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ÇOK DILI ÇAĞRİ MERKEZİNİN ULUSLARARASI İŞ DÜNYASININ GENİŞLETİLMESİNDE ROLÜ: ÇALIŞAN BECERILERIN, GELİŞTIRILMESİ MÜŞTERİ DENEYİMİNİ ZENGINLESTIRME, VE YENİ İŞ FIRSATLARI YARATMA.

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

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THE ROLE OF MULTILINGUAL CALL CENTER IN EXPANSION OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS: IMPROVED SKILLS BASE, ENRICHING CUSTOMER EXPERİENCE, AND CREATİNG NEW BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY.

ABSTRACT

In the last three decades, the world has undergone significant changes in its economic sectors. The manufacturing industry, which led to economic growth during the 19th century, now shows a deep decline while an important development of the multilingual call center is observed. Due to this phenomenon, numerous authors have begun to document the role of the multilingual call centers as the new growth engine of the economy. Garza (2011) affirms that the analysis of call centers is fundamental to understand the macroeconomic evolution in the last decades of the 20th century and in the first decades of the 21st century.

Multilingual call centers have become the primary channel of customer interaction service for many businesses. The level of professionalism and efficiency that call center agents deliver to customers provides a significant advantage over traditional customer service practices and business opportunity. The growth of multilingual call centers has been substantial over the last two decades. This growth is driven by a company's desire to lower operating costs and to increase revenues (Kim 1997).

The work presented here aims to study the role of multilingual call center in expansion of international business, its importance in the globalized economy and the workforce employed in the multilingual call center. It tries to show the importance of multilingual call in customer experience, working conditions and new business opportunity in today's market. It is interesting to document and analyse the emergence of new call center that seem to be developed in principle by companies interested to provide assistance to their multiple customer 24h/24, and selling by telephone or through the Internet.

Keywords: Call center, business opportunity, job satisfaction and job opportunity, Customer service.

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ÖZET

Son otuz yılda, dünya ekonomik sektörlerinde önemli değişiklikler geçirdi. On dokuzuncu yüzyılda ekonomik büyümeye yol açan imalat sanayii, şimdi çok dilli çağrı merkezinin önemli bir gelişimi gözlenirken derin bir düşüş gösteriyor. Bu fenomen nedeniyle çok sayıda yazar çok dilli çağrı merkezlerinin ekonominin yeni büyüme motoru olarak rolünü belirlemeye başlamıştır. Garza (2011), çağrı merkezlerinin analizinin, 20. yüzyılın son on yılındaki ve 21. yüzyılın ilk on yılındaki makroekonomik evrimi anlamak için temel olduğunu onaylamaktadır

Çok dilli çağrı merkezleri birçok işletme için müşteri etkileşimi hizmetinin ana kanalı haline gelmiştir. Çağrı merkezi temsilcilerinin müşterilere sunduğu profesyonellik ve verimlilik düzeyi, geleneksel müşteri hizmetleri uygulamaları ve iş fırsatı karşısında önemli bir avantaj sağlar. Çok dilli çağrı merkezlerinin büyümesi son yirmi yılda önemli ölçüde olmuştur. Bu büyüme, bir şirketin işletme maliyetlerini düşürme ve gelirleri artırma arzusundan kaynaklanmaktadır (Kim 1997)

Burada sunulan çalışma, çok dilli çağrı merkezinin uluslararası ticaretin gelişmesindeki rolünü, küreselleşmiş ekonomideki önemini ve çok dilli çağrı merkezinde kullanılan işgücünü incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çok dilli çağrı merkezinin müşteri deneyimi, çalışma koşulları ve bugünün pazarındaki yeni iş fırsatları ndaki önemini göstermeye çalışıyor. Özellikle 24 saat / 24 olan birden fazla müşterisine yardım sağlamak, telefonla veya İnternet üzerinden satış yapmak isteyen şirketler tarafından geliştirilen yeni bir çağrı merkezinin ortaya çıkışını belgelemek ve analiz etmek ilginçtir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Çağrı Merkezi, iş tatmini ve iş fırsatı, müşteri hizmetleri

