

---

# Child protection practice in a call centre: An emerging area of social work

*Sue Hanna*

---

*Sue Hanna is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Health and Social Services, Massey University.*

---

## Abstract

Social work services based in call centres represent a controversial and often negatively viewed development in the context of service delivery. Little is known, however, about the professional knowledge, values and skills required in this work environment, or of the strengths and learning opportunities this area of practice has to offer social work in general.

This paper discusses the findings of a qualitative research project which involved 14 Intake Social Workers ('ISWs') at the Children Youth and Family ('CYF') National Contact Centre ('NCC'), (formerly known as the National Call Centre). The aim was to ascertain how ISWs constructed their child protection social work practices in an environment where they communicated with their clients exclusively by using information and communication technology ('ICT') procedures. Participants were also asked to comment on their perceptions of the NCC as a place to work.

The findings demonstrate the development of a unique skills set that combines elements of social work and traditional call centre work, where social workers must form constructive relationships with callers who have complex problems and sets of expectations, and with the technology that mediates their practice in this highly regulated, pressured work place.

---

## Introduction

The last 20 years have seen a dramatic rise in the use of call centres in the corporate sector as a strategy for centralising services and ensuring consistency in increasingly dynamic, competitive and risk-averse institutional environments (Raz & Blank, 2007; Holtgrew & Kerst, 2002). These types of organisational arrangements are also firmly established in the social services sector (Coleman & Harris, 2008), and increasingly provide a context and site for the practice of professional social work.

This deployment, however, has not been without its critics. Coleman and Harris (2008), for example, describe the embedding of call centres within social work as the epitome of 'technocratic managerialism'. This term refers to a functionary tick box approach to practice linked to broader concerns about the 'McDonaldisation' of social work, a dumbing down of the profession as a result of the wholesale application of standardised measures of control

---

and efficiency to practice (Dustin, 2008). Garrett (2005) also urges an urgent and critical examination of information communication technology (ICT) consumption and its role in a new 'techno-habitat' of social work practice. He argues that increased technology does not necessarily equate with increased efficiency and may involve problematic relationships with the managerialist discourses of larger regulatory bodies, and the multinational designers and suppliers of ICTs. These are unsympathetic, but cogent criticisms.

The practice of social work is traditionally undertaken in face-to-face settings and the ability to observe body language as a source of social cues has been highly valued and emphasised as a normal part of the assessment process – a reliance precluded, of course, by the remote interactivity of a call centre (Madoc-Jones, Warren, Ashdowne-Lambert, Williams & Parry, 2007). Nevertheless, although technologically mediated clinical work is now applied in New Zealand, it is generally an under-researched area for both counselling and social work, and this is most true for the longest-established technologies such as the telephone (Goss & Anthony, 2003).

### **Context of the study**

The use of call centres has attracted considerable attention from media, business and academia (Gault, 2001; Belt, 2004), but as sites of professional practice they are under-researched. (Taylor, Mulvey, Hyman, & Bain, 2002; Collins-Jaques & Smith, 2005). As places of work, call centres have been variously likened to 'an assembly line in the head' (Taylor & Bain, 1999, p. 101), a post-industrial high-tech organisational form which reproduces the factory paradigm of deskilling, micro management, low worker discretion and repetitive task performance (Raz & Blank, 2007). However, it is increasingly understood that call centre employees are not an unskilled workforce (Holtgrewe & Kerst, 2002) and there is growing recognition of the diverse range of work arrangements that can be supported by the centres themselves (Batt & Moynihan, 2002).

Debate still remains about the extent to which call centre work will ever be classified as 'knowledge work' (Taylor, et al., 2002), i.e. that which 'draws on a body of theoretical, specialised and abstract knowledge utilised under conditions of comparative autonomy to innovate products and processes' (Warhurst & Thompson, 2006, p. 787). This has implications for the employment-related aspirations of professionally qualified people who use and value the application of theoretical and specialised knowledge in their work (Gardner, 2006) and who also favour regular feedback, challenging work and opportunities for creativity (Sisson, 1989, cited Rosenfeld & Wilson, 1999).

What then does the available social work literature suggest concerning the implications of call centres for the delivery of social work services? Tregagle and Darcy (2008) suggest current ICT usage in contemporary child welfare practice reflects managerial agendas rather than professional concerns. Basing their claims on research undertaken with customer service representatives (CSRs) in private sector call centres, Coleman and Harris (2008) argue an association between call centres and a mechanical reductionist approach to social work practice which de-emphasises worker discretion, and the application of professional judgement. Likewise, Madoc-Jones, et al. (2007) suggest the use of communications technology to mediate professional practice will transform social work from a professional activity to one defined by technical and administrative functions.

