly scripted dialogue and routine responses can stifle the agent and have an adverse effect on the quality of service delivered to the customer. The fact that customers are involved in the process makes the interaction complex and uncertain. Even if managers want to standardize the behaviour of customers and limit their options, it is not always possible. Thus, agents will need some flexibility and discretion in dealing with customers (Deery & Kinnie, 2004: 3).

2.6.6 High stress environment

Worldroom Digest (2004) reports that call centre work is seen as one of the three most “unhappy” occupations. Research indicates that more than seventy percent (70%) of call centre agents were experiencing at least one type of stress symptom and that sixty one percent (61%) of these workers had not experienced stress symptoms before being employed in a call centre. Stress at work is also related to high labour turnover. Attrition rates are higher in call centre environments, where agents work under a lot of pressure compared to the industry average (The Queensland Government, 2003: 24).

Armistead et al (2002: 246) maintain that pressure in call centres comes from balancing the conflicting demands of surveillance, satisfying customer needs and motivating employees. Buchanan (2000) argues that most call centre stress is as a result of the monotony and repetition in handling high volumes of calls and the emotional demands as a result of the interpersonal nature of the job.

Stress is common amongst call centre agents. Most agents reported high levels of stress caused by difficult targets and constant monitoring. Many reported that they were on long-term sick leave due to stress. One agent reported being on sick leave, for two months due to stress and depression.

She had to still telephone her supervisor every day to say that she was not well (Moore, 2002: 3).

Deery and Kinnie (2004: 4) maintain that call centres aim to be cost-efficient and customer oriented. This cannot be achieved when agents' calls are monitored, they have a time limit in which to complete calls and have standardised answers to customers' questions. Dean (2002) says that research reveals that organisational control and efficiency play a pivotal role at the expense of agents' wellbeing and turnover.

The "tweaking factor" through which systems and activities are constantly modified and targets are regularly revised, is a major producer of stress in call centre agents. The practice of placing emphasis on certain targets for improvement (for example, the collection of renewal dates, the up-selling or cross-selling of products, the quality of data input or the intensity of sales push) and constantly changing priorities implies that goals are always changing. Other stressors include hot and noisy work environments, the force-fed nature of calls, the monotonous and repetitive nature of the work and agents are unable to keep pace at the end of a busy day when lines get mixed up and they absent-mindedly repeat questions to customers (Houlihan, 2000: 230).

Armistead et al (2002: 246) say that research shows that the environmental and ergonomic conditions of most call centres are far more advanced than many traditional offices.

Parry and Marr (2004: 57) maintain that according to Gilmore and Moreland (2000) the following measures were displayed on walls in many call centres:

- ❖ Number of calls answered within past ten minutes.
- ❖ Calls waiting to be answered (calls in the queue).
- ❖ Number of agents currently taking calls.
- ❖ Number of agents waiting to take calls (free agents).
- ❖ Number of "not ready" agents.

- ❖ Number of agents on outgoing calls or busy with calls to other agents.

Agents paid attention to the display and would only take a break if the display call situation would allow it. This is another form of stress in the call centres. Moore (2002) adds that there are some shocking stories that have been exposed of call centres. One includes reports of managers threatening staff with wearing disposable nappies if they visit the toilet too often. One worker was disciplined for taking two six-second breaks between calls. As a result some call centre agents report high levels of stress and anxiety.

Wallace, Eagleson and Waldersee (2000: 177) note that in their study call centre agents made comments such as “The monotony of the job is frustrating and the numbers of calls we take a day is very tiring,” and “At the end of the week I am a zombie, the stress is so bad that on weekends I do not want to talk to anyone.” Research, according to these authors indicates that call centre workers experience more stress than coal miners. Factors that lead to unhappiness in call centres are monotony and repetitiveness of the job, especially when scripts are forced upon agents. This situation is aggravated by not having promotional opportunities and stress which leads to high turnover rates (Worldroom Digest, 2004).

Not only is call centre work stressful. The work is seen as unskilled, requiring no formal qualification and anyone can do it. Agents and managers both agree that call centre work “is not for anyone” (Buchanan, 2000).

2.6.7 Recruitment and Selection

Holt (2001: 3) estimates that as a result of the high labour turnover in the call centres in Australia, the estimated costs is in the region of \$50 million (Australian dollars) in recruitment and training. Most organisations that have a high labour turnover tend to invest a great deal in recruitment. Knight (1997) in Bouch (2004) maintains that 75 percent of managers have problems recruiting call centre agents.

2.6.8 Training and development

Van den Broek (2002) points out that the cost of training a new agent is \$10 000 (Australian dollars). In South Africa agents are trained on average of 22 days before they work (Business Day, 2005). Bouch (2004) adds that the training costs in the UK are approximately £1000 an agent a year.

2.6.9 Production Line and Empowerment emphasis

Gilmore (2001: 155) found that most call centres are run according to the production line approach. Gilmore (2001: 153) says that the advantage of a production line approach is that the organisation controls the system and nothing is left to the discretion of the employee. With the empowerment approach the discretion is left to agents to take decisions to satisfy customers' needs. Fernie in Deery and Kinnie (2004: 57) says that in the production line approach in call centres jobs are unskilled and require little knowledge, are repetitive and monotonous. Agents are forced to answer one call after another. Calls are short and are to be completed in a specified time. The call is conducted according to a script that specifies the entire wording of the conversation. The agent has no control over the timing of the work and methods to be used. All problems are referred to the supervisor.

Frenkel, Tam, Korczynski and Shire (1998: 959) posit that in contrast, the 'empowered' call centre reflects a contrasting, positive image by having semi-professional, empowered workers. In such a setting, work is tailored to suit the customer. The agent uses computers to identify and service the customer. The proper software assists with on-the-job training, thus improving the agents' knowledge and skills. The jobs in this environment are designed for interest and challenge, teamwork and participation in task-related decisions, longer term employment and on-going training for development.

The following is the difference between the production line and empowerment approaches:

Figure 2.4 Production line and empowerment approaches

Production Line Approach	Empowerment Approach
Standard policy & procedure	Customised/personalised
Organisational/ Managerial control	Front-line staff control
Consistent approach	May be inconsistent
High number of calls per minute	Maybe fewer calls per minute
Many incomplete calls/takes more than one call	Problems resolved 1 st time
Tangible measurements only	Both tangible and intangible measurements

(Gilmore, 2001: 155)

2.6.10 Tangible and intangible dimensions

Service delivery of call centres may be divided into hard and soft data. Hard data deal with performance and reliability standards or tangible dimensions. Hard data are easy to measure and evaluate aspects like the physical surroundings. Soft data deal with descriptions of and knowledge about customers' feelings, perceptions and requirements. It is more difficult to measure these, as they are intangible and they tend to deal with aspects such as the degree of courtesy and consideration experienced by the customer. Call centres agents need to focus on both the tangible and intangible aspects when dealing with customers (Gilmore, 2001: 154).

The following are tangible and intangible dimensions of call centres:

Figure 2.5 Tangible and intangible dimensions in call centres

Tangible	Intangible
Number of calls answered	Individual customer service
Speed of response	Accessibility of relevant help
Length of call	Responsiveness of individual problem
Standardising response	Empathy/Courtesy
Problem solved in specified limited time	Seeing problem through to completion
Quality of information and service	Quality of information and service

(Gilmore, 2001: 155)

2.6.11 Thoughts on call centres

Adams and Beck (2000: 11) point out that the number of jobs created by call centres is exaggerated. A lot of the functions call centre agents engage in are replacing activities previously conducted by local branches and offices. Some researchers maintain that having call centres in the financial service sector leads to de-skilling as financial tasks are streamlined away from multi-skilled workers.

2.7 Factors affecting call centre activities

There are many factors affecting call centre activities. The following are the factors according to ETSI (2003: 12):

2.7.1 Who initiates the call

Call centres were originally established to receive calls only but this situation has now changed. Calls may be incoming or outgoing.

2.7.2 Location and use

There is a tendency to work from home. Agents, especially those who have small children want to be given the opportunity and the equipment to work from home. The only time that working from home will become a viable option is when there exists a fully developed telecommunications infrastructure. According to the International Labour Organisation (2001: 6) the advantages of agents working from home are more flexibility in creating work rosters, greater staff retention, a decrease in absenteeism rate and higher productivity.

2.7.3 Size

Large call centres consist of more than five hundred agents. Medium sized organisations have between 200-500 agents. Small call centres have ten to twenty (10-20) agents. The trend these days is to move away from large and medium sized call centres to those with less than 50 agents.

2.7.4 Single or multiple business operation

Many small organisations contract their call centre business to a specialized call centre which may operate more than one business from one centre. This places a greater burden on certain call centre agents as they have to be sure that they are answering the correct calls on behalf of the correct organisation. Other agents see the variety as enrichment to their work.

2.7.5 Contract type

Certain call centres are 'in-house' aspects of the company and are located within the organisation. Other companies on the other hand may contract out their call centre operations to a specialized call centre organisation. This has implications for the welfare and integration of the staff employed at the call centre. Some companies use both types, using in-house call centres for handling complaints and the external service supplier to handle more routine activities such as order and invoice handling.

2.7.6 24/7 operation

Working through the night in call centres is becoming common practice. Working practices like "24/7" (24 hours per day, seven days per week) are common in call centres.

2.7.7 Geographical coverage

Many large companies are having their call centre operations in different time zones, for example in India and recently in South Africa, so that they can operate twenty four (24) hours in the day. This is to overcome the need to employ staff on "24/7" operation and to pay higher salaries. The advantages of using India, for example is that the people are highly educated, the software is well developed and there is a large unemployed workforce. In addition, labour is cheap and English is a second language.

2.7.8 Languages

For many agents working in South Africa, English is not a first language. Training will have to be given to agents who are working in United Kingdom and United States call centres. These agents will need to communicate with

the overseas customers in such a way that the customer will not be aware that the call centre is located in South Africa.

2.8 Call centre agents

Bagnara (2000) asserts that call centre agents can be differentiated in terms of functions, tasks and communication skills.

A small group, about ten percent (10%) which are usually not represented in call centres where outsourced standard and repetitive tasks are undertaken (in the more advanced call centres) carry out the more complex non-repetitive tasks. These are commonly referred to as 'universal agents' because they are able to handle any communication with customers and move easily and rapidly from one function to another (an example being from customer retention to activation) and between media and applications. In the light of vertical flexibility not being a viable option (it is a waste to have them performing low-level activities) and due to trends being toward content and customers' target specialisation, the idea of having universal agents is questioned (Bagnara, 2000).

The second group makes up between five to fifteen percent (5-15 %) and is a flexible workforce to move around different media and float between functions from time to time to undertake difficult activities. Another group, which make up roughly twenty percent (20%) of agents, undertake a blend of repetitive, complex activities and sometimes move between communication media (Bagnara, 2000).

Thus according to Bagnara (2000) agents in a call centre belong to three mainly almost equal groups. The first one works full-time and has wide experience and high skill levels. The second group is made up of horizontal (not many hours in the day) or vertical (a few days in the week; usually peak days and weekends) part-timers with medium level expertise and skills. The

third group is made up of temporary agents who have basic skills and very little experience.

When managers from various industrial sectors were interviewed they all cited the human resources as being the most critical factor in the success of call centres, according to Bagnara (2000). Managers of computer/software/electronics call centre did not rate their people as the most crucial aspect in the success of call centres.

Bagnara (2000) found that in a survey of 285 call centres completed by managers and senior executives in 1999 by the Gallup Organisation, personnel were ranked once again high, followed by customer satisfaction, technology and finance.

Research also indicates that call centre agents don't have a holistic view of the process within the call centre (research reveals that only half of the total agents in call centres could quote their call centre objectives). Also in more than two thirds of cases agents have to switch between two applications during the same call. There is a lack of organisational integration and communication between the call centre and other departments. Marco and Chaudry (2002: 76) maintain that call centre agents are involved in vertical interdependence, where they rely on experts to give advice. They are horizontally interdependent as well as they do not have all the answers to queries. In many cases products are launched onto the market and agents have very little knowledge about these products. This implies overload and degradation in quality (Bagnara, 2000).

Agents are also in charge of aspects such as communication, information diffusion and gathering, knowledge creation and sharing. They also have knowledge of customers, products, services, processes, the organisation and technologies. Many of the agents are young (on average 23-25 years old), they have diplomas and university degrees and in many cases it is the agents' first work experience (London Free Press, 1998). For many of them however, there is no clear path to the future. Career development in call centres is not

very attractive and is unplanned. There is a lot of mobility from one call centre to another new one within the company (Bagnara, 2000).

Call centres do not have vocational training programmes. Call centre jobs are based on generic education and the perception is that anyone can do the job. At the same time social and professional recognition is non-existent. Part-time and temporary recruitment adds to this situation. Research reveals many of the organisations are start-ups and they have their own weaknesses in identity and corporate culture (Bagnara, 2000).

Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000) felt that good listening skills, professionalism (regular attendance at work, punctuality and good service) and conflict resolution are vital for agents.

Higgs (2004: 443) focuses on certain criteria and behavioural skills when focusing on the type of people found within call centres. Higgs (2004: 443) believes that the characteristics and skills outlined in the table are found in call centre agents:

Table 2.1 Generic call centre agent. Recruitment criteria- summary of prior studies

Criterion type	Criterion	References
Skills	Keyboard skills	Data Monitor (1996); Leidner (1991); Gustafson (1999); Jarman et al (1998); Richardson (1994); Webster (1998);
	Interpersonal skills	Jarman et al (1998); Richardson (1994); Webster (1998);
	Communication skills	Jarman et al (1998); Leidner (1991)
Characteristics/traits/ Personality	Operating company databases	Leidner (1991)
	Role conscious	Barnes (2001); Marshall and Richardson (1996)
	Dutiful	
	Conscientious	
	Introverted	
	Commitment	Data Monitor (1996); Jarman et al (1998); Lash and Urry (1994);
	Energy	Leidner (1991); Webster (1998)
	Team orientation	
	Learning ability	
	Customer orientation	
	Flexibility	
	Motivation	
	Pressure tolerance	Gustafson (1999); Jarman et al (1998); Lash and Urry (1994);
	Stress resistance	Webster (1998).
	Empathy	
	Resilience	
	Understanding emotions	Lash and Urry (1994); Webster (1998)

(Higgs, 2004: 443).

2.9 Call centres focused upon in current study

The type of call centres focused on in this research will be customer service and it will be in the Utilities Sector.

2.9.1. Call centres in the Utilities Sector

Interaction between service workers and customers may be of different forms. For example, customers may need a standardised and homogeneous service. In this case call centre agents will require little individualised knowledge of the customer in order to deliver the service. The interaction will be short and uncomplicated. In such a case management will focus on maximising efficiency and throughput. The role of the agent will be purely service delivery. The emphasis will be on monitoring and measurement and training will focus on knowledge of the process and the style of delivery. The objective will be on throughput and low unit costs. Monitoring is used to decrease variability in service delivery, decrease the time spent on each customer and decrease downtime by not allowing the agent time between calls. Skill enhancement and worker autonomy will be seen by management as being too costly and not creating a competitive advantage Deery, Iverson and Walsh in Deery and Kinnie (2004: 203).

The call centre focused in this study has agents who have been taught how to solve certain basic problems of customers within their particular division. The queries that are dealt with are limited. If a query falls outside the range of the knowledge of the agent, the customer is referred to the supervisor or to another division that deals with the particular queries. All calls are inbound.

Deery et al in Deery and Kinnie (2004: 204) feel that there are limitations to such interactions. Organisations that wish to apply an engineering model for service delivery discover that the standardisation of processes tends to undermine the quality of the interactions with customers. Employees become

disillusioned and this results in a loss of customers. In addition, trying to deliver a service according to a predetermined design and to make customers behaviour routine, does not work. On the other hand, many call centres compromise quality service in favour of throughput and cost efficiencies. Research shows that in most call centres the aim is to have low customer waiting times and to decrease call handling and wrap-up time as well as providing high quality service.

In addition to answering telephone queries, these call centre agents in the current study also have to do a lot of administrative work. Not only do they have to capture information but do filing, train new call centre agents, report faults to other departments and in some cases answer customer queries either by phoning the customers, via e-mail or faxes.

As in Frenkel et al (1998: 969) study, supervisors of the call centre in the current study have formalised certain minimum requirements. These are scripted and learned in the initial training. This includes aspects such as greeting customers, answering queries, terminating calls, communicating with other departments and dealing with abusive callers. Beyond this agents were trained to answer typical queries and to refer difficult queries either to supervisors or to the appropriate departments.

The volume of calls coming through is high, as there is a continuous stream of calls coming through. The number of calls dealt with and their average length is measured accurately and is examined on a daily basis. The call centre agent is in a position where they have to placate angry customers.

The call centre in the current study is in-house. It is part of the organisation. Thus call centre agents have the opportunity to apply for other positions (especially higher posts) within the organisation.

2.10 DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES OF CALL CENTRES

2.10.1 Age

CallingtheCape in 2003 conducted a survey in Cape Town's call centres and found that the average age of call centre agents was 25 years (Balancing Act, 2004: 3). The average age of call centre agents in the United Kingdom is between 21 to 40 years. The average age of call centre agents in Sieben and de Grip's (2003: 261) study were 31 years old and about one in four agents is older than 40 years. Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000) reported that most of the call centre agents in the study were under the age of 29 years. Belt et al (2000) discovered that the average age of call centre agents was between 20 and 29 years old.

2.10.2 Gender

A survey conducted by CallingtheCape in 2003 in Cape Town's call centres found that sixty percent (60%) of the supervisors and agents were women in call centres (Balancing Act, 2004: 3). The number of female agents in the call centre workforce ranges from 20% to 100%. Female employment levels are highest in the largest call centres (ECOTEC, 2000). Sieben and de Grip (2003: 261) found in their study that 55 percent of call centre agents in their study were women. Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000) discovered that the number of female call centre agents range from 58 percent to 81 percent. Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000) found that call centre were mainly women. Belt (2002) notes that, most organisations were focusing on recruiting women who had returned after being away from the corporate world for a few years after raising their children. Belt et al (2000) found in their research that over 70 percent of call centre agents were female.

2.10.3 Home Language

Call centre agents within South Africa need to be fully bilingual and at least know a third language. This will ease the communication between the agent and the customer. Balancing Act (2004: 3) maintains that according to a survey conducted by CallingtheCape in 2003 in Cape Town's call centres revealed that call centre agents were proficient in English and compared well with international market needs. Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000) mention that being multilingual in a call centre, is an asset.

2.10.4 Educational Level

Balancing Act (2004: 3) says that CallingtheCape in 2003 found in a survey conducted in Cape Town's call centres that most of the agents in call centres had completed high school and some had national diplomas from technikons. ITWeb (2005) reports that Falkenberg who is the Managing Director of Hi-Performance Learning believes that the average call centre agent in India is over 25 years old and has a degree. In South Africa, call centre agents are under 25 years old without degrees. Sieben and de Grip (2003: 261) discovered in the call centre they researched that the educational backgrounds were mixed. Most of the agents had secondary education. Approximately 20% had a vocational college or university degree.

2.10.5 Marital Status

Belt (2002) found that women who were call centre agents had a lot of "caring" commitments. Managers reported that older women and women who had to support children as more stable in terms of their jobs because these women were not interested in advancing in their jobs but are content in their roles as agents. Belt et al (2000) found that married women were requesting more flexible hours within call centres.

2.10.6 Race

The literature surveyed is lacking on information dealing with race and call centres.

2.10.7 Tenure

Consumer's Association of Victoria (1999) indicated that the average job tenure in call centres is fifteen (15) months. Tejaswi (2004) found that the tenure in call centres amongst agents in India is eighteen months. Wallace and Eagleson (2000: 178) in their study also reported the average length of tenure to be eighteen months amongst call centre agents. One manager also commented that they do not want call centre agents to stay more than eighteen months due to the fact that at that stage they are "burnt out and are no good." Falkenberg in ITWeb (2005) feels that there are tremendous challenges facing the call centre industry in South Africa. Training takes up to eighteen weeks in call centres and the average job tenure is less than two years. Holt (2001: 3) reported that the average length of service in Australian call centres is two and a half years.

2.11 Call centres are happy environments

Datapoint (2004) found that call centres are not sweatshops that offer little career opportunity. Research found that 74 per cent of call centre agents enjoy excellent or very good work environments, with measures to increase job satisfaction and motivation. Call centre agents also experienced job satisfaction because they were allowed to use their initiative. These call centre agents also felt motivated because they have support from management. Over half the call centre agents surveyed reported having more than one day of training a month.

Holman (2003) reported that job satisfaction was high among call centres that they had surveyed. The study also revealed that call centre agents experienced more anxiety and depression, lower job satisfaction and mental health when they had less control over their work. The opposite was true for agents who had more control over their work. Many call centre agents also felt that calls were monitored so as to develop skills and abilities and was not used as a mechanism to punish them.

The DailyRecord (2005) reports that most agents mention that call centres are good places to work in spite of negative publicity. Most agents have a good working environment as well as highly competitive salaries. In addition many call centres have structured induction and training programmes as well as flexible working hours. It is as a result of these benefits that many agents enjoy working in call centres. Certain organisations have staff restaurants, state-of-the-art training rooms as well as gymnasiums. There are organisations that even provide support for call centre agents such as childcare, counselling, assistance with transport and health awareness programmes.

Belt et al (2000) report that in the call centres they had researched, agents did complain about the monotony of the job but agents also said that they enjoyed working in a call centre environment because it was lively, energetic and people were sociable.

Chapter 3

Job Satisfaction

“A man cannot be comfortable without his own approval” Mark Twain (in Dubinsky & Skinner, 2004: 25).

3.1. Introduction

Barbash (1976: 12) argues that “many employees at all occupational levels feel locked in, their mobility blocked, the opportunity to grow lacking in their jobs, challenges missing from their tasks.” The concept of jobs and job satisfaction poses a problem for companies wanting individual effectiveness and retention due to the nature of global and business environments that are continuously changing. The traditional concepts of “work” and “jobs” have undergone a paradigm shift. Not only is it global competition and the changing workforce demographics but changes in the nature of work are as a result of changes such as restructuring, re-engineering, downsizing, process improvement methodology, network organizations and strategic alliances are focused on changing the nature of people’s jobs to a great extent and/or eliminating them completely. The popularity of these approaches in organisations these days, together with developments in information technology has resulted in certain Industrial/Organisational practitioners to believe that the concept of the job as was defined previously is not adequate according to Judge and Church (in Cooper and Locke, 2000: 179). Judge and Church (in Cooper and Locke, 2000: 179) maintain that Howard (1995: 520) believed that “the job is, after all, an artefact of the industrial age, created to package work in factories and bureaucratic organizations. [It] is disappearing in favour of an amorphous collection of work.” Due to these changes, more instability and ambiguity occurs which results in practitioners, managers and

executives being pressurised to respond to satisfaction related concerns among subordinates. This does not imply that job satisfaction is not an important aspect. This only suggests that the focus will have to be on the overall satisfaction of employees rather than job satisfaction only.

Judge and Church (in Cooper and Locke, 2000: 166) state that according to Napoleon, "An army's effectiveness depends on its size, training, experience and morale, and morale is worth more than all the other factors combined."

The human relations movement has focused a great deal on workplace morale. Instrumental theorists in human relations movement were Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939), Likert (1967), Maslow (1965) and McCregor (1966) who emphasised workplace morale. The literature on job satisfaction had since has its ups and downs, together with an identity crises. Research on job satisfaction is still going strong. In 1976, Locke found that there were approximately 3 300 studies on job satisfaction that were conducted up until 1973. A further 7 856 studies on job satisfaction were found since 1973 according to Judge and Church (in Cooper and Locke, 2000: 166).

An outline of the rest of the chapter follows. The definitions of different researchers regarding job satisfaction will be elaborated upon. A discussion on the theories of job satisfaction will follow. The theories discussed will be Maslow's theory of need hierarchy, motivation/hygiene theory, expectancy, equity, discrepancy and work adjustment theories. The job characteristics model and the situational occurrences theory will also be focused upon in a comprehensive manner. One needs to understand job satisfaction because of the many changes that the work force has undergone. Some of these changes are worker expectations, freedom in the job, sex-role boundaries, life style, different personalities and changing attitudes toward work. Intrinsic factors such as success on the job, recognition, job involvement, responsibility, job monotony, work circumstances, promotional opportunities, workload and application of skills will be discussed in more detail. Extrinsic factors such as compensation, security, the work group, supervision and

organisational culture will be focused upon individually. Individual factors such as age, tenure, gender, educational level and cultural differences will be discussed in more detail. The consequences of job dissatisfaction such as productivity, absenteeism, turnover, the individual's physical, mental health and life satisfaction will be focused upon.

3.2. Definitions of job satisfaction

Many definitions of job satisfaction can be found in the literature. Locke (in Dunnette, 1983: 1300) defines job satisfaction as “a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences.”

Muchinsky (1987: 396) defined job satisfaction as “an emotional, affective response. Job satisfaction is the extent to which a person derives pleasure from the job.”

Schultz (1982:287) defined job satisfaction as “the psychological disposition of people toward their work- and this involves a collection of numerous attitudes and feelings”. There are numerous other definitions of job satisfaction. Central to this concept is the attitudes, emotions and feelings about a job and how these attitudes, emotions and feelings affect the job and the individual's life (Stemple, 2004).

Ivancevich and Donnelly (1968: 172) define job satisfaction as “the favourable viewpoint of the worker toward the work role he presently occupies.” Wanous and Lawler (1972) found nine different operational definitions of job satisfaction. Each operational definition focuses on how different facets or aspects of job satisfaction are measured and how they combine to give an overall measure of job satisfaction.

The definitions according to DeMato (2001: 21) include:

- Overall job satisfaction which include job satisfaction across all facets of a job.
- Job satisfaction as a weighted sum of job facet satisfaction.
- Job satisfaction as the sum of goal attainment or need fulfilment when summed across job facets.
- Job satisfaction corresponding to Vroom's "valence for a job".
- Job satisfaction as a discrepancy between how much there is now and how much there should be.
- Job satisfaction due to comparing between fulfilment and desires or ideals in the present.
- Job satisfaction as a measure of desires or ideals of what one would like.
- Job satisfaction as being vital as a job facet that determines the extent of affect generated by an amount of discrepancy between fulfilment and desires.
- Job satisfaction as the discrepancy between the importance of a job facet and the perception of fulfilment from the facet.

Job satisfaction is difficult to define due to the different terminology used by various researchers. Research shows that the term job satisfaction is substituted by words like morale, attitude and feelings. Kornhauser (1930) used terms such as workers' feelings and attitudes. Miner (1992: 116) argues that many a times job satisfaction and job attitudes are thought to be the same concept. Miner (1992: 116) maintains that job satisfaction may be defined as "a purely emotional response to a job situation (as opposed to the combination of emotional, mental and behavioural components). It can also be defined as the extent to which work is seen as providing those things that one considers conducive to one's welfare." It is vital to know that those with different theoretical orientations use the concepts differently. Ivancevich and Donnelly (1968) posit the term satisfaction is similar to morale and attitude. Brayfield and Roethe (1951: 307) commented that "...attempts to identify and

estimate job satisfaction have preceded precise definition. Employee satisfaction and morale are often equated but seldom defined.”

Another problem in finding a definition of job satisfaction is due to the way in which the concept is measured. Miner (1992: 116) says that “some measure job satisfaction in terms of the gratifications of strong needs in the workplace. Others see it as the degree of discrepancy between what a person expects to receive from work and what that person perceives is actually received.” Ewen (1967) says that job satisfaction is measured by establishing how happy workers are with different facets or aspects of their work. Ewen (1967) is worried about how much weight should be assigned to each facet when it is being measured. It is assumed that each facet is given equal weight by the respondents. Wanous and Lawler (1972) also note that different definitions of job satisfaction have led to different ways of measuring the concept. Scarpello and Campbell (1983) believe that although the measurement of overall job satisfaction is the total of facet satisfaction, this assumption applies only when the content of the satisfaction measure is valid. According to DeMato (2001: 22) Jayaratne (1993) believes that job satisfaction is an affective state. These days however the cognitive aspect of job satisfaction is also beginning to play an important role.

Portugal (1976: 9) states that Seashore sees job dissatisfaction from a psychological point of view that is unstable and transitory within a model of adaptive behaviour. The dissatisfied employee will try and change the state of dissatisfaction by either trying to change the external conditions that gave rise to it, by changing his/her goals, expectations, perceptions or frame of reference or by reacting in a dysfunctional manner (violence directed outward or inward). The main concern here is the manner in which individuals deal with job dissatisfaction.

Spector (1997: 2) defines job satisfaction as “the extent to which people like (satisfaction) or dislike (dissatisfaction) their jobs.” Williams (2004) comments the above definition implies that job satisfaction is a general or global affective reaction that people have regarding their jobs. Researchers are not only

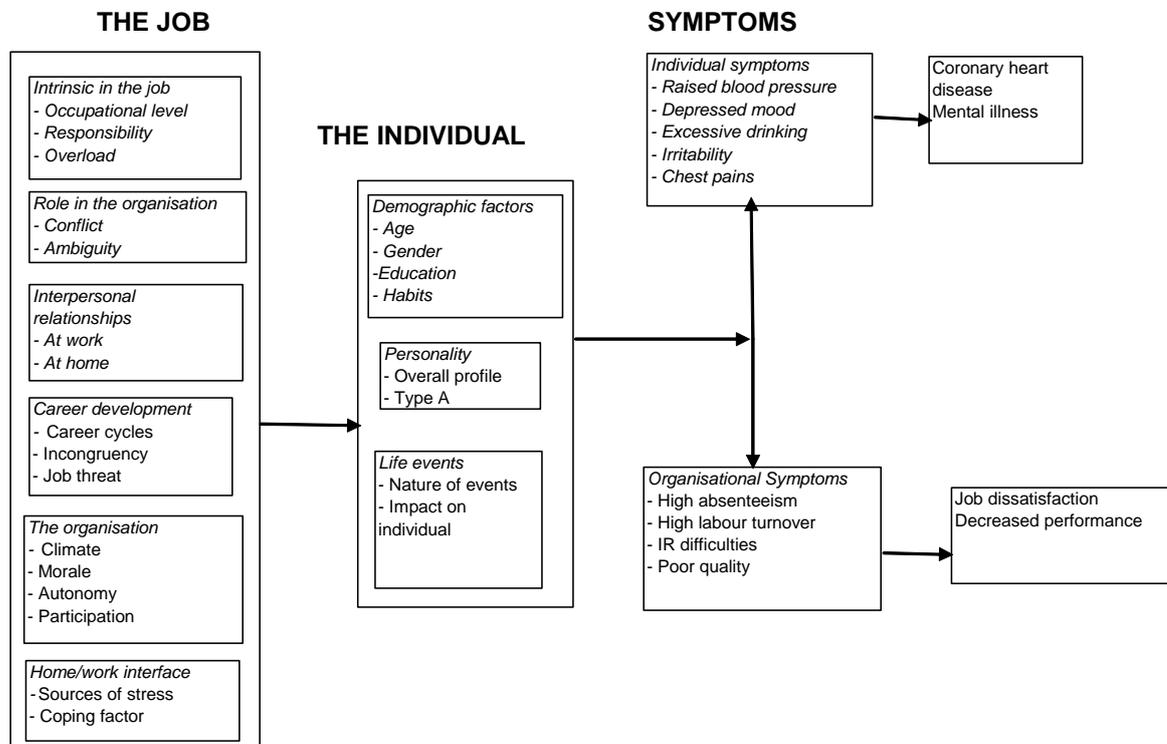
interested in measuring global job satisfaction but different aspects of job satisfaction as well.

Global feelings about the job deal with the overall attitude towards the job. The facet approach focuses on the aspects of the job that lead to satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Scarpello and Campbell (1983: 578) mention that Locke (1969: 330) defined overall job satisfaction as “the sum of the evaluations of the discrete elements of which the job is composed.”

Barbash (1976: 18) argues that a very serious shortcoming of job satisfaction is that it is unable to go beyond the current organisation to locate the causes and consequences of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. That is job satisfaction research lacks a viable labour market point of reference. Sources of personal discontent need to be related to the employee’s unemployment and the economy and industry’s expansion, growth and contraction.

Figure 3.1 Factors that could have an impact on the job satisfaction levels of individuals and possible symptoms that might indicate job dissatisfaction.



(Sloan & Cooper, 1986: 2 in Van Schalkwyk, 2001: 7)

3.3. Theories of job satisfaction

Pugh (1985) maintains that from the time Mayo studied workers' work habits in the 1920s at the Hawthorne Western Electric Plant and found that the perceptions workers had about how they were treated by managers had an effect on their work habits and production, there has been tremendous research regarding job satisfaction. Considering there are so many definitions of job satisfaction, many researchers have come up with different theories of job satisfaction.

Before going on to understanding the different theories, it is important to classify the different theories.

According to Dunnette (1983) theories of job satisfaction can be divided into two:

- Content theories deal with the factors that influence job satisfaction according to Campbell & Pritchard (in Dunnette, 1983: 65). These theories focus on aspects within the individual's environment that energizes and sustains behaviour. To be more specific the focus is on what motivates people. The theories that fall in this domain are Maslow's theory of Need hierarchy and Herzberg's Two-factor theory.
- Process theories try and explain the process by which variables such as expectations, needs and values relate to the job to produce job satisfaction. These theories try and define the major variables that are vital for explaining motivated individuals. Gruneberg (1979) maintains that these theorists view job satisfaction as being determined not only by the nature of the job and its context within the organisation but by needs, values and expectations that the person has in relation to the job. Thus a person who has a high need for pay and achievement will be more frustrated in a job where these needs are not met compared to one who does not have a high need for pay and achievement. Theories that fall under this classification are the Expectation and Equity theories, Reference Group theory, Needs/Fulfillment theory and Work Adjustment theory.

3.3.1. Motivator/Hygiene Theory (Two-factor theory)

According to Judge and Church in Cooper and Locke (2000), Herzberg's two-factor theory is one of the first theories on job satisfaction and is a content theory. Herzberg maintained that the factors leading to job satisfaction are different from those that lead to dissatisfaction.

According to Gruneberg (1978: 22) Herzberg (1968) believed that man had two different needs. The first derives from man's animal nature. Avoiding pain from the environment or learned practices that are a response to the basic biological needs. The second deals with the unique character of man-the ability to achieve. Herzberg (1968: 58) believed that growth or motivation factors intrinsic to the job are: achievement, recognition for achievement, the work itself, responsibility and growth or advancement. Gruneberg (1979: 11) says that in the absence of this group of motivators, dissatisfaction will not result, although satisfaction results when this group is present. Herzberg (1968: 58) believed that the hygiene factors (those factors that result in dissatisfaction) which are extrinsic to the job are: company policy and administration, supervision, interpersonal relationships, working conditions, salary, status and security. Gruneberg (1979: 11) says that Herzberg believed that in the absence of these motivating factors, job dissatisfaction results but when adequate do not necessarily result in job satisfaction. When both the motivation and hygiene needs are fulfilled job satisfaction will result. By having these factors as separate entities, Herzberg is of the opinion that job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction are separate and distinct.

Gruneberg (1979: 11) argues that factors such as pay and working conditions are context factors and don't have much to do with gaining satisfaction from the job. They are necessary conditions for job satisfaction but don't necessarily result in job satisfaction. In retrospect, job satisfaction is created by the job itself and this allows the person to develop psychologically, by achieving a worthwhile goal, by being recognised for one's efforts, thus allowing the person to feel worthwhile. Gruneberg (1979: 14) reports that Herzberg maintains that by not having these motivators at work does not lead to dissatisfaction but one fail to achieve satisfaction.

Gruneberg (1979: 14) points out that it is vital to take into account the following points regarding Herzberg's theory:

- ✚ Herzberg himself reports hygiene factors leading to job satisfaction.

- ✚ Herzberg says that hygiene seekers experience poor adjustment. There is enough proof to show that poor working conditions may lead to bad adjustment.
- ✚ In situations where psychological growth is stunted, due to the job being boring and routine, seeking hygiene factors such as money in no way means the person is neurotic.
- ✚ Research has shown that it is not the person but the culture the person comes from that determines what the person will want from a job.
- ✚ Herzberg does not say how overall job satisfaction is weighed.

Table 3.1 Factors affecting job attitudes

Factors that led to extreme dissatisfaction (Hygiene factors)	Factors that led to extreme satisfaction (Motivators)
Company policy and administration Supervision Relationship with supervisor Work conditions Salary Relationship with peers Personal life Relationship with subordinates Status Security	Achievement Recognition Work itself Responsibility Advancement Growth

(Herzberg, 1968: 57).

3.3.2. Maslow's Theory

While Herzberg's dual factor theory deals with the work components of life, Maslow theory focuses on what drives our motivation. According to Gruneberg (1979) Maslow's theory is a content theory. Maslow believed that people's character is shaped by needs that are not satisfied. When a person has moved from a lower to a higher level need, lower level needs will not be as vital since they have been fulfilled. Maslow (1954) believed that both intrinsic and extrinsic factors create satisfaction and dissatisfaction. He believed that job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are on one continuum and "growth" needs and "deficiency" needs are on opposite sides of the continuum. The first needs deal with avoiding pain and discomfort and present basic needs such as sex, thirst and hunger. The second set of needs deal with individuals becoming all that they are capable of becoming. It is only when certain needs of individuals are fulfilled will job satisfaction result. Spector (2000: 178) maintains that Maslow contends that people's needs are arranged in a hierarchy that deals with physical, social and psychological needs.