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AB	Office Agent
AASE	Socio-Economic Assistance Officer
ARF	Tax Audit Agent
ARTT	Reduction of working time
CAP	Investment Assistance Center (MTESS)
CCC	Customer Communication Center
CEGO	Center of Expertise for Large Organizations
CGA	Call Management Center (SQ)
CLE	Local Employment Center (MTESS)
CMMRP	Joint Ministerial Committee on Industrial Relations
CNT	Committee on Labor Standards
CRC	Customer Relations Center
CSST	Committee on Occupational Health and Safety
DASS II	Digital Access Signalling System
ICLR	Inspector of Legislative and Regulatory Compliance
ICT	Information and communications technology
ISDN	Integrated Services Digital Network
IVR	Interactive voice response called
MIDI	Ministry of Inclusion, Diversity and Immigration
M / O	Ministries and Agencies
MTESS	Quebec Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Solidarity
MTQ	Quebec Ministry of Transport
PABX	Private automatic branch exchange
PAR	Information clerks
PAT	Telecommunications clerks
RAMQ	Quebec Health Insurance Administration
RBQ	Québec Construction Administration
RQAP	Quebec Parental Insurance Plan (MTESS)
RRQ	Quebec Retirement Administration
SAAQ	Quebec Automobile Insurance Company
SFPQ	Quebec Public Service and Para public Union
SQ	Police of Quebec
TVF	Technician-in-Tax Audit

Introduction: Context and Objective of the study

The concept of globalization has become widespread in international economic analysis after the work of Levitt (1983), Porter (1986) and Doz (1986) on the management of multinational firms. It characterizes the new conditions of international competition and results in rivalries on this scale with an increased phenomenon of interdependence. If companies compete internationally, the same goes for the territories (Bardelli, 2004, Quignon, 2006, Bories-Azeau et al., 2007). Thereby, the actors responsible for the development of the territories, especially public institutions of local or regional development, seek to develop competitive advantages vis-à-vis to other territories. One of the major challenges is to attract and retain businesses to maintain and develop economic dynamism and jobs. If the attraction can be assimilated to an exercise of "seduction", it is essential to weave simultaneously lasting advantages if one wants to retain the companies and make sure of their permanence on the territory, by avoiding that they do not go on bankruptcy or leave the territory. Therefore, multilingual call center offshoring become of solution companies seeking to take advantage of the lowest costs as well as the most important state subsidies, and not hesitating to move in search of these competitive advantages internationally.

Objective of the study

Our study focuses on the case of multilingual call center offshoring, which is in fact an example of a broader phenomenon, that of multinational companies moving in terms of costs and opportunities for subsidies to different countries shaping the international business face. Although it is difficult to count them because many of them are integrated into companies and therefore not always identified as such (in the financial, technology, travel, and even government sectors), call centers have known a very important boom (Huws, 2009). It is in this context we are interested in the phenomenon, especially since they are present in larger number of organizations and impact international business and work conditions. Indeed, in order to manage their customer relationships, a growing number of companies use call center, because it is considered effective for customer loyalty (Batt, 2000), or because it allows cost reductions.

Multilingual Call centers fit well in the context of globalization and the tendency to outsource a number of services. The densification of communication networks allows them to locate almost anywhere in the world, which leads to frequent relocation, although a number of companies retain the call center within their organization, either to better control it or because of the sensitive nature of the information processed.

D'Cruz and Noronha (2009) find that the territories are competing to attract call centers, even in India where costs are lower, call centers are in permanent competition and are threatened by Globalization. The management practices that characterize the call centers also reflect sometimes a "harsh" and "rough" facet of globalization: call center jobs are often perceived as precarious, routine and with no future for agents (Doeringer et al. Piore, 1971, Knights and McCabe, 1998, Taylor and Bain, 1999, 2005, Deery and Kinniem, 2002), which is often criticized in the press and sometimes leads to attempts at unionization, as shown by Brophy (2006, 2009).

Research Question

In this context, several questions arise: What arguments lead local or regional organizations for their desire to attract call centers on their territory? What are the reasons that push call centers to established, expand their activities in one territory rather than another? What are the problems related to working conditions in the call centers of the public and Para public services? Finally, considering simultaneously that call center management practices are sometimes criticized and that economic development agencies are seeking to attract businesses to their territories, could not we consider that they can promote the adoption of economically and socially efficient management practices? This would develop a source of sustainable competitive advantages for the territory.

These questions have led us to carry out mixed method research in Quebec and Canada (Montreal and Ottawa in particular) in order to address the issue of multilingual call centers both in terms of their relationship to the territories and in their internal management issues, using a trans-organizational approach (Savall, Zardet, Noguera, 2006, Pierre, 2007, 2010).

Methodology of the study

From a methodological point of view, this study resulted in 20 qualitative interviews with economic development agencies and call centers (management, agents). Following the method chosen (Savall, Zardet, Noguera, 2006), we collected and selected 900 key-phrases that were structured into themes and key ideas, which we compared to information from our literature review on call centers. Secondly, we have divided the research into two complementary parts. The first component is based on a quantitative survey, and provided reliable statistical data on female and male call center workers and their working conditions. For this phase of the project, a reasonable sample of call centers from five departments and agencies was selected, and a total of 492 people responded to the survey. The second part is based on a qualitative inquiry procedure which has made it possible to deepen the results obtained in the quantitative phase of the research, and to identify ways of analyzing the causes, nature and consequences of service transformation processes and working conditions in call centers. Individual and group interviews with 39 people working in call centers from 19 departments and agencies were conducted for this component of the research.

