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'Delhi Belly': Coping With Toxicity And Immunizing Identities In Indian Call Centres

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1

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Abstract
This paper contributes to the current debates around call centre work by focusing on the processes of identity construction, activation and maintenance adopted by call centre employees. In particular, it highlights how the efforts towards organized and standardized interactions at the workplace, notably between employees and customers, as well as between workers and supervisors, nurture a rich breeding ground for 'disorganized identity work'. In this paper, we make use of the concept of 'toxicity' (Stein, 2007) to understand the occurrence of 'disorganized identity work', examining how the various actors (co)contract and construct toxicity and then cope with it. In building this argument, the paper introduces and explores two alternative coping techniques adopted by the victimized individual, 'immunization through stereotyping' and 'detoxification through transfer'.

Keywords:
Call centres, identity, disorganized identity work, stereotypes, immunization

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INTRODUCTION

The unprecedented rise of call centres in the last few years has attracted immense academic attention (see Frenkel et al., 1999, Kinnie et al., 2000, Bain et al., 2002, Rosenthal, 2004, D'Cruz & Noronha, 2006). Significantly altering the dynamics between customer-employee interactions, call centres have redefined service work. Understandably, research on call centres has given considerable focus to the changes in work organization, newer and stricter forms of control exerted over workers, demands for emotional labour on workers and stress generated by this new form of service work. However, the processes of identity construction, activation and maintenance adopted by call centre workers remain relevant but inadequately researched areas.

In this paper, we argue that call centre employees are unique in their struggle for identity construction, activation and maintenance, due to the special challenges posed by call centre work, which not only create problematic experiences for the workers but also constrain the reaction options available with them. Examining some of these challenges, we argue that management's obsession with standardizing and organizing workplace interactions, through regular surveillance and monitoring, places conflicting demands on workers' selves; causing the emergence of 'disorganized identity work', which is a kind of identity work that is itself disorganized - it is not orderly and predictable, but erratic and ad hoc. Applying the concept of 'toxicity' (Frost and Robinson, 1999; Stein, 2007), this paper seeks to capture the situations and factors in call centres that trigger identity work. Detailed attention is given to the techniques adopted by the employees to process potentially damaging work experiences. It is argued that 'disorganized identity work' does not indicate the purging and exorcising of such experiences in order to maintain a pristine identity – instead, in a reflexive manner; it becomes itself a vital dimension of identity. Identity itself becomes linked to the ways in which various actors (co)contract and construct toxicity and then neutralize, sidestep, or cope with it. In building this argument, we highlight workers' use of alternative coping techniques to create and restore 'self-identity' - 'detoxification through transfer' and 'immunization through stereotyping'. The choice of technique adopted becomes instrumental in identity formation – organized or disorganized.

Empirically, this paper draws extensively upon a recent field study conducted in a Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) organization in India in August 2007. This organization is one of the top ten BPOs in India with employee strength of over 11,000. A diverse process mix and presence within multiple industry verticals makes this organization a relevant research site. This 4-week study focused on three units of the

organization (mass production units) serving a leading UK telecom client. The principal data sources used were face-to-face semi-structured interviews; which were in some cases punctuated with observations (a sample size of fourteen informants was interviewed), storytelling by workers, observation of human resource processes like recruitment and training, observation of everyday working of a typical call centre agent (spending an average of 45 hours a week on site) and documentary analysis (like intranet pages, employee handbook, presentations for senior management etc). In addition, multiple informal and casual discussions took place that provided rich insights into the nature and dynamics of this new form of service work.

We structure our discussion into five sections. First, we examine the contradictions and challenges underlying call centre work, which create discordant demands on workers' sense of self. In the second section, we briefly review the prominent ideas on self-identity and identity work, emphasizing the significance of coherence and its disruption. In the third section, we apply the concept of 'toxicity' (Stein, 2007) to capture the problematic experiences of call centre workers. Following this, in the fourth section, the paper explores alternative coping techniques adopted by workers in dealing with such 'toxic' experiences. At the close of the paper, some final conclusions are detailed out.