Den Oudsten (1999: 40) maintains that Maslow's theory is one of the most popular theories of work motivation because it is holistic, dynamic and positive and focuses on relatively healthy individuals. Maslow according to (Roberts, 1997) felt that people had general types of needs such as (physiological, safety, love and esteem). These needs have to be satisfied first before an individual can behave in an unselfish manner. These needs were called "deficiency" needs. As long as an individual is motivated to satisfy these needs, one is progressing towards self-actualisation. By fulfilling needs, one develops in a healthy manner but blocking need gratification makes one evil or sick.

Roberts (1997) says that Maslow also believed that needs are prepotent. A prepotent need is one that has the most influence over our actions. Each individual has prepotent needs but the extent of the need differs from individual to individual. When the deficiency needs are met, higher needs

emerge and these become vital to the individual. When these needs are satisfied, higher needs emerge that need satisfying. So the process continues. Spector (2000: 178) knew that the hierarchy will not be followed in strict order because some people will place more emphasis on higher order needs than lower order needs. People in certain societies may never experience being deprived of lower order needs such as food. Thus, the lower order needs are not motivating.

The following are Maslow's needs according to Roberts (1997):

3.3.2.1. Physiological Needs

Physiological needs refer to the basic needs such as water, air, food, sleep, sex, etc. When these needs are not satisfied an individual may feel sick, irritated, pain, discomfort, etc. When these needs are not gratified, an individual may fulfil these needs in order to reach a stage of homeostasis.

3.3.2.2. Safety Needs

These needs maintain stability and consistency in a chaotic world. These needs are psychological in nature. People need to know that they will not be harmed physically. These needs focus on the individual's security in the future (Lawler, 1968: 464).

3.3.2.3. Social Needs

The next need is love and belongingness. People have a need to belong to groups: clubs, work groups, religious groups, political parties, family, gangs, etc. People have a need to be loved and accepted by others. This need usually manifests itself in the family and then spreads out to the social and work group. The individual endeavours to have good relations with people

around him/her and to belong and be accepted by the group (Lawler, 1968: 464).

3.3.2.4. Esteem Needs

Esteem needs can be further divided into two categories. The first is as a result of competence or mastery over a task. The second need is the attention and recognition that one gets from others. It is not only a matter of belonging to a group but getting the admiration and respect as well from people within the group. This has to do with prestige, status and admiration. When these needs are not satisfied, it may lead to a feeling of inferiority, together with feeling helpless and weak (Lawler, 1968: 464).

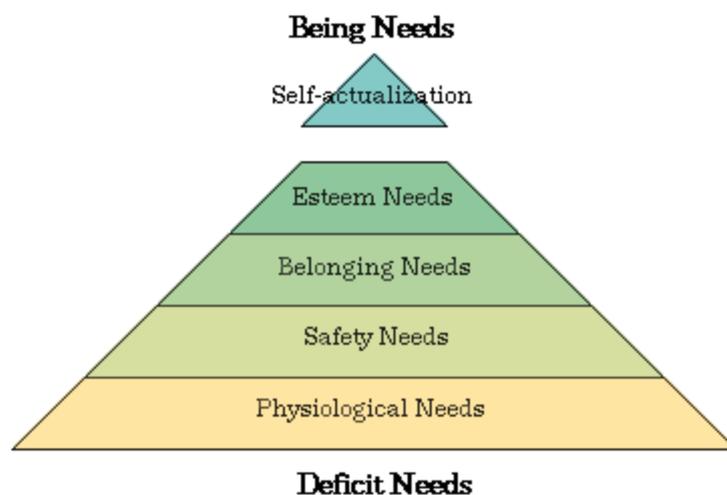
3.3.2.5. Self-Actualisation Needs

Self-actualisation need refers to the desire to become more and more what one is- to become everything one is capable of becoming” (Gerber, Van Dyk and Nel, 1999: 20). Individuals who have everything are able to maximise their potential. Den Oudsten (1999: 42) feels that this is a need that each person is able to fulfil according to his/her development and creativity. People strive to maximise their potential according to what is important to the individual. The problem in our society these days is that the individual is so busy focusing on satisfying his/her lower need so attention is not paid to self-actualisation. When a need is fulfilled, it will no longer serve as a motivator. Therefore, dissatisfaction acts as a motivator. Maslow’s theory allows one to distinguish between satisfiers and dissatisfiers, the sources of work motivation and the role one’s self-concept plays as an antecedent for job satisfaction.

The implications of this theory for job satisfaction according to DeMato (2001: 23) is that when a person’s lower order needs for things like security and pay have been met, higher order needs are being focussed upon. Gruneberg (1979: 10) maintains that Maslow’s theory was not developed to measure job

satisfaction but his theory has been used for job satisfaction. Wahba and Bridwell in (Wexley & Yukl, 1975: 5) feel that although Maslow's theory "is widely accepted, it has little research evidence to support it." Maslow's theory can assist in research on occupational level and job satisfaction. People in lower level occupations are motivated by lower order needs whereas people in higher level occupations are more focused on fulfilling higher order needs because their lower order needs are fulfilled. People from different levels of society and different education levels have different expectations of what a job should offer.

Figure 3.2 Maslow's hierarchy of needs



(Boeree, 1998: 2)

3.3.3. Expectancy Theory

Spector (2000: 182) notes that expectancy theory tries and explains how rewards lead to behaviour by focusing on internal cognitive states that lead to motivation. According to Dunnette (1983) Vroom's model deals with predicting choices among tasks or effort levels within tasks. He thus sees individual's having certain expectations regarding certain outcomes which will be realized as a result of their effort. Vroom believes that there exists a

strong relationship between motivation and an individual's attitude towards work. A positive attitude implies motivation which in turn will result in job satisfaction. Mitchell in (Cooper, 1991: 434) asserts that "one's satisfaction with a job is seen to be a function of the degree to which the job is instrumental for valued outcomes." According to Den Oudsten (1999), motivation and thus job satisfaction according to Vroom's theory result in three beliefs:

3.3.3.1. Valence

Den Oudsten (1999) says that valence deals with the emotional orientations individuals have regarding outcomes (rewards). The extent of the need can be (money, promotion, time-off, benefits) or intrinsic (satisfaction) rewards. Vroom (1964: 15) has the following definition of valence "an outcome is positively valent when the person prefers attaining it to not attaining it. An outcome has a valence of zero when the person is indifferent to attaining or not attaining it."

3.3.3.2. Expectancy

Expectancy deals with the expectation that if effort is exerted, it will lead to successful performance (however, successful performance may not result due to the job being too complex, the evaluation process being deficient or the person does not possess the necessary skills). Performance-to outcome expectancy deals with the expectation that when effort is successfully exerted, a desired result will emerge, such as financial reward (Miner, 1992: 72).

3.3.3.3. Instrumentality

Instrumentality refers to the perception of employees whether they will get what they have been promised. For any given situation, there could be more

than one reward or outcome for behaviour (Spector, 2000: 183). Miner (1992: 72) asserts that intrinsic outcomes come from within an individual (feelings of accomplishment, of carrying out intricate work, of freedom). Extrinsic outcomes are as a result of external forces (a supervisor, the company, colleagues).

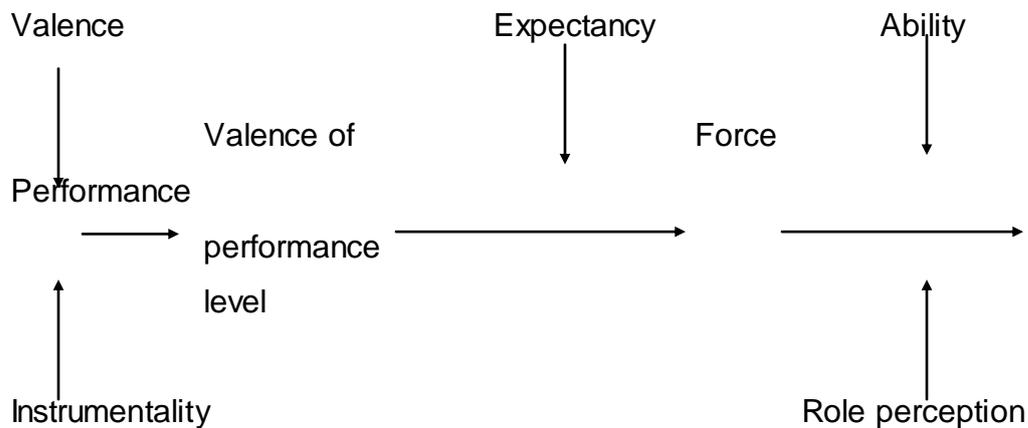
Campbell and Pritchard (in Dunnette, 1983: 75) maintain that Vroom's theory focuses upon expectations and perceptions of future consequences. The person's past reinforcement history is not taken into account, nor do the aspects of drive or need. On the other hand, Vroom acknowledges that if the perceived valence of a few outcomes is highly correlated and the person has a high or a low preference for the total class of outcomes, then only can one think of the class as representing a "need".

The main focus of the model according to Campbell and Pritchard (in Dunnette, 1983: 75) is as follows:

- The value a person anticipates for each outcome in a comprehensive list of outcomes.
- The extent to which each outcome is perceived as being contingent on different levels of performance.
- The alleged probability that the person can achieve each of those levels of performance.

Spector (2000: 182) points out that, expectancy theory explains when and why reinforcement will lead to behaviour.

Figure 3.3 Expectancy Theory Predictions of Job Performance



Heneman and Schwab in (Wexley and Yukl, 1975: 41).

Vroom says that force to exert effort is a function of the sum of the valence of each performance level and the perceive probability (Expectancy) that a certain amount of effort will lead to the achievement of each performance level. Each individual's actual performance depends upon his/her ability to perform. Ability implies characteristics such as intelligence, skills and so on. In addition role perceptions are vital. Role perceptions being, the kinds of activities the person has to engage in to perform the job successfully (Spector, 2000: 182).

3.3.4. Equity Theory

Adams introduced the equity theory in 1965. Goodman and Friedman in (Wexley and Yukl, 1975: 12) state that Adams (1965: 280) defined inequity as follows: "inequity exists for Person whenever he perceives that the ratio of his outcomes to inputs and the ratio of Other's outcomes to Other's inputs are unequal. When employees exchange services for pay, their contribution input can be in terms of education, qualifications, abilities, gender, experience and the personal effort they put into executing their work tasks. The rewards on the other hand are things that result from the exchange. It is not only in terms of compensation received but also in terms of intrinsic motivational factors

such as freedom to act, interesting and challenging work and status symbols (Muchinsky, Kriek & Schreuder, 2002: 247).

There are three assumptions of Adam's equity theory according to Stemple (2004):

- ❖ Individuals develop a belief about what is a fair and equitable return of their contribution to the job.
- ❖ Employees compare what they perceive to be the exchange they have with their employers to what their colleagues have with their employer.
- ❖ When individuals believe that they are not being treated equally to others, they will take action against the inequity.

This theory is criticised because fairness and justice depend on the perception of individuals. A second criticism is that it is difficult to compare one organisation to another.

Employees will be dissatisfied in their jobs if they perceive that they are not being treated in a fair and equitable manner in comparison to their colleagues.

Waskiewicz (1999: 21) says that the second equity theory is that of Elliot Jacques. Jacques maintained that inequity does not depend on comparisons made between one worker and other workers in one organisation. It is made by the worker comparing him/herself to workers from other organisations that are similar to the one in which one is working. Equity comparisons are thus made according to organisations that one feels is similar to one's own. Workers will find their salaries to be fair when the salaries of workers in other organisations at the same level are the same.

Waskiewicz (1999: 21) says that Vroom (1982) regarded pay as a vital variable in job satisfaction and added high compensation in his description of important elements of most satisfying work roles. Vroom (1982) also believed that the employee's perception of what constitutes fair pay is more vital than the actual amount received. Vroom (1982) believed that people have a moral

system which makes them distinguish fair distribution of rewards. When an employee receives less than what s/he is to be paid, the employee regards this as being unfair. When an employee receives more than what s/he should, the individual feels guilty. Vroom (1982) maintains that job satisfaction depends on what an employee feels s/he should receive and the actual amount received.

Gruneberg (1979: 20) asserts that according to the equity theory when an employee feels that s/he has not been compensated fairly, the individual may put in less effort, take extended tea breaks, produced poor quality work and so on. The employee may withdraw from the situation or change his/her expectations to be according to what she or he is receiving. Research has shown that, individuals who are not compensated adequately are dissatisfied in their jobs.

Gruneberg (1979: 21) argues that equity theory is not straightforward. It is able to account for certain aspects of job satisfaction but not for others.

3.3.5 Discrepancy Theory

Locke (1969:316) described this theory as follows: “Job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction are functions of the perceived relationship between what one wants from one’s job and what one perceives in offering.” It can be deduced from this that an individual will be dissatisfied in the job as soon as s/he gets less than what s/he deserves or expects. Job satisfaction is thus ascertained through the difference between the actual and the perceived rewards. It is just as important to know what the individual gets out of the job as what he perceives to get out of it. Then only will it be possible to ascertain the individual’s level of job satisfaction (Locke, 1969:318).

3.3.6 Work Adjustment Theory

Waskiewicz (1999: 9) says that work adjustment theory developed due to the Work Adjustment Project that started in 1957 at the University of Minnesota. Waskiewicz (1999: 9) maintains that Dawis and Lofquist (1984: 54) believed that satisfaction with work is a "... harmonious relationship between the individual and environment... ". In this type of relationship, the employee meets the needs of the work environment and the work environment meets the needs of the employee.

According to Stemple (2004: 14) Dawis and Lofquist (1984: 9) made the following assumptions based on this theory:

- ❖ Work is the interaction between a person and the work environment.
- ❖ There are certain tasks to be performed in the environment and the person brings certain skills to the job in order to perform the tasks.
- ❖ The person in return needs to be paid and preferred working conditions to perform the tasks.
- ❖ In order to maintain this interaction, the person and environment need to meet each others' needs. The extent to which each one needs are met is known as correspondence.
- ❖ Work adjustment refers to achieving and maintaining correspondence and is indicated by the satisfaction of the person with the work environment and the satisfactoriness of the environment with the person.

Work adjustment according to Waskiewicz (1999: 10) "...is a continuous and dynamic process through which a person tries to achieve and maintain correspondence with the work environment. Work adjustment is predicted by matching an individual's work personality with work environment."

Many researchers according to Waskiewicz (1999: 10) who have used this theory in their studies maintain that while levels of job satisfaction vary,

minimum levels of job satisfaction can be predicted. Also individuals with the same level of job satisfaction may fulfil different needs in the same work environment. Values that the individuals have will affect the influence of reinforcements in the work environment on the worker and his/her performance. Each person places different values on similar rewards and punishments. While one set of rewards will lead to a particular worker to perform, the same reward may not motivate another worker. It is possible to identify certain variables within a large group of individuals performing similar jobs which will contribute to worker job satisfaction.

3.3.7 Job Characteristic Model

Hackman and Oldham (1975) point out that the job characteristic model suggests that job enrichment is vital in leading to job satisfaction within workers. Quarstein, McAfee and Glassman (1992: 860) comment that Hackman and Oldham (1980) have presented a different view of job satisfaction in their Job Characteristics Model. They put forth the notion that one's satisfaction with the work is determined by one's critical psychological states which are caused by five core job dimensions. There are thus five job characteristics at the heart of this theory that makes a person's work challenging and fulfilling. These are as follows according to Judge and Church in (Cooper and Locke, 2000: 169):

- ✓ Task identity- deals with the extent to which one is able to see one's work from the beginning to the end.
- ✓ Task significance- is the extent to which a person's work is seen as vital and significant.
- ✓ Skill variety- is the degree to which the job allows workers to do different tasks.
- ✓ Autonomy- is the extent to which workers have control and discretion with regards to completing their work.
- ✓ Feedback- is the extent to which the work itself provides feedback for how the worker is performing.

Hackman and Oldham (1975) maintain that according to the theory, jobs that are enriched to provide these core characteristics tend to be more satisfying and motivating than jobs that do not provide these characteristics. When task attributes are seen by employees in a positive light, employees will find their work meaningful and they will be happy in their work. The intrinsic motivation that employees receive from the job will motivate employees' performance.

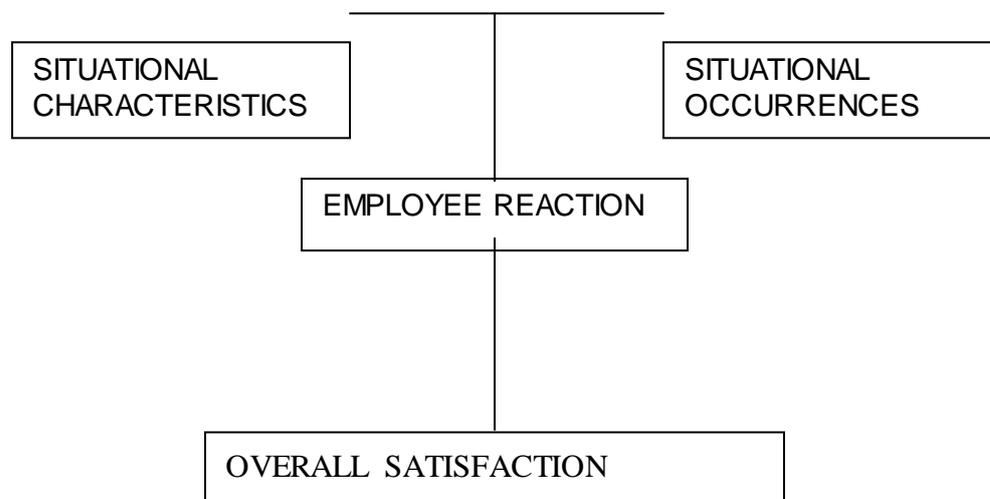
Judge and Church in (Cooper and Locke, 2000: 170) state that a review of the literature has shown that there is research that supports Hackman and Oldham's emphasis of intrinsic job satisfaction. When people are asked to evaluate different aspects of the job such as pay, promotion opportunities, co-workers and so on, the nature of the work itself almost always emerges as the most vital job aspect. Secondly, of the major job satisfaction facets such as pay, promotion, opportunities, co-workers, supervision and the work itself, satisfaction with the work itself is almost always the facet that is most strongly correlated with overall job satisfaction.

3.3.8 The Situational Occurrences Theory

Quarstein et al (1992) were instrumental in putting forward the situational theory. According to this theory job satisfaction depends on two factors, namely situational characteristics and situational occurrences. Situational characteristics deal with those aspects that employees evaluate before starting a job. These aspects are pay, promotion, working conditions and supervision. Situational occurrences on the other hand are those aspects that employees do not evaluate beforehand. These include factors that can be positive or negative. Positive factors can be tangible or intangible. Examples of positive factors are spontaneous tea breaks used by the supervisor as a means of thanking employees, allowing employees to leave work early after successfully completing an assignment or placing a new microwave in the work area so employees can warm their food. Negative factors on the other hand include inconveniences or irritations related to the work environment. Examples of negative factors are not enough paper towels in the bathrooms,

broken photo copying machine, absent-minded supervisors, a rude comment by a colleague or confusing memos. Quarstein et al (1992: 862) feel that both situational characteristics and situational occurrences affect job satisfaction and by understanding them, will assist in improving the satisfaction of employees.

Figure 3.4 Situational theory of job satisfaction



(Quarstein et al, 1992: 861).

Figure 3.5 Comparison of tendencies between situational characteristics and situational occurrences

Tendencies of Situational Characteristics	Tendencies of Situational Occurrences
Evaluated prior to accepting job	Evaluated after job begins
Stable/permanent quickly	Transitory/variable- change
Difficult/expensive to change	Easy/inexpensive to change
Universal/finite number	Situational/infinite number
Easy to categorise	Difficult to categorise
Monitored upon hiring/	Not monitored immediately after
Emotional response if changed	being hired/no initial emotional Response/effects accumulate over time.

(Quarstein et al, 1992: 862).

The two factors differ in other respects as well. Situational characteristics are stable or permanent aspects of the work environment. They are related to specific management policies such as pay scales and promotional opportunities and tend to change slowly (working conditions, work hours and autonomy). The situational occurrences are transitory in nature. They are not addressed in management policies and can change quickly. For example, missing paper towels can be a problem the one day and the next day it can be a broken sharpener or a confusing memo (Quarstein et al, 1992: 863).

Quarstein et al (1992: 863) also maintain that the two factors differ in the amount of money and time it takes to improve or change them. When employees are not happy about their pay or fringe benefits (situational characteristics), it would take ample time and resources to improve them. In retrospect, situational occurrences are not expensive and are not difficult to improve. Oiling a door that is creaking is easy and inexpensive to implement.

The factors differ in terms of their number and universality. The situational characteristics have a finite set of job characteristics and are universal across organisations. Facets such as pay, promotional opportunities, working conditions, supervision, the work itself and colleagues are seen as vital determinants of job satisfaction in most research studies. Situational occurrences have facets that are specific over situations. They vary across organisations and jobs and are difficult to categorize as they are an infinite number. For example, not having proper computers may be a problem in one organisation and not in another.

Another difference between the facets relates to employee reactions to them. During an interview, applicants have needs and wants. They see if the company can offer situational characteristics such as pay, promotional opportunities and the work itself. If the company cannot offer these, they don't accept the offer, unless they are desperate for the job. They monitor changes and protest against change. For situational occurrences applicants will not ask about these facets since they tend to be unique to each job and company. When employed, the person will not monitor these facets closely. The unhappy reaction to these facets will not be as quick and emotional as situational characteristics (Quarstein et al, 1992: 864).

3.4. Why we need to understand job satisfaction

Mason (1980: 1) states that work occupies a pivotal role in the lives of men and women. Individuals identify themselves in terms of their work. Most of the prestige an individual acquires stems from his/her work. Some people work because they are able to support themselves and their families. Others work because it is a social experience where one is able to develop friendships. Yet others work because work provides a source of stimulation and is seen as a challenge. Work plays an important role in the psychological, social and economic experiences of individuals. According to Peterson and González (2000:63) Berger (1990) discovered that a worker is

able to change jobs seven times in his/her lifetime with job satisfaction related to these changes. Job satisfaction is made up of two components. These are overall satisfaction with the entire job situation and facet satisfaction, with certain parts of the job. This implies that a worker can be unhappy about certain aspects of the job (pay, working conditions, co-workers) and yet have an overall sense of satisfaction. Nerison (1999: 27) states that the world of work is highly competitive today. Employers are interested in remaining stable in this world economy. In order to turn out a profit and prolong the firm's existence it is necessary to retain the current workforce. Previous studies have revealed that lower productivity is as a result of workers being dissatisfied with the current position they occupy in the company.

There have been many changes in the work force and these may have an influence on the job satisfaction levels of employees. Some of these changes are as follows:

3.4.1. Worker Expectations

Workers, especially new workers tend to have high expectations when they enter the job market. Bastow-Shoop (1981: 29) comment that research shows workers' rising but unfulfilled expectations may be a vital factor in being dissatisfied on the job. The reason being, when workers have high expectations and these are not fulfilled on the job, the result is anger, frustration, disappointment and dissatisfaction.

3.4.2. Freedom in the job

Pors (2003: 468) says that workers these days are seeking work that is interesting, where one's skills and abilities are utilised, there is opportunity to learn new things, where one is able to use one's creative abilities, where one is given responsibility and is able to control the pace at which work is conducted (autonomy) and being responsible for decisions regarding the

organisation of one's work. These are some of the aspects that lead to job satisfaction within the workplace.

3.4.3. Sex-role boundaries

As a result of non-sexist legislation women are entering the workforce at an alarming rate. Not only are women in professional jobs but they have occupied many blue-collar jobs that were traditionally held by men. Due to the sex-role boundaries weakening, men and women are given a wider choice in career, thereby giving them a chance to choose the careers they aspire to pursue (Busch & Busch, 1978: 438).

3.4.4. Life-Style

In addition to wanting a meaningful and challenging job, workers also want to have a satisfying life-style. In wanting to be successful in their career, workers have a price to pay. Not only do they have less time for their families but for recreation and self-development as well. Research reveals that managers who encourage employees to balance work and family tend to have more satisfied employees than when this is not the case. Research indicates that job satisfaction influences the quality of a worker's life (Greenhaus, Callan & Godshalk, 2000).

3.4.5. Differing personalities

The current workforce differs in their values. Not all workers will be satisfied by the same incentives and tasks. Mason (1980: 24) comments that people differ in their satisfaction orientation. Some workers may value doing challenging work, while others are happy doing routine tasks, others prefer working outdoors.

3.4.6. Attitude as part of job satisfaction

Van Scalkwyk (2001: 10) asserts that according to Robinson (1996: 180) an attitude “can be seen as a learned and enduring tendency to respond in a specific way (favourable or unfavourable) to employees, organisations, etc.”

Van Scalkwyk (2001: 10) remarks that the relationship between job attitudes and employee performance has been one of the most contentious issues in organisational psychology. Job satisfaction and job attitudes are used interchangeably. Job satisfaction is measured using techniques of attitude scale construction and psychologists have defined attitude in terms of cognition (beliefs) and affect (feeling). Brief (1998: 10) says that an attitude has two components, one is affective and the other is a cognitive one. Brief (1998:10) argues that job satisfaction still gets to be defined in affective terms only. Brief (1998: 10) contends that Locke (1976: 130) defined job satisfaction as “a pleasurable or positive emotional state (affect) resulting from the appraisal (cognition) of one’s job experiences.” Van Scalkwyk (2001: 11) maintains that Smith, Kendall and Hulin (1969: 6) view job satisfaction as “feelings or affective responses to facets of the situation” and at the same time hypothesize “that these feelings are associated with the perceived difference between what is expected as a fair return... and what is experienced... “. According to Van Scalkwyk (2001: 11) Smith and Locke are trying to imply that responses of job satisfaction directly reflect affect. Due to the fact that cognition is a direct and immediate determinant of these feelings, both components of attitude are strongly represented in responses.

Work centrality also plays a role in assessing workers’ attitudes toward their jobs. Centrality refers to the extent of worker psychological involvement in and commitment to work. Workers who are more involved or who identify with their occupations will be committed to the tasks at hand and look to others in the same occupation for support and evaluation of their work. Employees with high organisational involvement will tend to identify with the goals of the organisation and regard colleagues or the work group as “significant” others.

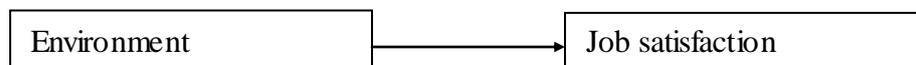
Some investigators mention that job involvement leads employees to be more critical and unhappy in their jobs (Mortimer, 1979: 12).

3.5. Determinants of job satisfaction

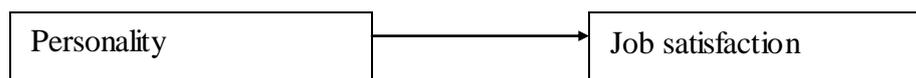
Spector (2003: 203) comments most research focuses on the environmental aspects of job satisfaction. Past research has shown that individuals with the same jobs and similar work conditions can vary to a large extent in their satisfaction.

Figure 3.6 Three models illustrating the impact of the environment and personality on job satisfaction.

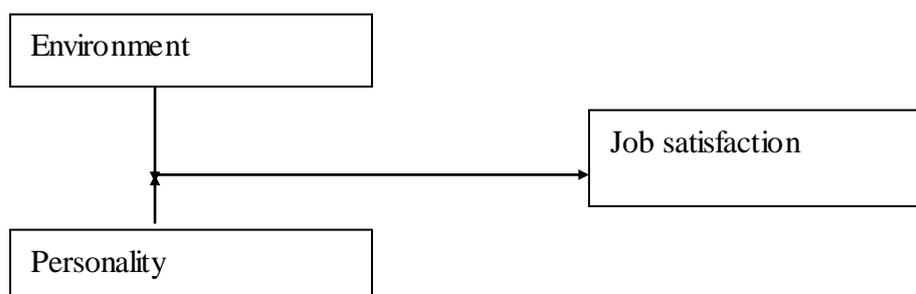
Impact of the job environment on job satisfaction



Impact of personality on job satisfaction



The joint influence of the environment and personality on the job



(Spector, 2000: 204).

There are many factors that may have an influence on job satisfaction. It is vital to remember that different people emphasise different determinants of job satisfaction. The Gallup Organisation undertook a study to determine the feelings of Americans' towards their work. The following table illustrates the feelings towards different facets of their work. The largest percentage of individuals, were satisfied with aspects that dealt with the nature of the job itself (Spector, 2000: 198).

Figure 3.7 Sixteen features of jobs listed from most to least important for Americans and the percentage of people satisfied with each one

Feature	Percentage
Having good health insurance and other benefits	67
Having interesting work	88
Having job security	79
Having the opportunity to learn new skills	88
Being able to take vacations of a week or more during the year	88
Being able to work independently	89
Having your accomplishments recognised by the people you work with	76
Having a job in which you can help others	83
Limiting the amount of on-the-job stress	62
Having regular hours, that is, not being scheduled to work nights and weekends	86
Earning a high income	66
Working close to home	87
Doing work that is important to society	83
Chances for promotion	60
Having a lot of contact with people	91
Having flexible hours	83

(Spector, 2000: 198)

3.6. Factors influencing job satisfaction

Spector (1997: 2) maintains that a job as job satisfaction is assessed, is an attitudinal variable. Gruneberg (1979: 33) says that it was Herzberg who drew attention to the fact that to increase job satisfaction one had to change the actual job being done. This view has only been accepted these days as being valid, namely that people have a right to expect satisfaction from their jobs.

Van Scalkwyk (2001: 18) maintains that as a result of past research one is able to divide job satisfaction levels into the following categories:

- Intrinsic factors (operational factors)
- Extrinsic factors (job environment)
- Individual differences (external factors that has nothing to do with the content of the job)
- Consequences of emotions and feelings experienced in the job.

3.6.1. Intrinsic factors

3.6.1.1. Success on the job

Locke (1965) examined the relationship between the success in a task and job satisfaction. When people are asked after the task how satisfied they were with the task, the most successful would say they were satisfied due to their success when it may be the enjoyment of the task that resulted in more effort and hence, success. Locke (1965) also found that by employees setting their own goals also leads to job satisfaction. By supervisors giving workers challenging tasks will lead to intrinsic job satisfaction and will develop their potential.

Moshavi and Terborg (2002: 335) mention that customer service representatives (CSR) in call centres tend to respond to incoming calls by

referring to a script, entering data on a computer, providing product and procedural information and responding to enquiries and complaints in a timely, friendly and knowledgeable manner. The tasks have low complexity due to the fact that the manner in which the call centre agent delivers the service is constrained by detailed procedures and a lot of monitoring. While completing the tasks successfully, the service delivery is at an acceptable but not at an exceptional level. Employees are given scripts to follow and work conditions are rigid. They are not given challenging tasks or allowed to set their own goals. This is a source of dissatisfaction for many call centre agents.

3.6.1.2. Recognition

Gruneberg (1979: 37) argues that success leads to a series of externally validated rewards, which lead to increasing the person's self-esteem, whereas failure leads to a decrease in feelings of self-esteem. As well as receiving recognition in tangible ways, through promotion and salary increases, recognition may be given by verbal comments, such as praise from one's supervisor for work well done. Praise not only increases a person's self-esteem but also gives feedback on progress being made. Feedback is vital on job performance, especially if the person has a chance of changing behaviour in the light of past performance.

Sprigg (2004) states that call centres are the only point of contact for many customers but call centre agents tend to be paid low salaries, they experience poor working conditions and they have to conduct highly repetitive work. In addition call centre agents do not get any praise or acknowledgement from supervisors for having performed well on the job. There are no incentive schemes to encourage agents. Agents are instead closely monitored and the only feedback they receive from supervisors is when they are not performing as expected.

3.6.1.3. Job involvement

Gruneberg (1997: 47) says that an individual's job involvement can have an influence on job satisfaction but there are no guarantees of job satisfaction. The rationale of this argument is that high job involvement can be challenging to the employee, it can be stimulating and can lead to feelings of responsibility. On the other hand it can lead to conflict and high tension and therefore supervisors should keep workers focused on goals.

Generally research shows that although call centre agents tend to be focused on their jobs, they do not experience much satisfaction. The reason being, call centre agents do not get sufficient breaks between calls. As soon as one call ends, the next one comes through. Sometimes call centre agents have to deal with many emotional customers in a day. After completing the calls, agents need some time to recover from the call. Agents are not even given time to recover from these emotionally-charged calls (Holdsworth & Cartwright, 2002: 131).

3.6.1.4. Application of skills

There are four aspects with regards to the application of skills:

3.6.1.4.1. Specialisation

Specialisation deals with similar tasks being grouped together. Increased specialization has led to increased efficiency and productivity in many cases but it has led to the opposite effect in other organisations. Some of the negative terms used with increased specialisation are: boring, repetitive, lack of autonomy, fatigue and dissatisfaction (Ivancevich & Donnelly, 1968: 172-177). Walker and Marriot (1952: 182) during their research discovered that there exists a relationship between job satisfaction and the extent of

specialisation, as long as there is no over specialisation or the tasks are over simplified.

In most call centres agents are given certain scripts that they need to follow. The work is therefore very specialized. Call centre agents are not allowed to deviate from the given scripts. When an agent is unable to assist the customer with a particular query, the query is either referred to the manager or someone who specialises in the particular type of query. This makes agents feel inadequate and the work tends to be boring and highly repetitive (Moshavi & Terborg, 2002: 335).

3.6.1.4.2. Job variety

Job variety is a way of stimulating and adding variety to an employee's job which may be boring and frustrating. Legge and Mumford (1978: 76) feel that job variety should be planned and organised around the goals of the organisation. It is vital to understand that job variety cannot be implemented in all organisations but it does lead to increased job satisfaction due to the job being enriched. Due to employees gaining greater experience, will result in more insight and better decisions. O' Brien (1986: 64) mentions that highly challenging tasks provide intrinsic satisfaction.

In most call centres, agents have to answer telephone calls. They are not given opportunities to conduct a variety of tasks. As a result agents do not gain an insight into the workings of the organisations nor do they understand how their function fits into the rest of the organisation. Agents end up having limited experience. Due to the fact that most call centres being constantly busy throughout the day, managers are unable to train agents to perform other tasks or duties. Agents therefore end up only answering telephones (ETSI, 2003).

3.6.1.4.3. Job autonomy

Hackman and Lawler (1971) believe that autonomy is the worker having a major input in scheduling work, selecting the equipment to be used and deciding on procedures to be adopted. The extent to which one is able to make decisions about one's job, determines the amount of skills which one can apply. When the worker is given too much autonomy, this may lead to a lot of tension which will have a negative effect on work. It is therefore vital to take into account the worker's potential and personality before taking decisions. Hackman and Lawler (1971) also found a very strong relationship between task variety and job autonomy.

Call centre agents are not given any autonomy on their jobs. They are not encouraged to take the initiative in resolving customer queries. Most call centres have targets that agents need to meet on a daily basis. This places agents in a difficult situation as they have no time to handle a difficult call from a client. In order to make their targets, agents have to cut the call short with the customer (HELA, 2001: 12).

3.6.1.4.4. Task identity

According to Hackman and Lawler (1971), a worker will only experience job satisfaction when the job has significance for him/her. It is however difficult to make generalisations of what makes a person satisfied or dissatisfied with the job. Employees in higher posts tend to experience more job satisfaction because not only are they able to use their creativity but their initiative as well.

Frenkel, Tam, Korczynski & Shire (2004: 2) mention that a contrasting, positive image of call centres using semi-professional, empowered agents is emerging. In these types of call centres, work is customised according to the needs of the customer. The agent uses information technology to identify customer queries and service the customer. Also, appropriate software assists in on-the-job learning, thus improving agents' knowledge and skills.

The agent becomes a key strategic resource providing market intelligence and acting as the organisation's ambassador. The semi-professional status of these agents allows for favourable physical working conditions, jobs designed for interest and challenge, teamwork and participation in task-related decision-making, longer term employment prospects and on-going training for development. This is not the case for call centre agents who are not semi-professionals.

3.6.1.5. Responsibility

Waskiewicz (1999: 37) maintains that as supervisors' relationships become more positive, the variety of responsibilities will increase. Due to the fact that the relationships between supervisor relations and variety of responsibilities and job satisfaction are positive, it is expected that the indirect effect of supervisor relations on job satisfaction through a variety of responsibilities will be positive. As supervisors relations become more positive, the variety of responsibilities increase, thus leading to an increase in job satisfaction.

Belt, Richardson, Webster, Tijdens and Van Klaveren (2000: 6) report that call centre agents reported a major desire to stop working on the phones. This was as a result of the lack of variety involved in the work and due to the stressful nature of telephone based work. Research reveals that call centre agents do not have variety in their jobs to make the work interesting.

3.6.1.6. Job monotony

Vroom (1964: 135) says that "monotony must then be conceived not solely as a function of the task, but to a large extent as a function of the individual to whom the task is assigned. It is more apt to occur in uniform than in varied tasks, in simple than in complex tasks, in the operation of a machine than in hand work, but, in the final analysis, it is the responsibility for the feeling of boredom must in large part as ascribed." Vroom (1964: 135) comments that

research has found that on highly repetitive tasks, highly intelligent individuals experience more monotony and boredom than those who are less intelligent. This is evident in larger turnover rates amongst highly intelligent workers who conduct repetitive and boring jobs. On the other hand, jobs that make unrealistic demands on workers lead to frustration and feelings of failure.