Our results are presented in four parts. In the first part, we show the reasons that influence the choice of institutions to devote or not their resources and efforts to attract and retain call centers on their territory. We then analyze the elements that encourage call centers to locate in one territory rather than another, as well as the competitive advantages of Quebec / Canada compared to those of other zones. Thirdly, in the last part, we discuss the idea of developing institutional support for call centers that is both a source of territorial competitive advantages and of socio-economic interest. And Finally, we will present the key findings and highlights the workings conditions in service business industry.

1. Literature review

1.1 Definition of call center

The call center is not easy to define because of his complexity. Known as "customer service centers", "Call centre or Call center", "Contact centers " or 'customer satisfaction centers', call center operates in an office where the agents use advanced computer systems to perform outbound or telephone calls enabling firms to provide better customer service, extend sales capabilities and manage customer relationships.(Taylor and Bain 1999; Gans et al.2003).

As defined by Taylor and Bain (1999), a call center is dedicated to operations in which agents using computers receive or make phone calls, which calls are handled by a computerized call distribution system. Customers are treated through queues. A call center provides telephone services, particularly suitable for information transmission, customer service, and sales operations (Houlihan, 2000).

The North American Industry Classification System (NAICS,56142) define the call centers as a venture that provides services to third parties through the use of telephones and information and technologies. They receive and make phone calls for third parties. They request or provide information, market products or services, manage orders and raise funds.

According to Wikipedia, a call center or call center is a unified office used by a company for receiving or transmitting a large volume of inquiries by telephone.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the call center as a centralized office where trained and equipped employees use computer technology to handle large numbers of telephone calls, to assist in the management of calls, sales services or products and the supply of information, etc...."

According to Richardson, R, and Gillespie, A. (2003) call centers can be described as having three essential traits:

- Employees are engaged in special operations that integrate telecommunications and information systems technologies.
- The works of employees are controlled by automatic systems which virtually simultaneously distribute work, control the pace of that work and monitor their performance
- The employees are in direct telephone contact with the customer through dealing with inbound calls, making calls or combination of the two.

In view of all its definitions, terms like "Telephone", "Employees", 'Call" and "information and technologies" come up several times. So, we can say that a call center is a centralized platform that brings together a set of human, material and technical resources to support the distance relationship between a company and its market. The call center can help companies to put them in contact with their prospects/customers in B to B or B to C.
The agents occupying this space handles all incoming and outgoing calls from their customers (small businesses, SMEs, liberal professions, etc.). These calls may be related to a commercial or technical aspect of the product or service offered by the company. For this, they use digital tools such as chatbots or CRM and HR software to ensure an optimal customer experience.
A call center also acts as a contact center (contact center) since the platform not only handles incoming and outgoing calls but also supports all exchanges passing through other communication channels: email, social networks, written messages, websites ...

Although telecoms dominate the market, teleoperators operate in most areas of daily life. They manage subscriptions, solve technical problems, keep track of your orders, organize your trips and offer many other services.

Call centers handle multiple activities related to the relationship between the client (the company) and the prospects/customers. Depending on the contracts and the needs of the companies, the services can range from a simple tele secretariat to global support of the customer relationship. The services you can find are:

-Telephone reception
-Tele-secretary
-Surveys, surveys, satisfaction surveys
-Telemarketing and telemarketing (appointment taking, prospecting ...)
-Qualification of files
-Management and enrichment of databases
-Customer loyalty
-Technical support (hotline, web help, technical support)
-After-sales service (SAV), customer service

1.2 Overview of call center

In the 1960s, the analysis of services as engines of economic growth began to gain importance, due to the incorporation of innovative processes within the business and the initial use of automation technologies. The separation between a traditional services business sector and the new one was apparent. The new service business demand was increasing and was based on processes linked to dynamically and technologically advanced machines, as well as the use of information and knowledge as professional work factors (Drucker, 1993; Bell, 1999; Freeman and Louca, 2001).

Like most of the creation and innovation the world has known, the call center had a history of a debut. In the 1973s, the US firm Rockwell (the Rockwell Galaxy) developed the Automatic Call Distributor to permit the customers of Continental Airlines to book a ticket over the phone. And the modern call center of nowadays emanates from that system of booking over the phone. But early in the 1960s, The UK-based Birmingham Press and Mail start using the Automatic Call Distributor system to implement the Private Automated Business Exchanges (PABX) to handle large volumes of customer contacts. It was used by the press groups and travel agencies, especially to support subscriptions and bookings. The development of automatic call distribution coming from computer technology is directly linked to the development of the call center. The systems of Automatic call Distributor receive the incoming calls, filtering them and transfers them to best-fit agent available team or Interactive voice response called (IVR). The concept of the call center has been inspired by that of Automatic Call Distributors. The Automatic Call Distributor is an automated system capable of handling a large volume of calls. It was more flexible and has reduced the work of the human operators in the call center. The telephone was the only way for the customer to contact the company to obtain the quality of service expected, which was not always the case ... (long waiting, long deliveries, difficulties in returning items)

In the 1983s the term "call centre" first appears in The Oxford English Dictionary, in Data Communications section in this following sentence: Each of these 'call centers' is staffed with agents who work with Honeywell intelligent terminals, enabling them to quote rates and compute discounts given to large users.