---

Likewise, the empirical evidence to date is pessimistic about the extent to which a call centre environment can meet the needs and expectations of a professional work force. Cross-national research undertaken with nurses found that professional identity alone is not enough to shape the nature of their call centre work or to ensure that nurses were able to be active agents in shaping and using their computerised infrastructure (Collin-Jaques, 2004; Collin-Jaques & Smith, 2005). Social workers in an Australian call centre reported experiencing professional notions of accountability as subsumed by the broader call centre ethos (Burton & van den Broek, 2008) and undergoing workflow demands and pressures similar to those associated with low-skills call centres. Reports of deskilling of child protection workers by removing much of the discretionary judgment necessary in such a complex area of practice was also found in a second Australian study (Humphries & Camilleri, 2002; Dunn, 2001, cited Burton & van den Broek, 2008).

In New Zealand the National Contact Centre (NCC), the focus of this study and originally known as the Auckland National Call Centre, was established in 1997 following a review of frontline services that examined inequitable workload and staffing concerns, and practice issues concerning inconsistent responses and lack of feedback to notifications and enquiries (CYFS, 2000).

The NCC is the official entry point for Child, Youth and Family (CYF), New Zealand's statutory child protection social work system, and it provides a national telephony service for CYF as well as a centralised child protection social work intake service. The social work intake service combines advice, intake and crisis functions, and involves elements of support, counselling, information giving, brokerage, risk assessment, crisis intervention and decision making about appropriate response times to notifications of child abuse and neglect. The service operates 24 hours Monday to Friday and comprises three main social work shifts, the day shift, the afternoon/evening shift and the night shift. The after-hours emergency service functions between the hours of 5pm and 8am on weekdays and is staffed by social workers who work the afternoon /evening shift 1.30pm-10pm, and those who work the night shift 8.30pm-8am. Social workers on duty between 5pm and 8am provide a reduced service that responds to situations of an emergency or urgent nature. Usually this involves critical notifications of abuse or neglect, police matters and requirements for urgent placements or issues relating to children and young people in care. After-hours calls revert back to after-hours duty site social workers over the weekends.

Approximately 750,000 phone calls are received through the NCC per annum, of which 60,300 are transferred through to the social work queue, while an additional 18,270 faxed notifications of child abuse or neglect are also handled. Notifications can also be emailed to the NCC. Forty percent of calls to the social work queue result in a notification being received and forwarded to a local CYF office (Gault, 2009).

As the first official point of entry to New Zealand's statutory child protection system, attention should be given to the broader social political context in which the NCC operates as this forms the backdrop against which this area of child protection practice is viewed. Much has been written about the negative public perception of CYF services and the rise in notifications experienced by the child protection systems in New Zealand, Australia, Britain and other similar jurisdictions (Manion & Renwick, 2008; Scott, 2006). It has been argued that the decoupling of the intake phases from the investigation procedures through the

---

establishment of the NCC has led to a 7% increase in the number of notifications accepted for investigation than when the intake process was managed directly through local CYF offices (Maunsell, 2006). However, establishing a call centre is seldom a reaction to a single factor and is more often a significant strategic response following a review of the way an organisation approaches service delivery (Gault, 2001). In New Zealand the approach to risk has been to streamline responses, and the establishment of the NCC was an example of this intention.

In any event, the reasons for the increase in notifications are complex and interactive, and the NCC and the social workers employed there are at the cutting edge of the decisions associated with whom and what reaches departmental thresholds for further action. As Coleman and Harris (2008) note, the social work call centre cannot avoid questions of prioritisation for service or the application of benchmarks as to quantity and quality for those who are to be assisted.

## **Research method**

As noted in the abstract this was a qualitative research project involving 14 Intake Social Workers ('ISWs') at the CYF's NCC. Participants were interviewed on two separate occasions and were seen either individually or in groups of up to three social workers. In the first interview they were asked to reflect on and evaluate their NCC child protection social work practices. In the second they were requested to comment on their perceptions of the NCC as a place to work with the objective of extending the knowledge base concerning the experience of professional workers who provide social services in this type of organisational culture.

In both interviews all respondents were asked to respond to a uniform, semi-structured questionnaire. Their responses were audiotaped with their permission and thematic analysis was used to analyse data from the interviews.