The following reasons were given by Vroom (1964: 136) concerning monotonous work affecting job satisfaction:

- Conducting the same tasks over and over again leads to fatigue. This is partially true as these jobs are described as boring by workers. It is not the physical effort that workers complain about but the fact that the tasks are the same that affects job satisfaction.
- When an employee performs a repetitive task, the sources of stimulation are highly constant and repetitive. The result is a high degree of displeasure which is due to the absence of novelty or change.

According to Hurrell and Colligan in Ivancevich and Ganster (1986: 165) it is important to ascertain each worker's pace so that the productivity of the workforce is maintained.

Den Oudsten (1999: 52) asserts that according to Beck's (1963) research employees make more mistakes and tend to have a more negative attitude when they are forced to work at a certain pace. The reaction time of these workers is also slower. A study by Brown (1957: 12) found that younger people are able to handle monotonous work to a greater extent compared to people in their forties and fifties. Results regarding job satisfaction and monotony are mixed. Some studies found that there is a negative correlation between job satisfaction and monotony, yet others found that there is a positive correlation (Den Oudsten, 1999: 52).

Call centre work is highly repetitive. The same queries are handled day in day out. Agents in the majority of call centres were working on a narrow

range of tasks in Belt et al's (2000: 5) study. The monotony of the job led to agents feeling frustrated and bored. This is the case in other call centres as well.

3.6.1.7. Work circumstances

Van der Merwe (1984: 86) asserts that work circumstances deals with aspects such as work times, distance from work, lighting, work space, noise and so forth. When the employee is satisfied with the work circumstances, job satisfaction will result. Most of the time it is work times that plays a major role in job satisfaction. Many organisations pay a lot of attention to flexitime or even a four-day week in an attempt to increase job satisfaction and productivity. Motowidlo in Murphy (1996: 179) states that employees mention that having clean, dry and bright surroundings are regarded as more favourable than dirty, damp and dark surroundings.

ETSI (2003) reports that most call centres provide good working circumstances for their call centres. In many call centres agents complain about secure storage space not only for their personal items but for work-related items as well. The reason being, many agents had complained of their belongings being stolen.

Call centres have been criticized for their layout and facilities. Many large call centres were at first built in short time-frames and located in large 'sheds' with a floor full of desks. There is now a move away from this and organisations are using existing buildings that allow for good working environments (Bouch, 2004: 14).

Belt (2000: 11) found that call centres provide flexible hours but women demanded more flexible time that would allow them to combine work and family life more easily.

3.6.1.8. Promotional opportunities

Workers may remain in the same role throughout their lives or they may be “promoted” to a role involving more pay, power and status. The opportunities for promotion open to employees are highly variable and are often assumed to have a major effect on job satisfaction (Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson & Capwell, 1957: 41). A position at a higher level in the same firm means changes in supervision, colleagues, job content and pay. The likelihood that a person will be promoted to a given position within a specific time may range from being zero (no possibility) to one (certainty) and may be defined in both objective and psychological terms. Such variations in amount of promotional opportunity, is seen as possible determinants of job satisfaction (Vroom, 1964: 154).

Belt (2000: 9) mention that due to the flat organisational structures found in call centres, career development was not an option. Many agents complained about the restricted opportunities available to them. The routine nature of the jobs in call centres also made it difficult to demonstrate a range of skills and abilities that would lead to promotions. Studies reveal that supervisors are recruited from within the call centre, whereas managers are recruited externally.

3.6.1.9. Workload

Spector (1997: 45) states that stressors such as workload tend to place strain in a person which leads to job dissatisfaction. Job satisfaction occurs for employees who have high control over their work and a low workload.

Workers tend to be the most reliable when the workload level is moderate and it does not change suddenly and unpredictably. High workload implies high error rates as the employee is unable to cope with high information rates. This leads to feelings of incompetence and frustration which results in job dissatisfaction. Low workloads lead to boredom (Van Schalkwyk, 2001: 19).

Coverman (1989: 979) found negligible effects of role overload. The reason could be that a certain level of role demand is necessary for job satisfaction.

ETSI (2003: 33) reveals that targets are set for each statistic that call handlers are required to achieve. Some companies expect call centre agents to be 80% of the time on the telephone during their shift. Call duration in some call centres should not be more than two (2) minutes and fifteen seconds, yet others are shorter than this. Also “wrap up” time (the time after a call to complete the business in connection with that call) should be as short as possible. Organisations aim to make the waiting period as short as possible before the call can be abandoned. Agents complained of targets being unrealistic and a major source of stress. Most targets were set and frequently changed without explanation. Agents complained that this placed them under pressure as targets did not allow for difficult calls that took longer. Neither did they take system crashes or quiet periods into account.

3.6.2. Extrinsic Factors

Factors dealing with the job itself are seen as intrinsic or content factors, while aspects such as pay, supervision and so on are viewed as extrinsic or context factors. This distinction corresponds more or less to Herzberg’s distinction between motivators and hygiene factors. While most of the research has concentrated on the importance of content factors of job satisfaction, one cannot deny the importance of context factors. Herzberg also regards aspects such as pay to be important, since deficiencies in pay may prevent the individual from concentrating on aspects of the job that may be fulfilling. Locke (1976) on the other hand regards both kinds of factors as causing satisfaction and dissatisfaction but views context factors as less crucial to job satisfaction compared to content factors (Gruneberg, 1979: 55).

3.6.2.1. Compensation

Ivancevich and Donnelly (1968: 176) assert that there has been confusion over how vital compensation is to workers. Many supervisors place a lot of emphasis on offering employees more money so as to induce them to work faster or better or both. When workers are asked to rank different aspects of their jobs in terms of importance, compensation is placed below opportunity for advancement and job security. When these same workers were asked to discuss factors which led to job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction, they placed compensation at the top of their list. Perceived inequities in wages and salaries play a greater role in job dissatisfaction than the exact amount of pay.

One of the basic principles of job design is that work should be rewarding both mentally as well as in terms of remuneration. Rates of pay should follow market values. However, many call centres are established in areas where there is high unemployment and where a pool of potential employees, are eager to work. Some call centres (for example, in the utilities) sector are set up in-house. In this case call centre agents enjoy the same benefits, conditions and pay as other workers in the organisation. Pay is less favourable in non-unionised call centres (ETSI, 2003: 34).

3.6.2.2. Security

Job security is a very vital aspect, even more than any other aspect of the job. Being without a job makes an individual feel incompetent and worthless. Studies by Siassi, Crocetti and Spiro (1975) have revealed a greater incidence of mental health in the unemployed. Those with mental health problems find it difficult to get jobs and due to the value placed on work in our society, leads to depression in those who cannot find work. Being unemployed, implies one is more than a failure and it means that the level of well-being is at a minimum as well as status and prestige within society is low. Therefore job security is a high priority for those whose jobs are threatened.

Studies reveal that even if restructuring takes place but if workers are afraid of losing their jobs and face insecurity, it will not lead to job satisfaction (Gruneberg, 1979: 63).

Call centre agents in outbound centres experienced less job security compared to agents in inbound centres. With outbound call centres, the emphasis is more on quotas. When individuals are unable to meet quotas, their jobs are at risk. At the same time performance standards for outbound call centres is much higher than inbound call centres. To aggravate the problem many call centre agents are not unionised. They are thus more vulnerable when it comes to job security (Status of women, 2005).

3.6.2.3. Work group

Vroom (1964: 119) states that Mayo did not only see employees as being interested in economic welfare. Mayo (1945: 111) in Vroom (1964: 119) states that “man’s desire to be continuously associated in work with his fellows is a strong, if not the strongest, human characteristic”. This point has been reiterated time and again that the work group has an influence on the job satisfaction and productivity of the individual. McKenna (1994: 283) believes that good intra-group working and supportive colleagues play a role in not allowing job dissatisfaction to materialise, rather than promoting job satisfaction.

Belt et al (2000: 6) report “team working” was pivotal amongst call centre agents. In a call centre environment, however, the term “team working” has a narrow meaning. It tends to refer to employees working physically next to each other, carrying out similar tasks, with shared productivity targets and rewards, a shared supervisor and sometimes socialising with each other outside office hours. The nature of the work and work organisation within a call centre leaves little room for interaction within the “team” within working hours. Call centre agents spend most of the day in isolation from their fellow employees. There is no chance of team-based problem solving in areas such

as product and process improvement which tend to be associated with team working in other employment contexts.

3.6.2.4. Supervision

Supervision plays a vital role in the job satisfaction of employees. Herzberg et al (1957) according to Gruneberg (1979: 70) found supervision ranked sixth, after factors such as security, wages and intrinsic aspects of the job. Vroom (1964: 105) reports that there is some disagreement regarding the importance of immediate supervision in worker satisfaction. Putman (1930) does not regard supervision as the most important determinant of worker attitudes. Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman (1959) argue that the importance of supervision has been overrated. Herzberg et al (1957: 22) compiled data from studies in which workers were asked what made them satisfied or dissatisfied with their jobs. Supervision was mentioned as a source of satisfaction more often compared to security, job content, company and management, working conditions and opportunity for advancement and wages. The only other aspect mentioned more often was relationships with colleagues. On the other hand supervision appears fourth on the same list of job factors when they were ordered in terms of the frequency with which they are mentioned as sources of dissatisfaction. Studies conducted by (Katz, Maccoby & Morse, 1950; Katz, Maccoby, Gurin & Floor, 1951) contrasted employee-oriented and production-oriented supervision. An employee-supportive supervisor establishes a supportive personal relationship with subordinates, takes a personal interest in them and is understanding when mistakes are made. In retrospect, a production-oriented supervisor views his subordinates as employees who need to get their work done and is concerned mainly with achieving a high level of production (Vroom, 1964: 109).

Bouch (2004: 15) reports that over a third of call centre agents are dissatisfied with the support and direction they receive from their managers. 88% of managers feel that their agents enjoy working in the call centre. Only 50% of agents actually do. Belt et al (2000: 7) state that most supervisors provided

on-to-one feedback to agents who were not performing. Supervisors either listened in on conversations agents were having with customers or agents' conversations were taped. Also, from quantitative data, the supervisor can monitor the number of calls answered for the shift. Supervisors maintain that feedback is given to improve the performance of the agent.

3.6.2.5. Job satisfaction and participation

Participation in decision making is also another aspect of job satisfaction. Gruneberg, (1979: 75) states that, Lischeron and Wall (1975) note that the degree of perceived participation is related to employee satisfaction. To have one's views considered and acted upon tends to increase self-esteem and thus leads to job satisfaction. It also allows one more freedom to act in the way one thinks suitable for one's abilities and therefore increases the potential for applying skills to a particular job. There is a lot of evidence that employees do want participation. Hespe and Wall (1976) found that nurses wanted immediate participation and their views to be noted.

Belt et al (2000: 7) mention that call centre agents have regular meetings or 'team briefings'. The case studies however revealed that they were not two-way processes and these were often cut short due to the pressures of the job.

3.6.2.6. Organisational culture

Viewing companies as cultures is a new phenomenon. Organisational culture deals with a system of shared meaning held by members that distinguishes the organisation from other organisations. Robbins (1996: 678) outlines the seven primary characteristics that capture the essence of an organisation's culture. They are as follows:

- Innovation and risk taking- the extent to which employees are encouraged to be innovative and take risks.

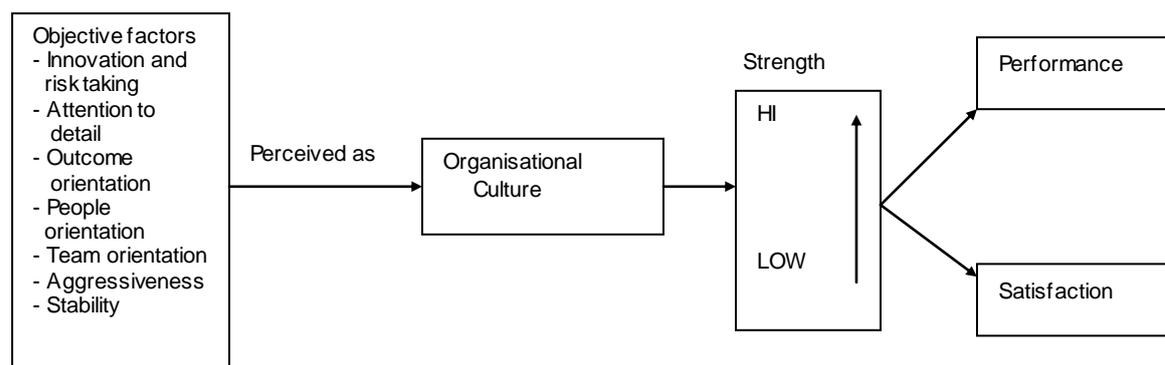
- Attention to detail- the extent to which employees are expected to show precision, analysis and attention to detail.
- Outcome orientation- the extent to which management focuses on results or outcomes rather than on the techniques and processes used to achieve these outcomes.
- Employee orientation- the extent to which management decisions take into account the effect of outcomes on employees within the organisations.
- Team orientation- the extent to which work activities are organised around teams rather than individuals.
- Aggressiveness- the extent to which employees are aggressive and competitive rather than easygoing.
- Stability- the extent to which organisational activities emphasise maintaining the status quo instead of growth.

Evaluating an organisation according to these characteristics gives an idea of the culture of the organisation. It gives an idea of the feelings of shared understanding that employees have about the organisation, how things are done and the way employees are supposed to behave. Since job satisfaction measures affective responses to the work environment, in terms of how employees feel about the organisation's expectations, reward practices and so on, organisation culture will determine the attitude or the way in which the job will be carried out. Therefore, job satisfaction will be affected by the organisation's culture (Van Schalkwyk, 2001: 31).

The competing pressures of high productivity and customer service have proved difficult to reconcile. Tight control can deliver efficient task completion but it will not lead to high quality performance from employees. By controlling employees too tightly, workers have lost self-direction and spontaneity that are vital for service quality (Deery & Kinnie, 2004: 4). Deery and Kinnie (2004: 5) note that innovations such as automatic call distribution switches (ACDs), for example, have allowed organizations to re-route calls between different centres enabling resulting in specialist operations designed to deliver a very narrow set of services. This can decrease the task that each operator

performs, decrease their skill levels and decrease the overall number of agents. Systems designers work on strategies to decrease call handling time and to make procedures and routines simple. This results in the company gaining financially. Monitoring and measurement are not the only form of control within call centres. Most firms try and instil values of good customer service in agents by way of normative or cultural control. This transforms agents' characters and personalities. This form of normative control is used as a way of accepting management's measurement and monitoring procedures. This is a form of employee control. Marr and Parry (2004: 56) mention that the human element in call centres is not taken into account. Call centres are run according to Taylorism and the scientific approaches.

Figure 3.8 The influence of organisational culture on job satisfaction



(Robbins, 1997: 679)

3.6.3. Job satisfaction and individual differences

Gruneberg (1979: 90) comments that one of the arguments brought against theories of job satisfaction is that they do not take cognisance of differences between individuals. Not everyone, for instance wants a job which is fulfilling. Some people prefer work that will give high financial rewards. What one group of people wants from a job may be vastly different from what another

group wants. Motowidlo in Murphy (1996: 190) mentions that Arvey, Carter and Buerkley (1991) noted that many studies reporting correlations between demographic variables and job satisfaction have been flawed by inappropriate statistical analyses and poor explanations. Education and age are the only variables that seem to show fairly consistent positive correlations with job satisfaction, while gender shows no consistent correlation.

3.6.3.1. Job satisfaction and age

Herzberg et al (1957: 54) believe that the influence of age is apparent on the job factor of security, which becomes more important with age. Muchinsky (1987: 331) states that studies suggest that global satisfaction increases with age, especially for males. The most dissatisfied workers are the youth. The most satisfied are those nearing retirement. Muchinsky (1987: 331) states that Glenn, Taylor and Weaver (1977) reported similar findings for women.

Muchinsky (1987: 332) states that research revealed that older workers like what they are doing more than younger workers. There are many explanations for this. One explanation is that younger workers quit their jobs to find something that will satisfy them hence older workers who like their jobs are left behind. Another explanation is that growing older promotes satisfaction. Over time people become more realistic about what they can expect out of a job and this maturation leads to job satisfaction. Yet another explanation is based on the notion of cohorts. Cohorts are people who enter the job market at the same time. Each succeeding generation of cohort enjoys the job to a lesser extent, this may be due to a decrease in the work ethic or the explanation may be some change in formative influences. If this is the case there will be a positive relationship between age and job satisfaction. Older cohorts will experience more job satisfaction compared to younger cohorts. Janson and Martin (1982: 1091) remark that studies reveal that there are no age differences in worker expectations and cross-sectional age differences in overall satisfaction and this can be best understood as a result of life-cycle events. As workers age, they move into better jobs.

Another argument against cohorts and age is that with each generation, the educational levels are rising and younger workers expect more than a factory economy can provide. Janson and Martin (1982: 1099) found in their study across six age groups that older workers are more satisfied with their jobs than their younger counterparts due to moving into more rewarding jobs across their careers.

Brush, Moch and Pooyan (1987: 151) found no relationship between age and job satisfaction in the service industry. The explanation these researchers gave was that it could have been due to the small number of sample used in the study. Kalleberg and Loscocco (1983: 89) found that not all age variation in job satisfaction can be explained by cohort and life cycle or job change explanations. There was a direct impact of chronological age on job satisfaction which is due to adaptation to the work role. This only occurs for workers for whom work is a highly salient aspect of their lives. Eicher, Norland, Brady and Fortinsky (1991: 618) say that older workers are satisfied in their jobs only when these jobs are meaningful.

The average age of call centre agents is between 20 to 29 years. One in four call centre agents is more than 40 years old. Most people choose call centre work to earn a living while they look for better job prospects. The stress associated with call centre work cannot be handled by older workers. Many older people have better jobs and therefore are not really found in call centres. Older workers are either in supervisory positions or have moved on to greener pastures (Buchanan & Koch-Schulte, 2000). It is difficult to make comparisons between the job satisfaction of older and young employees due to the fact that there are very few people over the age of 40 years in call centres.

3.6.3.2. Job satisfaction and tenure

Length of service as used in this article refers to the number of years a person has spent working. Hunt and Saul (1975: 690) mention that Herzberg found

tenure to bear a U-shaped relationship with job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is found to be high when people start their first jobs but decreases until people reach their late twenties or early thirties, when it begins to increase. Once satisfaction levels increase, they do so for the rest of the work career. The reason for this given by Herzberg is that initially high work expectations are not fulfilled, as a result job satisfaction drops. Increasing maturity and work experience led the worker to adjust his/her ambitions and work expectations to a more realistic level. These new expectations were more attainable and satisfaction tended to increase.

With increased length of service, the importance to job satisfaction of factors such as self-actualisation and conditions of work declines but the importance of pay increases. While Hulin and Smith (1970) showed an increase in job satisfaction with length of service, Gibson and Klein (1970) showed a decrease in job satisfaction with increased tenure (Gruneberg, 1979: 93).

Oshagbemi's (2000: 224) study revealed that academics who remained at one university for a long time experienced more job satisfaction than those who job hopped. The levels of overall job satisfaction of academics remaining at one university were also higher than those who changed universities frequently.

Sarker, Crossman & Chinmeteepituck (2003:756) found in their study that job satisfaction is constant over the first decade of the tenure. After the first decade job satisfaction rises with tenure.

Buchanan & Koch-Schulte (2000: 12) found in their study that the majority of call centre agents (31%) had worked in call centres for between three to five years. About 24% of call centre agents maintained that they had worked in a call centre for between one and two years. Training in South African call centres takes up to eighteen weeks and the average job tenure is less than two years. The reason being that due to the demands of call centres on agents, job satisfaction is at a low and as a result agents tend to leave call centre work in a short space of time.

3.6.3.3. Job satisfaction and sex differences

The research relating to job satisfaction and sex differences is inconsistent. Some studies report that males are more satisfied than women, other studies report the opposite findings, yet others report no differences. Hulin and Smith (1964) feel that sex differences are due to differences in education, pay and tenure and males and females are equally satisfied with their jobs when these factors are controlled. Weaver (1978: 269; Busch & Bush, 1978: 444) confirm the findings of Hulin and Smith through similar research. Andrisani and Shapiro (1978) reported that females were satisfied with both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Weaver (1978) found that both sexes derived satisfaction from the same factors. Andrisani and Shapiro (1978) argue that one cannot assume that both sexes derive satisfaction from the same factors. The reason being, men were initially the main breadwinners in the family and women reared children. With more married women entering the workforce, women experience conflicting role conflict, between work and home. These women may not be using their talents to the full. To reduce conflict some women have to take jobs that do not fully utilize their talents. They may be forced to pay less attention to work. Most males do not experience these conflicts (Muchinsky, 1987: 333). A study by Coverman (1989: 979) also showed that women experience more role conflict which results in job dissatisfaction.

Varca, Shaffer & McCauley (1983: 352) found in their study that sex differences in job satisfaction are due to organisational rewards and that these differences are moderated by occupational level. Upper level men and lower level women are more satisfied with their pay and promotions. Kavanagh and Halpern (1977: 73) reported that job satisfaction decreases as women move up the corporate ladder.

A study conducted Putnam & Fenety (2000: 6) revealed that women in call centres were more satisfied than males in terms of the following aspects:

- ✓ The relative ease of obtaining a job in a call centre.
- ✓ Increased economic security.
- ✓ Opportunities for social interaction with colleagues.
- ✓ A sense of personal fulfilment (serving and helping others).
- ✓ Increased confidence.
- ✓ Job gave them the flexibility to study.

Males and females had the same gripes about call centre work. That is that they were constantly monitored by supervisors, they had to follow certain work schedules, their pay levels were too low and they felt like 'robots' because they had to follow scripted dialogues (Putnam and Fenety, 2000: 7). Clearly this lead to job dissatisfaction amongst men and women call centre agents.

Buchanan and Koch-Schulte (2000: 14) argue that women working in call centres find themselves trapped in employment which does not provide them with adequate wages and working conditions nor a basis for training or opportunities for a better future. The dynamics of the industry are such that the "good jobs" are given to the few young men in the labour force.

Belt (2002) states that women with children who work in call centres are remaining at the bottom of the rung. The reason managers are targeting these women to work in call centres is because they provide stability due to the fact that they are not interested in developing a career and are happy to remain in agent roles. Women felt that they had responsibilities at home and they could switch off once they got home, therefore they remained in agent roles.

Andrisani (1978: 591) found that job satisfaction for women in their thirties and forties decreased. Black women were also less satisfied with their jobs compared to white women. Women, who report being satisfied in their jobs, focus on the intrinsic aspects of the job compared to women who experience less job satisfaction. Women focus on extrinsic aspects of their jobs when discussing things they dislike about their jobs. Women who were not satisfied in their jobs mentioned aspects such as the nature of the job, job difficulty, earnings, working hours and conditions they disliked most.

3.6.3.4. Job satisfaction and educational level

People with high ability may be more dissatisfied with jobs that do not allow for the application of their talents. A study by Vollmer and Kinney (1955) revealed that more college than high-school-educated people were dissatisfied with their jobs. The reason for this according to Vollmer and Kinney is that due to educational levels college-educated individuals expect more in terms of higher paid jobs, better working conditions and so on. Therefore for lower level jobs, they have higher expectations of what a job should offer, thus, lower satisfaction with what they get. To choose someone who is over-qualified for a job will only lead to dissatisfaction when expectations or values on the job are not fulfilled. Many studies have shown that there is increased job satisfaction with increasing occupational level and the higher the education, the greater the likelihood that one will be at a higher occupational level (Gruneberg, 1979: 97).

Glenn and Weaver (1982: 52) found that education had little direct effect on job satisfaction. It was also found that educated women were experiencing more job satisfaction than their educated male counterparts.

In South Africa, call centre agents are under 25 years old without degrees. In Buchanan and Koch-Schulte's (2000: 18) study agents were well educated and had skills. Some had engineering backgrounds, yet others had physics and chemistry backgrounds. The reason for being in a call centre was due to economic restructuring that had limited employment options for skilled workers in a variety of fields. Belt (2002) maintains that agents who have qualifications tend to move on to better job prospects. They also tend to focus on higher positions within the call centre industry. Young, middle-class, well educated and single people from both sexes, especially university graduates tend to move quickly out of call centres. This group has higher expectations in terms of work and career but tend to experience no more dissatisfaction in call centres than those without degrees.

3.6.3.5. Job satisfaction and cultural differences

Muchinsky (1987: 332) states that most of the studies dealing with job satisfaction and cultural differences have been limited to black-white differences. Weaver (1977) found that whites were more satisfied with their jobs overall. The studies reveal that although blacks may be less satisfied in their level of job satisfaction, the degree of association between satisfaction and other variables is comparable for the two races.

A study by Orpen and Ndlovu (1977) in South Africa revealed that blacks experienced greater job satisfaction compared to whites. Blacks and whites also have a different reference group in terms of work values and expectations so that when these interact with particular jobs will produce different results. The evidence still points to the fact that black workers are more satisfied with their jobs, experience more job involved and can have greater higher order needs than fellow whites working in similar occupations. Spector (2000: 212) mentions that (Greenhaus, Parasuraman & Wormley, 1990; Tuch & Martin, 1991) found that blacks have slightly lower job satisfaction levels compared to whites. Brush et al (1987) found no differences in their meta-analysis of 21 studies.

The literature lacks research carried out on different race groups and their experiences within call centres.

3.6.3.6. Job satisfaction and personality differences

Van Schalkwyk (2001: 38) states that Deitz & Thoms (1994: 73) defined personality as “the sum total of ways in which an individual reacts and interacts with others.”

Gruneberg (1979: 102) assert that Porter and Steers (1973) note that there is a slight difference in the personalities of those who leave the organisation and those that stay. The type of person that one is will determine the extent to

which different job characteristics will affect one's job satisfaction. For example, the individual who is highly ambitious is likely to be more dissatisfied with a job where promotion is difficult compared to an individual whose main satisfaction in the job is derived from social interactions. The relationship between personality and job satisfaction is also under-researched.

John Holland's theory deals with personality-job fit. The theory is based on the notion of fit between an individual's personality characteristics and his/her occupational environment. Holland proposed six personality types and states that satisfaction and the propensity to leave the job depends on the extent to which people successfully match their personalities to a congruent occupation environment. The theory states that satisfaction is highest and turnover lowest when personality and occupation are in agreement. Social people should be in social jobs, conventional people should be in conventional jobs and so forth (Van Schalkwyk, 2001).

According to Van Schalkwyk (2001: 38) Peterson et al (2000: 109) mention the key points of Holland's model. These are as follows:

- ✚ There are intrinsic differences in personality amongst people.
- ✚ There are different types of jobs.
- ✚ Workers in job environments congruent with their personality types should be more satisfied and less likely to voluntarily resign than workers in incongruent jobs.

Deery and Kinnie (2004: 8) state that according to Frenkel (1998) the personalities that are ideal for call centres are customer-related or social skills. These skills include remaining calm under pressure, having a positive, friendly and tactful attitude, active listening, being patient and empathetic especially when customers are upset. Call centre managers prefer women to men because women naturally possess those social skills and competencies.

3.7. Consequences of job dissatisfaction

There are two reasons for being concerned with the phenomenon of job satisfaction. Firstly, it can be seen as an end in itself, since happiness, is the goal of life. Secondly, it can be studied because it contributes to other attitudes and outcomes. Job satisfaction affect a variety of factors, some economic and some personal, Locke in Dunnette (1983: 1328). It is vital to focus on the consequences of job dissatisfaction.

3.7.1. Job satisfaction and productivity

The reason for studying job satisfaction is whether an individual is satisfied or not with the job, it has consequences for productivity, for his/her likelihood of staying in the organisation and for his/her willingness to attend work regularly (Gruneberg, 1979: 105).

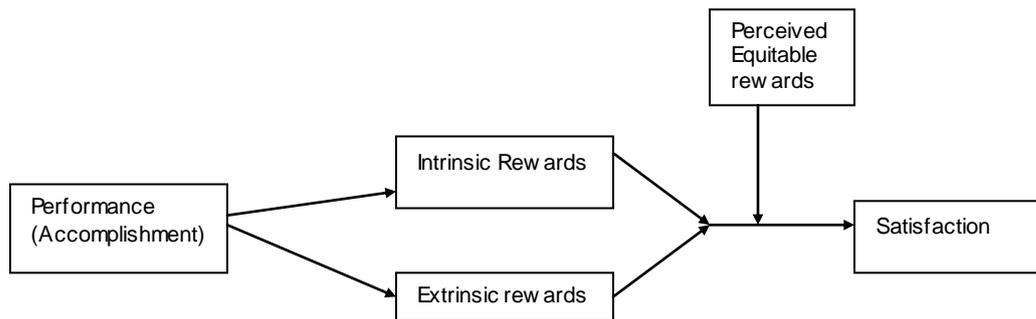
Levels of production are a major concern for companies. Although the evidence shows a positive relationship between satisfaction and productivity, it has not been shown conclusively. The correlations are not high and some studies show no correlation. Part of the problem is on how to measure performance. Some jobs can be assessed objectively. Therefore, different measures of success have to be used for different jobs and this in itself can give varying results (Schultz & Schultz, 1986: 314). Locke in Dunnette (1983: 1332) mentions that there is a negligible relationship between satisfaction and level of performance or productivity. Many researchers have argued to view productivity as the cause of job satisfaction.

From diagram 3.9 it can be deduced that the person will receive job satisfaction from performance when that performance leads to rewards and when these rewards are seen as equitable in terms of effort expended and when comparing rewards with others. The reward will lead to satisfaction to the extent that it is valued and that intrinsic rewards will be more directly

involved in the performance-satisfaction relationship. Extrinsic rewards such as pay and benefits are not so directly related to effort and depend on general company policy and group membership. Hackman and Lawler (1971) found that satisfaction with core dimensions such as autonomy, variety, identity and knowledge of results were positively related to productivity. The four dimensions were additive. The higher the composite score the greater the job satisfaction and productivity. A mass approach to increasing job satisfaction and productivity should be used because changes in one area will have little effect on productivity or satisfaction. The more control the person has over work activities the greater the relationship between satisfaction and productivity. The exact nature between productivity and job satisfaction is unclear, although it is believed that performance causes satisfaction rather than it being the other way around (Gruneberg, 1979: 109).

Service centre organisations have also raised the expectations of customers by promising better customer services. Call centres have continually introduced improved infrastructures and more advanced technology as a reaction to the need for better, bigger, faster and even more cost effective communication. This has resulted in work environments where call length is measured in seconds and overt and covert electronic monitoring systems ensure employee compliance to precise operating procedures. Quantitative statistics are used to assess call centre agents and this is in direct conflict with quality service. While productivity in call centres is high, job satisfaction is at an all time low.

Figure 3.9 Effect of performance on job satisfaction



(Gruneberg, 1979: 107)

3.7.2. Job satisfaction and absenteeism

One of the results of job dissatisfaction is that the person will withdraw from the work situation, either temporarily or permanently by escaping from the company. It is not clear how absence and turnover are related. Some researchers regard absence as a minute version of the decision taken to leave the company and a sign that the person is likely to leave in the near future. Other researchers regard absence as an alternative form of withdrawal behaviour to resignation, one that takes place when finding an alternative job is not possible (Gruneberg, 1979: 110).

Locke in Dunnette (1983: 1331) mentions that studies reveal a relationship between job dissatisfaction and absenteeism. A study by Ingham (1970) revealed that absenteeism could be affected by the type of satisfaction gained from the job. Other factors that would be considered in reaching a decision to being absent would be personal obligations to one's employer and financial need. Vroom (1964: 180) mentions that Metzner and Mann (1953) found the relationship between attitudes and absences to depend on the sex of the employee and for male employees on the nature of the job. Muchinsky (1987: 340) says that Smith's (1977) study revealed that employees who had good career prospects were less absent from work. Smith (1977) therefore concluded that satisfaction measures can predict job behaviour (attendance)

when that behaviour is controlled by the worker. A study by Ilgen and Hollenback (1977) revealed that if rewards or punishment is not tied to absenteeism, workers will stay away from work. A study by Steers and Rhodes (1978) revealed that pressure to attend (economic, work group norms), motivation to attend and ability to attend (family responsibilities, transportation problems) all have an impact on ability to attend work. Thus there are both strong and weak relationships between job satisfaction and absenteeism. Miner (1992) also comments that job satisfaction is associated with less absenteeism.

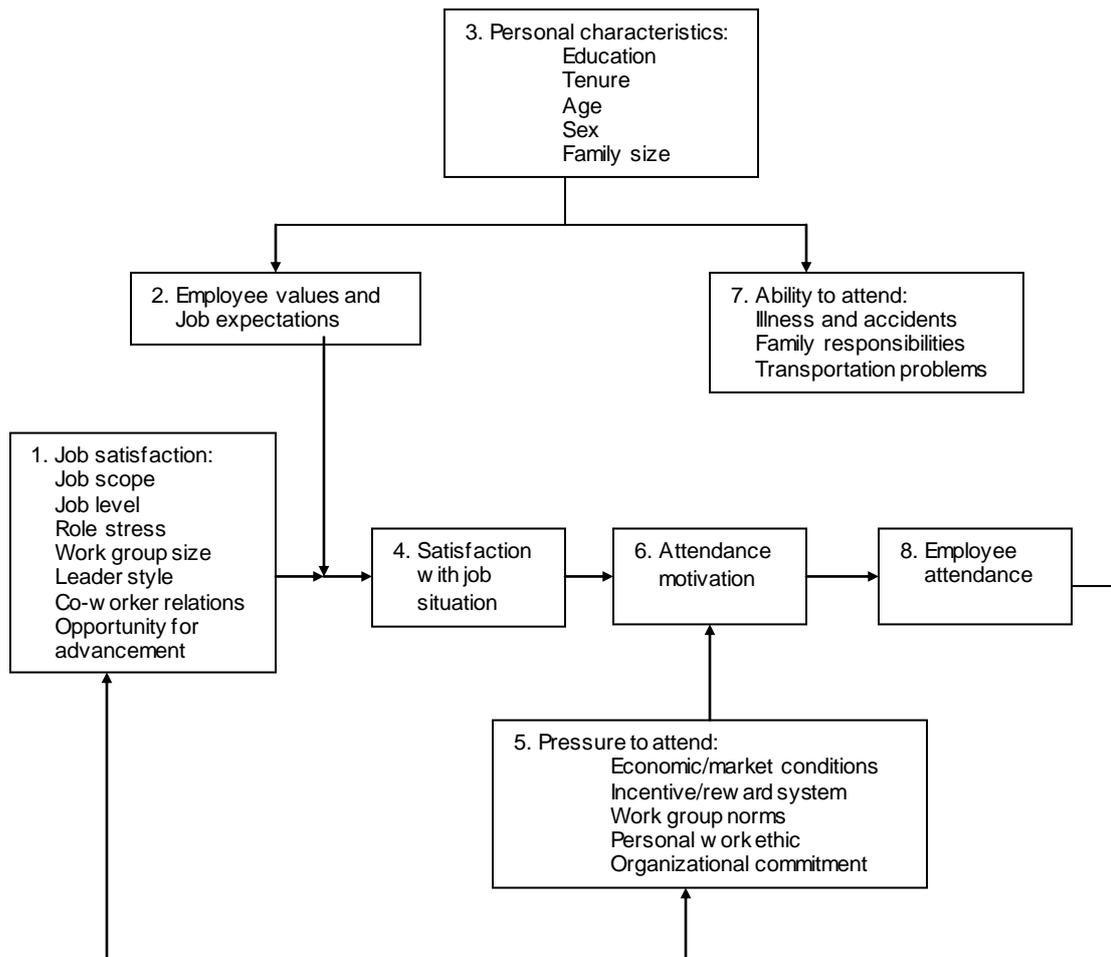
Lee (1987: 31) asserts that Muchinsky (1977) reviewed fifteen articles dealing with the correlation study of absenteeism to overall job satisfaction, satisfaction with management, pay, supervision, promotion, work and need satisfaction. Muchinsky (1977) found that overall job satisfaction has been found to be negatively related to absenteeism with a few exceptions. Also a consistent negative relationship has been found between absenteeism and satisfaction with other facets of job satisfaction and satisfaction with work.

Call centre agents experience stress as a result of conflicting demands made by customers, supervisors and the organisation. Role stress occurs in call centres as a result of the interaction with customers. For call centre agents, factors such as expectations of the organisation, the supervisor or team leaders who may clash with the demands made by customers who want their problems solved all lead to stress. This together with constant monitoring and not being able to take adequate breaks between calls has led call centre agents to reveal a high absenteeism rate (Ruyter, Wetzels & Feinberg, 2001: 24).

Van den Broek (2002) found that the cost of stress-related absenteeism assessed was \$150 (Australian dollar) per agent. Also absenteeism was due to job satisfaction, management of wrap time and lack of job variety.

In figure 13 Muchinsky (1987: 342) gives an outline of the major influences of employee attendance.

Figure 3.10 Major influences on employee attendances



(Staw, 1991: 153).

3.7.3. Job satisfaction and turnover

Vroom (1964: 175) argues that the more satisfied an employee, the stronger the need to remain in the job and the less the probability of leaving. The evidence dealing with the relationship between job satisfaction and employee turnover is far more conclusive than that of job satisfaction and absence.