CALL CENTRES: PARADOXES AND CHALLENGES

Call centre, which broadly refers to *'a dedicated operation in which computer utilizing employees receive inbound - or make outbound - telephone calls with those calls processed by automatic call distribution (ACD) system, or perhaps by a predictive dialling system'* (Taylor and Bain, 1999:102), is a young sector, with typical call centres in most countries across the globe, being only 8-10 years old. It is now widely recognized that in this short span, call centres have redefined and globalized service work (Holman et al., 2007). At the source of this development, are two separate but related processes, *'outsourcing'*[1] and *'offshoring'*[2]. Based on similar principles of cost competition, quick turnaround time and profit maximization; both outsourcing and offshoring, largely, lead to the more routinized, standardized, peripheral and low autonomy tasks to be transferred outside of the main organization. Recent technological advancements, economic viability and specifically lack of face-to-face contact between the workers and the customers within call centre work facilitate such transfers to occur in different geographical locations effectively.

It is important to mention here, that call centre work is far from uniform. It has been well established, that there exist various sub species of call centres varying from Taylorized mass production to professional services to hybrid mass customization (Taylor and Bain, 2005). However, despite these differences, as Taylor and Bain, 1999 argue, the integration of computer and telephone technologies, leads to considerable similarities within call centres. Holman et al., 2007, in the first large scale international study of call centres (covering 17 countries), report that 75% of call centres predominantly serve

[1] *Outsourcing* or *Business Process Outsourcing* (BPO) is the delegation of an intensive business process to an outside service provider who owns administers and manages it according to a defined set of metrics (Banknet, India)

[2] *Offshoring*, as distinct from offshore outsourcing, refers to instances where "a multinational company moves or expands some [or all] of its operations and jobs to overseas locations" (Hira and Hira 2005: 201). In this case, there is no involvement of 'third party'

mass-market customers. Understandably, given the relatively standardized nature of work, call centres have embraced newer and stricter surveillance measures (electronic and managerial) with gusto.

However, this adoption of advanced and more intense monitoring techniques is not the only reason for the intensifying spotlight on call centre work. Increasing numbers of people joining this sector (an estimated 2 million by end of FY'08, in India alone (Nasscom, 2008)), workforce characteristics (young and predominantly female (Holman et al., 2007)), unmanageable attrition rates, rise in workers' health problems and cultural conflicts posed by interactions with overseas customers, are among the other factors contributing to the growing attention. In this paper, we seek to examine some of the inherent contradictions and paradoxes underlying call centre work, which present special challenges that create demands on workers' identities.

Firstly, as Frenkel et al., 1999 argue, a perpetual struggle lies in attaining a balance between cost efficiency and standardization (the core objectives) vs. the post hoc objectives of customer service and relation building. Management and workers are caught between the 'quality' vs. 'quantity' debate as emphasizing one has significant implications on the other and vice versa (Bain et al., 2002). It has been well established now, that there are no 'pure call centres' where management exclusively focuses on 'quality' or 'quantity' (ibid.). This inherent paradox causes conflicting demands on workers where on one hand, the strict regimentation of work routines and tough targets like adherence ratio, average call handling time, wrap time, among others are assigned and assessed towards workers' performance. On the other hand, through 'mystery shopping calls', frequent customer satisfaction surveys etc., the objective of customer satisfaction is highlighted.

Secondly, in this era of '*globalization*', management has become more 'customer focused' and market driven (Gabriel, 2008; Clegg et al, 2001). Consequently, with the 'Front Line Worker' having more direct 'encounters' with the customers (Frenkel et al., 1999), there is a significant dislocation of power relations within the worker, management and customer triad, thereby having strong implications on identity construction and regulation of workers. Workers, acting as the first point of contact and in many cases the only point of contact for customers; become the face / voice of the organization. This regularly leads to stricter control and surveillance by management but also to more opportunities for evasion and resistance by employees, often using the customers as unwitting allies or as smokescreens.

Thirdly, working within the 'outsourcing' and 'offshoring' model creates special challenges of identity and 'identification' for both workers and managers. The different collectives to which they belong – employing organization, process handled (domestic vs. international, inbound vs. outbound), shifts worked (day or night) among others - test specific concepts of 'sameness', 'otherness' and 'collective identity'. For example, in dealing with a difficult customer, worker and manager may experience themselves as same, while a worker may call upon a customer as an ally in evading strict targets or procedures laid down by the manager. As Simmel (1950), recognized, triads create

constant possibilities for disequilibrium and alliance realignments, with consequent shifts in conceptions of 'same' and 'other'.