This project received approval from two separate ethics committees: the first through the University of Auckland's Human Ethics Committee and the second from the CYF Research Access Committee.

The 14 ISWs participating in the study were all female, and were experienced and professionally qualified social workers; eight have social work registration and nine are members of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers. Eleven are full-time workers. Eleven of the social workers interviewed were European and three were of Pasifika heritage.

## **Findings**

As noted, data from all interviews was transcribed and thematically analysed. Results were combined and two major themes emerged with regards to the respondents' perceptions of practice, together with two further themes on the construction of social work in the call centre environment. Information was also gathered about the knowledge values and skills that participants identified as forming the basis of their ISW practice.

---

## Perception of practice

### Theme 1: A different pressure

In considering what it was like to practise in a call centre, most participants drew comparisons with front-line site social workers. They judged front-line work to be the more stressful by comparison, because ISWs do not carry an ongoing caseload that will allow them to deal with issues again. Call centre work was regarded as a 'one-off opportunity'. This was balanced by the acknowledgement that different types of pressure were a part of the ISWs' responsibilities, for example, the need to multi-task and work quickly with a wide variety of situations, and to keep taking calls while completing documentation requirements and trouble-shooting issues, particularly after normal hours when social work resources and placements are scarce.

The pressure to take calls and manage the cumulative recording requirements that must be completed before the end of a shift has been reported in a similar Australian study (Burton & van den Broek, 2008).

Sometimes you are just bombarded with calls you finish this call you pretty much know that it's not a critical so you don't need to go and consult ok. So you pick up the next call and it's another intake and the next call so you could take three or four intakes an hour that's a lot of intakes and that's a lot of information in one hour so you are having to take your brain back to the first case and you have to reread it to recall everything.

### Theme 2: It's still social work wherever you do it

Social work is social work wherever you are doing it, whoever you are doing it for.

Despite the non-traditional setting of the job, ISW was viewed by participants as being a legitimate facet of professional social work. Participants were clear that the skills required of them were social work skills, simply in different combinations to those of traditional practice. Some commented on the negative perceptions that they felt were associated with ISW, and some also commented that their role could become very 'rote' after a time and offered less autonomy and discretion than site social work. Again this finding is reflected in a recent Australian study (Burton & van den Broek, 2008).

Because it's kind of a bit of a resting ground. You know kind of where old social workers go to die.

## Practice elements utilised by participants

The social workers were asked to reflect on, deconstruct and describe the knowledge sets, values and practice skills they utilised whilst interacting with callers.

### Social work knowledge

Participants identified a broad range of theoretical perspectives as forming the theoretical framework of their practice. Most commonly acknowledged were strengths-based approaches, human development, attachment theory and ecological systems theory as the common theoretical orientations for framing their call centre practice. The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act and various risk assessment tools, as well as prior knowledge of other fields of practice particularly mental health, addictions and family violence, were also considered very useful.

---

ISWs working on the after-hours emergency service 5pm-8am experienced more difficulty than social workers working between 8am and 5pm in identifying theoretical perspectives relevant to their area of work, although risk assessment tools and knowledge of the CYF legislation, particularly the Youth Justice Provisions, were cited as valuable. The after hours service in particular contains characteristics in common with emergency control centres insofar as work is event-driven and workers cannot predict whether a large-scale emergency situation will occur or not, and resources are scarce (Pettersson, Randall & Helgeson, 2004). More work needs to be done to theorise this area of practice and relate existing social work models to the after-hours emergency work of the nature performed at the NCC.

### **Social work values**

Broadly the values discussed in this enquiry reflected CYS's commitment to a child-focused and family-centred approach, while the importance of conveying respect to the caller was also a significant and consistent theme. This was thought to be best achieved through listening carefully to and affirming the caller's concerns and responding sympathetically even if only in a small way. Being open minded was also identified as a positive value and supported in participants' views by having a broad range of social work and life experience.

Ten ISWs, however, spoke of the continuous challenge of reflecting these values in their interactions with those clients who became abusive and / or persistently argumentative when told their concerns did not meet the department threshold for further action.

Respect is something that is really important to me, that people should respect their children as well as the children respecting their parents. That means that each of them has got to be able to get to a place where they are behaving in such a way that they can hold respect for each other. I think quite often the people who call us are not actually looking for anything like that; they just want someone to back up the power play they are trying to make against their children.

### **Social work skills**

Despite the non-traditional surroundings of the job, participants were clear that the skills required of them at the NCC were social work interviewing skills, simply used in different combinations to those of traditional practice.