Porter and Steers examined fifteen studies between 1955 and 1972 and found a positive relationship between job satisfaction and turnover, except in one study. Hulin (1966) found that a group of clerical females who intended to leave the organisation reported lower levels of job satisfaction (Gruneberg, 1979: 114). Stewart (1983: 2) states that labour turnover “is the flow of workers in and out of employment in an organisation during a specified period, and can represent a source of economic waste since often it does not represent true mobility.”

Gruneberg (1979: 114) mentions that Porter and Steers found a number of factors that lead to employee turnover:

- ❖ Pay and promotion opportunities- low pay (including equitable level of pay) and lack of promotion opportunities.
- ❖ Job content- Autonomy and job content have been shown in a number of studies to have a relationship to turnover but the relationship is not significant.
- ❖ Supervision- considerate supervision is only effective in decreasing turnover up to a point. Beyond this point other factors take precedence in the decision to withdraw.
- ❖ Social interactions- when the person’s expectations regarding social interactions in the job situation are not met the person will leave the job.
- ❖ Personality factors- some people are prone to turnover. Employees who have chosen jobs in line with their vocational interests are more likely to stay.

It is not so much the absence or presence of these factors that is related to turnover. It is the extent to which expectations concerning these factors are met on the job.

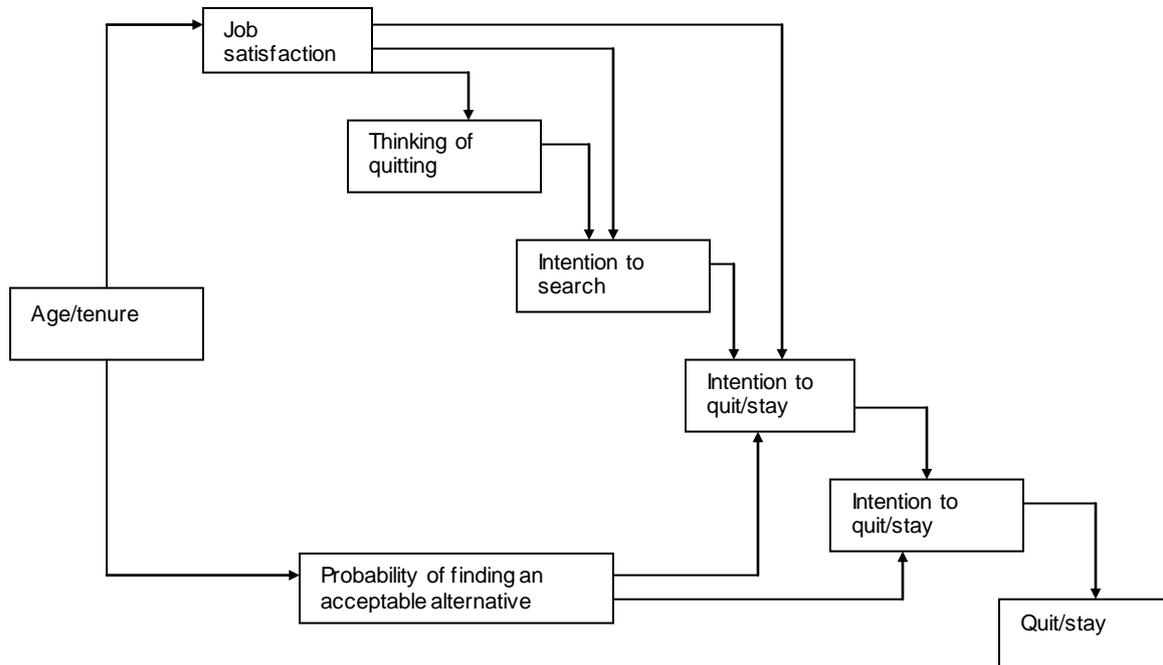
Brough and Frame (2004: 8) identified three primary groups of variables influencing turnover intentions:

- Organisational variables, such as job satisfaction, occupational stress and gender discrimination.
- Individual demographic variables including gender, marital status and tenure.
- External variables such as the availability of alternative employment.

The relationship between turnover intentions and organisational variables is vital with attention being applied to low job satisfaction and high psychological strain levels.

Wallace and Eagleson (2000:178) reported high labour turnover in their studies. They found that the bank call centre had an attrition rate of thirty five percent (35%), the outsourced call centre twenty percent (20%) and the insurance and telecommunications call centres both reported turnovers of fifteen percent (15%) per year. Van den Broek (2002) states that the managers within Australian call centres want agents to leave because once agents have worked for between 12 to 18 months agents can no longer handle the pressure in call centres. Certain outbound call centres in Canada depended on a high labour turnover so that their productivity rates could be high (Status of Women Canada, 2004). Call centres dealing with telemarketing also have a high staff turnover rate. The reason being, agents suffer from burnout. One in ten call centre managers in the United Kingdom face a turnover rate of 49 percent or more. Almost half their agents resign every year (Malhotra & Mukherjee, 2004: 162). Belt, Richardson, Webster, Tijdens & Van Klaveren (2000) reported a low turnover rate in the call centres they had investigated. The turnover rate was found to be between five (5) to ten (10) percent. The authors however discovered that in 14 percent of the call centres examined, the turnover rate was more than 30 percent.

Figure 3.11 A representation of the intermediate linkages in the employee turnover process



(Muchinsky, 1987: 343)

3.7.4. Job satisfaction and the individual

Another reason for studying job satisfaction is to see its effects on the person's life. Most individuals spend a major part of their lives in work situations and how they are affected in terms of their wellbeing is vital to understand. How job satisfaction and dissatisfaction affect physical and mental health and the effect it has on other aspects of the person's life will be examined (Gruneberg, 1979: 120).

3.7.4.1. Job satisfaction and physical health

There are many studies that have shown that job satisfaction can have a major effect on the person's physical wellbeing. Job dissatisfaction in its extreme form causes stress and stress is related to illnesses such as heart disease and peptic ulcers (Gruneberg, 1979: 121). Fairbrother and Warn

(2002: 9) state that aspects of the work itself can be stressful. These factors are work overload, lack of power, role ambiguity and role conflict.

Van Schalkwyk (2001: 43) notes that stress can also cause dissatisfaction. Job-related stress can cause job-related dissatisfaction. Job dissatisfaction is the simplest and most obvious psychological effect of stress. Stress shows itself in psychological states such as tension, anxiety, irritability, boredom and procrastination.

Jones, Flynn & Kelloway in Sauter and Murphy (1995: 42) mention that role overload leads to stress within individuals. Role overload refers to the number or intensity of demands that may be made of employees. For example, an employer may demand more of an employee than what the latter can accomplish in a given time or the worker may perceive the demands of the job as excessive. Overload may affect the health of employees, their general attitude towards work, the ways in which tasks are performed and the feelings workers have about themselves and their jobs. Role insufficiency is the perceived lack of fit between an individual's abilities and training and the requirements of the job. The tasks for which the person is employed are seen to lack challenge.

Sprigg et al (2003: 51) found in their study that the most consistent predictors of well-being in call centres were skill utilisation, workload, role clarity and role conflict. When call centre agents are not using their skills, they have high workloads, they are not sure about their work role and where they are expected to meet conflicting work requirements, agents report of physical health problems.

Stress in call centres affects agents' health in the following way:

- Headaches
- Psychological effects (burnout, depression, anger, poor concentration and so forth).
- Musculoskeletal disorders.
- Cardiovascular disorders.

- Gastrointestinal disorders (nausea, constipation, stomach ulcers).
- Sleep disorders.
- Chronic fatigue effects.
- Behavioural effects (smoking, aggression, error-proneness).

Research has shown that high levels of stress increase the risk of injury arising from manual tasks and risks associated with headset use, such as acoustic shock (Queensland Government, 2003: 13).

Holman (2002) reported that call centre work is regarded as highly stressful and more stressful compared to work in other occupations. For example, in Germany call centre agents had a higher incidence of psychosomatic complaints and a higher rate of emotional complaints than hotel service work. Studies of call centres suggest that agents' well being in call centres is affected by job design, performance monitoring, human resources (HR) practices and team leader support.

3.7.4.2. Job satisfaction and mental health

Gruneberg (1979: 122) states that Kornhauser (1965) defines and measures mental health on certain dimensions, including self-esteem, anxiety, hostility, sociability and life satisfaction. Based on his studies, he mentions that gratifications and deprivations experienced in work and expressed in job dissatisfaction are vital in deciding employees' mental health. Kornhauser has also shown that the lower the level of the job, the more likely the employee is to demonstrate mental health problems. The only problem is that it is difficult to isolate the low level worker from other problems within the environment, which may be associated with and may cause stress. Low level jobs are usually associated with low pay, poor living conditions and so on.

Orpen (1974) also mentions that individuals may say that they are satisfied with their jobs when they are not and in this way cover up mental problems due to being afraid of what others may think. Due to the weak relationship

between job satisfaction and mental health, different aspects of the work environment could have a strong impact on job satisfaction without having much impact on symptoms or other areas of satisfaction. The reason for this weak relationship is because the extremes of job satisfaction which may cause mental ill health are not normally reached. People in mechanically paced jobs showed greater mental health problems compared to people doing routine work (Gruneberg, 1979: 124).

Sprigg (2004) conducted a research on 1141 call centre agents who were working for 34 call centres. The workers' psychological well being was ascertained. The study revealed that agents revealed a high level of depression and poor job satisfaction. The reason being that agents felt they had low control over their work and high demands were placed upon them. Agents also complained about the poor quality social climate at their call centres.

3.7.4.3. Job satisfaction and life satisfaction

Job dissatisfaction may occur where people who are predisposed to being unhappy are placed in any job situation (Gruneberg, 1979: 126).

Two theories dealing with the relationship between job and life satisfaction are the compensation theory which states that one derives pleasure from other aspects of life so that one is able to compensate for dissatisfaction at work. The spillover theory suggests unhappiness at work is likely to affect one's whole life. Iris and Barrett (1972) found that foreman who were unhappy in their work were generally unhappy in life. They also found that a lack of involvement in a job that makes one unhappy is a healthy response. By decreasing the importance of dissatisfying aspects of a job, the person is able to maintain his/her self-esteem. The relationship between job and life satisfaction is intricate, depending on personality factors, the job and personal circumstances (Mason, 1980: 43). Muchinsky (1987: 433) states that a third explanation is segmentation. Segmentation theory argues that social

experiences in life are segmented or kept separate by people. That is the world of work and leisure are kept psychologically separate. Therefore the amount of satisfaction an individual feels with these two areas need not be related at all. Muchinsky (1987: 434) also argues that due to past and current research, the segmentation theory is not validated. People are unable to completely divorce their feelings about their jobs from feelings about life in general.

Near, Smith, Rice & Hunt (1984: 187) concluded from their study that job satisfaction contributes little to the variance that can be explained in life satisfaction. Living conditions affect job satisfaction significantly.

Holman (2002) notes routine jobs in call centres have been associated with emotional exhaustion, which in turn have been associated with high workload and emotional demands.

Putnam and Loppie (2000:9) said that call centre agents complained of unpredictable work schedules not allowing them to “have a life” outside of work and that it interfered with family responsibilities and quality time with family and friends. Irregular hours and short lunch breaks also interfered with other activities outside the workplace. One complainant mentioned “I don’t have much of a social life anymore... we can’t really plan a social life... Its really weird hours too that they’re scheduling.... Everything was easier to juggle [when I didn’t work shifts]... I slept better, I felt better... and had a better social life because most of my friends don’t do shift work (Putnam & Loppie, 2000: 9).

As can be seen call centre work does have a negative impact on the life satisfaction of call centre agents.

Chapter 4

Locus of Control

“You are not the victim of your autobiography but you are or may become the victim of the way you interpret your autobiography” Kelly (1969) in Regis (1996).

4.1. Introduction

4.1.1. “Locus”

The meaning of the word “locus” is “place”, which is derived from Latin. Nel (1992: 2) states Kess (1977: 12) defines the word “locus” in the following way:

“A place, locality, location/; a passage in writing; the position of a gene in a chromosome; (math) the line or surface constituted by all positions of a point or line satisfying a given condition” .

4.1.2. “Control”

The word “control” has its origin from two Latin words. “contra” and “rotellum”. “contra” means “against” and “rotellum” means “a role”. The actual interpretation is thus to play an “against role”. That is, to have an opinion (Nel, 1992: 3).

4.1.3. “Locus of Control”

The concept locus of control was derived by Phares and later by Rotter (Den Oudsten, 1999: 87). Reeder and Kinder (1975: 261) mention that the concept of internal and external locus of control was introduced by Rotter and his associates in order to capture individual differences in expectancies regarding control over important aspects.

Den Oudsten (1999: 87) states that Lefcourt (1976: 2) viewed individuals as actors in determining their own fate and it is this perception of being “able to do something” which leads to the idea of being in control. He states it in the following words: “They are actors and can determine their own fates within limits....”

4.2. Rotter’s Theory

4.2.1. Introduction

Locus of control deals with the extent to which people believe their behaviour determines specific life events. People who have a high internal locus of control feel that events are as a result of their own behaviour; they are in control of their destinies and are able to cause certain events. Those with a high external locus of control in the Western culture feel that forces out of their control (powerful others, fate or chance) determine events (Rotter, 1966: 609).

Rotter (1966: 609) defines internal and external control as follows:

“... an event regarded by some persons as a reward or reinforcement may be differently perceived and reacted to by others. One of the determinants of this reaction is the degree to which the individual perceives that the reward follows from, or is contingent upon, his own behaviour or attributes versus the degree

to which he feels the reward is controlled by forces outside of himself and may occur independently of his own actions.”

Mearns (2004) states that, Rotter has written widely on problems with individuals' interpretations of the locus of control concept. Firstly, locus of control is not a typology. Secondly, due to the fact that locus of control is a generalised expectancy it will predict individuals' behaviour across situations. There will however be certain specific situations in which individuals for example who are externals behave like internals. The reason being that their learning history has taught them that they have control over the reinforcement they receive in certain situations, although in general they have little control over what happens to them. The interaction of the individual and the environment is thus vital.

According to Phares (1965: 642) internal-external locus of control is a concept that has developed out of social learning theory and deals with the extent to which an individual feels that s/he has control over the reinforcements that occurs relative to behaviour. Internal and external reinforcements represent a continuum of individual differences that cut across specific need areas. It is thus a generalized expectancy relating behaviour to reinforcement in a wide variety of learning situations. Seeman (1959) according to Phares (1965: 642) discusses this variable in terms of “powerlessness” and its relationship to the sociological concept of “alienation”. Some studies reveal that expectancies are affected when tasks are seen as dependent upon skills as opposed to chance or luck.

Borland (1979: 10) mentions that locus of control is a single continuum of possible beliefs ranging from belief in completely internal control to belief in completely external control.

Myers (1996) states that research suggests that what underlies the internal locus of control is the concept of “self as agent.” This implies that our thoughts control our actions and that when we realize this function of thinking we can positively affect our beliefs, motivation and job performance. Myers

(1996) states that according to McCombs (1991: 6) “the self as agent can consciously or unconsciously direct, select and regulate the use of all knowledge structures and intellectual processes in support of personal goals, intentions and choices.”

This chapter will focus on Rotter’s locus of control and attribution theories. The theory of control and learned helplessness will also be focused upon. Each theory will be criticized in turn. Locus of control and social learning theory will be focused upon briefly. Locus of control and demographic variables such as age, gender, tenure, educational level and race will be focused upon briefly.

4.2.2. Determining a locus of control orientation

Rotter (1966: 610) states that in social learning theory, reinforcement acts to strengthen expectancy that a certain behaviour or event will be followed by that reinforcement in the future. When an expectancy of such a behaviour-reinforcement sequence is built up the failure of the reinforcement to occur will decrease or eliminate the expectancy. Through constant experiences of either being in control or not being in control leads individuals to determine their locus of control. Therefore each situation will be determined on its own merit. Thus when people perceive that on several occasions they were unable to influence the outcome of a situation, they believe that the control of such situations is external (Geen, Beatty & Arkin, 1984: 17).

Thus when the person is confronted with a new situation, the individual feels unable to influence the situation even before examining the merits of the situation. This type of behaviour becomes part of the individual. The locus of control orientation at this stage becomes a part of the individual’s personality (Kinder & Reeder, 1975: 261).

Mearns (2004) mentions that Rotter (1968) saw personality as: representing an interaction of the person with the environment. One cannot speak of a

personality, internal to a person that is independent of the environment. One is also not able to focus on behaviour as being an automatic response to an objective set of environmental stimuli. In order to understand behaviour one needs to take both the person (that is, life history of learning and experiences) and the environment (that is, those stimuli that the individual is aware of and responding to) into account. Mearns (2004) contends that Rotter (1968) describes personality as a stable set of potentials for responding to situations in a specific way. He views personality and thus behaviour as constantly changing. He believes that when the way the individual thinks or the environment within which the individual operates is changed, the individual's behaviour also changes. Mearns (2004) states: according to Rotter (1968) there is no critical period after which personality is set. The more life experiences the individual has building up certain sets of beliefs, the more effort and intervention is needed for change to occur. Mearns (2004) posits Rotter (1968) views people in a positive manner. People are motivated by goals, wishing to maximise their reinforcement, rather than avoiding punishment.

4.2.3. The influence of a person's locus of control

The individual's expectation regarding success and failure is influenced by locus of control. It influences the individual's motivation for a task and therefore it can be deduced that locus of control influences motivation indirectly (Geen et al, 1984: 177). According to Ryckman in Geen et al (1984: 178) "internals" expect to be more successful than "externals" in tasks that require more skill.

Rotter and Mulry (1965: 603) discovered in their study that people who are characterized as "internals" take longer to decide in a matching tasks when the task is defined as skill controlled than when it is defined as chance controlled. The opposite reaction is found with individuals who are regarded as "externals". Externals take longer to decide on the correct match when the task is defined as chance than when it is defined as skill controlled.

Gregory in Franken (1988: 404) believes that “internals” perform better than “externals” after failure. After a successful event “internals” as well as “externals” showed the same level of progress. Considering “internals” regard failure as losing control, they try harder to stay in control in the future, while “externals” do not make such a concerted effort to maintain control because they do not believe their contribution will have an effect on the outcomes of the event.

Borland (1979: 10) states that research indicates that internals are more likely to try and improve their lives compared to externals. For example, they tend to be more active in politics and take more preventative steps in order to maintain their physical health. Internal prisoners and patients are more knowledgeable of their conditions compared to externals. Borland (1979: 11) also states that according to Joe (1971) internals use the information they get from the environment more effectively than externals. Feather (1968) in Borland (1979: 11) hypothesized that an individual, who has failed to solve a problem, will experience lower self confidence, whereas success increases an individual’s confidence. These changes in confidence are called typical changes.

Stipek and Weisz (1981: 102) state that internal locus of control deals with a person’s belief that an event or outcome depends on the person’s behaviour or on relatively permanent characteristics such as ability. Rotter (1966: 609) states that if reinforcement is not seen as dependent on the person’s own behaviour, then it will not increase the person’s expectancy that a specific behaviour or event will be followed by reinforcement in the future. Stipek and Weisz (1981: 102) state that according to Rotter (1975: 57) “expectancies in each situation are determined not only by specific experiences in that situation but also, to some varying extent, by experiences in other situations that the individual perceives as similar.” Phares (1965) mentions research reveals that internals showed more initiative in their efforts to achieve goals and to control their environments than did externals. Also, internals are able to control not only their environments but their impulses better than externals. Southers (1981: 24) states that Joe (1971) states that internals not only will

show more initiative and effort in controlling their environments but they can control their own impulses better than externals. Internals look for information and adopt behaviour patterns which assist in personal control over their environments.

Howard (1996) mentions that Roueche and Mink (1976: 9) found the following regarding individuals with an internal locus of control:

- They have a higher self-concept.
- They are better adjusted, more independent, more achieving.
- They are more realistic in their aspirations, more open to new learning, more creative, more flexible and more self-reliant.
- They show more initiative and effort in controlling the environment.
- Are less anxious and show more interest in intellectual and achievement matters.
- By changing individuals' behaviours to become more internally oriented, will help them realise the dependency between their own behaviour and relevant aspects of their environment, thereby increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of their behaviours.

Thus, individuals with an internal locus of control tend to be more independent, cognitively able, mentally aware, inclined toward learning and motivated compared to individuals with an external locus of control. Research also indicates that females experience a “fear of success” when competing against males but internal locus of control in females is positively affected by other females.

Locus of control also has an influence on outcomes. When success is due to internal aspects, people feel competent, proud and safe. When it is regarded as luck people feel relieved and surprised according to Weiner, Russell and Lerman in Geen et al (1984: 178).

Franken (1988: 342) mentioned that Rotter stated that “internals” are inclined to behave more aggressively compared to “externals” in the event that it will

assist them to achieve their goals. “Externals” do not behave aggressively even when provoked because they believe that their behaviour will not influence others or the environment.

4.2.4. Criticism of Rotter’s Theory

Weiner (1986: 11) criticizes Rotter’s theory on the grounds that the locus of control cannot be applied in many situations. It can only be applied in certain situations. There also does not exist enough empirical evidence for some of the assumptions of the theory. One point in case is the fact that individuals with different locus of control have different expectations.

Gurin, Gurin and Morrison (1978: 275) assert that the concept of internal-external control and the scale developed by Rotter (1966) to measure it have been a focus of heated debate. One problem deals with the dimensionality of beliefs about control. Factor analytic studies of Rotter’s Internal-External control scale reveal that control beliefs are multidimensional (individuals differ in their locus of control beliefs regarding different areas of life such as achievement and health outcomes) rather than uni-dimensional (global control belief) (Cherlin & Brookover, Bourque, 1974: 580). In spite of Rotter’s assertion that locus of control is a unidimensional concept, evidence reveals that a multidimensional concept is the case (De Minzi, 1990: 218, Connell, 1985; Lao, 1970; Barling, 1980: 140; Riordan, 1981: 166). Levenson (1974: 377) argues that Rotter’s Internal-External scale can be separated into various factors such as self mastery over one’s own personal life, expectancies of control over political institutions and one’s beliefs about the role of internal and external forces in society in general. Some studies have distinguished between personal control and ideology about control. Personal control deals with a people’s beliefs about their own lives and ideology about control deals with people’s beliefs about the role of internal and external forces in the distribution of rewards in society. Factor analytic studies have not duplicated this structure but have separated a generalized control disposition from beliefs about control in political settings. Regis (1996) argues

that the measurement of locus of control was never seen as being adequate in predicting behaviour.

Reynolds (1976: 243) states that many researchers have argued that the expectancies measured by the Internal-External Scale are too broad and specific scales should be used to measure locus of control. Especially scales to measure locus of control for people in general and for individuals themselves. Another criticism of the Internal-External Scale is that it is politically loaded. Scores on the Internal-External Scale may reflect political sympathies rather than personality dimensions. A further criticism is that studies found that those alternatives that are found to be socially desirable tend to be chosen as self-descriptive and be explained by saying that individuals rate as socially desirable those responses which they themselves prefer. Social desirability ratings could be contaminated by locus of control expectancies and vice versa. Considering independent measures of social desirability tend to correlate weakly with the Internal-External Scale scores and since the item and item analyses of social desirability effects of past research are inconclusive and occasionally inconsistent, one is unable to discard the Internal-External Scale as being contaminated with a social desirability factor.

Dies (1968:490) asserts that according to Coan (1966), the Internal-External scale focuses too narrowly on social and political events and includes very few statements dealing with personal habits, traits, goals or life styles.

4.3. Attribution Theory

4.3.1. Introduction

Fritz Heider, Edward Jones, Keith Davis and Harold Kelley, all social psychologists developed the first attribution theories. Heider first wrote of

attribution theory in 1958. There have been modifications however since that time. Attribution theory is viewed as relevant to the study of an individual's perceptions, event perceptions and attitude change (Wheaton, 1980: 105). This can then lead to people impacting their own self-esteem as well as their own levels of anxiety (Williams, 2003). Heider (1958) believed that people acted on the basis of their beliefs. It did not matter whether their beliefs were accurate, valid or based in reality. People would act based on their belief systems (Crittenden, 1983: 426).

The attribution theory deals with how individuals explain things. There are two ways in which we can offer explanations as to why things happen. An external attribution or an internal attribution can be made. An external attribution assigns causality to an outside agent or force. An external attribution states that some outside thing motivated the event. An internal attribution assigns causality to factors within the individual. An internal attribution implies that the individual is directly responsible for the event (SBB, 1996).

Wilderdom (2004) mentions that, different types of attributional styles have been found to characterize and explain why people react differently but predictably to events and the causes of those events. Individuals generally have a self-serving bias. They tend to make:

- ✚ Internal attributions about themselves when they succeed (I did it myself).
- ✚ Internal attributions about others when they fail (it was their fault).
- ✚ External attributions about themselves when they fail (something else made me fail).
- ✚ External attributions about others when they succeed (they got lucky).

When individuals make an internal attribution for their actions, it seems that they also change their attitudes and beliefs about themselves. They thus become "that kind" of individual and the desired behaviour follows naturally. The impetus for change is an internal attribution. The question arises what

happens when people use external attributions? People believe that their behaviour is under the control of an external force and does not depend on themselves. This illustrates the problems that can arise when people use external things (like rewards and punishments) to influence behaviours. The reward or punishment does not allow individuals to make an internal attribution and thus bring the desired behaviour under their control. Individuals may not "generalize" from the reward and acquire the internally motivated habit to produce the desired behaviour. People will instead expect some external agent (namely the supervisor or manager) to cause their actions. Another problem with external attributions is that it can undermine an existing habit. That is, individuals who perform a behaviour because "that is the kind of people they are" (internal attribution), can lose the habit if they change their pattern of attribution (Wilderdom, 2004).

Heider (1958) states the attribution theory deals with how we judge other people. We observe behaviour, we judge the behaviour as intention of purpose and then we draw a conclusion, which is an attributed disposition. Inaccurate or not, this is a common human behaviour that goes beyond many social interactions. We observe others' behaviours, draw conclusions and attribute their behaviour and intentions onto us. Part of the reason for this is it decreases our own anxiety levels and our own responsibility because it projects the responsibility for the negative results onto others. We then tend to hold others more responsible. We thus take less blame.

Wilderdom (2004) asserts that a study by Mamlin, Harris and Case (2001) discovered the following trends:

- Males tend to be more internal than females.
- As individuals get older, they tend to become more internal.
- Individuals higher up in the organisational structure tend to be more internal.

4.3.2. Internal and external causality

Heider (1958) was one of the first modern psychologists to write about how individuals think about causality. What causes what events or what is attributed to which events. Since 1960, hundreds of studies have contributed to understanding why some individuals are highly motivated to achieve and others are not. Weiner (1980) mentions that according to the attribution theory a high achiever will:

- Approach rather than avoid tasks related to succeeding. The reason being the individual believes success is due to high ability and effort which the person feels confident about. Failure is thought to be caused by bad luck or a poor exam, shifting the blame to an external cause. As a result, failure does not hurt the individual's self-esteem but success builds pride and confidence.
- Persist when the work gets difficult rather than giving up. Failure is assumed to be caused by a lack of effort which the individual feels can be changed by trying harder.
- Select challenges of moderate difficulty (50% success rate). The reason being that feedback from those tasks tells you more about how well you are doing, rather than very difficult or very easy tasks which tell you little about your ability or effectiveness.
- Work with plenty of energy because the results are believed to be determined by how hard you try.

The unmotivated person according to Weiner (1986) on the other hand will:

- Avoid success-related chores because the individual tends to firstly, doubt one's ability and/or secondly, assumes success is related to luck or to "who you know" or to other factors out of one's control. Therefore, even when the person is successful, it isn't as rewarding to the unmotivated person because s/he does not feel responsible, it does not increase his/her pride and confidence.

- Quit when having difficulty because the person believes failure is caused by a lack of ability which one is unable to do anything about.
- Choose easy or very hard tasks to work on because the results will tell one very little about how poorly (presumably) one is doing.
- Work with little drive or enthusiasm because the outcome is not thought to be related to effort.

Our beliefs about what causes and influences our behaviour have a major impact on our expectations and thus our motivation. Therefore, one way to change motivation is to change our beliefs and thus to change our attributions. For example, we could teach (and prove to) unmotivated, underachieving and depressed people that they can control life-events by exerting more effort. There have been demonstrations that intentionally "trying harder," had resulted in more behavioural changes (Weiner, 1986).

4.3.3. Identification of different dimensions in attribution

Weiner (1986: 46) believes that there is more than one dimension with regards to attribution. Weiner (1986) focused his attribution theory on achievement. Weiner believed that ability, effort, task difficulty and luck as the most vital factors affecting attributions for achievement. Attributions are classified along three causal dimensions. These are locus of control, stability and controllability. The locus of control dimension has two poles, namely, internal versus external locus of control. The stability dimension captures whether causes change over time or not. For example, ability can be classified as a stable, internal cause and effort can be classified as unstable and internal. Controllability deals with causes one can control, such as skill or efficacy, from causes one cannot control, such as aptitude, mood, others' actions and luck. There are internal as well as external factors that are stable and those that fluctuate. Through deductive reasoning Weiner (1986: 48) argues that a third dimension of control can be extracted.

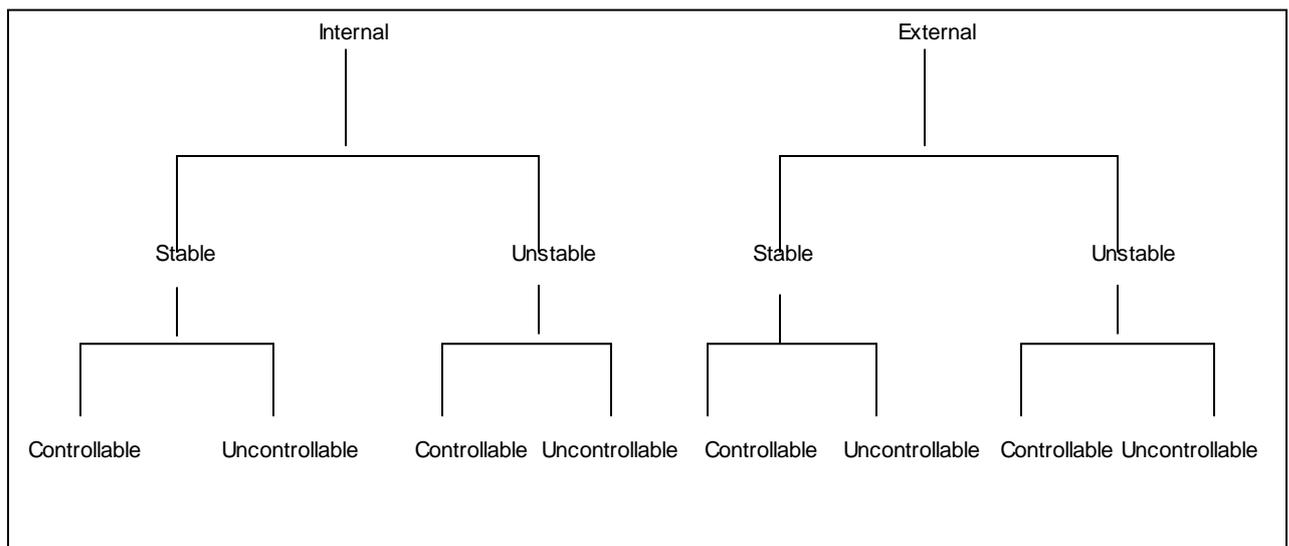
Figure 4.1 The following chart shows the four attributions that result from a combination of internal or external locus of control and whether or not control is possible.

	Internal	External
No Control	Ability	Luck
Control	Effort	Task Difficulty

(Weiner, 1986: 47)

Weiner (1986: 48) believes that Rotter was not correct to believe in an internal locus of control, considering locus and control are two separate dimensions of causality. At times one sees it as locus of control and at other times it can be seen as control of causality. With regards to the latter one can distinguish between causes that are as a result of free will and on the other hand causes that are a given and over which one has no control. With regards to the third dimension, the attribution theory is linked to control.

Figure 4.2 Eight combinations of causality



(Weiner, 1986: 50).

Whether an external controllable category is acceptable, depends upon how one defines controllable. In the event control is seen as “control by an individual”, it is unacceptable. If it is viewed as “control by any individual”, it becomes acceptable (Nel, 1992: 19).

The different dimensions of attribution are not only reasoned logically but there is a lot of empirical research conducted in this field. Weiner (1986: 66) mentions that there are many researchers except a few who have used different research procedures and have confirmed the existence of the three dimensions of causality.

McClelland (1987: 489) focuses on factor analysis and states that “factor analysis of all sorts of different reasons people give, support the conclusion that there are three general types of reasons given for success and failure.” The three types of reasons are internal-external dimensions, the stability dimension and the control dimension.

4.3.2. The importance of attribution

The reason for trying to ascertain a classification for reasons for events occurring is that it has an impact on the emotions and behaviour of individuals. A few of the factors dealing with attribution will be focused upon.

There is a difference in the attribution patterns of individuals with high self-esteem and those who have low self-esteem. Individuals who have a high self-esteem ascribe their success to their own effort and ability and failure due to a lack of effort. People with a low self-esteem will ascribe their success to the difficulty of the task and to coincidence, while failure is ascribed to a lack of skills. If one focuses on the different dimensions within which the failure can be ascribed, one can understand why people react differently after failure. Lack of effort is part of the internal, unstable, controllable category and as a result people who experience failure will undermine perceptions of ability and success will not increase the perception that effort was pivotal. Lack of ability

is part of the internal, stable but uncontrollable category and as a result failure in this case has a negative effect on effort in the future. Attribution thus correlates in certain situations with motivation of prestige and has an influence on behaviour after failure or success (McClelland, 1987: 497). Weiner is criticised by McClelland (1987: 490) because he tries and explains emotions in terms of cognitions. Franken (1988:405) points out that Weiner mentions that there are more emotions than pride and shame involved with a success-failure situation.

The following figure according to Franken (1988: 405) summarizes Weiner's general framework for relating emotions to success and failure.

Figure 4.3 Attributions and dominant discriminating affect for success and failure

Attribution		Affect
	Success	
Unstable effort		Activation,
augmentation		
Stable effort		Relaxation
Own personality		Self-enhancement
Other's effort and personality		Gratitude
Luck		Surprise
	Failure	
Ability		Incompetence
Unstable effort; stable effort		Guilt (shame)
Personality; intrinsic motivation		Resignation
Other's efforts; other's motivation		
and personality		Aggression
Luck		Surprise

(Franken, 1988: 405).

Attribution also influences expectancies. Expectancy is pivotal in the cognitive relation to motivation. Although Rotter and other social learning

theorists had implied that a change in expectancy is related to attribution in internal or external causality, Weiner (1986: 115) argues that stability and instability from a particular standpoint correlates with differences in expectancy. He points out that typical changes, that is an increase in expectancy after success and decrease after failure occurs when the cause is viewed as stable. Atypical changes take place when the cause is viewed as unstable. An example of the latter is a “gambler’s fallacy” where the gambler expects to lose after winning once. After losing a few times the person is convinced that a winning spree is inevitable (Weiner, 1986: 83).

Hewstone (1983: 165) has focused on the concept of expectancy mainly within the context of experiences of success or failure. Research indicates that these experiences (depending on the circumstances) lead to expectancies for future success or failure and these expectancies can be self-fulfilling.

4.3.3. Criticism of the attribution theory

According to McClelland (1987: 493) the only valid assumption that the attribution theory can make regarding expectancy is that individuals who have high self-esteem tend to ascribe success to ability and failure to lack of effort. On the other hand, individuals with a low self-esteem tend to ascribe failure to a lack of ability. McClelland (1987: 492) states that “the achievement motive may be defined as a capacity for perceiving success as caused by internal factors and failure by unstable factors.”

McClelland (1987: 492) admits that an individual’s cognitive interpretation affects that which one plans to do but he denies that a person’s attribution is the same as expectancy.

Although the attribution theory has highlighted many factors, it is still one-sided in many respects.

4.4. The theory of control and learned helplessness

Considering that locus of control is a vital aspect of the research, the theory of control will be relevant in this respect. The theory will be discussed briefly.

4.4.1. The importance of control

Langer (1983: 13) states that “the psychology of control is about the control of oneself and one’s perceptions of reality.” The belief in personal control may be vital to one’s sense of competence and is basic to human functioning, regardless of who the individual is and where s/he may be. When a person’s belief in control is threatened, the result is devastating. The need for control is the reason the environment is searched for information. It is the basis for the interpretations given to that information and the attributions arrived at to explain our behaviour to ourselves and to others and to explain the behaviour of others to ourselves.

4.4.2. Description of control

Researchers have focused on various aspects of control in defining and studying what control is and not just what it is not.

Langer (1983: 14) states that in early research control was viewed as being equivalent to choice. As researchers delved deeper into the field they realised that this definition was inadequate. Some researchers viewed control as power. Control is however not equivalent to power. Control is a more intra-psychic variable and is less concerned with the current state of the external world. The need for control remains stable even when aspects of the environment that threaten the perception of control are likely to change with experience.

Langer (1983: 16) states that Averill (1973) distinguished among behavioural, cognitive and decisional control. Behavioural control is direct action taken on the environment to influence a threatening event. Cognitive control deals with the interpretation of threatening events. Decisional control is the opportunity to choose among various possible actions. One form of control does not mean that others are operating. They are believed to be independent. The individual's perception is more important than one's overt behaviour. Individuals tend to experience control when they master their internal (mental) or external environments, as they make their unfamiliar familiar.