Finally, in the case of off-shoring or offshore outsourcing, factors like cultural conflicts, differing working habits, dilution (and in some cases complete absence) of autonomy, values mismatch and time differential aggravate the complexity. The analogy of 'Delhi Belly'[3] offers a useful way to discuss how these differing working habits and value systems cause disorganization, requiring similar coping techniques to those used by travellers. Triggered by bacterial infection, contamination and intolerance of radical change in environment and food, traveller's diarrhea (or Delhi Belly) adversely affects the ability to perform daily activities. Similarly, for call centre workers, the experience of call centre work (especially outsourced and offshored work) contrasts significantly with traditional service work experiences; offering a radically different work environment. Lured by lucrative pay packages and infrastructural facilities, employees have little or no knowledge of what call centre work entails. As with Delhi Belly, this condition may require similar coping techniques to those used by travellers - prevention, immunity building and intake of generous portions of nutrition to rehydrate the body. Organizations, in their attempt to rejuvenate and immunize these dehydrated employees, inject 'cross-cultural doses' through frequent training programs. Discourses on 'professionalism' and 'self-regulation', standardization of work practices, town hall meetings, reward ceremonies, etc. offer some other intervention techniques.

Arguably, while digital technology may largely eliminate the effects of physical distance, it can hardly annul the influence of cultural and social distances. Interpersonal tensions and conflicts are liable to awaken cultural assumptions about superiority and subordination and corresponding resentments. This coupled with strict surveillance techniques and regimented work routines can lead to considerable emotional, social and physical stresses.

Hence, the nature of interactions within the customer-workers-manager triad as well as the working conditions and the nature of employment in these organizations, create constant discordant demands on many employees seeking to construct and sustain relatively coherent identities. These demands rarely assume the status of identity violations (although there are occasions when they do so), but they often generate inner turbulence, disorientation and disorder among employees, calling for extensive identity work to neutralize or contain them.

SELF-IDENTITY AND IDENTITY WORK: CHAOS OF COHERENCE
The trajectory of debate regarding the nature of identity, has moved from proposing that identity is about 'being' - viewing it as fixed and stable (the essentialistic position); to identity is about 'becoming' - viewing it as fluid, uncertain in movement and radically de-centred. Amidst these debates, what seems to be agreed upon is that self-identity, is an

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[3] Delhi Belly or traveller's diarrhoea is a common medical problem for people traveling from developed, industrialized countries to developing areas of the world. It is caused by bacterial infection due to consumption of contaminated food or water.

individual's conception of him/herself, which can be captured through their response to the question 'who am I?' (see Alvesson et al, 2008).

Remarkably, despite, the shift in identity debates, from a stable and monolithic view of identity to a constructed and processual view (ibid.), the emphasis on 'coherence' remains paramount. It is often argued, that identity provides a sense of coherence and meaningfulness over time and space; guiding people's thoughts, feelings and actions. Understandably then, recent researchers have sharply voiced their concerns regarding increasing turbulence within contemporary workplaces that threaten to disrupt inner selves. Largely, there appears to be a consensual belief, that contemporary organizational and personal lives are more fragmented and dissonance provoking. It is often argued that the inner selves are infiltrated by external agencies (like organizations) thus 'deprivatizing' (Gubrium and Holstein, 1995; in Gubrium and Holstein, 2001) personal self. 'Today, identity no longer emanates from within, but penetrates us from every angle.' (p. 2).

An important argument that we aim to further in this paper, is that despite, the apparent vulnerability and fluidity of identity, viewing identity as fragile is pre-emptive. The fragmentation and chaos within organizational work, does not indicate similar and equal restlessness and disturbance of 'identity'. Much of the '*forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising' (*Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003, p: 1165) is done unconsciously and even instinctively.

Restoration of inner selves does not necessarily require enhanced self-evaluation. Our field study highlights cases, where individual's 'acceptance' of personal failures and disorganization, helped realign inner selves and move on with daily activities. This realignment did not translate into perfect harmony and peace within inner 'self', nor was it resistant to newer challenges, but it did help immunize 'self', protecting itself from potentially damaging situations. As a team member who had spent 4 years in the industry handling back-to-back customer calls reported: '*I have completed my PhD, but after that, when I tried for the NET[4], I could not clear that. I tried a lot, but could not clear it. Then lectureship became a problem and I decided to move to Delhi[5]. Finally, I spoke to a friend of mine, who is a consultant, and then he got me this job. When I joined, I thought I would join temporarily and then look around (for a job) but I have just stayed on. Now I have been in it for many years''*.