It's really funny the key thing to this job is actually listening. It's not always about the kid it's about them (the parent) and the frustration of not being heard, of ringing the social worker so many times and leaving messages and not being heard.

Good listening skills was identified as particularly important in distinguishing the work from previous social work experiences. Intake social workers stressed the importance of building rapport with callers through listening, and allowing people to express their concerns. Balanced against this was the need for role clarity and the necessity to multi-task by simultaneously interacting with the computerised infrastructure to record and check information. Increased competency was associated with taking less time to manage the work, taking more calls, increased confidence and better skills at managing callers' negative emotions.

Participants commented that, in general, they felt that their time at the call centre had developed and extended their practice in the following ways: better questioning and listening skills, and improved recording and time management skills. They also believed because the NCC provides a national service, they had gained an improved overview of the CYF service as a whole.

---

## The NCC as a place of work

### Theme 1: A job not a career move

As with workers in call centres generally (Shire, Holtgrewe, & Kerst, 2002; Belt, 2004) participants had been attracted to the call centre by the possibility of flexible working hours and many had initially seen it as a stop-gap employment measure. Career development opportunities were seen to be limited and the very specialised nature of the work was a disincentive, although people were attracted by the flexibility of the work and the short-term nature of their contact with callers. This did not mean, however, that some participants had not been employed at the NCC for some time.

### Theme 2: Ups and downs

When asked what it was like to work there, statements to the effect that 'there are ups and downs' was the theme that most accurately represented answers given. While this is the sort of response which one might expect from any group of workers anywhere, this had particular significance in this context.

When analysing comments on the downsides of the job, it became apparent that the growth in the organisation had not been without challenge, and for many ISWs had been associated with a decrease in autonomy and discretion, increased pressure and higher levels of monitoring.

Give us (ISWs) some breathing space not this constant pressure, you feel like you are in a factory. If you don't do so many widgets then the factory's not producing this output.

The perceived lesser quality of the telephone technology was also repeatedly highlighted in interviews, with many participants commenting on how difficult it was to hear callers accurately.

It's a nightmare. It's so frustrating and it's just ongoing. They don't seem to be able to fix it. Like it can take a lot of time and then if you get someone whose English is not their first language then it can take twice as long to get the information because you need to be accurate.

The upsides focused on the overall experience of the work and the positive relationships which participants enjoyed with colleagues. Attempts by management to improve morale and the physical surroundings of the workplace were also widely acknowledged. Attempts to facilitate and develop practice were appreciated, such as recent improvements to the computer system, the introduction of practice forums, access to more regular training and better availability of supervisors for consultation. The use of call recordings for supervisory and training and development purposes was regarded by those who had experienced it as being valuable in helping them analyse and improve their interactions with callers.

## Implications for practice

### The role of technology in NCC practice

In considering how social workers practise in the NCC, as indeed in any call centre setting, it is essential to consider the role of the technology and how this generates sets of responses in ISWs' interactions with callers and vice versa. Actor Network Theory (Latour, 2005) argues that relationships in organisations involve people, ideas, texts and technologies (human and

---

non-human actors), and these together form a coherent network responsible for securing order, and establishing a common meaning between the various participants (Stanley, 2005). However, common practices and knowledge claims are undermined if the various actors do not play their part, and breakdowns and conflict in the network of relations will arise when the various actors are not compatible. This permits us to make sense of the challenges posed to listening and information gathering, both of which are primary and essential skills, by the poor quality in the audio of the NCC telephony. This, coupled with the long delays that can occur in answering calls, particularly during the day, creates frustration and increases the potential for miscommunication between caller and social worker which then takes time to manage. Other non-human actors in the network also exert pressure on social workers, such as reader boards and the 'bong' which sounds when a call has not been taken within a set time frame. When taken together all these factors create considerable demands which are experienced as pressure to take and dispatch calls as quickly as possible.

Even though there are good things in place the bing bong drives me utterly mad because we have the reader board, we have our queue sheets, we have a big TV screen which shows us when calls are waiting, we have pop up screens, sometimes we have them (supervisors) coming round saying can you pick up. I think there are too many prompts and with the bong as well it just drives me mad.