Langer (1983: 20) defines control as "the active belief that one has a choice among responses that are differentially effective in achieving the desired outcome."

There is however no certainty that any one response will bring about the desired outcome. In order to experience control the environment or task cannot be perceived as having already been completely mastered. An environment that encourages control is one that encourages mastering. Individuals cannot be stopped from experiencing control. When environments, behaviours or tasks are completely predictable, individuals tend to respond automatically and do not take the time to re-involve themselves in the mastering process (Langer, 1983: 20).

4.4.3. Loss of control

Considerable research has been conducted on the loss of control (Langer, 1983: 16). Seligman (1975) has contributed a lot with regards to research in the area of "learned helplessness". Exposure to uncontrollable negative events leads to a belief in one's inability to control vital outcomes and results in a loss of motivation, indecisiveness with failure to action and depression. An individual's passivity and sense of being unable to act and to control his or her life, acquired through unpleasant experiences and trauma in which efforts made were ineffective results in depression. Learned helplessness is

regarded as a learned state produced by exposure to noxious, unpleasant situations in which there is no possibility of escape or avoidance. Humans have a basic drive to control their environment. In turn, if an individual has a lack of control over an aspect of their environment in one situation this will impair learning in similar situations. If a person is put in a situation where their behaviour is unaffected, they become passive and their desire to act or try harder dissolves (Seligman, 1975).

One of the main aspects in learned helplessness is a sense of losing control over past traumatic events, which lead to the person to believe that their actions are useless. Given their social roles, women are prone to experience a decreased control over negative life events. This helplessness may be due to discrimination in the workplace, inequality in marriage, high rates of sexual and physical abuse and the duality of being a working woman and mother (Rubinstein, 2004: 220).

Langer (1983: 18) states that when a person experiences a loss of control that is acute, it leads to stress and anxiety. The individual's first reaction is to restore the loss and when the loss becomes chronic, it leads to learned helplessness. According to Langer (1983: 33) laboratory studies have revealed that subjects who do not have control over the amount of shock received, experienced more anxiety compared to individuals who had even limited control over shock.

Phares (1962) in Langer (1983: 33) mentions that individuals who feel that they have control of the situation tend to display behaviour that will enable them to cope more effectively with potentially threatening situations compared to individuals who feel chance or other uncontrollable factors are influencing whether their behaviour will be successful. There is therefore a direct relationship between extent of coping behaviour and the extent of expectancy that one's skill or ability is pivotal in achieving reinforcement. Research also reveals that by allowing employees to have control, performance on learning tasks tends to increase. Franken (1988: 357) emphasises his point by stating that people who believe that they do not have control over their work situation

tend to be less effective and feel more helpless compared to people who have control over their jobs.

In the event the loss becomes chronic, the individual feels even weaker and the result is learned helplessness. Helplessness is viewed as the opposite of control (Seligman, 1975: 92). Seligman and Maier (1967: 2) define learned helplessness “as the perception that an individual’s action does not result in influencing the outcomes of a situation”. Pivotal in the perception is that an individual does not believe that work that one performs can influence the outcomes of a situation positively. Individuals who experience learned helplessness tend to be passive, considering that they do not believe in the interdependence of responses and outcomes. In the event these individuals lose control, the result is stress. Due to the fact that they believe that taking action is futile, they are unable to overcome stress. The result is depression. It is on account of this type of reasoning that Seligman (1975: 122) states that learned helplessness is the root cause of reactive depression.

According to Franken (1988: 357) the following three aspects are characteristics of individuals who experience learned helplessness:

- They do not initiate any activities.
- They find it difficult to learn things.
- Are emotionally disturbed.

Seligman’s (1975: 148) original theory states that an individual’s experience of an uncontrollable situation would teach a person to be helpless even though the person would be placed in a controllable situation in the future. Langer (1983: 102) states that according to the learned helplessness paradigm, due to prior experience with uncontrollable aversive outcomes a person starts viewing response or outcome independent in situations where outcomes depend on responses. Instead of responding and feeling futile, the individual tends to give up. When not explicitly taught, helplessness may be inferred from contextual factors surrounding the activities in which one engages. This

can occur whether prior performance of the activities resulted in failure or success. Individual's self-esteem can be susceptible to subtle situational influence even when failure is not involved. It may be due to contextual variables that are psychologically more pivotal than outcome valence. For example, being assigned an explicit label that denotes inferiority compared to another individual, not engaging in a task one performed previously or allowing someone else to do things for one renders a person helpless, especially if these tasks played a pivotal role in one's life. This process where a person mistakenly assumes incompetence from interpersonal situational factors is regarded by Langer (1983: 102) as "self-induced" dependence. The assumption here is that individuals do not carry with them a stable sense of their own abilities. One's self-estimate and consequent performance, depend upon situational factors that are capable of overriding prior history of success. The research was conducted by Langer (1988: 101) on the aged. The study revealed that helpless elderly adults tended to be less helpless when they were given a sense of responsibility for themselves. The study may have had a life-sustaining effect as only about half the subjects in the responsibility-induced group as in the comparison group had died.

Franken (1988: 359) argues that an individual's cognitive performance does not depend upon one experience only but on a life time of experiences. In the event the individual experienced that his or her response or behaviour affects outcomes in most instances, the person will try and handle situations.

Franken (1988: 360) states that in Seligman's revised model, the latter argues that exposure to a situation that is uncontrollable is not enough to result in helplessness. According to Seligman the most vital aspect is the build up or the development of an expectation by an individual that one will in future be unable to handle situations. Franken (1988: 360) mentions that two factors play a role in the build up of future expectations. These are:

- The importance of an event for the individual (that is, how much value does an individual place on events beyond one's control).

- The tendency to generalise (that is the extent to which the individual emphasises the similarity between the current and future situations).

Franken (1988: 360) states that when an individual is unable to handle a situation, the person will question the reason for it being so. The answer given here would be that the individual could be generalising or this may not be the case at all. Some people find causal relationships which are invalid. After an unsuccessful attempt the individual may feel that s/he does not have the ability to achieve positive results. This in turn leads to low self-esteem and helplessness.

4.4.4. Criticism of Control theory and Learned Helplessness

Franken (1988: 361) states that the “reactance theory” is the greatest opponent of learned helplessness. The “reactance theory” states that empirical evidence shows that when a person’s freedom or extent of control is threatened, the individual does not become helpless. Instead the individual feels motivated to take charge. Greenburger and Strasser (1986:166) state that when individuals try but are unable to regain control over events that are subjectively vital, then these individuals will start believing that outcomes cannot be controlled by their actions. Reactance is therefore hypothesised to precede helplessness for people who at first expected that they could control desired outcomes. The stronger the expectation of control, the more persistence or controlling behaviour the individual exhibits. It is only when the behaviours are beyond control that the person becomes helpless and the motivation for control will stop.

Another criticism against the “learned helplessness” theory is that only a negative outcome of an uncontrollable situation leads to “learned helplessness”. Nobody feels helpless after winning money in a competition. The departure point of “control” theory is thus placed in perspective. That is that although it is a fundamental need of people to have control over a

situation, this need is greatest when the individual's control over a situation is threatened. The need to have control first becomes a motivation when the individual's need to control the situation is threatened (Franken, 1988: 361). Greenberger and Strasser (1986: 166) argue that control is so highly valued that one does not easily give it up. Individuals tend to shift from one method of striving for control to another.

4.5. Locus of control and social learning theory

Stipek and Weisz (1981: 102) maintain that most research on perceptions of personal control is grounded in social learning theory. Social learning theorists maintain that children's behaviour in achievement is influenced by their perceived locus of control. If the child believes that the outcome of a situation depends on his or her behaviour (internal locus of control), then social learning theory states that academic success will increase the likelihood of a child's instrumental behaviour such as attention or persistence at future tasks. On the other hand, if there is no relationship between outcome and behaviour (external locus of control) than academic success will not increase the likelihood of these instrumental behaviours in the future.

Rotter (1966: 651) refers to the manner in which interaction takes place between internal cognitive processes within children. The child will not learn from experiences unless the child believes that these experiences are lawfully related to one's own actions. When events are random, the child will pay no attention to learning these events.

When individuals have little control over rewards or punishment, the individual has little reason to make an effort to behave in a way to prevent the occurrence from recurring. In this case, rewards or punishment lose their value as motivators, considering it will have little effect in strengthening or weakening the individual's response. It can be ascertained from this that the manner in which people behave and try and change their behaviour is related

to the extent to which the person believes one is responsible for what happens to one (Den Oudsten, 1999).

According to Greene (1985: 1985: 66) within social learning theory, perceived control as defined by the locus of control construct deals with the perceived instrumentality of behaviour in gaining desired outcomes and is not differentiated from perceived contingency. Attribution theory sees contingency and control as separate causal dimensions. Perceived contingencies between actions and outcomes are represented by the locus of control dimension. Perceived personal control over actions and outcomes are represented by the controllability dimension. Both theories define ability and effort as internal control but only attribution theory regards effort as controllable from ability, which is not the case. Incentive value, which is pivotal to achievement behaviour in locus of control theory, is excluded in the attribution theory.

4.6. Locus of control and demographic variables

4.6.1. Age

Most studies investigating the developmental trend of the locus of control have found that people increase in their sense of internal control from early childhood to the thirties (Lao, 1976: 3; Sherman, 1984: 339; Riordan, 1981: 165). This is not surprising as internal-external control is determined by an individual's experience. It is usually during these years that people tend to increase in mastery and competence, therefore leading to a feeling of having more control. As people grow older and experience a decrease in physical health, income and perhaps social status and so on, one expects a parallel decrease in mastery and competence leading to a decrease in internal control (Lao, 1976: 3).

The studies conducted on internal-external control have not found a decrease in internality. From a social learning theory view point, younger people rely more on generalized expectancies than older people. Therefore, one would expect fewer correlates of locus of control. Studies reveal that internal-external control increases with age. Lao (1976: 7) found in a study that both mothers and fathers were more internal than their children who were attending college.

According to Lao (1976: 7) this could be for two reasons:

- ✚ The mothers and fathers were in their forties and were at the height of their sense of competence and mastery. They therefore had a higher sense of internality. This is consistent with Lao's findings regarding developmental trend of the internal-external concept.
- ✚ Rotter argues that the population tends to become more external on the average as the years go by. The college going children would therefore be more external compared to their parents.

Lao (1976: 7) asserts that Duke et al's and Shea's studies revealed that the usual relationships between internal-external and other variables works only for children and young adults and that relationship cannot be generalized to older people. The reason being that the meaning and dynamics of internal-external are different for old people.

Nunn's (1994) studies revealed that older learners were more internally oriented in terms of the methods of being taught compared to younger learners, who were more externally oriented.

Knoop (1981: 104) criticizes Duke et al's (1974) and Lao's (1976) studies by stating that as individuals grow older, they gain more experience, knowledge and competence, they rely less on generalized expectancies and therefore become more internal. Hence, weaker and not stronger relationships would be expected from the Internal-External scale and correlates from younger individuals. These studies did not also reveal that people of various ages with

an internal locus of control were more satisfied in their jobs they were more often male than female and were better educated.

4.6.2. Gender

Muhonen and Torkelson (2004: 22) posit that research on gender and locus of control revealed inconsistent results. Some studies indicate that women are more externally oriented compared to men. Some research has shown no gender differences in locus of control (Holder & Vaux, 1998; Lengua & Stormshak, 2000). Women are more externally controlled compared to men (Rubenstein, 2004: 219; Riordan, 1981: 165). Men attribute their successes to themselves and to internal and stable factors and their failures to external and unstable factors. Women on the other hand attribute their successes to external and changing factors and their failures to internal and stable factors (Deaux, White & Farris, 1975; Nicholls, 1975; Nunn, 1994).

4.6.3. Educational level

Nowicki and Kalechstein (1994) state that in research dealing with adults not attending college it was found that although an internal locus of control has been related to greater academic achievement, which does not guarantee success outside the classroom. Lao (1976: 4) posits that internality is positively related to education level.

4.6.4. Race

A study by DuCette and Wolk (1973) reveals that an “internal” individual does not only perceive that the environment can be controlled. The person perceives whether the environment can be controlled and then responds to this perception with appropriate behaviour. The important point here is that it is vital to take into account what is rationale for the individual in the

environment. Thus, it may be accurate and adaptive for a Black individual to perceive that one is not master of one's fate and the correlation between action and reward is not strong. Such an accurate perception of reality should in the long run have positive and adaptive consequences. The "internal" Black individual, just like the "internal" White counterpart, understands the environment and acts to demands and within restrictions. Research also suggests that Black externals generally behave more like White internals (for example, they are more politically active and have better self-concepts) than like White externals.

A study by Riordan (1981: 165) revealed Whites were found to be more internal compared to Indians, Coloureds and Blacks in South Africa.

4.7. Characteristics associated with locus of control

A lot of research has been conducted regarding locus of control and the characteristics associated with this concept. Borland (1975: 10) discovered individuals with an internal locus of control make a greater effort to improve their lives compared to people with an external locus of control. Individuals with an internal locus of control also tend to be more politically active and they tend to focus on leading a healthy lifestyle compared to people with an external locus of control. Research shows that externals tend to feel anxious when facing potential stressors and are unable to cope with stress than internals (Elangovan & Lin Xie, 1999: 363).

Spector (1982: 483) states that according to Roark (1978) employees with an internal locus of control tended to attribute finding a job to their own actions. Hammer and Vardi (1981) discovered among manufacturing workers that "internals" were more likely than "externals" to attribute past job changes with their own initiatives. Harvey, Barnes, Sperry and Harris (1974) found in a laboratory study that "internals" tended to perceive more alternatives in a

choice situation than did “externals”. Internals not only perceive more control but they look for situations in which control is possible.

According to Kabanoff and O'Brien (1980) in Spector (1982: 483) leisure time activities of internals and externals along five dimensions, including skill utilization (the amount of skills necessary for success) and influence (the amount of personal control involved) differed. They found in their study a small but statistically significant tendency for internals to engage in leisure activities that needed more skill and allowed more personal control. Julian and Katz (1968) conducted a study which dealt with a laboratory study of competitive game behaviour. Subjects were given the choice of relying on their own skill or on a more competent opponent. Externals preferred relying on the opponent and internals relied upon themselves. Krolick (1979) according to Spector (1982: 484) found that internals tended to shift their Internal-External score in an external direction following an experience of failure but externals did not score toward internality after being successful at a task. The reason being, internals are more sensitive to information that is relevant to them and to reward contingencies as well. This is the case especially when the task is ego involving. Anderson (1977) on the other hand argues that shifts in locus of control can occur for externals as well as internals. Anderson's (1977) study with hurricane victims revealed that there was a shift toward greater internality for internals whose performance improved and a shift towards greater externality for externals whose performance deteriorated. The improved externals did not shift toward internality and the poorer internals did not become externals. Spector (1982: 484) states although both Krolick (1979) and Anderson (1977) showed locus of control shift as a function of experience, their results contradicted each other. Krolick (1979) according to Spector (1982: 484) found a shift for only internals in an external direction. Anderson (1977) found an internal shift but no internal shift for internals and an external shift for externals (Spector, 1982: 483).

Phares (1976) found that compared to externals, internal make more effort to control their environment, display better learning, actively search for more

information when that information had personal relevance, used information more effectively and were more concerned with information rather than with social demands of situations (Spector, 1982: 484).

Due to internals believing in and seeking personal control, they tend to show less conformity compared to externals. Crowne and Liverant (1963) found greater conformity for externals in an Asch conformity situation. Hjelle and Clouser (1970) found that internals show less attitude change after exposure to a persuasive message. Biondo and MacDonald (1971) showed that internals not only demonstrated resistance to influence but showed psychological reactance and there was a shift in their attitudes in the opposite direction to the influence attempt. Internals are not entirely unaffected by social influence. Phares (1976) according to Spector (1982: 484) reveals that internals may be more influenced by informational variety compared to externals.

Externals tend to be more anxious than internals. Joe (1971) as well as Archer (1979) state that their studies demonstrated that externals are more anxious than internals. Archer, Joe and Ray and Katahn state that locus of control and anxiety, are distinct but related concepts. The interrelatedness of locus of control and anxiety complicate research. The reason being, anxiety rather than locus of control explain why internals seem to learn better than externals.

Researchers have found that internal individuals tend to make typical or rational shifts in their levels of aspiration (Battle & Rotter, 1965; Feather, 1968; Rotter & Mulry, 1965); take intermediate rather than extreme risks (DuCette & Wolk, 1972; Julian & Katz, 1961; Liverant & Scodel, 1960); tend to be more confident in their abilities (Lao, 1970); make better use of environmental feedback (Phares, 1963; Ude & Vogler, 1971) and are more likely to be social activists (Forward & Williams, 1970; Gore & Rotter, 1963). Internality is therefore viewed as an adaptive and positive personality characteristic while externality is not (DuCette & Wolk, 1972).

Judge, Locke, Durham and Kluger (1998) believe that in terms of work, people with an internal locus of control believe they are able to handle situations because they are personally able to handle it. They will thus be less inclined to be absent or behave aggressively when frustrated compared to individuals with an external locus of control (Spector, 1982: 485).

As far as supervisors are concerned, Elangovan and Lin Xie (1999: 363) assert that given the fact that internals feel they are able to control situations in the workplace and their preference for taking constructive actions to resolve problems in their workplace, they tend to appreciate and make use of their supervisors' professional knowledge and expertise to solve problems and improve performance. Internals tend to react positively to high expert power of supervisors, especially given their relatively stronger belief that good performance will lead to rewards. Externals tend to perceive supervisor's expert power as a potential source of threat which could lead to higher stress. Having a supervisor with expertise is many times associated with demanding standards of performance and high expectations for constant improvement and learning. This would lead to high stress and impede work effort in externals. Not being able to difficult challenges will lead to a decrease in motivation and effort.

4.8. Locus of control and job satisfaction

Giles (1977) conducted a study on female factory workers. The results of the study revealed that female factory workers who were dissatisfied in their jobs and who revealed an internal locus of control were more likely to take action against the dissatisfaction experienced by volunteering for a job enrichment programme. The effort by internals to control work settings may manifest in many ways.

The internal would try and attempt control in the following areas according to Spector (1982: 485):

- Work for task accomplishment.
- Operating procedures of work assignments.
- Relationships with supervisors and subordinates.
- Working conditions and goal setting.
- Work scheduling.
- Organizational policy.

Spector (1982: 490) postulates that internals display greater job satisfaction than externals for the following four reasons:

- Internals tend to take action more often than externals do, the dissatisfied internal is more likely to quit a dissatisfying job. There would be fewer unhappy internals than externals.
- Internals may perform better and receive the benefits of that performance. In situations where rewards follow performance, internals are likely to be more satisfied.
- Internals tend to advance faster and receive more increases than externals. More frequent promotions and salary increases should be expected to lead to greater satisfaction. Organisational level has been shown to be positively correlated with satisfaction, although direction of causality has not been established.
- Cognitive consistency theory would predict that people who have perceived personal control to leave the situation and who choose to stay will tend to re-evaluate the situation favourably to retain consistency between their attitudes and behaviour.

Internals who perceive more control and ability to leave are more likely to leave in dissatisfying situations. If they perceive the opportunity to leave but do not, they will be under some internal cognitive pressure to evaluate the job situation as favourable in order to retain consistency between their attitudes

and behaviour. Internals who perceive more control and ability to leave are more likely to leave in dissatisfying situations. If they perceive the opportunity to leave but do not, they will be placed under some internal cognitive pressure to evaluate the job situation as favourable. In this way they will be justifying their behaviour. Externals who perceive no options are under external constraints only to stay on the job and experience little pressure to change their job attitudes in a positive direction (Spector, 1982: 490).

Research indicates that internals are satisfied with their jobs compared to externals (Gemmill and Heisler, 1972; Organ and Greene, 1974; Garson and Stanwyck, 1997; Judge et al, 1998; Mitchell, Smyser & Weed, 1975). Greater job satisfaction was reported among policemen who reported an internal locus of control compared to those with an external locus of control (Lester and Genz, 1978). Singh (1978) according to Spector (1982: 484) also found a greater job satisfaction among nurses who reported an internal locus of control. Studies by (Andrisani and Nestel, 1976; Mitchell, Smyser & Weed, 1975) found internals to be more satisfied than externals in their jobs.

For overall job satisfaction the findings are consistent. On the other hand, for specific job aspects the findings are different. Dailey (1978) conducted a study on engineers and scientists and found that internals reported less satisfaction with colleagues compared to externals.

A study conducted by Rothmann and Agathagelou (2000) revealed that job dissatisfaction was experienced amongst police personnel who had an external locus of control. The reason being “externals” feel dissatisfied when given the opportunity to use their ability in conducting their work, when the job is not in line with their principles and values. This finding could be explained by the fact that “externals” find the outcomes of their behaviour is influenced by forces that are not in their control. They do not feel empowered to use their abilities in conducting their work. They may accept work that goes against their principles but feel powerless to bring about change. Pretorius and Rothmann (2001:29) posit that “internals” who ascribed achievement to events under their control, experience job satisfaction compared to individuals

who feel they have no control over events determining their achievements. “Externals” who feel they have control over events determining their achievements, tend to experience job satisfaction. Individuals with a low external locus of control tend to experience job satisfaction with most components of job satisfaction, except ability, recognition and variety. There is therefore a negative relationship between external locus of control and job satisfaction. Spector (1986) asserts that control of workers is associated with high levels of job dissatisfaction, prestige and motivation. Rahim and Psenicka (1996) discovered that individuals with an external locus of control are unable to handle pressure, uncertainty and challenges of a demanding work environment. The result is that an internal locus of control is associated with job satisfaction, while an external locus of control is associated with job dissatisfaction.

4.9. Locus of control and work characteristics in call centres

There are certain work characteristics that are found in call centres. These will be elaborated upon. The relationship between these work characteristics and locus of control will be focused upon.

There are different types of call centres. Certain call centres expect their agents to follow a given script and the agent is not allowed to use his or her discretion in resolving client queries effectively. These agents also lack control over their jobs. In retrospect, certain call centres hire semi-professional agents. These agents are given more latitude in resolving customer queries. They thus have more control over their tasks and the environment within which they operate. The factors upon which control attempts to focus would be determined by the possible rewards each carried and the constraints within the organisational setting. Internals perform better in learning and problem-solving situations due to the fact that they are better able to use information (Phares, 1976). Internals also tend to exert more effort toward collecting relevant information and they also exhibit more

generalised expectancies of environmental control. Therefore, internals would be more responsive than externals when suitable performance-reward contingencies are presented. Externals tend to be more conforming and compliant than internals. Internals tend to focus upon themselves for direction, whereas externals focus on others. Externals tend to be more compliant followers or subordinates than internals, who tend to be independent and resist control by supervisors and other people.

The nature of a job within the context of the organisational factors and demands would determine whether an internal or external would be suited for the position. When the job requires complex information processing and frequent complex learning, internals are expected to perform better. For simple tasks however, the performance differentials disappear. When tasks or organisational demands require initiative and independence of action, the internal would be more suitable in such a position. Internals are more suitable for highly technical or skilled jobs, professional jobs and managerial or supervisory jobs (Spector, 1982: 484). Tasks in certain call centres are very simple and do not require initiative in call centres that make use of scripts that agents need to follow when interacting with customers. Agents are not expected to resolve difficult queries as they may be transferred to a supervisor or an individual with more technical knowledge than the agent. In the more advanced call centres that hire technical professionals however, the case is different. Agents need more technical knowledge and they need to be skilled at handling customer queries.

Kimmons and Greenhaus (1976) reported that from their generalized expectancies, internals and externals differ in their perceptions of job characteristics as well as in their reactions to those characteristics. Due to the fact that internals perceive more personal control over their environment, they tend to perceive the job as offering more autonomy. In addition, due to the fact that internals are more sensitive to information in the environment, they report more feedback on the job.

Role strain and role ambiguity are two variables that play a vital role in call centres and which lead to dissatisfaction. Gemmill and Heisler (1972) found a low correlation between job strain (uncertainty of promotion, ambiguity of supervisors' evaluations, a very heavy work load, too little authority and so on) and locus of control. Internals experienced less strain compared to externals. Organ and Greene (1974) found that task ambiguity did not affect internals at all. On the other hand Evans (1974) found a negative correlation between Internal-External scale and role ambiguity. Call centre agents tend to experience tremendous amounts of role ambiguity. This is the case especially when they have to follow a script and the customer has other queries. Considering the agent is not allowed to deviate from the script and at the same time complete the call within a set time limit places a tremendous strain on the agent.

Chapter 5

Self-Determination

“To be self-determined is to endorse one’s actions at the highest level of reflection. When self-determined people experience a sense of freedom to do what is interesting, personally important, and vitalizing.” Deci and Ryan (1985) in Psych.rochester. edu (2004).

5.1. Introduction

A brief introduction of different theories of self-determination will be discussed. Thereafter, a brief discussion of how these theories and concepts link with the concept of self-determination will be focused upon.

Deci and Ryan (1985: 5) state that together with the recognition of a need for a concept like intrinsic motivation, psychologists are finding it difficult to come to grips with concepts such as volition, autonomy and choice. The direction of behaviour was usually attributed to stimuli and responses. The psychoanalytic theory of motivation focused on unconscious urges. The behavioural theory on motivation focused on stimulus-response associations that developed through reinforcement (drive-reduction) processes. In both theories, behaviour is seen to be mechanistic because choice and intentions are viewed as playing a secondary role (psychoanalytic) or no role (behavioural) in the determination of behaviour.

The study of volition and self-direction developed in psychodynamic psychology. Shapiro (1981) in Deci and Ryan (1985: 6) believes drives and impulses do not provide an adequate theory of action. The reason being, there exists a need for a concept of self-direction encompassing conscious processes such as imagining future outcomes to account for the wide range of

volitional activities that are observed. The vital issue for self-direction is flexibility in psychological structure that allows a person's attitudes to direct action toward the effective achievement of a person's aims.

Empirical psychology replaced stimulus-response associations with choice and decision making in order to explain the direction of behaviour. Heider (1958) in Deci and Ryan (1985: 7) believed that personally caused actions can have either an internal perceived locus of causality (a person's interest and desires are regarded as initiating behaviour) or an external perceived locus of causality (an external event is experienced as initiating behaviour) (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 7).

Deci and Ryan (1985: 7) maintain that their work on self-determination has been influenced to a major extent by each of the above-mentioned theories or developments. The self-determination theory of Deci and Ryan is motivational rather than cognitive. The reason being, it focuses on the energy and direction of behaviour and uses motivational constructs to organise cognitive, affective and behavioural variables. The influence of the perceived locus-of-causality construct has made Deci and Ryan's theory to differ from the cognitive theories in its assertion that only some intentional behaviour, (those with an internal perceived locus of causality) are chosen. It therefore allows for the exploration of the interplay between self-determined and non-self-determined behaviours and processes (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 7).

It follows that Self-determination theory (SDT) is a macro-theory of human motivation dealing with the development and functioning of personality in social contexts. The theory's focus is on the extent to which human behaviours are self-determined. That is the extent to which people engage in actions at the highest level of reflection and choose to follow through with these actions (Psych.rochester.edu, 2004).

One of the aspects that will be discussed in this chapter is the concept of self-determination. A detailed explanation will be given of this concept. The need for self-determination as well as intrinsic motivation will be focused upon. The

cognitive evaluation, the organismic integration, the causality orientations and the basic needs theories which are the theories of self-determination will each be dealt with in turn. Deci's intrinsic motivation concept will be criticised briefly. The concept of self-determination will be discussed in terms of job satisfaction and locus of control. Self-determination in organisations will be discussed in terms of aspects such as the interpersonal context, individual differences and how it relates to call centres.

5.2. Self-Determination

Intrinsic motivation assumes that individuals are active organisms working to master their internal and external environments and has led to an examination of the importance of self-determination in a wide range of human behaviours and experiences. Self-determination is vital in the development and exercise of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. Self-determination permits a refined and elaborated conception of extrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motivation refers to behaviour where the reason for doing it is something other than an interest in the activity itself. Such behaviour may however to a greater or lesser extent be something the individual feels pressured to do versus want to do. Extrinsically motivated behaviour may range from being determined by controls to being determined more by choices based on one's own values and desires. In the latter instance it would be more self-determined (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 35).

Self-determination is built on concepts such as volition, intentionality or will. James (1890) focused on volition and presented a theory of will. Since that time psychology started focusing on nonvolitional theories and these concepts were no longer considered. Around the middle of last century, two vital developments occurred that started to set the stage for self-determination to be contemplated. Firstly, many theories suggested basic tendencies for the developmental movement from heteronomy toward autonomy in the determination of behaviour. Secondly, the cognitive movement shifted

attention from associative bonds to decisions as the main concept in the directionality of behaviour (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 36).

Maslow (1943: 374) used the concept of self-actualization where individuals seek to actualize their potential, to become all they are capable of becoming and to be autonomous in their functioning. Loevinger (1976) in Deci and Ryan (1985: 37) states the theory of ego development used a structural perspective and outlined the stages through which one moves in the developmental progression toward more unified, autonomous functioning. Shapiro (1981) in Deci and Ryan (1985: 37) focused on the psychoanalytical perspective viewed autonomy in terms of the flexibility of psychological structures. Focusing mainly on the rigid structures that interfere with autonomy, Shapiro (1981) highlighted the concept of autonomy and its significance for understanding qualities of the ego's adaptation.

Lewin (1951) and Tolman (1932) in Deci and Ryan (1985: 38) focused on cognitive aspects and argued in favour of intentionality and will as vital motivational constructs. The result was expectancy theories of motivation that focused on the determinants of behavioural decision making and empirical studies of control that focused on the importance of control over one's outcomes. Both these developments in the cognitive movement are based on the assumption that behaviour is a function of one's expectations about future outcomes. Therefore the aspect of whether one has control over outcomes is vital.

A lot of research has been conducted on the positive effects of enhanced perceived control over outcomes. A study by Glass and Singer (1972) and Miller (1980) in Deci and Ryan (1985: 38) showed that when individuals believe they have or can gain control over aversive events within their environment, they perform more effectively than when they believe they cannot. A lack of perceived control leads to feelings of helplessness, in which case individuals display increased emotional and impaired learning and performance (Hiroto, 1974; Hiroto & Seligman, 1975; Seligman, 1968; Seligman, 1975). Most studies reveal that greater perceived control over

one's outcomes tends to be associated with many positive effects. Some studies reveal that perceived control can have negative consequences (Averill, 1973).

In order to be self-determining in terms of outcomes, individuals need to have control over outcomes. Having control however does not ensure self-determination. When individuals feel pressured to achieve certain outcomes or when they feel pressured to exercise control, they are not self-determined. Self-determination implies that individuals experience choice. Individuals will either choose to exercise control and are free in terms of the outcomes that are attained or when they choose to give up control. In both cases positive effects will result. On the other hand when individuals experience having to be in control or having to attain certain outcomes (when they are not self-determining), the result will be negative, just as they are when individuals are unable to gain control (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 38).

Cognitive theories, by introducing concepts of behavioural decision making (intentionality) and control over outcomes, allowed for the following aspects to be considered: Namely, that only some intended behaviours (those with an internal perceived locus of causality) are self-determined and having control over outcomes does not ensure self-determination. Self-determination is the capacity to choose and these choices should be the determinants of one's actions. Self-determination is also regarded as a need. Organisms tend to engage in interesting behaviour which has the benefit of developing competencies and working toward a flexible accommodation in the service of one's self-determination. This tendency toward adequate accommodation in the service of one's self-determination is pivotal to the development of extrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 38).

Figure 5.1 Relationship among Locus of Control, Locus-of-Causality and Helplessness concepts

	Locus of Control (Rotter, 1966)	Locus of Causality (Heider, 1958 Deci, 1975)	Helplessness (Seligman, 1975)
Behaviour and outcomes are Helplessness independent	External control	Impersonal causality	
Behaviour and outcomes are dependent helplessness	Internal	Personal causality (External causality if motivated by external constraint or reward)	Not

(Deci, 1980: 124)

5.3. Organismic Theory

Deci and Ryan (1985: 8) states according to Blasi (1976), the organismic theory assumes that people act on their internal and external environments in order to be effective and to satisfy all their needs. Behaviour in this process is influenced by internal structures that are constantly elaborated and refined to reflect ongoing experiences. Intrinsic motivation is therefore the energy for the activity and for the development of the internal structure. The cognizance of which highlights not all behaviours are drive-based nor are they a function of external controls. The crucial characteristics of an organismic approach in psychology are the assumptions of activity or being proactively involved in one's environment and an internal structure with innate principles of coherence or unity.

Deci and Ryan (1985: 8) point out that Deci (1980) argues that although the human organism is inherently active and disposed toward the development of

an internal, unified structure of self, it is also vulnerable to being passive and to developing fractionated structures. It is through these weaknesses that the organism becomes conditioned and through which its psychological functioning becomes rigid.

Self Determination Theory is based on an organismic-dialectical meta-theory. According to this theory individuals are active organisms, who have intrinsic tendencies to develop and grow psychologically. Individuals also have to be able to handle challenges and to combine their experiences into a coherent sense of self. In order for this to occur support is needed from the social environment. The social context can either support or impede the natural tendencies toward active engagement and psychological growth. Thus, it is the interaction between the individual and the social context that is vital for this theory's predictions about behaviour, experience, and development. The guidelines for healthy development and functioning are specified using the concept of basic psychological needs, which are innate, universal and vital for health and well-being. Basic psychological needs are a natural part of individuals despite gender, race or culture. Individuals, whose needs are satisfied, will function effectively and develop in a healthy way. People whose needs are impeded do not function optimally (Psych.rochester.edu, 2004).

5.4. The need for Self-determination

Due to the fact that self-determination or freedom from control is crucial for intrinsic motivation to be effective, many theorists have suggested that intrinsically motivated activity is based on the need for self-determination. For example, Deci and Ryan (1985: 29) state that De Charms (1968) suggested that intrinsically motivated behaviours result from a wish to experience personal causation. De Charms (1968: 269) states that "man's primary motivational propensity is to be effective in producing changes in his environment. Man strives to be a causal agent, to be the primary locus of

causation for, or the origin of, his behaviour; he strives for personal causation.”

This basic drive to be in control of one’s fate is a causal factor in all motivated behaviour, although it is a pivotal force only for intrinsically motivated behaviour. “Whenever a person experiences himself to be the locus of causality for his own behaviour ... he will consider himself to be intrinsically motivated. Conversely, when a person perceives the locus of causality to be external to himself... he will consider himself to be extrinsically motivated...” (DeCharms, 1968: 328 in Deci & Ryan, 1985: 30).

The hypothesis of a basic motivational tendency for self-determination is related to the hypothesis of a need for effectance. Deci and Ryan (1985: 30) state, Angyal (1941) posits, human development can be characterized by a desire for more autonomy. The desire for more autonomy depends to an extent on the continual acquisition of a variety of competencies. In order to be self-determining, a person needs to possess the skills to manage different elements of the environment. Otherwise the person will be controlled by these elements. Research has revealed that individuals have a need to experience control over their environment or their outcomes. Although the need for control is not the same as the need for self-determination, the former is relevant to the latter. Studies that focused on individuals’ desires or need to control the environment showed individuals have more control than they actually do. This was in situations where controllability cues were present (Langer, 1975: 313). Individuals have such a strong desire for control that they even project it into situations where they actually do not possess it. Deci (1980) asserts that the intrinsic need that was effective for subjects in the different control studies was not a need to control the environment but a need to be self-determining. That is, to have a choice. The need for self-determination sometimes manifests as a need to control the environment. There is however a significant difference between the concepts, control and self-determination. Control implies there is a contingency between a person’s behaviour and the outcomes the person receives. Self-determination on the other hand deals with the experience of freedom in initiating one’s behaviour.

An individual will have control when one's behaviour reliably yield intended outcomes. This does not ensure self-determination because the individual's behaviour would be determined by outcomes rather than choices even when the individual would be said to have control. An individual needs control over outcomes to be self-determined in attaining them but the need is for self-determination rather than control. People also want a choice about whether to be in control. In certain call centres, agents do not have the freedom in initiating behaviour that will be suitable toward the customer. Many call centre agents have to follow certain scripts. When the customer has a query that falls outside the range of the script the agent is at a loss. The customer is then transferred to another person who has more knowledge on the particular query.

Support of the idea that the need for self-determination is fundamental to intrinsic motivation is due to research that confirms that the opportunity to be self-determining enhances intrinsic motivation and denial of the opportunity to be self-determining undermines it. Brehm (1966) states, when individuals perceive their freedom to be threatened, they experience reactance, which is the motivation to restore the threatened freedom. Wortman and Brehm (1975) in Deci and Ryan (1985: 32) mentioned, with prolonged denial of freedom, the reactance motivation will decrease and the individual will fall into amotivation: the individual will feel helpless and effectiveness will decrease. Research reveals that the need for self-determination is a vital motivator that is involved with intrinsic motivation and is closely related to the need for competence. It is not only the need for competence alone that underlies intrinsic motivation but the need for self-determined competence.