In some cases, management of inner turbulence required rationalization of situations. For instance, it was found, that often when disorganization was caused by mismatch between professional past or educational background and the current job content or employment conditions, it was justified against the economic gains (better salary packages, bonuses and incentives) offered by call centre work. As a team member, on being asked if she felt that she missed out on anything by working in call centres, said: '*Not at all, on the other hand, I am getting everything, I mean if I were in Ludhiana[6] I would be earning Rs[7].*

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[4] NET is a qualifying examination which is a pre-requisite for teaching in Indian universities
[5] Capital of India
[6] A small town in North of India

6000 as a teacher with my post graduation (Masters) in English. But here, with my incentives etc I earn about Rs. 20,000 a month. I know that I end up spending that much too...I mean the expenditure has also increased but at least I can say I am earning that much.'

It is against this argument, that in the following sections, we draw upon some more excerpts from interviews and field notes to highlight the variety of coping techniques (practiced and alternative, conscious and spontaneous) adopted by call centre workers to protect 'selves' from potentially damaging situations. We now look at situations and sources of problematic experiences faced by call centre workers.

EXPERIENCING 'TOXICITY'
Though a variety of images have been offered to understand the experiences and work relations of front line service workers, the concept of 'toxicity' (Stein, 2007), provides a useful image for two important reasons. Firstly, it helps capture the more painful and problematic experiences of front line service workers, which create widespread and pervasive feelings of being 'poisoned' or 'polluted'. Secondly, it acknowledges the difficulty in digesting such experiences. This acknowledgement emphasizes the possibility of spreading 'toxicity' across time and space; damaging the work environment as well as workers' personal lives (Frost and Robinson, 1999; Stein, 2007).

In using this concept of 'toxicity', we argue that within the call centre context, the experience of 'toxicity' is aggravated by constant electronic surveillance, regimented routines and unsupportive managers, all of which together constrain the reaction options available with the workers. Therefore, the demands placed on the workers, are for greater and more intense identity work, aimed at sustaining coherent, meaningful and sustainable identity narratives. In a similar way, that an ingested toxin forces the organism to take certain measures in its attempts to either expel it or metabolize it, toxic exchanges that undermine or injure the identities of call centre employees force them to undertake certain measures to restore their identities and either get rid or metabolize the toxic material.

According to Stein, the customers' words and actions can be important sources of toxic feelings. This is consistent with our field findings. Most team members reported facing regular 'rejection' from customers; when some of the customers made overtly 'discriminatory' remarks or demanded for their calls to be transferred to local (UK / US) agents. This evoked a sense of inadequacy among agents who responded with anger and frustration. In order to cope with such remarks, agents fell back on the organizational rules, informing customers of their inability to transfer calls due to the random (computerized) call distribution system. "*We tell them that we are putting them back into the queue and as the calls get randomly distributed, the next call may or may not reach a UK person*" (Team member, Voice Process). In some cases, agents reported confronting the customers by seeking an explanation for their 'call transfer demands'.

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[7] Indian currency – Rupee

In addition to 'rejection', toxicity was also experienced by the sexual advances and remarks made by the customers. One female team member recalled an incident where a customer tried to flirt with her, causing her to feel disgusted and uncomfortable.

> *"Once this guy called and he was so pissed drunk. He was an old man of around 75 or so. After discussing his broadband related issue, he started flirting ... He said "where are you calling from?"... I said " India"... He said "do not tell me, it seems like you are calling from next door". Then he asked me "How old are you?"... I said "Sorry sir, I am not supposed to tell you personal details but in case you want to know anything about our company and its offerings then I can surely help"... He said "come on that is not personal information, but if you do not want to tell me then it is ok, but I can tell from your voice that you are very young. I must tell you that I am the most wanted bachelor in UK.".... I felt like slamming the phone on his face and saying damn you old man.*

Interestingly, some other female team members refrained from discussing such incidents during the formal interview process, but acknowledged their occurrence during casual conversations with the researcher.