### **Professional social work identity and the call centre ethos**

The concerns that call centre social work present to professional identity and traditional ways of working are easy to understand as the culture of call centres is primarily focused on answering and managing enquiries quickly (Humphries & Camilleri, 2002). Assumptions that public service call centres are less output driven than private sector counterparts have been challenged (Houlihan, 2002, cited in van den Broek, 2008). In common with call centre work in the commercial sector, ISW is very specialised, highly regulated and heavily monitored. Present are all the characteristics that echo a preceding Taylorist paradigm, where individuals were trained to perform a small segment of the overall production process and the emphasis was on the acquisition of technical skills for task efficiency (Gould, 2004; Colin-Jacques & Smith, 2005). Additionally, while commercial call centres work to increase demand, the ISW role is to both respond to and interrogate the veracity of requests for service (Coleman & Harris, 2008), a tension which many workers, and indeed callers, find difficult to negotiate.

Where people are abusive towards CYFS and then when they are not happy with what you are assessing or saying, and then you get the kind of 'do you want blood on the ground' kind of conversations and it's like well no – would I be working in this field ... It just feels like such a nonsense kind of a thing, so those sorts of things are quite hard.

### **The NCC as a site of professional practice**

Twenty years ago the concept of a national call centre devoted to social work would have had limited recognition or endorsement. In the event, however, the development of IT over that period has been so great that it would now be a bold forecaster who did not subscribe to a view that the rate of change in the next 20 years will be at the least its equal. As sites of professional social work practice, call centres may well represent trends toward increasing bureaucratisation, inspection, and regulation; however 'are these developments inevitably the enemies of good practice?' (Adams, Dominelli & Payne, 2005, p. 297).



---

Definitely the environment shapes us in terms of thresholds and the parameters of what we call our core business and for us to understand what that is and work within that because there does need to be boundaries and there does need to be baselines. But having said that you develop good skills, your communication skills, when you do probing questions and gathering information so I think it hones a lot of skills that you might not use so much in the field.

Researchers investigating call centres have identified the critical importance of the managerial prioritisation of a quality or quantity focus (Taylor, et al., 2002; Harney & Jordan, 2008). This prioritisation has been found to exert a significant influence on the type of work organisation and the H.R. policies and practices evident in any one call centre (Harney & Jordan, 2008). Thus, at one end of the scale, call centre work can be designed to maximise autonomy for the worker or, at the other, as a series of prescribed tasks endlessly repeated (Belt, 2004). The challenge in social work call centres is to balance the need for efficiency, standardisation and call management with the scope and nature of work. Work which requires social workers to engage with and sensitively assess critical life issues with often distressed, frustrated or abusive people, in a pressured environment using only overt and covert verbal and vocal cues. This is a very skilled undertaking and not for the novice practitioner.

## Conclusion

The NCC has proved its worth but, like all systems, it requires not only constant day-to-day attention and maintenance. For its fullest long-term potential to be realised, the success of future planning may well depend on how creatively the foundations of policy, technology, human resource management and a social work practice focus are represented and managed in the overall culture of the NCC. The potential challenges to practise creativity and professional fulfillment in call centre surroundings are readily apparent. If these environments are to meet the needs not only of the callers making contact, but also of the social workers who deliver these important services to the public, efforts must continue to improve the computerised infrastructure required to maintain this work, and to develop and celebrate the quality of the social work practice as the core business.

## References

- Adams, R., Dominelli, L., & Payne, M. (2005). *Social work futures: Crossing boundaries and transforming practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Batt, R. & Moynihan, R. (2002). The viability of alternative call centre production models. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 12(4), 14-34.
- Belt, V. (2004). A female ghetto? Women's careers in telephone call centres. In S. Deery & N. Kinnie (Eds). *Call centres and human resource management: A cross national perspective* (pp. 174-197). Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burton, J. & van den Broek, D. (2008). Accountable and countable: Information management systems and the bureaucratization of social work. *British Journal of Social Work* (2008) 1-17, *British Journal of Social Work Advance Access published April 26, 2008*.
- Coleman, N., & Harris, J. (2008). Calling social work. *British Journal of Social Work*, 38(3), 580-599.
- Collin-Jaques, C. (2004). Professionals at work: A study of autonomy and skill utilisation in nurse call centres in England and Canada. In S. Deery & N. Kinnie (Eds). *Call centres and human resource management: A cross national perspective*, (pp. 153-174). Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Collins-Jaques, C., & Smith, C. (2005). Nursing on the line: Experiences from England and Quebec (Canada). *Human Relations*, 58(1), 5-32.
- Department of Child Youth & Family Services. (2000). *Call centre handbook*. Wellington.
- Dustin, D. (2008). *The McDonaldisation of social work*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
- Gardner, F. (2006). *Working with human service organisations creating connections for practice*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Garrett, P. (2005). Social work's electronic turn: Notes on the deployment of information and communication technologies in social work with children and families. *Critical Social Policy*, 25(4), 529-553.