5.5 Intrinsic Motivation

Deci (1980: 34) states intrinsic motivation is innate to humans and develops in a systematic way. Intrinsic motivation deals with the innate, organismic needs for competence and self-determination. It invigorates a wide range of

behaviours and psychological processes for which the basic rewards are the experiences of effectance and autonomy. Intrinsic needs are intrinsic to the individual and function as a vital energizer of behaviour. The intrinsic needs for competence and self-determination motivate an ongoing process of searching and trying to overcome optimal challenges. When individuals are free from the intrusion of drives and emotions, they search situations that interest them that require the use of their creativity and resourcefulness. People tend to search for challenges that suit their competencies. When an individual finds an optimal challenge, the person will work to surmount it in a persistent manner (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 34).

Emotions are related to intrinsic motivation. Individuals tend to approach activities that interest them. The emotions of enjoyment and excitement accompanying the experiences of competence and autonomy represent the rewards for intrinsically motivated behaviour. When individuals are intrinsically motivated they experience interest and enjoyment. They experience a feeling of competence, self-determination and they perceive the locus of causality for their behaviour to be internal. In as far as individuals are working under pressure, feeling anxious and working with great urgency, there is some extrinsic motivation involved. Their self-esteem may be on the line, there may be deadlines to meet or some material reward is involved. In many call centres agents tend to work under time constraints. As soon as the call centre agent is done with one call there is no time for any breaks because the next call comes through. Call centre agents are constantly placed under tremendous pressure to complete calls within a set time, failing which the agent is reprimanded. Intrinsic motivation is inferred when an individual performs the activity in the absence of a reward contingency or control. Secondly, we at times focus on the quality of performance or of outcomes as indicators of intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation has been associated with greater creativity, flexibility and spontaneity, the presence of these characteristics can signify intrinsic motivation. Call centre agents are not given the opportunity to be flexible and spontaneous within certain work environments. Supervisors frown upon call centre agents who are creative and spontaneous. On the other hand, call centres that employ graduates

allow the agents to be creative and flexible in their approach toward customer queries. Lastly, higher levels of perceived competence and self-determination also imply intrinsic motivation and can be useful measures, especially when used in combination with other measures (Deci and Ryan, 1985: 34).

A study by Shalley and Oldham (1985: 637) revealed that both goal difficulty and evaluative context influence intrinsic motivation. They found that people who are given an easy goal and expected a performance evaluation displayed high intrinsic motivation. On the other hand, those in the remaining experimental conditions, (easy goal/no evaluation, hard goal/evaluation and hard goal/no evaluation) displayed low intrinsic motivation. These results can be explained according to cognitive evaluation theory which states that perceptions of external constraint and information suggesting low task competence decrease intrinsic motivation. On the other hand, attributions of personal causation and positive competence information, increases intrinsic motivation. Shalley, Oldham and Porac (1987: 554) assert that goal difficulty and external evaluation influence intrinsic motivation mainly through their effect on the information concerning competence people receive. Therefore, high intrinsic motivation was displayed in the easy goal/evaluation condition because most people attained the goal and therefore expected positive feedback from an external evaluator regarding their competence. However, low intrinsic motivation was displayed in the difficult goal conditions because most people were not able to attain their goal and expected no positive feedback regarding their own competence. People in the easy goal/no evaluation condition also displayed low intrinsic motivation due to the fact they did not anticipate positive feedback from an external evaluator.

According to Deci and Ryan in Steers and Porter (1991: 47) in order to be truly intrinsically motivated the individual needs to feel free from pressures, such as rewards or contingencies. Intrinsic motivation will only be operational when action is experienced as autonomous and it is unlikely to function under conditions where controls and reinforcements are experienced.

5.6 Theories of self-determination

The self-determination theory of Deci and Ryan (2002) comprises of four mini theories. Each of these theories will be dealt with separately.

5.6.1 The cognitive evaluation theory

The intrinsic-extrinsic distinction provided the basis for experiments within the field. Research started with the question of how extrinsic rewards would affect an individual's intrinsic motivation for an interesting activity. Thus if an individual was involved in an activity freely without being rewarded and found it highly interesting and enjoyable, the individual would be intrinsically motivated. Initial studies on rewards (Deci, 1971; Kruglanski, Friedman & Zeevi, 1971; Lepper, Greene & Nisbett, 1973) found that tangible rewards, whether concrete (in terms of money) or symbolic (such as good player awards) decreased intrinsic motivation as long as an individual expected it and their receipt requires engaging in the activity. Deci's initial studies revealed that positive feedback (such as verbal rewards or praise) increased rather than undermined intrinsic motivation. A meta-analysis of 128 experiments revealed that expected tangible rewards that required engaging in the target activity tends to undermine intrinsic motivation for that activity. On the other hand, verbal rewards tend to increase intrinsic motivation (Deci, Koestner & Ryan, 1999).

5.6.1.1 Perceived causality and perceived competence

Cognitive evaluation theory which expanded on deCharms' analysis of perceived locus of causality, was at first formulated to account for reward effects on intrinsic motivation and other results that extended these phenomena. The theory posits that the needs for competence and autonomy are essentially involved in intrinsic motivation and contextual events, such as

the offer of a reward, providing positive feedback or imposing a deadline. These are likely to affect intrinsic motivation to the extent that they are experienced as supporting as opposed to thwarting satisfaction of these needs (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 11).

Deci and Ryan (1980) maintained there are two fundamental cognitive processes through which contextual factors affect intrinsic motivation. Change in perceived locus of causality deals with the need for autonomy. When an event stimulates a change in perceptions toward a more external locus, intrinsic motivation will be undermined. Whereas, when an event stimulates a change toward a more internal perceived locus, intrinsic motivation will be increased. Tangible rewards which are found to diminish intrinsic motivation, was theorized to have their effect by prompting a shift toward a more external perceived locus of causality for the rewarded activity. Change in perceived competence deals with the need for competence. When an event increases perceived competence, intrinsic motivation will tend to increase. When an event decreases perceived competence, intrinsic motivation will be undermined. According to Cognitive Evaluation theory, positive feedback is regarded as increasing intrinsic motivation only when individuals feel a sense of autonomy with regards to the activity for which they perceive themselves to be competent (Fisher, 1978; Ryan, 1982).

Deci and Ryan (1985: 58) posit that activities which are trivial or simple and provide no challenge are not expected to be intrinsically interesting even if the individual perceives him/herself to be competent. Also, for perceived competence to affect intrinsic motivation, the perceived competence needs to exist within the context of some perceived self-determination. That is, when an individual does well or poorly at an activity, that performance will affect intrinsic motivation only insofar as the individual does not experience the level of performance to be completely constrained by the situation. Shapira (1976: 1237) discovered that college students chose easy tasks in order to gain rewards. In the absence of rewards these students chose more challenging tasks. Danner and Lonky (1981: 1044) also found that children preferred tasks that were more challenging. Harter (1974, 1978) found that children

were happy at working on moderately difficult tasks. McMullin and Steffen (1982) also discovered that when subjects worked on tasks that got more difficult on each trial, they displayed more subsequent intrinsic motivation. For an activity to be interesting, so that positive feedback will increase subjects' intrinsic motivation for it, the activity needs to be optimally challenging. Deci (1971: 108) reported subjects who receive positive verbal feedback from the experimenter, were intrinsically motivated. Fisher (1978: 285) also discovered that there was a correlation between competence and intrinsic motivation when the individual was personally responsible for then intrinsic motivation is enhanced (Sherman & Smith, 1984: 877).

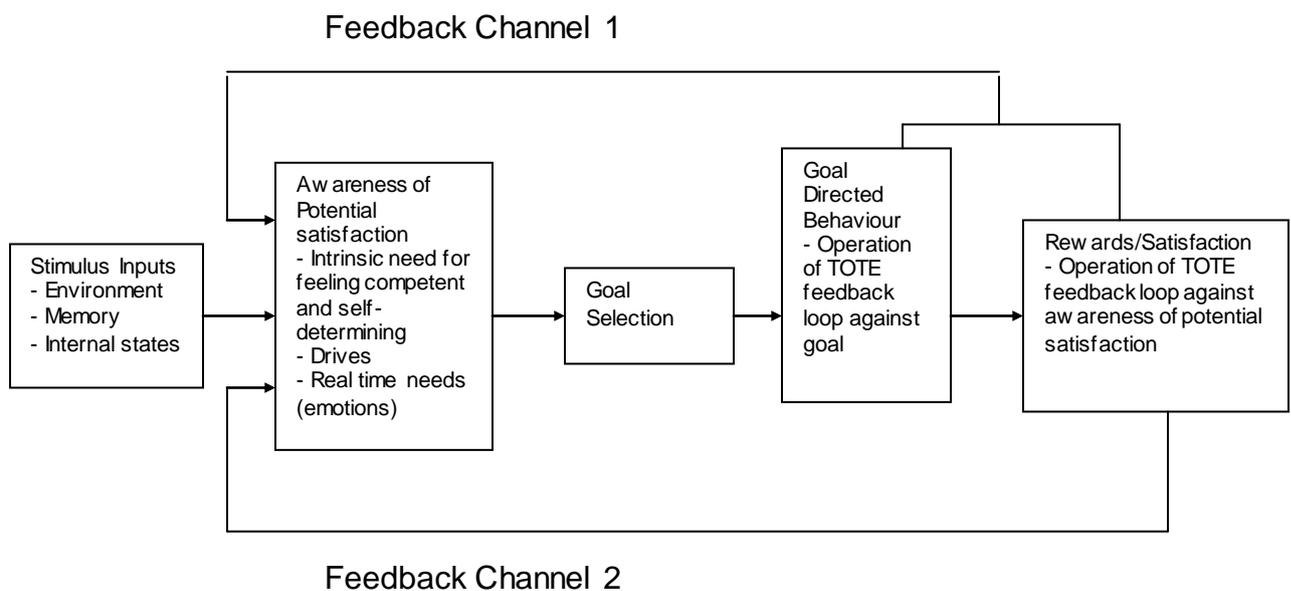
According to the Cognitive Evaluation theory, both the controlling and informational aspects are contained in the contextual events. It is the importance of these two aspects of social contexts that determine the effects of the context on perceptions of causality and competence and therefore on intrinsic motivation. The controlling aspects of social environments represent pressure toward specific outcomes and thus lead to a shift toward a more external perceived locus of causality. This will therefore undermine intrinsic motivation. The informational aspect of social contexts deals with effectance-relevant inputs. This is especially true of feedback regarding an individual's successful completion of tasks. People will interpret social-contextual inputs in terms of their informational and controlling meanings. It is the relative importance of informational compared to controlling components that will ascertain intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 12).

Most of the studies on intrinsic motivation have focused on the weakening of intrinsic motivation when the controlling aspect of an event is significant. Studies on threats of punishment (Deci & Cascio, 1972), deadlines (Amabile, DeJong & Lepper, 1976) imposed goals (Mossholder, 1980), surveillance (Lepper & Greene, 1975; Plant & Ryan, 1985), competition (Deci, Betley, Kahle, Abrahams & Porac, 1981) and evaluation (Smith, 1975; Ryan, 1982) all diminished intrinsic motivation because they were regarded as controls (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 64). Zuckerman, Porac, Lathin, Smith and Deci (1978: 443) and Swann and Pittman (1977: 1130) argued that when an individual

had a choice about what to do or how do the job, intrinsic motivation will increase. Koestner, Ryan, Bernieri and Holt (1984: 239) found that empathy and not controlling the worker, maintains intrinsic motivation. Deci and Cascio (1972) in Deci and Ryan (2002: 18) discovered negative feedback undermining intrinsic motivation. Vallerand and Reid (1984: 99) discovered negative feedback resulting in a decrease in perceived competence.

The following diagram illustrates the Deci’s cognitive evaluation theory which equates intrinsic motivation with Heider’s (1958) concept of perceived locus of causality.

Figure 5.2 A schematic representation of a cognitive system of intrinsically and extrinsically motivated behaviour



(Deci, 1975: 132).

5.6.1.2 Social contexts and internal events

Although aspects such as rewards, deadlines or positive feedback tend to have a particular functional importance, the interpersonal climate within which it is administered can have a major influence on it. Therefore, for example,

when positive feedback is given in an environment where workers are expected to perform well, the feedback can be seen as controlling (Ryan, 1982: 454). Ryan, Mims and Koestner (1983: 741) assert that when tangible rewards are given in a non-evaluative context that supports autonomy, they tend not to undermine the individual. Later studies revealed that limit setting had very different effect depending on whether the interpersonal context was informational or controlling (Koestner, Ryan, Bernieri & Holt, 1984: 246). Competition can also be experienced as either informational or controlling, depending on the interpersonal climate (Reeve & Deci, 1996: 29). The second vital extension of Cognitive Evaluation theory deals with internal initiating events. Ryan (1982: 445) believed that individuals can commence and regulate their actions in different ways that are independent of the social context within which they operate. Thus, for example, individuals can become ego-involved in an activity and its outcome. People's feelings of self-worth can become dependent upon their performance in such a way that they conduct the activity to prove to themselves that they are excellent at performing the activity and therefore worthy people. Ryan (1982: 446) contrasted this with task-involvement in which individuals tend to be more involved with the task itself rather than with its implications for their own feelings of worth. When the initiation and regulation of behaviour is ego-involved the functional importance will be controlling in comparison to when the initiation and regulation is task-involved (Plant & Ryan, 1985; Ryan, 1982). The Cognitive Evaluation theory posits that self-controlling forms of regulation will be associated with decrease in intrinsic motivation, whereas more autonomous forms of self-regulation will maintain or increase intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 13).

5.6.1.3 Relatedness

Intrinsic motivation is connected to the needs for competence and autonomy. Research indicates that aspects of the social context which influence perceptions of competence and autonomy affect intrinsic motivation. Research indicates that the concept of relatedness plays a role in intrinsic

motivation. In a study by Anderson, Manoogian and Reznick (1976) found that when children worked on an interesting task in the presence of an unknown adult experimenter who ignored them, the children displayed a low level of intrinsic motivation. There are some interpersonal activities for which satisfaction of the need for relatedness is vital for maintaining intrinsic motivation, although it does not play a pivotal role in intrinsic motivation as does competence and autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

5.6.1.4 Constraints and other extrinsic factors

Lepper and Greene (1975: 480) focused upon the effects of surveillance on the intrinsic motivation of preschool children for solving puzzles. The results showed that the surveillance led to a major undermining of intrinsic motivation. Davey, Alafat, Wetherill and Kramer (1980) also found in their study that direct surveillance by another individual diminishes children's intrinsic motivation for a play activity.

It is natural to assume that due to the fact that surveillance being experienced as controlling and leading to a perception of external causality, deadlines would also follow the same procedure. Amabile, DeJong and Lepper (1976: 96) found that deadlines decreased the subjects' intrinsic motivation tremendously.

As far as an individual's work is critically evaluated by an external agent, it is possible that the individual may lose a sense of self-determination and experience a shift in perceived locus of causality. Evaluations tend to determine whether employees are complying with external demands. Evaluations tend to signify external control and to undermine intrinsic motivation. Smith (1974) conducted a study on college students and discovered that evaluation although positive undermined intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 55). Amabile (1979: 222) also discovered that performance evaluation had a detrimental effect on employees' creativity. Thus, when some aspect of the situation begins to control the individual, to

redirect the individual's attention away from the task and to interfere with the person's freedom to engage in the task, will decrease the individual's intrinsic motivation for the task.

5.6.2 Organismic Integration Theory

Organismic theories are built around two notions. Firstly, that behaviour is regulated in part by internal structures that are elaborated through experience. Secondly, that people are active by nature (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 113).

Internal structures tend to develop toward greater elaboration and unity. The more elaborated unified structures become the basis of more effective and autonomous functioning. The dual processes underlying this progress toward increasingly refined and holistic structures are the differentiation of substructures and their integration into the larger unified structure. Together it is known as the organismic integration process (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 116).

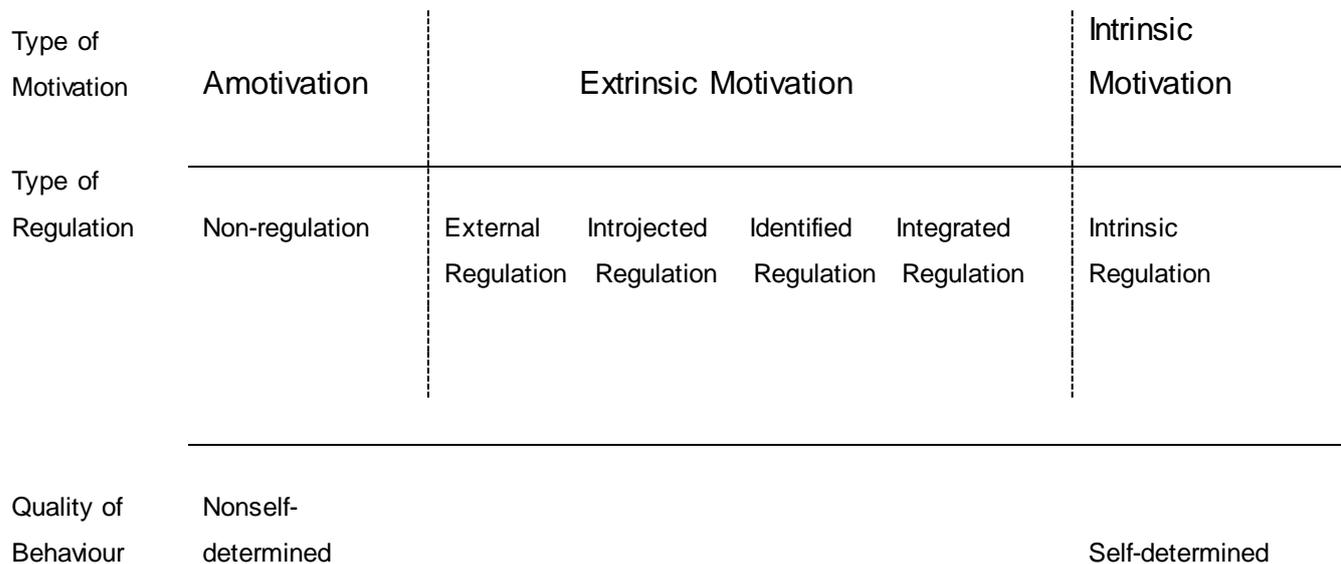
5.5.2.2 Internalization

Organismic integration theory is based on the assumption that individuals are naturally inclined to integrate their ongoing experiences. When external prompts are used by significant others or significant reference groups to encourage individuals to perform an uninteresting activity (an activity for which they are intrinsically motivated), the tendency for these individuals will be to internalize the activity's initially external regulation. That is, the individual will absorb the regulation and integrate it within a sense of self. To the extent that this happens, the individual would be autonomous when performing this extrinsically motivated behaviour. Internalization is therefore a natural process in which individuals work to actively transform external regulation into self-regulation becoming more integrated in the process (Schafer, 1968).

Unlike other theories the Organismic Integration theory views internalization in terms of a continuum. The more fully a regulation is internalized, the more it becomes part of the integrated self and the more it is the basis for self-determined behaviour. It is possible for people to internalize regulations without having them become part of the self. Regulations taken in by a person but not integrated with the self would not be the basis for autonomous self-regulation but would instead function more as controllers of behaviour. Therefore, extrinsically motivated behaviour for which the regulations have been internalized to various extents would differ in their relative autonomy. Those for which the regulations have been well integrated would be the basis for autonomous extrinsically motivated behaviour. For those for which the regulations have been less fully internalized would be the basis for more controlled forms of extrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 15).

Organismic Integration theory has taxonomy of types of regulation for extrinsic motivation which differ to the extent to which they represent autonomy. The following figure presents the taxonomy, arranged from left to right according to the extent to which the motivation for a behaviour originate from the self (that is, autonomous).

Figure 5.3 The self-determination continuum with types of motivation and types of regulation.



(Deci & Ryan, 2002: 16)

On the left side of the diagram is amotivation. That is the state of lacking the intention to act. When individuals are amotivated, they will either not act at all or they will act passively. That is they will follow through the motions with no sense of intending to do what they are doing. Individuals feel amotivated as a result of feeling they are unable to achieve desired outcomes because they lack contingency (Rotter, 1966) or they lack perceived competence (Bandura, 1977; Deci, 1975) or they do not value the activity or the outcomes it would yield (Ryan, 1995: 419).

The rest of the points on the continuum refer to the classification of motivated behaviour. They each describe a theoretically, experientially and functionally discrete type of regulation. Intrinsic motivation which is at the right end of the continuum deals with the state of conducting an activity out of interest and intrinsic satisfaction. It is the archetype of autonomous or self-determined behaviour. Extrinsically motivated behaviours, which are characterized by four types of regulation fall along the self-determination continuum between amotivation and intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 17).

5.5.2.2.1 External Regulation

External regulation is the least autonomous form of extrinsic motivation and includes the classic instance of being motivated to attain rewards or avoid punishment. External regulation is apparent when one's reason for behaving is to satisfy an external demand or a socially constructed contingency. External regulation has an external perceived locus of causality and is a form of extrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 17). Call centre agents tend to be under constant surveillance and as a result they try and avoid being reprimanded by supervisors. As a result they are constantly vigilant for incoming calls.

5.5.2.2.2 Introjected Regulation

Introjected regulation deals with an external regulation that has been internalized but not accepted as one's own in a true sense. It is a kind of extrinsic motivation that has been partly internalized, is within the individual but not part of the integrated self. Introjection is a form of internalized regulation that is theorized to be controlling. Introjection-based behaviours are performed to avoid guilt and shame or to accomplish ego enhancements and feelings of worth. This type of regulation is based in contingent self-esteem (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 136). Ryan (1982: 454) states that when ego-involvement is an outcome, which is a form of introjected regulation, individuals tend to lose intrinsic motivation for the target activity, thereby indicating this type of regulation is controlling.

5.5.2.2.3 Regulation through identification

Regulation through identification is a more self-determined type of extrinsic motivation because it deals with a conscious valuing of a behavioural goal or regulation, an acceptance of the behaviour as personally vital. Identification represents a vital aspect of the process of transforming external regulation

into actual self-regulation. When an individual identifies with an action or the value it communicates, the individual is at least at a conscious level personally endorsing it. In this way identifications tend to have a relatively internal perceived locus of causality. Self-determination theory suggests that some identification can be reasonably compartmentalized or separated from one's other beliefs and values, in which case it may not reflect the individual's values in a given situation. Nevertheless, relative to external and introjected regulations, behaviour that is as a result of identifications tends to be autonomous or self-determined (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 18).

5.5.2.2.4 Integrated regulation

Integrated regulation presents the foundation for the most autonomous form of extrinsically motivated behaviour. It is caused when identifications have been evaluated and brought into congruence with the personally sanctioned values, goals and needs that are already part of the self. Research revealed extrinsically motivated behaviours that are incorporated to be associated with more positive experiences than the less fully internalized forms of extrinsic motivation. Nevertheless, although behaviours managed by integrated regulations are performed volitionally, they are regarded as extrinsic due to the fact they are done to achieve personally vital outcomes rather than for their intrinsic interest and enjoyment. That is, they are influential to a distinguishable outcome whose value is incorporated with the self (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 18).

The relative autonomy continuum organizes types of regulation in terms of the concept of self-determination. It is possible for individuals to take in a regulation at any point along this continuum, when they have relevant previous experience and the immediate interpersonal climate is adequately supportive (Ryan, 1995). The scope of behaviours that can be incorporated to the self increases over time as a function of greater cognitive and ego developments. Research indicates that children's general regulatory style

tends to become more internalized with age (Chandler & Connell, 1987) in Deci and Ryan (2002: 19).

5.5.2.3 Promoting integrated regulations

Due to extrinsically motivated behaviours not being inherently interesting, individuals do not tend to do them if the behaviours are not important for a desired outcome. In the beginning these behaviours are usually triggered by significant others, whether with a simple request, the offer of a reward or the fact that others display their valuing of the activity by performing it regularly. Thus the dynamic involved in trigger for such behaviours include a significant other or group endorsing an action and in some way communicating their endorsement to the individual thus targeted. The individual, due to a relation with the other person or the group or a need to be related, is more likely to engage in such behaviour. The reason being the individual is seeking either implicit or explicit approval in so doing. This implies that the need for relatedness to others is pivotal for internalization. Organismic Integration theory states that supports for feelings for relatedness are vital for promoting internalization. A study by Ryan, Stiller and Lynch (1994) revealed that children who felt secure in their connection to and cared for by their parents and teachers tended to be more fully internalized the regulation for positive school-related behaviours. Relatedness is thus vital for promoting internalization (Deci & Ryan, 2002).

Relatedness alone is however not adequate to ensure total internalization of extrinsic motivation. Individuals will have to feel competent with regard to behaviours valued by significant others if they are to participate in and accept responsibility for those behaviours. Therefore, Organismic Integration theory maintains that support for competence will play a role in the facilitation of internalization and the ensuing self-regulation of extrinsically motivated activities. If individuals do not feel competent to perform a particular behaviour, the internalization of behaviour is unlikely to occur. In this case the

individual will find an excuse not to perform the behaviour even in the presence of a significant other (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 19).

Organismic Integration theory states that perceptions of autonomy play a pivotal role in the processes of internalization and integration. Support for autonomy is vital for determining whether the internalization that is endorsed by supports for relatedness and competence will only be fractional (as the case is regarding introjection) or will be much complete (as the case is regarding integration). Thus, although some internalization may result without autonomy support, the kind of internalization that will occur is persistence, flexibility and vitality. These factors that characterize self-determination will be apparent to the extent that supports for autonomy are present. Thus, to integrate the regulation of behaviour, individuals must comprehend its meaning for them personally and they need to fuse that meaning with other aspects of their psychic makeup. This kind of engagement with the activity and with the process of internalization is likely to happen when individuals experience a sense of choice, volition and freedom from external demands. For that reason autonomy support is the foundation for an individual's actively transforming a value and regulation into their own.

5.5.3 Causality Orientations Theory

The focus of self-determination theory has been mainly on the influence of social contexts both on motivation, behaviour and experience in a specific situation and on the development of personality over time. Cognitive evaluation theory focuses on the effects of specific social context of motivation, behaviour and experience. Organismic Integration theory on the other hand focuses more on the differentiation of extrinsic motivation according to internalization and on the influence of social contexts on the internalization of extrinsic motivation. More specifically, the latter theory asserts that different regulatory styles for extrinsically motivated behaviours are developmental outcomes and researchers have used those styles as

individual differences to forecast performance and well-being (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 21).

In Self-determination theory, it is assumed that an individual's motivation, behaviour and experience in a specific situation is a function of both the immediate social context and the individual's inner resources that have developed over time as a function of previous interactions with social contexts. Causality orientations theory was developed as a descriptive account of these inner resources. In other words, relatively stable individual differences in an individual's motivational orientations toward the social world (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 9).

The purpose of the causality orientations approach is to index aspects of personality that are broadly essential to the regulation of behaviour and experience. It specifies three orientations that differ in the extent to which they represent self-determination. That is the autonomous, controlled and impersonal causality orientations. People are assumed to have these orientations to an extent. The autonomy orientation entails regulating behaviour on the basis of interests and self-endorsed values. It operates to index an individual's general tendencies toward intrinsic motivation and well integrated extrinsic motivation. The controlled orientation deals with orienting toward controls and directives dealing with how one should behave and relates to external and introjected regulation. The impersonal orientation deals with focusing on indicators of ineffectance and not behaving intentionally. It deals with amotivation and lack of intentional action (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 21).

People get a score on the General Causality Orientations Scale (GCOS) on each of the three orientations revealing the strength of each general tendency for themselves. Deci and Ryan (1985) in their research found that the autonomy orientation was found to be positively related to self-actualization, self-esteem, ego development and other indicators of well being. The controlled orientation was related to public self-consciousness and the Type-A coronary prone behaviour pattern, meaning that the focus tends to be outward

and pressured. The impersonal orientation was related to self-derogation, low self-esteem and depression (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 170). Many researchers have related general causality orientations to specific regulatory styles, to behavioural outcomes, to aspects of personality and to well-being indicators.

5.5.4 Basic Needs Theory

In order for it to be regarded as a need, a motivating force must have a direct relation to well-being. When needs are satisfied, they result in well-being. On the other hand when needs are obstructed they lead to negative consequences. The fact that needs are regarded as universal, this relation between satisfaction and well-being must apply across ages, genders and cultures. The way in which needs are satisfied (versus obstructed) vary as a function of age, gender and culture. Therefore in an extreme case it is possible for the same behaviour to be need satisfying for one group and need obstructing for another. The process in which need satisfaction enhances health is regarded as the same across all these groups (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 22).

5.5.4.1 Well-being

Plenty of research has been conducted on the concept of well-being, although the concept has been treated in two different ways by different researchers. One approach focuses on hedonic or subjective well-being and links it to happiness (Kahneman, Diener & Schwarz, 1999). The other approach focuses on eudaimonic well-being and links it to being fully functioning (Ryff & Singer, 1998). The latter approach is favoured as far as self-determination concepts of Deci and Ryan are concerned. The reason being there is an empirical link between satisfaction of autonomy, competence and relatedness needs on the one hand and eudaimonic well-being on the other. A specific measure of eudaimonic well-being has not been used. Instead, several measures of positive affect and mental health to index the general organismic

concept involving individuals detecting their own vitality, psychological flexibility and deep inner sense of wellness are used (Ryan & Frederick, 1997; Deci, Ryan & Grolnick, 1995) according to Deci and Ryan (2002: 22).

5.5.4.2 Research on Basic Needs theory

Research on basic needs theory falls into three categories. Firstly, research has focused upon the within-person relations between experienced need satisfaction and well-being over time as well as the between-person relations. Secondly, studies have focused upon the relations between the pursuit and achievement of specific goal contents, on the one hand and well-being on the other. Whereas other theories do not differentiate goal content, implying a positive relation between the attainment of valued goals and well-being. Basic needs theory on the other hand suggests there will be a positive relation between goal attainment and well-being. This will only be for goals that satisfy basic psychological needs. Pursuit of certain valent goals may be negatively related to well-being if the goals distract individuals from satisfaction of the basic needs. Thirdly, one hypothesis of this theory is that need satisfaction will relate to well-being no matter the culture (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 23).

5.5.4.3 Need satisfaction and well-being

Two studies revealed that general satisfaction of each basic need contributed to general well-being and that daily satisfaction of each basic need explained daily fluctuations in well-being over time (Sheldon, Ryan & Reis, 1996; Reis, Sheldon, Gable, Roscoe & Ryan, 2000). In a between-person study, Kasser & Ryan (1999) found that satisfaction of needs for autonomy and relatedness in the daily lives of residents of a nursing home were positively related to their well-being and perceived health. Research also indicated workers' reports of satisfaction of the needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness in the workplace leads to psychological health.

5.5.4.4 Aspirations and basic needs

Kasser and Ryan (1993: 413) maintain there are two types of aspirations. Intrinsic aspiration that deal with direct satisfaction of basic needs and extrinsic aspirations that are related to obtaining external signs of worth and are less likely to provide direct need satisfaction. Kasser and Ryan (1996: 86) assert that due to the hypothesized links of intrinsic aspirations to basic need satisfaction, pursuit and attainment of those aspirations, compared to extrinsic aspirations, should be more strongly associated with well-being. Individuals may feel satisfied about attaining extrinsic aspirations. The theory maintains that pursuit and attainment of extrinsic aspiration will not contribute to eudaimonic well-being.

Kasser and Ryan (1993, 1996) discovered in their studies that the relative strength of intrinsic aspirations was positively related to well-being indicators, such as self-actualization and vitality and negatively related to anxiety, depression and physical symptoms. The index for the extrinsic aspirations showed the opposite pattern of relations. Studies also revealed that placing high value on extrinsic outcomes compared to intrinsic ones, resulted in poorer well-being. Kasser and Ryan (2001) according to Deci and Ryan (2002: 25) discovered that perceived current attainment of intrinsic aspirations was positively related to well-being but current attainment of extrinsic aspirations was not. Sheldon and Kasser (1998) found that attaining intrinsic goals increased well-being, whereas attainment of extrinsic goals did not lead to any benefit. Therefore, pursuing and attaining valued goals does not lead to well-being. The content of the goal makes a difference. This is due to certain goals (intrinsic) lead to more satisfaction, compared to others (extrinsic) that lead to less need satisfaction. The pursuit and attainment of extrinsic aspirations may focus attention away from need satisfaction by keeping individuals focused on goals that are not directly need related (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 25).

Basic needs theory maintains that extrinsic aspirations, which tend to be highly motivating, tend to develop as substitutes for basic needs under

developmental conditions in which need satisfaction is relatively unavailable (Deci, 1980). They are therefore able to provide collateral satisfaction but do not provide direct satisfaction of basic needs that are vital for promotion of well-being.

5.6 Criticism of Deci's intrinsic motivation concept

Deci (1975) argues that people who are paid to perform an interesting task tend to attribute their behaviour to external forces and this decreases their intrinsic interest in the task itself. Deci conducted many laboratory studies. In these studies subjects under divergent extents of contingent and noncontingent reward conditions engaged in a presumably interesting task. Thereafter behavioural measures of the subjects' intrinsic motivation were obtained. Although slight variations exist in each of Deci's studies, Deci found consistent differences between experimental and control groups on the dependent measures when rewards were given contingent upon desired behaviour. Deci interpreted these findings as support for deCharms' hypothesis that extrinsic rewards can decrease intrinsic motivation. Similar findings have been reported by other researchers (Greene & Lepper, 1974; Kruglanski, Alon & Lewis, 1972; Lepper & Greene, 1975; Lepper, Greene & Nisbett, 1973; Ross, 1975).

Deci's work has been criticized by many researchers (Calder & Staw, 1975; Notz, 1975; Salancik, 1975; Scott, 1975). Salancik (1975: 341) posits there are two procedural limitations to Deci's work. Firstly, Deci failed to report performance data as an indication of the difficulty of the task. Secondly, Deci relied on task persistence as the only dependent measure. In order to control for these limitations, Salancik (1975) tested the interaction effects of pay and level of performance of an interesting task by using an innovative road racing task. Salancik's (1975) results contradicted those of Deci's and suggested that subjects are less intrinsically motivated when the task is perceived as easy compared to ability.

Pate (1978: 509) states that another problem that exists is the scale and timing of Deci's rewards and the question of whether or not these rewards were expected by subjects. Lepper, Greene and Nisbett (1973) found in their research that intrinsic motivation may diminish only when extrinsic rewards are expected but Deci does not mention subjects' expectations in his research. Calder and Staw (1975) assert that Deci's conclusions concerning the effects of noncontingent rewards on intrinsic motivation are not justified by his data because Deci has basically verified the null hypothesis.

Arnold (1985: 885) conducted a study on volunteers. The results did not support the hypothesis that extrinsic rewards undermine intrinsic interests in tasks. The study found no difference in results between those who received no pay, those who received fixed pay and those whose pay depended upon performance. Phillips and Lord (1980) found the same results in their study.

5.7 Self-determination and job satisfaction

The notion that self-determination increases job satisfaction is not new and has been used under various names such as autonomy, job enrichment, participation and so forth. The concept of self-determination was not discovered by Deci but dates back to Argyris (1957) and Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman (1959). Many researchers including Hackman and Oldham (1980) have found a relation between job satisfaction and autonomy. Hall (2004: 10) states that self-determination is expected to improve job satisfaction. A sense of meaning is vital in order for individuals to feel satisfied at work. Having a job that allows for the fulfilment of one's desired work values is likely to increase job satisfaction. Low levels of meaning have been linked to feelings of apathy and lower job satisfaction (Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). Liden, Wayne and Sparrow (2000) posit that people who feel their jobs are significant and worthwhile experience greater job satisfaction compared to those who feel their jobs have little value.

Self-determination positively influences job satisfaction due to its effects on intrinsic motivation. People who have autonomy in determining their actions and behaviour find work more interesting and rewarding, thereby creating satisfaction with their jobs. Higher levels of autonomy increase the amount of intrinsic rewards from work (Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). Self-determination increases job satisfaction as accomplishments can be attributed to the individual and not other people (Liden et al, 2000). Empirical results show a positive relationship between self-determination and job satisfaction (Spreitzer, Kizilos & Nason, 1997).

Takahashi (2002) conducted a study on white collar workers in Japanese firms. The results of the study indicated that part-time workers had low self-determination compared to regular workers. On the other hand the job satisfaction of part-time workers was higher than that of regular workers. Takahashi (2002: 6) argues that part-time workers may experience job satisfaction not from feelings of self-determination but from extrinsic rewards. A necessary condition to diminish intrinsic motivation are rewards dependent not only on the high performance of the task but also the completion of an activity (Kruglanski, Friedman & Zeevi, 1971; Lepper, Greene & Nisbett, 1973). A salient reward is therefore a necessary condition under which an extrinsic reward may decrease intrinsic reward (Ross, 1975). Calder and Staw's research indicates that the introduction of money decreased satisfaction when the task was initially interesting. The introduction of money increased satisfaction when the task was initially neutral. Takahashi (2002: 6) therefore concludes that since part-time workers received salient rewards and their tasks were initially regarded as more neutral compared to regular workers, it was expected that together with a decrease in self-determination came an increase in job satisfaction.

O'Reilly and Caldwell (1980) conducted research on MBA graduates. They found that MBA graduates who based their job decisions on intrinsic factors reported relatively high levels of job satisfaction. MBA graduates who based

their job decisions on extrinsic factors did not experience such high levels of job satisfaction.

Ilardi, Leone, Kasser and Ryan (1993) found that the presence of job characteristics, conducive to intrinsic motivation predicted heightened employee job satisfaction while the presence of extrinsic factors did not.