Another recurrent source of toxicity was the customers' assumption that call centre work required no training or expertise. This undermined the employees' sense of professionalism and professional identity sustained by the extensive training that they had undergone prior to starting their jobs. This generated significant frustration and called for measures to restore the workers' identities as professionals. This was compounded by the implicit racism of such exchanges – the implication was that a UK- or US-based operator would deal with the customers' requests more effectively and more professionally, a particularly upsetting circumstance for workers, many of whom, unlike their Western counterparts, have university degrees.

However, toxicity did not originate only in the customers. In a striking finding from the fieldwork, managers were persistently experienced as chief causes of dissatisfaction and frustration, sometimes even 'poisoning through betrayal'. Strong antagonism towards team leaders was picked up during interviews, observation and informal conversations. Almost all interviewees regarded the role of a team leader as significant in protecting and supporting their teams. Team leaders were expected to be compassionate towards their team members, often playing the role of '*toxin handlers*' (Frost and Robinson, 1999). Many team members argued that in an industry characterized by electronic surveillance and regular monitoring, team leaders could provide opportunities for temporary escape and revitalization, through special allowances and favours. Team members gave detailed accounts of 'favouritism' where better shift timing, longer breaks, higher performance rating etc were assigned to some team members over others, thereby causing feelings of injustice and betrayal. Appeasing a team leader was regarded as significant factor contributing to success on the job. Relations with team leaders had a critical bearing on the type of identity work carried out by the operators.

A third source of identity disorganization for these employees was the strong divide between work and family lives that cut off social support mechanisms for many of them. The work was experienced as emotionally and physically exhausting; it was also found to interfere with the employees' social and family lives. A large proportion of respondents reported unsocial work hours (like night shifts), working outside of home cities and even the negative media attention as important factors partitioning their work lives and personal lives. Many of the workers admitted not having any other social life apart from going out with friends at work. Some interviewees (especially with families in smaller cities) acknowledged that their family did not understand their work content and formed opinions based on the negative media publicity, which only fostered misconceptions and adverse reactions. Itself a prominent source of toxicity, this corrosive and widespread media attention (television, newspapers, magazines) was seen to over exaggerate the malaise of call centre work, widely reporting - data thefts, drug abuse, 'Americanization of workforce', degeneration of traditional value system, etc. This discouraged the workers from discussing about work and work related frustrations with their families.

It appeared that the workers were forced, or felt compelled to generate different stories about their work life for their family, their friends, their managers and even the researcher. As previously discussed, this dissonance resulting from multiple narratives not only causes restlessness and battle for coherence and consonance but requires adoption of newer coping techniques.

COPING WITH TOXICITY: UNFOLDING DISORGANIZED IDENTITY WORK

Two important ways of coping with such troubling experiences, according to Stein (2007), are 'fleeing' and 'revenge'. '*As toxic substances cannot be digested or easily eliminated in a healthy manner, there is a possibility that revenge will be exacted*' (ibid.). While, the strict controls in call centres limited the opportunities for either fleeing or revenge, various incidents observed and reported indicated that they are used by the workers. In addition, two alternative coping strategies were observed - 'detoxification through transfer' and 'immunization through stereotyping'. Further, it was observed that the choice of technique adopted was instrumental in identity formation – organized or disorganized.

It was consistently found that toxicity was often transferred from one organizational actor on to others through the use of 'manipulation', 'silent rebellion', 'retaliation' and even 'threat'. As consciously chosen techniques, these gave workers a sense of active agency and a much greater sense of control over own work lives. For instance, the hostility towards team leaders was predominantly expressed through 'retaliation' and 'silent rebellion'. In one case, a team member recalled feeling extremely angry at not getting 'deserving' incentives, promised to her by the team leader after her 'outstanding performance' at meeting targets. In retaliation, she came to work but did not log into the system for three days. Despite, her team leader 'requesting and pleading' her to resume work, she insisted on being 'heard' by the senior manager. In another act, of silent rebellion, she opted out of a 'fast promotion policy' offered by the management to outstanding performers due to her scepticism towards the fairness of the policy. She reported not responding to the nomination deadline, thereby expressing her

dissatisfaction. Similarly, during the fieldwork, it was consistently observed that threat of quitting the job was frequently used by the team members to get team leaders to 'hear' them. On two occasions, while the researcher was talking to a Human Resource (HR) manager, two team members approached the department HR manager, explicitly threatening to quit their jobs if their annual leave was not approved by their team leader.