- 
- Gault, S. (2001). *Child Youth & Family National Call Centre. Social work*. Auckland, Massey University: 71 Unpublished thesis.
- Gault, S. (2009). *Organisational bio of the National Contact Centre*. Prepared for posting on the official website for the 20th IFSW Asia-Pacific & APASWE Social Workers Conference, Auckland New Zealand 10-13 November 2009.
- Goss, S., & Anthony, K. (Eds). (2003). *Technology in counselling and psychotherapy: A practitioner's guide*. Houndmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gould, N. (2004). Introduction. In N. Gould & M. Baldwin (Eds). *Social work, critical reflection and the learning organization* (pp. 1-9). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Harney, B., & Jordan, C. (2008). Unlocking the black box: Line managers and HRM performance in call centre context. *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management*, 57(4), 275-296.
- Holman, D. (2005). Call centres. In D. Holman, T. Wall, C. Clegg, P. Sparrow & A. Howard (Eds). *The essentials of the new workplace: A guide to the human impact of modern working practices*, (pp. 111-131). Milton Queensland: Wiley.
- Holtgreve, U., & Kerst, C. (2002). *Researching call centres: Gathering results and theories*. 20th Annual International Labour Process Conference, Glasgow, Scotland, April 2-4.
- Humphries, P., & Camilleri, P. (2002). Social work and technology: Challenges for social workers in practice: A case study. *Australian Social Work*, 55(4), 251-259.
- Kinnie, N., Hutchinson, S., & Purcell, J. (2000). Fun and surveillance: The paradox of high commitment management in call centres. *Journal of Human Resource Management*, 11(5), 967-985.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to social life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lester, D. (Ed.) (2002). *Crisis intervention and counseling by telephone*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles. S Thomas.
- Madoc-Jones, I., Warren, E., Ashdown-Lambert, J., Williams, W., & Parry, O. (2007). Planned telephone support for disadvantaged parents in North Wales: Perceptions of service users. *Child and Family Social Work*, 12, 316-325.
- Manion, K., & Renwick, J. (2008). Equivocating over the care and protection continuum: An exploration of families not meeting the threshold for statutory intervention. *Social Policy of New Zealand*, (33), 70-94.
- Maunsell, J. (2006). The underlying instability in statutory child protection: Understanding the system dynamics driving risk assurance levels. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 28, 97-132.
- Petterson, M., Randall, D., & Helgeson, B. (2004). *Ambiguities, awareness and economy: A study of emergency service work*. Computer supported cooperative work 13: 125-154.
- Raz, A., & Blank, E. (2007). Ambiguous professionalism: Managing efficiency and service quality in an Israeli call centre. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 2(1), 83-96.
- Rosenfeld, R., & Wilson, D. (1999). *Managing organizations, texts, readings and cases* (2nd ed). London: McGraw-Hill.
- Scott, D. (2006). Sowing the seeds of innovation in child protection, *Blossoming of our children kia puawai nga tamariki*. 10th Australasian Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect, Wellington, New Zealand, 14-16 February.
- Shire, K., Holtgreve, U., & Kerst, C. (2002). Reorganising customer service work: An introduction. In U. Holtgreve, C. Kerst, & K. Shire (Eds). *Re-organising service work call centres in Germany and Britain* (pp. 1-16). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Stanley, T. (2005). *Making decisions: Social work processes and the construction of risk(s) in child protection work*. A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work, University of Canterbury.
- Taylor, P., & Bain, P. (1999). An assembly line in the head: The call center labor process. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 30(2), 101-117.
- Taylor, P., Mulvey, G., Hyman, J., & Bain, P. (2002). Work organisation, control and the experience of work in call centres. *Work, Employment & Society*, 16(1), 133-150.
- Tegeagle, S. & Darcy, M. (2008). Child welfare and information and communications technology: Today's challenge. *British Journal of Social Work*, 38, 1481-1498.
- van den Broek, D. (2008). Doing things right, or doing the right thing? Call centre migrations and dimensions of knowledge. *Work, Employment & Society*, 22(4), 601-613.
- Warhurst, C. & Thompson, P. (2006). Mapping knowledge in work: Proxies & practices. *Work, Employment & Society*, 29(4), 787-88.
-