5.8 Self-determination and locus of control

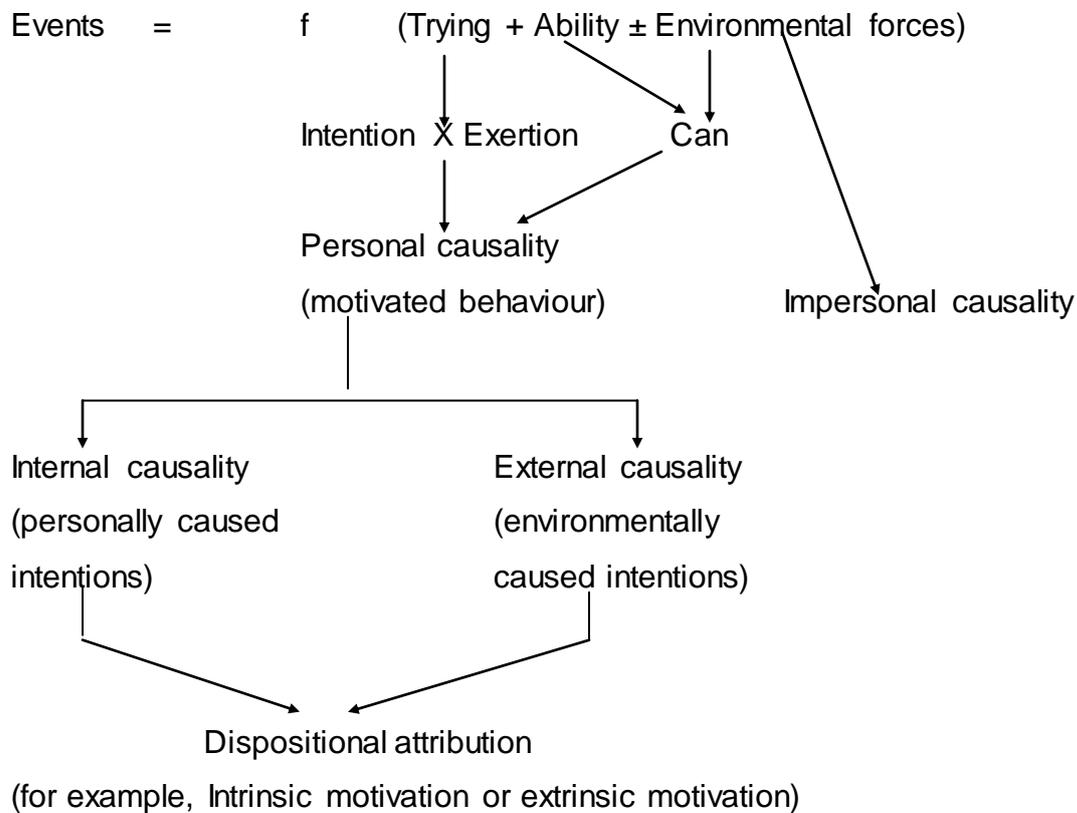
Deci (1975: 252) states that according to Weiner et al (1971) ability and effort are internal. Thus an event caused by one of these two factors would have an internal locus of control. Luck and task difficulty are external. Therefore an event caused by one of these factors would have an external locus of control. This difference is similar to the personal/impersonal distinction and should not be confused with locus of causality. Internal locus of control as used by Weiner et al and Rotter, deals with intention (therefore, personal causality) and can either be internal causality (for example, intrinsically motivated) or external causality (for example extrinsically motivated). External locus of control on the other hand implies impersonal causality.

Thus, intrinsically motivated behaviours are characterized by internal causality. The cause of the behaviour is the objective to receive the internal rewards of the activity. That is, feelings of competence and self-determination. Extrinsically motivated activities on the other hand are characterized by external causality. The cause of the behaviour is the intention of acquiring an external reward. Yet both of these deal with personal causation. The individual meant to bring about the desired effect. The individual tried to do it and was able to do it. On the other hand, events that are caused by luck or by environmental factors such as huge barriers (for example, failure at a very difficult task) are impersonally caused. The principal causality lies within the environment and there is no intention on the part of the individual to bring about that event (Deci, 1975: 253).

Thibaut and Riecken (1955) conducted a study that dealt with the attribution of motivation. In their experiment, subjects asked for a favour and got compliance from an individual with a high status and an individual with a low status. After the experiment, subjects tended to attribute internal causality to the behaviour of the individual with the high status than to the individual with the low status. When the individual with the low status complied, the individual was seen as doing it due to pressure from the subjects. Therefore the perceived locus of causality was external. On the other hand, when the individual with the high status complied, the individual was regarded as having done it for internal reasons. Most probably because an individual would be free of the pressure from the subjects. In this case the locus of causality was internal. In both cases the causality was personal. Both subjects chose to perform the activity. The behaviour was intentional. In the one instance causality was perceived to be external and in the other it was perceived to be internal.

A study conducted by Arnold (1980) revealed a positive correlation between scores on the locus of control scale and external attributions. At the same time there was a strong negative correlation between performance and external attribution. This indicates that poor performers tend to attribute their lack of success to factors outside themselves. The following diagram illustrates the distinction between internal and external causes of events.

Figure 5.4 The relationship between impersonal and personal (internal, external) causality of events



(Deci, 1975: 253).

5.9 Self-determination in organizations

Research indicates that the qualities associated with self-determined functioning, are qualities that most employees value in their subordinates, peers and supervisors and that increase organisational effectiveness. Also, the conditions that support self-determined functioning, conditions of personal autonomy and meaningful feedback are vital aspects of a high quality work life. Research reveals that workers have complained about not receiving recognition for their efforts. Their accomplishments and competencies have not been acknowledged and the feedback they have received had been

critical and demoralizing. These aspects that are missing are the very ones that promote self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 295).

The interpersonal context within which rewards and communications take place is a vital determining factor in their effect on the motivation of the employee.

5.9.1 The interpersonal context

Research conducted by Deci and Ryan (1985: 302) on the relationship between the interpersonal context and motivationally relevant variables resulted in the following. Managers' orientations ranged from supporting the autonomy of the subordinates to controlling the behaviour of their subordinates. The results of this study revealed that when subordinates are unhappy with the quality of supervision from their immediate manager, they displace the satisfaction on to top management rather than experience a potentially threatening situation. This displacement could be due to the way in which immediate supervisors implement decisions made by top management. When supervisors are clear in stating policies and providing reasons for it, acknowledging conflicting feelings or dissatisfactions and allowing flexibility, there is no negative impact on the intrinsic motivation of subordinates. Managers' orientations toward supporting autonomy versus controlling behaviour, affects the interpersonal context of subordinates' work and has an effect on motivationally relevant variables.

5.9.2 Individual differences

A study conducted by Deci and Ryan (1985: 304) revealed that the autonomy orientation correlated considerably and positively with workers' perceptions of the amount of personal autonomy that their jobs provide and the quality of the supervision they receive from their managers. It was related positively to their level of trust in the top management of the organisation. The autonomy

orientation was positively related to a great extent to workers' satisfaction with their opportunities to make inputs, their trust in the supervisor, their job security and their trust in the organisation. It was also related to an extent to their satisfaction with the level of personal autonomy on the job. The autonomy orientation not only affects the employees' perceptions of their supervisors and work environment but also affects the supervisor and environment in an interactive way. Thus, when employees are more autonomy oriented, supervisors may sense this and allow them more autonomy, which would allow the employees to experience both more autonomy and higher quality supervision.

Deci and Ryan (1985: 305) found that the control orientation was positively related to the significance the workers placed on pay and benefits, security on the job and potential for advancement. The impersonal orientation was positively related to workers experiencing the work environment as stressful and their feeling pressured and tense. The control orientation was found to be related to the significance employees placed on extrinsic, control-related job characteristics. The stronger one's control orientation, the more one's attention is focused on context factors such as pay and the less one focuses on the activity itself within that context.

Deci and Ryan (1985: 306) therefore maintain that a high level of autonomy can be described as representing high self-determination. A high level of control orientation can be described as representing less self-determination. A high level of impersonal orientation can be regarded as representing the least self-determination. Helmreich (1983) found that performance on the various jobs was positively correlated with the intrinsic factors of mastery and work orientations but negatively related with competitiveness and the orientation toward extrinsic factors such as salary.

5.10 Self-determination and call centres

Findings from Wallace, Eagleson & Waldersee (2000: 179) indicate that agents in the call centres they researched were deliberately selected for their intrinsic motivation. High service levels within the call centres were assured due to this factor and the organisation did not provide further motivation to the call centre agents. There is thus a misalignment between the task demands and employee intrinsic motivation that leads to employee stress, burnout and turnover.

De Vos (2002: 25) has investigated self-determination in call centres. The study was conducted on 58 employees of a South African call centre. Findings from the research indicate that autonomy oriented call centre agents do less calls and identify less opportunities in call centres. Control oriented and impersonally orientated call centre agents perform high quality calls.

Chapter 6

Research Methodology

6.1. Research Approach

Quantitative methods will be used to conduct the study. The reason being different questionnaires will be used to ascertain the locus of control, self-determination and job satisfaction of call centre agents. These questionnaires need to be scored and the results will be quantitative in nature.

6.2. Research design

A factorial design will be used. The reason being that Kerlinger (1986) maintained that a factorial design has a structure where two (2) or more independent variables are placed together so that their independent and interactive effects on a dependent variable may be studied. In the present study the independent variables are locus of control and self-determination. The dependent variable is job satisfaction. Two different types of hypotheses are tested:

- The effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable (main effects).
- The effect of any combination of two (2) or more independent variables on the dependent variable (interactions).

One may use independent or correlated groups. In the current study a single-group post-test-only design will be used. One group of subjects (call centre agents) will be given the three questionnaires to complete. The results can be given either descriptively or as correlations which determine the strength of

possible relationships. This type of study can be ex post facto (Kerlinger, 1986).

The disadvantages of this type of study according to Kerlinger (1986) are:

- ✚ There is no control over extraneous variables (history, maturation, regression to the mean).
- ✚ No pre-testing of subjects. Therefore it is difficult to conclude change is due to treatment.
- ✚ No control group implies- one is unable to identify relevant threats and measure them.
- ✚ Relevant data is needed from the control group to see if extraneous (history, maturation, regression to mean) variables had effect.

The following hypotheses will be tested:

Hypothesis 1:

Ho: Locus of control and job satisfaction (general, external and internal) is independent of each other.

H1: Locus of control and job satisfaction (general, external and internal) is dependent on each other.

Hypothesis 2:

Ho: Locus of control and gender, tenure and qualifications are independent of each other.

H1: Locus of control and gender, tenure and qualifications are dependent on each other.

Hypothesis 3:

Ho: General Job satisfaction and gender, tenure and qualifications are independent of each other.

H1: General Job satisfaction and gender, tenure and qualifications are dependent on each other.

Hypothesis 4:

Ho: Extrinsic job satisfaction and gender, tenure and qualifications are independent of each other.

H1: Extrinsic job satisfaction and gender, tenure and qualifications are dependent on each other.

Hypothesis 5:

Ho: Intrinsic job satisfaction and gender, tenure and qualifications are independent of each other.

H1: Intrinsic job satisfaction and gender, tenure and qualifications are dependent on each other.

6.3. Sample

The sample will be from a South African call centre. More specifically it will be from a Municipality call centre in the Gauteng province. The sample will only deal with the particular municipality. One hundred and eighty seven (187) call centre agents will be used. The researcher will use probability sampling. More specifically stratified random sampling. The reason being, there exist different groups (strata) such as age, gender and tenure in the research.

6.4. Data collection procedure

Data will be collected by call centre agents completing questionnaires. The questionnaires will be administered by the researcher to the participants who will be given a certain time limit within which to complete the questionnaires.

6.5. Measurement Instruments

6.5.1. Rotter's Locus of Control Scale

In order to ascertain the locus of control of the call centre agents, Rotter's Locus of Control Questionnaire will be administered. The reason Rotter's Locus of Control is used is due to the ease with which it can be administered to a large number of agents at one time. It is easy to administer and does not take long to complete. It measures internal and external locus of control.

Locus of Control deals with the extent to which people believe that they can control events that affect them. People with a high internal locus of control believe that events are as a result of their behaviour and actions. People with a high external locus of control believe that powerful others, fate or chance determines events. Those with a high internal locus of control have better control of their behaviour and tend to exhibit more political behaviours compared to externals and are more likely to attempt to influence other people. They tend to assume that their efforts will be successful. They are more active in seeking information and knowledge concerning their situation compared to externals. The tendency to engage in political behaviour is stronger for individuals who have a high internal locus of control than for those who have a high external locus of control (Ballarat, 2004).

According to Beukman (1996) Rotter's original Locus of Control Scale consisted of one hundred (100) forced choice items. One choice reflects an internal Locus of Control orientation while the other reflects an external Locus of Control orientation. The final edition of the Locus of Control is made up of twenty nine (29) items of which six (6) are "filler items". The candidate has to choose the option that best depicts him/her. Choosing internal answers reflects self-confidence and optimism while choosing external answers reveals an accepting attitude (Boone, De Brabander, Gerits and Willemé, 1990).

The following are important aspects of the Locus of Control scale according to Rotter (1966: 10):

- The test is homogeneous and shows internal consistency, especially when one considers many of the items are sampling a broadly generalised characteristic over a number of specific or different situations (Rotter, 1966: 17).
- Test-retest reliability over a period of one month is relatively constant. A coefficient of 0.78 is achieved.
- Correlation between the Locus of Control Scale and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Preference Scale varies between -0.07 and -0.35. The large variation is as a result of test situations.
- The scale is more suitable for group differences rather than individual predictions.

Rotter (1966: 17) suggests that a more refined scale can be developed to measure such a broad construct.

A study conducted by Howard (1996) investigated locus of control as a changeable variable in first-year, female, coeducational, college students at the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor. The study also investigated the relationship between locus of control in these subjects and their identification, or not, of female, faculty or staff, role models. The results were that subjects who identified role models had stronger internal locus of control than the subjects who did not identify role models. Also that locus of control was a changeable variable, that internal locus of control increased over the first year of college in the role model group (positive effect). Internal locus of control decreased over the first year of college in the no role model group (negative effect). This study suggested a factor, which may strengthen internal locus of control in first-year, female, coeducational college students.

Research indicates that internal locus of control has been used as a mediating factor in order to prevent health problems. The role of locus of control in recovery from acute myocardial infarction has also been investigated. The results indicated that patients rated as having internal locus of control were rated as being more cooperative and less depressed than externals throughout their stay in the intensive care unit.

A study conducted by Beukman (1996) found that employees in the South African air force displayed strong internal locus of control and are able to have a positive influence on their work environment. The study also indicated that Whites had a stronger internal locus of control compared to Africans and Coloureds. Also internal locus of control increases with age and education level.

Den Oudsten (1999) conducted a study on temporary and permanent employees. The study indicated that there was no difference in the locus of control of temporary and permanent employees.

6.5.2. General Causality Orientations Scale

In order to ascertain the self-determination of call centre agents, the General Causality Orientations Scale will be administered. The reason the scale in question is used due to the fact that it has been widely used, it measures the constructs that are of interest to this study, it has high reliability and validity and it is easy to administer and score to a large number of candidates.

Description of scale: This scale assesses the strength of three motivational orientations within a person. These orientations (Autonomy, Controlled, Impersonal) are regarded as lasting aspects of personality. It is believed that each orientation exists within an individual to some extent. There are three subscales and an individual gets a score on each subscale (Psych.rochester.edu, 2004).

Autonomy Orientation- assesses the degree to which an individual is oriented toward aspects of the environment that stimulate intrinsic motivation, are optimally challenging and give informational feedback. An individual high on autonomy orientation displays greater self-initiation, seeks activities that are interesting and challenging and takes greater responsibility for behaviour (Psych.rochester.edu, 2004).

Controlled Orientation- assesses the extent to which an individual is oriented toward being controlled by rewards, deadlines, structures, ego-involvements and instructions from others. An individual high on controlled orientation will be more dependent on rewards or other controls and are more accustomed to what others demand than to what they want themselves (Psych.rochester.edu,2004).

Impersonal Scale- assesses the extent to which an individual believes that achieving a desired outcome is not in one's control and achievement is due to luck or fate. Individuals high on this orientation feel anxious and ineffective. They feel they are unable to affect outcomes or cope with demands or changes. They feel amotivated and want the status quo to be maintained (Psych.rochester.edu, 2004).

The General Causality Orientations Scale can be found in two forms. The original scale has high validity and is widely used. It consists of twelve (12) vignettes and thirty six items (36). Each vignette describes a social or achievement oriented situation (for example, applying for a job or interacting with a friend) and is followed by three types of responses- an autonomous, a controlled and an impersonal type. Respondents have to indicate on a 7-point Likert-type scale, the extent to which each response describes them. Higher scores indicate higher amounts of the particular orientation represented by the response. The scale consists of three subscales: the autonomy, the controlled and the impersonal subscales. The subscale scores are calculated by adding the person's twelve (12) responses on items corresponding to each subscale. The scale is reliable, with Cronbach's alphas being 0.75 and a test-retest coefficient of 0.74 over two months and correlates with many

theoretically related constructs. There is a 17-vignette version of the scale, with fifty-one (51) items. Five (5) vignettes and fifteen (15) items (five (5) autonomy, five (5) controlled and five (5) impersonal) have been included. The new vignette and items are about social interaction due to the fact that the original vignettes leaned towards achievement situations. The items in the new vignette are scattered, thus the order of items is not the same in the two versions of the General Causality Orientation Scale (Psych.rochester.edu, 2004).

Research indicates that high autonomy orientations have in the past been associated with higher levels of self-esteem, ego development, self-actualisation and a higher integration in personality (Koestner, Bernieri & Zuckerman, 1992).

Cardiac-surgery patients high on the autonomy orientation were found to view their surgery as a challenge and to have positive post-operative attitudes. In contrast individuals low on the autonomy orientation regarded surgery more as a threat and had more negative post-operative attitudes (Psych.rochester.edu, 2004).

The controlled orientation has been related to the Type-A, coronary prone behaviour pattern and to public self-consciousness (Psych.rochester.edu, 2004).

The impersonal orientation was found to predict higher levels of social anxiety, depression, self-derogation and to discriminate restrictive anorectic patients from patients with other subtypes of eating disorders and from matched comparison subjects (Strauss & Ryan, 1987).

6.5.3. The Minnesota Job Satisfaction Scale

The Minnesota Job Satisfaction Scale (short version) will be administered to call centre agents to ascertain their job satisfaction.

The Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) measures an individual's satisfaction with his or her job. Three forms of the MSQ are available: two long forms (1977 version and 1967 version) and a short form. The MSQ offers specific information on the aspects of a job that a person finds rewarding compared to more general measures of job satisfaction. The MSQ can be used in exploring client vocational needs, in counselling follow-up studies and in generating information about the reinforcers in jobs. The MSQ is a paper-and-pencil questionnaire where vocational needs and values are satisfied on a job. Instructions for administering the MSQ are given in the booklet. The MSQ Long Form requires Fifteen (15) to twenty (20) minutes to complete and the short form takes five (5) minutes to complete. The short form consists of 20 items from the long-form MSQ that best represent each of the 20 scales (psych.umn.edu, 2004). The items are as follows:

Table 6.1: Items on the MSQ

Ability Utilization	Co-workers	Moral Values
Achievement	Creativity	Recognition
Activity	Independence	Responsibility
Advancement	Security	Supervision—Human Relations
Authority	Social Service	Supervision--Technical
Company Policies	Social Status	Variety
Compensation		Working Conditions

(Psych.umn.edu, 2004)

The twenty questions of the MSQ are ranked on a Likert-type five point scale- Very Dissatisfied, Dissatisfied, Neither, Satisfied and Very Satisfied.

The MSQ will be used in the current study for the following reasons:

The MSQ can be administered to groups or to individuals and can be used by people who can read at the fifth grade level or higher. All three forms are gender neutral. The Short Form which will be used in the current study requires 5 minutes to complete.

The manual for the MSQ reported reliability coefficients for the Intrinsic Satisfaction scale ranging from 0.84 (for the two assembler groups) to 0.91 for engineers. According to Rothmann, Scholtz & Fourie (2002), Cook, Hepworth, Wall & Warr (1981) reported test-retest reliabilities of 0.70 and 0.80 that were found over a span of a week and a year, respectively. A Cronbach alpha of 0.96 was found for total job satisfaction. Rothmann et al (2002) say that Clark & Watson (1995) maintain that a mean inter-item correlation of 0.22 was found, which is acceptable for broader constructs.

For the Extrinsic Satisfaction scale, the coefficients varied from 0.77 (for electronics assemblers) to 0.82 (for engineers and machinists). On the General Satisfaction Scale, the coefficients varied from 0.87 for assemblers to 0.92 for (engineers). Median reliability coefficients were 0.86 for Intrinsic Satisfaction, 0.80 for Extrinsic Satisfaction and 0.90 for General Satisfaction (Weiss, Dawis, England & Lofquist, 1967: 23).

Validity can be implied from the validity of the long form of the questionnaire. There is evidence for the validity of the questionnaire (short form) from two (2) other sources according to Weiss et al (1967: 24):

- Studies from occupational group differences.
- Studies of the relationship between satisfaction and satisfactoriness as used in the Theory of Work Adjustment.

Normative data for the 21 MSQ scales for 25 representative occupations, plus employed disabled and employed non-disabled workers can be found in the MSQ manual.

Factor analysis of the 20 items results in two factors-Intrinsic and Extrinsic Satisfaction. Scores on these two factors including a General Satisfaction score may be obtained. Normative data for the three scales for six selected occupations are in the manual.

The Minnesota Job Satisfaction Questionnaire was used to test if there was a genetic component to job satisfaction. Arvey, Bouchard, Segal and Abraham (1989) used monozygotic twins that were raised apart to test job satisfaction. It was found that genetics plays a role in job satisfaction because although the twins were reared apart they had similar levels of job satisfaction.

A study conducted by Stemple (2004) also used the Minnesota Job Satisfaction Questionnaire to ascertain the job satisfaction amongst high school principals in Virginia. The researchers found that job satisfaction of school principals was related to the size of the school. The bigger the school size the more job satisfaction the principals experienced.

Jewell, Beavers, Kirby and Flowers (1990) used the Minnesota Job Satisfaction Questionnaire to determine the relationship between job satisfaction levels expressed by agricultural teachers and their perceptions toward the agricultural education teaching profession. The study indicated a moderate level of general job satisfaction and average levels of intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction.

Pretorius & Rothmann (2001) used the Minnesota Job Satisfaction Questionnaire to ascertain the job satisfaction of employees in a financial institution. The study revealed that workers who understood what was expected of them, those who regarded the job as meaningful and were able to handle it, experienced greater job satisfaction.

6.6. Data Analysis

Chi square is a non-parametric test of statistical significance. It shows the degree of confidence one can have in accepting or rejecting a hypothesis. Thus, the hypothesis tested with chi square is whether or not two different samples (people, texts, and so on) are different enough in some characteristic or aspect of their behaviour that allows one to generalize from one's samples that the populations from which our samples are drawn are also different in the behaviour or characteristic. Chi square is used most frequently to test the statistical significance of results reported in bivariate tables (Connor-Linton, 2005).

Connor-Linton (2005) posits that bivariate tabular (crossbreak) analysis is used when one summarises the intersections of independent and dependent variables and the relationship (if any) between those variables.

Chi-square relies on the assumption that the variable is normally distributed in the population from which the sample is drawn. Chi square has the following requirements according to Connor-Linton (2005):

- Measured variables must be independent;
- Data should be drawn from a random sample of the population to which one wants to generalize.
- Chi square should only be used when data are in the form of raw frequency counts of things (not percentages) in two or more mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. Any observation must fall into only one category or value on each variable.

Chi-square is an approximate test of the probability of getting the frequencies actually observed if the null hypothesis were true. It is based on the expectation that within any category, sample frequencies are normally distributed about the expected population value. Since frequencies cannot be negative, the distribution cannot be normal when expected population values

are close to zero. Since the sample frequencies cannot be much below the expected frequency while they can be much above it (an asymmetric/non-normal distribution). Therefore when expected frequencies are large, there is no problem with the assumption of normal distribution but the smaller the expected frequencies, the less valid are the results of the chi-square test. Therefore, if cells in a bivariate table show very low raw observed frequencies (5 or below), the expected frequencies may also be too low for chi square to be appropriately used. Also, some of the mathematical formulas used in chi square use division, no cell in a table can have an observed raw frequency of 0.

Chapter 7

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOCUS OF CONTROL AND JOB SATISFACTION IN CALL CENTRES.

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ABSTRACT

CALL CENTRES ACROSS THE GLOBE EXPERIENCE HIGH LEVELS OF ABSENTEEISM AND TURNOVER DUE TO JOB DISSATISFACTION. SOUTH AFRICAN CALL CENTRES ARE FACING THE SAME PROBLEM. JOB SATISFACTION IS INFLUENCED NOT ONLY BY SITUATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE JOB ENVIRONMENT BUT ALSO BY DISPOSITIONAL PERSONALITY FACTORS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. THE AIM OF THE STUDY WAS TO DETERMINE THE POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LOCUS OF CONTROL AND JOB SATISFACTION. THE STUDY POPULATION CONSISTED OF (N= 187) CALL CENTRE AGENTS FROM A MUNICIPALITY IN GAUTENG. THE RESULTS OF THE EMPIRICAL STUDY INDICATED THERE IS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOCUS OF CONTROL AND JOB SATISFACTION.

OPSOMMING

OPROEPSENTRUMS ORAL TER WÊRELD ERVAAR HOË VLAKKE VAN AFWESIGHEID EN ARBEIDSOMSET. DIE REDE HIERVOOR IS WERKSONVERGENOEGDHEID. SUID-AFRIKAANSE OPROEPSENTRUMS STAAR DIESELFDE PROBLEEM IN DIE GESIG OMDAT AFWESIGHEID EN ARBEIDSOMSET BESIG IS OM TOE TE NEEM. WERKSBEVREDIGING WORD NIE SLEGS DEUR DIE SITUASIONELE ASPEKTE VAN DIE WERKSOMGEWING BEÏNVLOED NIE, MAAR OOK DEUR DIE PERSOONLIKE-INGESTELDHEIDSFAKTORE VAN DIE INDIVIDU. DIE DOEL VAN DIE STUDIE WAS OM DIE MOONTLIKE VERHOUDING TUSSEN LOKUS VAN BEHEER EN WERKSBEVREDIGING TE BEPAAL. DIE STUDIEGROEP HET UIT (N= 187) OPROEPSENTRUM-AGENTE VAN 'N GAUTENGSE MUNISIPALITEIT BESTAAN. DIE RESULTATE VAN DIE EMPIRIESE STUDIE WYS DAT DAAR 'N VERBAND TUSSEN LOKUS VAN BEHEER EN WERKSBEVREDIGING IS.

There has been a global change in terms of employment from an agricultural and industrial to a service provider industry (Godbout, 1993). A new market has emerged that is characterised by work roles that focus on front-line service workers and customers, namely call centres (Lewig & Dollard, 2003).

Most studies within call centres have focused upon job satisfaction but little attention has been paid to individual personalities within call centres (Holdsworth & Cartwright, 2002; Bouch, 2004). Given the significance of work in an individual's life, it is vital to understand the relationship between job satisfaction and personality variables such as locus of control in call centres.

Call centre work is unique due to the high pressure work environments (Houlihan, 2000). In addition the environment is regarded as a socio-technical system that consists of a variety of information and communication technologies used to drive the agents' work pace and monitor the agents work output in order to maximise efficiency with minimal autonomy (Armistead, Kiely, Hole and Prescott, 2002; Moore, 2002). Individuals with an external locus of control experience more stress and job dissatisfaction in jobs that are highly demanding but low in autonomy (Parkes, 1991). Spector (1982) maintains that externals experience job satisfaction when the situation requires less autonomy. Even when jobs tend to be low in terms of demand and are highly autonomous, externals tend to experience anxiety and job dissatisfaction. Locus of control is therefore a reaction to one's work environment (Lonergan and Maher, 2001).

Call centre agents usually leave their work stations only on allocated breaks because their work is conducted using a telephone and computer. Agents' work is tightly controlled and highly routine, where tasks are made simple (The Queensland Government, 2003). Work tends to be monotonous and repetitive in nature and some agents are given specific scripts to follow, resulting in the agent having no control over the timing of work and the methods to be used (Houlihan, 2000; Worldroom Digest, 2004; Deery and

Kinnie, 2004). Work is automatically allocated to telephone operators to decrease waiting time and to increase the speed of work. Calls are short and are to be completed in a specific time, thus increasing stress levels (Deery and Kinnie, 2004). Individuals who have an internal locus of control tend to exert greater effort in coping with work stress and manage to remain satisfied in the job even in work settings where they have no control (Lu, Wu and Cooper, 1999). Internal locus of control relates to lower levels of perceived stress because these individuals tend to have a stronger belief in their own control, thereby increasing the use of problem-focused strategies (Parkes, 1994). When stress levels are high within a job situation, individuals who have an external locus of control tend to experience job dissatisfaction (Näswall, Sverke, Hellgren, 2005). Jobs which are highly demanding and low in autonomy result in greater job dissatisfaction for externals than for internals (Parkes, 1991; Spector, 1982). Regardless of the nature of the job, internals tend to be more satisfied with their jobs due to their perceptions of their jobs (Hackman & Oldham, 1975; Blau, 1987; Kosmoski & Calkin, 1986).

This research deals with investigating whether agents with an internal or external locus of control experience job satisfaction within call centres.

Call Centres

“Telephone call centres have been described by many authors as ‘electronic sweatshops’, twentieth-century panopticons’ and ‘assembly lines in the head’ (Deery & Kinnie, 2004:3). Workers are nicknamed ‘battery hens’ and ‘galley slaves’ (Moore, 2002: p.1).

There are many definitions of what constitutes a call centre and call centre agents. The following definitions were found to best describe a call centre and call centre agents. Sprigg, Smith and Jackson (2003) have the following definition of a call centre: “a work environment in which the main business is conducted via a telephone whilst simultaneously using display screen equipment (DSE). The term call centre includes parts of companies dedicated to this activity such as internal help lines as well as whole

companies.” A call centre agent according to Sprigg et al (2003) is defined as follows: “an employee whose job requires them to spend a significant proportion of their working time responding to calls on the telephone whilst simultaneously using DSE.”

According to Deery & Kinnie (2004), the number of people employed in call centres in the past five years is tremendous. Approximately two in every one hundred workers in the United Kingdom are Call Centre agents. In the United States three percent (3%) and in Europe one percent (1%) of the population works in call centres.

The call centre industry in South Africa has grown tremendously, experiencing growth rates of up to thirty five percent (35%) since 1996. In larger call centres the growth rate has levelled off. Growth rates of 20-25% are expected in the next few years, mostly in small to medium sized call centres (10-50 agents). Experts predict the number of call centres agents to be approximately 50 000 and the industry has the ability to create another 50 000 to 100 000 jobs in the next few years (Wesgro, 2001).

A happy and productive workforce is vital if an organisation has to compete in today's rapidly changing world of work. Bagnara (2000) asserts that the important point is not the number of agents in call centres but the fact that individuals are vital to their success. Research and surveys indicate that human resources form a strategic factor when customers need to be satisfied (Deery & Kinney, 2004; Parry & Marr, 2004). When the organisation wants to remain competitive, call centre agents is the main asset. Technology is unable to replace human resources that are skilled in communications, problem-solving and caring. Although organisations are aware of how vital the human resources are, attention is not paid to the training, retention and career development of agents. Surveys conducted in the European Union revealed that call centres have high turnover, workload and stress (Bagnara, 2000).

Moore (2002) says that a study conducted by the Trade Union Congress in 2001 found the following complaints coming through with regards to call centres:

- ◆ High levels of monitoring of work.
- ◆ Agents were timed over how often they went to toilet as well as how much time they spend there.
- ◆ Agents have to seek permission to go to toilet and they also had to explain to their supervisors why they had a need to go often to the toilet.
- ◆ Breaks were not enough and at some call centres there were no breaks.
- ◆ Stress and other health problems were reported to be high.
- ◆ Some agents had to ask permission to get a drink of water and others had to pay for disposable cups.

Parry and Marr (2004) maintain that according to Gilmore and Moreland (2000) the following measures were displayed on walls in many call centres:

- ❖ Number of calls answered within past ten minutes.
- ❖ Calls in the queue that had to still be answered.
- ❖ Number of agents presently taking calls.
- ❖ Number of free agents waiting to take calls.
- ❖ Number of “not ready” agents.
- ❖ Number of agents on outgoing calls or busy with calls to other agents.

Agents paid attention to the display and would only take a break if the display call situation would allow it. Moore (2002) adds that there are some shocking stories that have been exposed of call centres. For example, managers threatening staff with wearing disposable nappies if they visit the toilet too often. One worker was disciplined for taking two six-second breaks between calls. As a result some call centre agents report high levels of stress and anxiety. This leads to dissatisfaction in the job.

Worldroom Digest (2004) report call centre work is seen as one of the three most “unhappy” occupations. Wallace, Eagleson and Waldersee (2000: 177) note that in their study call centre agents made comments such as “The monotony of the job is frustrating and the number of calls we take a day is very tiring,” and “At the end of the week I am a zombie, the stress is so bad that on weekends I do not want to talk to anyone.” Research, according to these authors indicates that call centre workers experience more stress than coal miners. Factors that lead to unhappiness in call centres are monotony and repetitiveness of the job, especially when scripts are forced upon agents. This situation is aggravated by not having promotional opportunities and stress which leads to high turnover rates (Worldroom Digest, 2004).

Not only is call centre work stressful. The work is seen as unskilled, requiring no formal qualification and anyone can do it. Agents and managers both agree that call centre work “is not for anyone” (Buchanan & Koch-Schulte, 2000).

Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction is difficult to define due to the different terminology used by various researchers (Dunnette, 1983). There are many definitions of job satisfaction. Pivotal to the concept of job satisfaction is the attitudes, emotions and feelings about a job and how these attitudes, emotions and feelings affect the job and the individual’s life (Stemple, 2004).

There have been many changes in the workforce. New workers tend to have high expectations when they enter the workforce. Workers’ rising but unfulfilled expectations may be a vital factor in being dissatisfied within the job. When workers have high expectations and these are not fulfilled, the result is frustration, disappointment and dissatisfaction (Bastow-Shoop, 1981). Workers are seeking work that is interesting, where their skills and abilities are utilised, opportunities exist to learn new things and being creative, when they are given the autonomy to control the pace at which work and make decisions regarding the organisation of their work. These are some of the aspects that lead to job satisfaction within the workplace (Pors, 2003). The

current workers differ in their values. Some workers may value doing challenging work, while others are happy with routine tasks and others prefer working outdoors (Mason, 1980).

Locke (1965) examined the relationship between the success in a task and job satisfaction. It was found that by employees setting their own goals and by supervisors giving workers challenging tasks will lead to intrinsic job satisfaction and develop their potential. Call centre agents tend to respond to incoming calls by referring to scripts, entering data on a computer, providing product and procedural information and responding to enquiries and complaints in a timely, friendly and knowledgeable manner (Moshavi & Terborg, 2002). The tasks have low complexity due to the fact that the manner in which the call centre agent delivers the service is constrained by detailed procedures and a lot of monitoring. While completing the tasks successfully, the service delivery is at an acceptable but not at an exceptional level. Employees are given scripts to follow and work conditions are rigid. They are not given challenging tasks or allowed to set their own goals. This is a source of dissatisfaction for many call centre agents (Armistead, Kiely, Hole & Prescott, 2002).

Besides receiving tangible ways, through promotion and salary increases, recognition may be given by verbal comments, such as praise from one's supervisor for work well done. Praise not only increases a person's self-esteem but also gives feedback on progress being made and this in turn increases job satisfaction (Gruneberg, 1979).

Sprigg (2004) states that call centres are the only point of contact for many customers but call centre agents tend to be paid low salaries, they experience poor working conditions and they have to conduct highly repetitive work. In addition call centre agents do not get any praise or acknowledgement from supervisors for having performed well on the job. There are no incentive schemes to encourage agents. Agents are instead closely monitored and the only feedback they receive from supervisors is when they are not performing

as expected. This leads to a lot of dissatisfaction among call centre agents (Buchanan & Koch-Schulte, 2000).

Gruneberg (1979) maintains that an individual's job involvement can have an influence on job satisfaction but there are no guarantees of job satisfaction. The rationale of this argument is that high job involvement can be challenging to the employee, it can be stimulating and can lead to feelings of responsibility. On the other hand it can lead to conflict and high tension and therefore supervisors should keep workers focused on goals.

Generally research shows that although call centre agents tend to be focused on their jobs, they do not experience much satisfaction. The reason being, call centre agents do not get sufficient breaks between calls. As soon as one call ends, the next one comes through. Sometimes call centre agents have to deal with many emotional customers in a day. After completing the calls, agents need some time to recover from the call. Agents are not even given time to recover from these emotionally-charged calls (Holdsworth & Cartwright, 2002).

Holman (2002) notes routine jobs in call centres have been associated with emotional exhaustion, which in turn have been associated with high workload demands and high emotional demands.