These reactions served as important identity-reinforcing gestures for the workers, re-establishing their confidence about speaking their mind and not putting up passively with injustice and degradation. Importantly, these reactions gave critical messages to the managers about the workers having *choices* rather than being trapped in a job from which they cannot escape. Furthermore, they emphasized the workers determination to have the *voices* heard rather than suffer in silence, even if the venting of their grievances was unlikely to bring about their resolution and reduce disorganization.

Contrastingly, reactions towards customer-generated toxicity were found to be less spontaneous and more studied. In a striking finding, 'stereotyping' was found to be extensively used by numerous employees as a means to rationalize the 'toxic' experiences ignited by customers' words. *'UK people are very racist. Many of them call and say that they do not want to speak to Indians. But yes, they are also very polite. I mean they are very proud to be English......US people are very rude. They have very bad English. They eat up their words and are very aggressive'' (Team Member, blended process[8])*

Stereotypes, a term introduced by the journalist Walter Lippman in 1922, refers to the 'pictures in our heads' (see Martinko, 1995) or 'clusters of preconceived notions' (Wilson & Rosenfeld, 1990). Sometimes functioning in an unconscious way, they provide cognitive shortcuts that enable the process of sense making and decision-making. While the concept of 'stereotypes' has received much attention within the realm of social psychology, it has found inadequate representation in organizational studies. Of these, a large part of the research on stereotypes has focused on gender or sex role stereotypes that lead to discrimination in organizations. Through the finding from fieldwork, this paper contributes to understanding of 'stereotypes' as an important 'coping technique', protecting 'self' from being consumed by toxic experiences.

It was found during the fieldwork that while some stereotypes were individually held, others were largely shared and mutually validated with other workers. In both cases, these stereotypes, did not necessarily re-organize and restore inner selves but served an important function of immunizing workers' selves, by viewing the customers as bigots and even stupid.

Apart from the above, some workers reported adopting rather risqué techniques like 'customer manipulation'. Some team members openly reported incidents where they manipulated the customers 'just for fun', or to find temporary escape from the stress. As a team member pompously recalled an incident where he put the customer on hold in order to find details about the customer's broadband connection to help resolve their

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[8] Bended process deals with both web and voice based services.

problem, however in actuality he went for a small break. In another case, a team member 'happened' to browse through a customers' pictures folder and recalled finding his daughter good looking. These incidents confirmed Stein's view of revenge as a means of restoring identities – it is notable, however, that revenge was frequently aimed not directly at the individual who had introduced the toxic exchange but at somebody who could be viewed as a weaker surrogate.

CONCLUSION

'Organizations have always generated distress, just as they have generated feelings of joy and fulfilment. Strong emotions are part of life; they are part of business' (Frost and Robinson, 1999; p. 98). Call centres while not being any different in this aspect from other organizations, generate myriad of emotions – pain, anger, joy, envy, love and fear among others, thereby requiring effective emotion management (Fineman, 2000). However, nature of interactions within the customer-workers-manager triad, the working conditions and the nature of employment in these organizations call for special attention to identity construction, activation and maintenance by workers.

The concept of identity disorganization describes well the experiences of employees in our study. They found themselves troubled, undermined and having difficulty in sustaining existing identity narratives as educated professionals, skilled employees, polite individuals etc. in the light of various toxic exchanges with customers and managers. For many of them, the option of discussing their frustrations and anger with their relatives at home was impossible, either because of the hours of work or because of the stigma attached to call centre work. Hence, these employees had to carry out extensive identity work to restore and heal their selfhoods. While, some of the identity work was individually carried out, it was often collectivised by being shared, approved and applauded by their peers. Paramount among these attempts were found to be retaliation, voicing of disapproval or anger, threats of exit, customer manipulation, transfer of toxicity and stereotyping of the customers. Largely, all of these coping strategies had one objective – the reduction of disorganization and the restoration of identity as a relatively coherent and consistent entity. However, in many cases, identity work itself was disorganized – unpredictable, erratic and ad hoc, thereby not necessarily limiting identity disorganization but even adding to it. Importantly, the choice of coping technique adopted was instrumental in identity formation – organized or disorganized.

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