Putnam and Loppie (2000) said that call centre agents complained of unpredictable work schedules not allowing them to "have a life" outside of work and that it interfered with family responsibilities and quality time with family and friends. Irregular hours and short lunch breaks also interfered with other activities outside the workplace. One complainant mentioned "I don't have much of a social life anymore... we can't really plan a social life... Its really weird hours too that they're scheduling.... Everything was easier to juggle [when I didn't work shifts]... I slept better, I felt better... and had a better social life because most of my friends don't do shift work (Putnam & Loppie, 2000).

Job variety is a way of stimulating and adding variety to an employee's job which may be boring and frustrating. Legge and Mumford (1978) feel that job variety should be planned and organised around the goals of the organisation. It is vital to understand that job variety cannot be implemented in all organisations but it does lead to increased job satisfaction due to the job being enriched. Due to employees gaining greater experience, will result in more insight and better decisions. O' Brien (1986) mentions that highly challenging tasks provide intrinsic satisfaction.

In most call centres, agents have to answer telephone calls. They are not given opportunities to conduct a variety of tasks. As a result agents do not gain an insight into the workings of the organisations nor do they understand how their function fits into the rest of the organisation. Agents end up having limited experience. Due to the fact that most call centres being constantly busy throughout the day, managers are unable to train agents to perform other tasks or duties. Agents therefore end up only answering telephones (ETSI, 2003).

Hackman and Lawler (1971) believe that autonomy is the worker having a major input in scheduling work, selecting the equipment to be used and deciding on procedures to be adopted. The extent to which one is able to make decisions about one's job, determines the amount of skills which one can apply. When the worker is given too much autonomy, this may lead to a lot of tension which will have a negative effect on work. It is therefore vital to take into account the worker's potential and personality before taking decisions. Hackman and Lawler (1971) also found a very strong relationship between task variety and job autonomy.

Call centre agents are not given any autonomy on their jobs. They are not encouraged to take the initiative in resolving customer queries. Most call centres have targets that agents need to meet on a daily basis. This places agents in a difficult situation as they have no time to handle a difficult call from a client. In order to make their targets, agents have to cut the call short with the customer (HELA, 2001).

Waskiewicz (1999) maintains that as supervisors' relationships become more positive, the variety of responsibilities will increase and so will job satisfaction. Belt, Richardson, Webster, Tijdens and Van Klaveren (2000) report that call centre agents reported a major desire to stop working on the phones. This was as a result of the lack of variety involved in the work and due to the stressful nature of telephone based work.

Vroom (1964) says that "monotony must then be conceived not solely as a function of the task, but to a large extent as a function of the individual to whom the task is assigned. It is more apt to occur in uniform than in varied tasks, in simple than in complex tasks, in the operation of a machine than in hand work, but, in the final analysis, it is the responsibility for the feeling of boredom must in large part be ascribed." Vroom (1964) comments that research has found that on highly repetitive tasks, highly intelligent individuals experience more monotony and boredom than those who are less intelligent. This is evident in larger turnover rates amongst highly intelligent workers who conduct repetitive and boring jobs. On the other hand, jobs that make unrealistic demands on workers lead to frustration and feelings of failure and job dissatisfaction.

Job satisfaction and gender: A study conducted by Putnam & Loppie (2000) revealed that women in call centres were more satisfied than males in terms of the following aspects:

- ✓ The relative ease of obtaining a job in a call centre.
- ✓ Increased economic security.
- ✓ Opportunities for social interaction with colleagues.
- ✓ A sense of personal fulfilment (serving and helping others).
- ✓ Increased confidence.
- ✓ Job gave them the flexibility to study.

Males and females had the same gripes about call centre work. That is that they were constantly monitored by supervisors, they had to follow certain work

schedules, their pay levels were too low and they felt like 'robots' because they had to follow scripted dialogues (Putnam and Loppie, 2000). Clearly this lead to job dissatisfaction amongst men and women call centre agents.

Job satisfaction and tenure: Length of service as used in this article refers to the number of years a person has spent working. Hunt and Saul (1975) mention that Herzberg found tenure to bear a U-shaped relationship with job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is found to be high when people start their first jobs but decreases until people reach their late twenties or early thirties, when it begins to increase. Once satisfaction levels increase, they do so for the rest of the work career. The reason for this given by Herzberg is that initially high work expectations are not fulfilled, as a result job satisfaction drops. Increasing maturity and work experience led the worker to adjust his/her ambitions and work expectations to a more realistic level. These new expectations were more attainable and satisfaction tended to increase.

Job satisfaction and qualifications: Belt (2002) maintains that agents who have qualifications tend to move on to better job prospects. They also tend to focus on higher positions within the call centre industry. Young, middle-class, well educated and single people from both sexes, especially university graduates tend to move quickly out of call centres. This group has higher expectations in terms of work and career but tend to experience no more dissatisfaction in call centres than those without degrees.

Locus of Control

The concept locus of control was derived by Phares and later by Rotter (Kess, 1977). Reeder and Kinder (1975) mention that the concept of internal and external locus of control was introduced by Rotter and his associates in order to capture individual differences in expectancies regarding control over important aspects.

Locus of control deals with the amount of control that people feel they have over their environment. People with an internal locus of believe feel that they are able to control their environment. On the other hand people with an

external locus of control feel that what happens to them is as a result of luck or the actions of others (Martin, Thomas, Charles, Epitropaki & McNamara, 2005; Phares, 1968). Internals tend to be more satisfied in their jobs, are less absent, are less alienated from the work setting and tend to be more involved in their jobs compared to externals (Pretorius, 2004). Considering, people spend most of their time working, their perceptions and attitudes about their jobs will have certain consequences (Locke, 1983; Tarver, Canada & Lim, 1999). Internals tend to exert more control compared to externals in certain work settings such as work flow, task accomplishments, operating procedures, work assignments, working conditions, relationships with superiors and subordinates, goal-setting, work scheduling and organisational policy.

Mearns (2004) mentions that Rotter (1968) saw personality as: representing an interaction of the person with the environment. One cannot speak of a personality, internal to a person that is independent of the environment. One is also not able to focus on behaviour as being an automatic response to an objective set of environmental stimuli. In order to understand behaviour one needs to take both the person (that is, life history of learning and experiences) and the environment (that is, those stimuli that the individual is aware of and responding to) into account. Mearns (2004) contends that Rotter (1968) describes personality as a stable set of potentials for responding to situations in a specific way. He views personality and thus behaviour as constantly changing. He believes that when the way the individual thinks or the environment within which the individual operates is changed, the individual's behaviour also changes. Mearns (2004) states, according to Rotter (1968) there is no critical period after which personality is set. The more life experiences the individual has building up certain sets of beliefs, the more effort and intervention is needed for change to occur. Mearns (2004) posits Rotter (1968) views people in a positive manner. People are motivated by goals, wishing to maximise their reinforcement, rather than avoiding punishment.

Gemmill and Heisler (1972) found a low correlation between job strain (uncertainty of promotion, ambiguity of supervisors' evaluations, a very heavy work load, too little authority and so on) and locus of control. Internals experienced less strain compared to externals. Organ and Greene (1974) found that task ambiguity did not affect internals at all.

Job dissatisfaction was experienced amongst police personnel who had an external locus of control (Rothmann and Agathagelou, 2000). Internals who ascribed achievement to events under their control, experience job satisfaction compared to individuals who feel they have no control over events determining their achievements (Pretorius and Rothmann, 2001). Externals, who feel they have control over events determining their achievements, tend to experience job satisfaction. Individuals with a low external locus of control tend to experience job satisfaction with most components of job satisfaction, except ability, recognition and variety (Pretorius and Rothmann, 2001). There is therefore a negative relationship between external locus of control and job satisfaction. Spector (1986) asserts that control of workers is associated with high levels of job dissatisfaction, prestige and motivation. Rahim and Psenicka (1996) discovered that individuals with an external locus of control are unable to handle pressure, uncertainty and challenges of a demanding work environment. The result is that an internal locus of control is associated with job satisfaction, while an external locus of control is associated with job dissatisfaction.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Approach

A survey approach (Huysamen, 1993), without any intervention, was used in the current study in order to ascertain the relationship between the variables.

Participants

A stratified random sampling of 187 call centre agents were chosen from a Municipality in the Gauteng province. The majority of participants were females (65.24%) with males representing 34.76 percent of the total sample.

The majority of participants (63%) had less than three years work tenure in the call centres within the organisation. 27 percent of agents were working for more than three years in the call centre. 41 percent of the participants had a tertiary qualification, achieving a diploma or degree. 59 percent had a school qualification. Both tenure and qualifications were split into dichotomous variables (working for more than three years or less than three years in a call centre and having a school or tertiary qualification), for statistical analysis.

Measurement Instruments

Rotter's locus of control questionnaire was administered to call centre agents to ascertain their orientation. Lefcourt (1984) according to Tarver, Canada & Lim (1999) maintains the most commonly used test to measure locus of control is Rotter's I-E scale (Rotter, 1966). A biographical questionnaire was used to obtain personal details of the participants. Locus of control deals with the extent to which people believe that they can control events that affect them. People with a high internal locus of control believe that events are as a result of their behaviour and actions. People with a high external locus of control believe that powerful others, fate or chance determines events (Phares, 1965; Ballarat, 2004).

According to Beukman (1996) Rotter's original locus of control scale consisted of one hundred (100) forced choice items (ipsative). One choice reflects an internal locus of control orientation while the other reflects an external Locus of Control orientation. The final edition of the locus of control is made up of twenty nine (29) items of which six (6) are "filler items". The latter edition was used in the current study. The candidate has to choose the option that best depicts him/her. Summing the total external locus of control determines the overall score which ranges from 0 to 23 with higher scores depicting an external locus of control. Rotter's I-E scale was used because it is easy to administer to a large number of agents at one time and does not take long to complete, its format is simple and established construct validity (Boone, De Brabander, Gerits and Willemé, 1990; Tarver, Canada and Lim, 1999).

The following are important aspects of the locus of control scale according to Rotter (1966):

- The test is homogeneous and shows internal consistency, especially when one considers many of the items are sampling a broadly generalised characteristic over a number of specific or different situations.
- Test-retest reliability over a period of one month is relatively constant. A coefficient of 0.78 is achieved.
- Correlation between the locus of control scale and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Preference Scale varies between -0.07 and -0.35. The large variation is as a result of test situations.
- The scale is more suitable for group differences rather than individual predictions.

The *Minnesota Job Satisfaction Scale* (short version) will be administered to call centre agents to ascertain their job satisfaction.

The Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) measures an individual's satisfaction with his or her job. Three forms of the MSQ are available: two long forms (1977 version and 1967 version) and a short form. The MSQ provides specific information on the aspects of a job that a person finds rewarding compared to more general measures of job satisfaction. The short form which will be used in the current study consists of 20 items from the long-form MSQ that best represents each of the 20 scales (Psych.umn.edu, 2004). The twenty questions of the MSQ are ranked on a Likert-type five point scale- Very Dissatisfied, Dissatisfied, Neither, Satisfied and Very Satisfied.

The MSQ will be used in the current study for the following reasons:

The MSQ can be administered to groups or to individuals and can be used by people who can read at the fifth grade level or higher. All three forms are gender neutral. The MSQ reliability coefficients for the Intrinsic Satisfaction

scale ranges from 0.84 (for the two assembler groups) to 0.91 for engineers. According to Rothmann, Scholtz & Fourie (2002), Cook, Hepworth, Wall & Warr (1981) reported test-retest reliabilities of 0.70 and 0.80 that were found over a span of a week and a year, respectively. A Cronbach alpha of 0.96 was found for total job satisfaction. Rothmann et al (2002) say that Clark & Watson (1995) maintain that a mean inter-item correlation of 0.22 was found, which is acceptable for broader constructs.

For the Extrinsic Satisfaction scale, the coefficients varied from 0.77 (for electronic assemblers) to 0.82 (for engineers and machinists). On the General Satisfaction Scale, the coefficients varied from 0.87 for assemblers to 0.92 for (engineers). Median reliability coefficients were 0.86 for Intrinsic Satisfaction, 0.80 for Extrinsic Satisfaction and 0.90 for General Satisfaction (Weiss, Dawis, England & Lofquist, 1967).

Validity can be implied from the validity of the long form of the questionnaire. There is evidence for the validity of the questionnaire (short form) from two (2) other sources according to Weiss et al (1967):

- Studies from occupational group differences.
- Studies of the relationship between satisfaction and satisfactoriness as used in the Theory of Work Adjustment.

Procedure

The researcher had visited the various call centres and personally handed out the questionnaires to the agents. Agents were explained the purpose of the study and were assured that the information obtained would be used for research purposes only. Participation in the study was voluntary and questionnaires were answered anonymously. The researcher collected the questionnaires after they were complete.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis was conducted by using the Chi square test. The chi square test is used in the current study because the hypothesis tested with

this test will allow the researcher to determine whether or not two different samples (locus of control, job satisfaction and so on) are different enough in some characteristic or aspect that will allow one to generalize from one's samples that the populations from which the samples were drawn are also different in the behaviour or characteristic. When the frequency in the cell is five (5) or less than five (5) the Chi square test will not be the appropriate test to use (Connor-Linton, 2005). The hypothesis of an underlying normal distribution is rejected at significance level 0.05. That is, a cut-off point of $\alpha < 0.05$ was set for the interpretation of the statistical significance for the results (Snedecor & Cochran, 1989).

RESULTS

Table 7.1

THE RELATIONSHIP OF LOCUS OF CONTROL TO GENERAL, INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION

		GJS			EJS			IJS		
	INTERNAL	LOW	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	TOTAL
	Frequency	43	29	72	30	42	72	47	25	72
	Column %	63.24	90.63		57.69	87.50		66.20	86.21	
IELOC	EXTERNAL	LOW	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	TOTAL
	Frequency	25	3	28	22	6	28	24	4	28
	Column %	36.76	9.38		42.31	12.5		33.80	13.79	

CHI-SQUARE VALUES

	DF	VALUE	PROBABILITY(p)
IELOC X GJS	1	8.0974	0.0044
IELOC X EJS	1	11.0005	0.0009
IELOC X IJS	1	4.0893	0.0432

The alpha value (α) is equal to (=) 0.05. When the probability (p) value is less than (<) the alpha (α) value, implies a relationship between the variables exist. From the chi-square table of Table 1 all the p values are less than 0.05. Therefore, there exists a relationship between locus of control and general job satisfaction. There is also a relationship between locus of control, intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction. Call centre agents with an internal locus of control experience high general, extrinsic and intrinsic job satisfaction (column percentages are 90.63, 87.50 and 86.21 respectively) compared to the scores

on low satisfaction. Call centre agents with an external locus experience low general, extrinsic and intrinsic job satisfaction (column percentages are 36.76, 42.31 and 33.80 respectively).

TABLE 7.2
THE RELATIONSHIP OF LOCUS OF CONTROL TO GENDER, TENURE
AND QUALIFICATIONS.

		GENDER			TENURE			QUALIFICATIONS		
	INTERNAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	<3	>=3	TOTAL	SCHOOL	POST-SCHOOL	TOTAL
	Frequency	35	37	72	45	27	72	46	26	72
	Column %	70.00	74.00		72.58	71.05		77.97	63.41	
IELOC	EXTERNAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	<3	>=3	TOTAL	SCHOOL	POST-SCHOOL	TOTAL
	Frequency	15	13	28	17	11	28	13	15	28
	Column %	30.00	26.00		27.42	28.95		22.03	36.59	

CHI-SQUARE VALUES

	DF	VALUE	PROBABILITY (p)
IELOC X GENDER	1	0.1984	0.6560
IELOC X TENURE	1	0.0273	0.8688
IELOC X QUALIFICATION	1	2.5407	0.1109

The alpha value (α) is equal to ($=$) 0.05. When the probability (p) value is less than ($<$) the alpha (α) value, implies no relationship between the variables exist. From the chi-square table of Table 7.2 all the p values are greater than 0.05. Therefore, there does not exist, a relationship between locus of control and gender, tenure and qualifications. Call centre agents with an internal locus of control were female, those with tenure of less than three years and those who had school qualifications (column percentages are 74.00, 72.58 and 77.97 respectively) compared to the scores on internal locus of control for males, agents with tenure greater than three (3) years and those who had post-school qualifications. Call centre agents with an external locus had lower column percentages for gender, tenure and qualifications compared to scores on internal locus of control.

TABLE 7.3

THE RELATIONSHIP OF GENERAL JOB SATISFACTION TO GENDER, TENURE AND QUALIFICATIONS.

		GENDER			TENURE			QUALIFICATIONS		
	LOW	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	<3	>=3	TOTAL	SCHOOL	POST-SCHOOL	TOTAL
	Frequency	35	33	68	40	28	68	38	30	68
	Column %	70.00	66.00		64.52	73.68		64.41	73.17	
GJS	HIGH	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	<3	>=3	TOTAL	SCHOOL	POST-SCHOOL	TOTAL
	Frequency	15	17	32	22	10	32	21	11	32
	Column %	30.00	34.00		35.48	26.32		35.59	26.83	

CHI-SQUARE VALUES

	DF	VALUE	PROBABILITY (p)
GJS X GENDER	1	0.1838	0.6681
GJS X TENURE	1	0.9101	0.3401
GJS X QUALIFICATION	1	0.8538	0.3555

The alpha value (α) is equal to ($=$) 0.05. When the probability (p) value is less than ($<$) the alpha (α) value the null hypothesis (H_0) should be rejected. From the chi-square table of Table 7.3 all the p values are greater than 0.05.

Therefore, there does not exist, a relationship between general job satisfaction and gender, tenure and qualifications. Males, agents with tenure of more than three (3) years and those with post-school qualifications displayed low general job satisfaction (column percentages are 70.00, 73.68 and 73.17 respectively) compared to the scores for females, agents with tenure less than three (3) years and those who had school qualifications. Call centre agents with high general job satisfaction displayed lower column percentages for gender, tenure and qualifications compared to those on low general job satisfaction.

TABLE 7.4

THE RELATIONSHIP OF EXTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION TO GENDER, TENURE AND QUALIFICATIONS.

		GENDER			TENURE			QUALIFICATIONS		
	LOW	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	<3	>=3	TOTAL	SCHOOL	POST-SCHOOL	TOTAL
	Frequency	26	26	52	27	25	52	28	24	52
	Column %	52.00	52.00		43.55	65.79		47.46	58.54	
EJS	HIGH	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	<3	>=3	TOTAL	SCHOOL	POST-SCHOOL	TOTAL
	Frequency	24	24	48	35	13	48	31	17	48
	Column %	48.00	48.00		56.45	34.21		52.54	41.46	

CHI-SQUARE VALUES

	DF	VALUE	PROBABILITY
EJS X GENDER	1	0.0000	1.0000
EJS X TENURE	1	4.6692	0.0307
EJS X QUALIFICATION	1	1.1896	0.2754

The alpha value (α) is equal to ($=$) 0.05. When the probability (p) value is less than ($<$) the alpha (α) value, implies there is no relationship between the variables. From the chi-square table of Table 7.4 the p values are greater than 0.05 for gender and qualification. Therefore, there does not exist, a relationship between extrinsic job satisfaction and gender, and qualifications. From the chi-square table of Table 7.4 the p value is less than 0.05 for tenure. Therefore, there does exist, a relationship between extrinsic job satisfaction and tenure. Agents with tenure of more than three (3) years experienced the most extrinsic job satisfaction column percentage is (65.79). Agents who less than three years in the call centre environment experienced high extrinsic job satisfaction.

TABLE 7.5

THE RELATIONSHIP OF INTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION TO GENDER, TENURE AND QUALIFICATIONS.

		GENDER			TENURE			QUALIFICATIONS		
	LOW	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	<3	>=3	TOTAL	SCHOOL	POST-SCHOOL	TOTAL
	Frequency	38	33	71	41	30	71	38	33	71
	Column %	76.00	66.00		66.13	78.95		64.41	80.49	
IJS	HIGH	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	<3	>=3	TOTAL	SCHOOL	POST-SCHOOL	TOTAL
	Frequency	12	17	29	21	8	29	21	8	29
	Column %	24.00	34.00		33.87	21.05		35.59	19.51	

CHI-SQUARE VALUES

	DF	VALUE	PROBABILITY
IJS X GENDER	1	1.2142	0.2705
IJS X TENURE	1	1.8801	0.1703
IJS X QUALIFICATION	1	3.0381	0.0813

The alpha value (α) is equal to ($=$) 0.05. When the probability (p) value is less than ($<$) the alpha (α) value, implies a relationship between the variables does not exist. From the chi-square table of Table 7.5 all the p values are greater than 0.05. Therefore, there does not exist, a relationship between intrinsic job satisfaction and gender, tenure and qualifications. Males, agents with tenure of greater than three (3) years and those with post-school qualifications displayed low intrinsic job satisfaction (column percentages are 76.00, 78.95 and 80.49 respectively) compared to the scores for females, agents with tenure less than three (3) years and those who had school qualifications. Call centre agents with high intrinsic job satisfaction displayed lower column percentages for gender, tenure and qualifications compared to those on low general job satisfaction.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this research was to investigate whether agents with an internal locus of control or those with an external locus of control experienced job satisfaction within a call centre environment. The results indicated that there

was a relationship between locus of control and intrinsic, extrinsic and general job satisfaction. Tenure also showed a relationship to extrinsic job satisfaction. Gender and qualifications had no relationship with extrinsic job satisfaction. Gender, tenure and qualifications also had no relationship to general and intrinsic job satisfaction. Locus of control did not have a relationship to gender, tenure and qualifications.

The results revealed that call centre agents who had an internal locus of orientation also experienced high levels of general, intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction. The results of the current study are supported by results from previous studies which indicate that internals are satisfied with their jobs compared to externals (Gemmill and Heisler, 1972; Organ and Greene, 1974; Garson and Stanwyck, 1997; Judge, Locke, Durham & Kluger, 1998; Mitchell, Smyser & Weed, 1975). Studies by (Andrisani and Nestel, 1976; Mitchell, Smyser & Weed, 1975; Rothmann, Agathagelou, 2000) found internals to be more satisfied than externals in their jobs. Rahim and Psenicka (1996) discovered that individuals with an external locus of control were unable to handle pressure, uncertainty and challenges of a demanding work environment which is the situation that exists within call centres. The result was that an internal locus of control is associated with job satisfaction, while an external locus of control is associated with job dissatisfaction.

In the current study no relationship was found between locus of control and gender, tenure and qualifications. Muhonen and Torkelson (2004) posit that research on gender and locus of control revealed inconsistent results. Some studies indicate that women are more externally oriented compared to men. Some research has shown no gender differences in locus of control (Holder & Vaux, 1998; Lengua & Stormshak, 2000). Women are more externally controlled compared to men (Rubenstein, 2004; Riordan, 1981). Men attribute their successes to themselves and to internal and stable factors and their failures to external and unstable factors. Women on the other hand attribute their successes to external and changing factors and their failures to internal and stable factors (Deaux, White & Farris, 1975; Nicholls, 1975; Nunn, 1994).

Locus of control and tenure were found not to be related to each other. Locus of control and qualification were also not related in the current study. There have been contradictory findings in previous research. Nowicki and Kalechstein (1994) state that in research dealing with adults not attending college it was found that although an internal locus of control has been related to greater academic achievement, this does not guarantee success in the workplace. Lao (1976) posits that internality is positively related to education level. The current finding does not support previous research.

General, extrinsic and intrinsic job satisfaction was found to have no relation to gender and qualifications. There was no relationship between general and intrinsic job satisfaction as well. There was however a relationship between extrinsic job satisfaction and tenure. The research relating to job satisfaction and sex differences is inconsistent. Some studies report that males are more satisfied than women, other studies report the opposite findings, yet others report no differences. Hulin and Smith (1964) feel that sex differences are due to differences in education, pay and tenure and males and females are equally satisfied with their jobs when these factors are controlled. The findings of Hulin and Smith were confirmed through similar research (Weaver, 1978; Busch & Bush, 1978). Andrisani and Shapiro (1978) reported that females were satisfied with both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Weaver (1978) found that both sexes derived satisfaction from the same factors.

According to Gruneberg (1979) a study by Vollmer and Kinney (1955) revealed that more college than high-school-educated people were dissatisfied with their jobs. The reason for this according to Vollmer and Kinney is that due to educational levels college-educated individuals expect more in terms of higher paid jobs, better working conditions and so on. Therefore for lower level jobs, they have higher expectations of what a job should offer, thus, lower satisfaction with what they get. To choose someone who is over-qualified for a job will only lead to dissatisfaction when expectations or values on the job are not fulfilled. Many studies have shown that there is increased job satisfaction with increasing occupational level and

the higher the education, the greater the likelihood that one will be at a higher occupational level (Gruneberg, 1979).

Glenn and Weaver (1982) found that education had little direct effect on job satisfaction. It was also found that educated women were experiencing more job satisfaction than their educated male counterparts.

The current study revealed call centre agents whose tenure was more than three (3) years experienced low external job satisfaction. According to Gruneberg (1979) while Hulin and Smith (1970) showed an increase in job satisfaction with length of service, Gibson and Klein (1970) showed a decrease in job satisfaction with increased tenure. Oshagbemi's (2000) study revealed that academics who remained at one university for a long time experienced more job satisfaction than those who job hopped. The levels of overall job satisfaction of academics remaining at one university were also higher than those who changed universities frequently.

The aim of the current study was to ascertain if there was a relationship between job satisfaction and locus of control within a unique environment such as a call centre. In future research however, some of the limitations of the current study would need to be considered. Firstly, agents from different types of call centres could be used to obtain a more representative sample. Secondly, further research in terms of gender, tenure and qualifications with locus of control and job satisfaction in call centres could be conducted. Lastly, future studies on attrition could focus on whether agents with an internal or external locus of control tend to leave call centres more readily. In conclusion, it is hoped that this study would contribute to the growing research conducted in call centres.

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Appendix A

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE NOTE:

- Your participation in the research is voluntary.
- Completion of the biographical information is vital as it will be used for statistical purposes only.
- There is no right or wrong answer.
- Choose only one answer. Either “a” or “b”.



BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SECTION:

MARK THE APPROPRIATE BLOCK WITH A "X"

1. **GENDER**

MALE		FEMALE	
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2. **RACE**

AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
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3. **AGE**

<19		20-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		>65	
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4. **TENURE (YEARS SPENT IN CALL CENTRE)**

0-1 YEAR		1-3 YEARS		3-5 YEARS	
5-7 YEARS		7-10 YEARS		> 10 YEARS	

5. **MARITAL STATUS**

SINGLE		MARRIED		DIVORCED		SEPARATED		WIDOWED	
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6. **EDUCATION LEVEL**

< GRADE 7		GRADE 8-11		GRADE 12	
DIPLOMA		HIGHER DIPLOMA		UNDERGRADUATE	

7. **HOME LANGUAGE**

ENGLISH		AFRIKAANS		ZULU		XHOSA	
N-SOTHO		TSWANA		S-SOTHO		TSONGA	
SWATI		VENDA		NDEBELE		OTHER	

LOCUS OF CONTROL

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too harshly.
- b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

Answer:

2. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
- b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

Answer:

3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't enough interest in politics.
- b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

Answer:

4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
- b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

Answer:

5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
- b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

Answer:

6. a. Without the right break one cannot be an effective leader.
- b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

Answer:



7. a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

Answer:

8. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
b. It is mainly one's experience in life which determine what they like.

Answer:

9. a. I have often found that what is going to happen, will happen.
b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course.

Answer:

10. a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is often useless.

Answer:

11. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work. Luck has little or nothing to do with it.
b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

Answer:

12. a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
b. This world is run by few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

Answer:



13. a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune.

Answer:

14. a. There are certain people who are just no good.
b. There is some good in everybody.
15. a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

Answer:

16. a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability and luck has little or nothing to do with it.

Answer:

17. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of Forces we can neither understand nor control.
b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

Answer:

18. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
b. There really is no such thing as "luck".

Answer:

19. a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

Answer:



20. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

Answer:

21. a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness or all three.

Answer:

22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

Answer:

23. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
b. There is a direct relationship between how hard I study and the grades I get.

Answer:

24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

Answer:

25. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
b. I do not believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

Answer:



26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people. If they like you, they like you.

Answer:

27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

Answer:

28. a. What happens to me is my doing.
b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

Answer:

29. a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a National as well as on a local level.

Answer:

Thank you for your participation!!!!!!

Appendix B

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE NOTE:

- Your participation in the research is voluntary.
- Completion of the biographical information is vital as it will be used for statistical purposes only.
- On the following pages you will find a character part. Each describes an incident and lists three ways of responding. Please read each character part and consider the response in turn. Think of each response option in terms of how you would respond. If it is very unlikely, you would respond with a 1 or 2. If it is moderately likely, you would respond with a 3; 4; 5. If it is very likely, you would respond with a 6 or 7. Please select one answer for each of the three responses for each character part.
- There is no right or wrong answer.
- Choose only one answer. Either 1 /2/3/4/5/6/7



BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SECTION:

MARK THE APPROPRIATE BLOCK WITH A "X"

8. **GENDER**

MALE		FEMALE	
------	--	--------	--

9. **RACE**

AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
---------	--	----------	--	--------	--	-------	--

10. **AGE**

<19		20-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		>65	
-----	--	-------	--	-------	--	-------	--	-------	--	-------	--	-----	--

11. **TENURE (YEARS SPENT IN CALL CENTRE)**

0-1 YEAR		1-3 YEARS		3-5 YEARS	
5-7 YEARS		7-10 YEARS		> 10 YEARS	

12. **MARITAL STATUS**

SINGLE		MARRIED		DIVORCED		SEPARATED		WIDOWED	
--------	--	---------	--	----------	--	-----------	--	---------	--

13. **EDUCATION LEVEL**

< GRADE 7		GRADE 8-11		GRADE 12	
DIPLOMA		HIGHER DIPLOMA		UNDERGRADUATE	

14. **HOME LANGUAGE**

ENGLISH		AFRIKAANS		ZULU		XHOSA	
N-SOTHO		TSWANA		S-SOTHO		TSONGA	
SWATI		VENDA		NDEBELE		OTHER	

1. You have been offered a new position in a company where you have worked for some time. The first question that is likely to come to mind.

a. What if I can't live up to the new responsibility.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

b. Will I make more at this position?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

c. I wonder if the new work will be interesting?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

2. You had a job interview several weeks ago. In the mail you received a form letter which states that the position has been filled. It is likely that you might think:

a. It's not what you know but who you know.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

b. I'm probably not good enough for the job.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:



- c. Somehow they didn't see my qualifications as matching their needs.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

- 3. You are a plant supervisor and have been charged with the task of allotting coffee breaks to the workers who cannot all break at once. You will likely handle this by:**

- a. Telling the three workers the situation and have them work with you on the schedule.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

- b. Simply assigning times that each can break to avoid problems.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

- c. Find out from someone in authority what to really do what was done in the past.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

- 4. You have just received the results of a test you took. You discovered that you did very poorly. Your initial reaction is likely to be:**

- a. "I can't do anything right," and feel sad.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:



b. "I wonder how it is I did so poorly," and feel disappointed.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

c. "That stupid test doesn't show anything," and get angry.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

5. When you and your friend are making plans for a Saturday evening, it is likely that you would:

a. Leave it up to your friend; he (she) probably wouldn't want to do what you suggest.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

b. Each make suggestions and then decide together on something that you both feel like doing.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

c. Talk to your friend into doing what you want to do.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:



6. You have been invited to a large party where you know very few people. As you look forward to the evening, you would likely expect that:

- a. You'll try to fit in with whatever is happening in order to have a good time and not look bad.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unlikely		moderately unlikely			very likely	

Answer:

- b. You'll find some people with whom you can relate.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unlikely		moderately unlikely			very likely	

Answer:

- c. You'll probably feel somewhat isolated and unnoticed.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unlikely		moderately unlikely			very likely	

Answer:

7. You are asked to plan a picnic for yourself and your fellow employees. Your style for approaching this project could most likely be characterized by:

- a. Take charge: that is, you would make most of the major decisions yourself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unlikely		moderately unlikely			very likely	

Answer:

- b. Follow precedent: you're not really up to the challenge so you'd do it the way it's been done before.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unlikely		moderately unlikely			very likely	

Answer:

- c. Seek participation: get inputs from others who want to make them before you make the final plans.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

- 8. Recently a position opened up at your place of work that could have meant a promotion for you. However, a person you work with was offered the job rather than you. In evaluating the situation you're likely to think:**

- a. You didn't really expect the job; you frequently were passed over.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

- b. The other person "did the right thing" politically to get the job.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

- c. You would probably take a look at the factors in your own performance that led you to be passed over.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

- 9. You are embarking on a new career. The most important consideration is likely to be:**

- a. Whether you can do the work without getting in over your head.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

b. How interested you are in that kind of work.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

c. Whether there are good possibilities for advancement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

10. A woman who works for you has generally done an adequate job. However, for the past two weeks her work has not been up to par and she appears to be less actively interested in her work. Your reaction is likely to be:

a. Tell her that her work is below what is expected and that she should start working harder.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

b. Ask her about the problem and let her know you are available to help work it out.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

c. It's hard to know what to do to get her straightened out.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:



11. Your company has promoted you to a position in a city far from your present location. As you think about the move you would probably:

- a. Feel interested in the new challenge and a little nervous at the same time.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

- b. Feel excited about the higher status and salary that is involved.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

- c. Feel stressed and anxious about the upcoming changes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

12. Within your circle of friends, the one with which you choose to spend the most time is:

- a. The one with whom you spend most time exchanging ideas and feelings.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:

- b. The one who is the most popular of them.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	
unlikely		unlikely			likely	

Answer:



c. The one who needs you the most as a friend.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

13. You have a school-age daughter. On parents day the teacher tells you That your daughter is doing poorly and doesn't seem involved in the work. You are likely to:

a. Talk it over with you daughter to understand further what the problem is.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

b. Scold her and hope she does better.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

c. Make sure she does the assignments, because she should be working harder.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

14. Your friend has a habit that annoys you to the point of making you angry. It is likely that you would.

a. Point it out each time you notice it, that way he (he) will stop doing it.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:



b. Try to ignore the habit because talking about it won't do any good anyway.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

d. Try to understand why your partner does it and why it is so upsetting for you.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

15. A close (same-sex) friend of yours has been moody lately and a couple of times has become very angry with you over “nothing”. You might

a. Share your observations with him/her and try to find out what is going on for him/her.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

b. Ignore it because there's not much you can do about it anyway.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

c. Tell him/her that you're willing to spend time together if and only if he/she makes more effort to control him/herself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

16. Your friend's younger sister is a freshman in college. Your friend tells you that she has been doing badly and asks you what he (she) should do about it. You advise him (her) to:

a. Talk it over with her and try to see what is good for her.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

b. Not mention it; there's nothing he (she) could do about it anyway.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

c. Tell her it's important for her to do well, so she should be working harder.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

17. You feel that your friend is being inconsiderate. You would probably:

a. Find an opportunity to explain why it bothers you. He (she) may not even realise how much it is bothering you.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:

b. Say nothing; if you friend really cares about you he/she would understand how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very		moderately			very	likely
unlikely		unlikely				

Answer:



c. Demand that your friend start being more considerate; otherwise you'll respond in kind.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unlikely		moderately unlikely			very likely	

Answer:

Appendix C

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE NOTE:

- Your participation in the research is voluntary.
- Completion of the biographical information is vital as it will be used for statistical purposes only.
- On the following pages you will find sentences. For each sentence you have options, ranging from very dissatisfied to very satisfied.
- There is no right or wrong answer.
- Choose only one answer. Either 1/2/3/4/5



BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SECTION:

MARK THE APPROPRIATE BLOCK WITH A "X"

15. **GENDER**

MALE		FEMALE	
------	--	--------	--

16. **RACE**

AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
---------	--	----------	--	--------	--	-------	--

17. **AGE**

<19		20-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		>65	
-----	--	-------	--	-------	--	-------	--	-------	--	-------	--	-----	--

18. **TENURE (YEARS SPENT IN CALL CENTRE)**

0-1 YEAR		1-3 YEARS		3-5 YEARS	
5-7 YEARS		7-10 YEARS		> 10 YEARS	

19. **MARITAL STATUS**

SINGLE		MARRIED		DIVORCED		SEPARATED		WIDOWED	
--------	--	---------	--	----------	--	-----------	--	---------	--

20. **EDUCATION LEVEL**

< GRADE 7		GRADE 8-11		GRADE 12	
DIPLOMA		HIGHER DIPLOMA		UNDERGRADUATE	

21. **HOME LANGUAGE**

ENGLISH		AFRIKAANS		ZULU		XHOSA	
N-SOTHO		TSWANA		S-SOTHO		TSONGA	
SWATI		VENDA		NDEBELE		OTHER	

Please read each sentence carefully.

1. Being able to keep busy all the time.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

2. The chance to work alone on the job.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

3. The chance to do different things from time to time.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

4. The chance to be “somebody” in the community.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

5. The way my boss handles his/her workers.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

6. The competence of my supervisor in making decisions.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

7. Being able to do things that don't go against my conscience.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

8. The way my job provides for steady employment.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

9. The chance to do things for people.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

10. The chance to tell people what to do.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

11. The chance to do something that makes use of my abilities.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

12. The way company policies are put into practice.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

13. My pay and the amount of the work I do.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

14. The chances for advancement on this job.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

15. The freedom to use my own judgement.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

16. The chance to try my own methods of doing the job.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

17. The working conditions.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

18. The way my co-workers get along with each other.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

19. The praise I get for doing a good job.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:

20. The feeling of accomplishment I get from my job.

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

Answer:



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