In the 90s and 2000s, with the advent of the internet, companies are abandoning call centers and rushing to new digital communication channels that allow great and faster interactions. But technology evolves very quickly, many companies are struggling to adapt to these new modes of communication to provide the best service to their customers. This is an important phase of transition that occurs during this period.

Since 2014, the multiplication of channels (web, email, SMS, social networks ...) and increasingly sophisticated communication media (smartphones, tablets, desktops) have led to the emergence of a new software offering a complete vision of the customer journey.

Here is an example of what could be a commercial exchange nowadays:

You see a blue t-shirt that you like a lot on your smartphone. You click on your order.
No luck, you receive a green t-shirt and not blue. Always on your smartphone, you contact the online shop and the operator welcomes you by your name. At a glance, he sees the history of your orders and immediately starts a return procedure that will be confirmed in the wake of SMS. While you are still online with the operator, you receive your confirmation SMS and an email containing a return label to return your package. The problem has been solved in just a few minutes, you are delighted with the service provided and will not hesitate to place new orders at this distributor. As a result, businesses become more proactive and strive to deliver the best customer experience possible through personalized support and quality support.

Figure 1 The Basic center Architecture
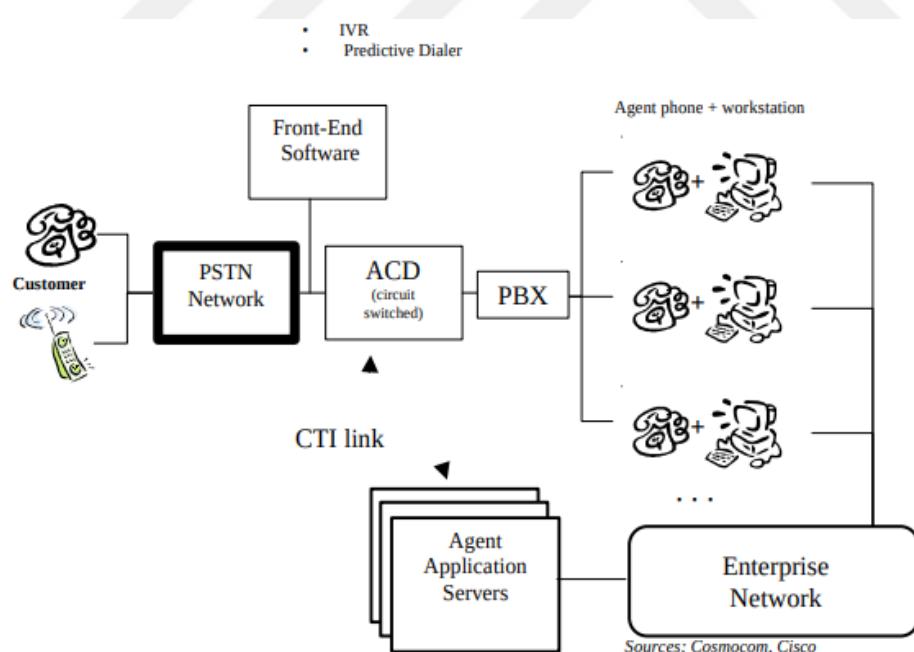
The above schematic describes a technology platform of the "traditional" call center.
In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the technology advance reinforces the use of call center to business. The call center allowed some businesses at that time to run their business over the phone. As an example, in the UK we have a Direct Line founded by Peter Wood, who was one of the first companies to sell insurance entirely over the telephone in 1985s. And in the USA, we have Aspect Telecommunications, an American multinational call center technology, and customer experience company, who was founded by Jim Carreker.

In the 1972s, the magazine New Scientist published that Barclaycard has started using a Plessey PABX. These systems enable the employees to check the credit card records of Barclaycard's 1.6 million customers via a microfiche reference system. Access, the direct competitor of Barclaycard's also has implemented a computerized system allowing very fast access to customer records. In the same year, Gas World published the implementation of an automatic call distribution system at British Gas in Wales. Per week the system had handled more than 18 000 calls. It has been one of the first multilingual systems to manage different tongue calls, Welsh and English.

In 1990, the digital technologies have been more developed and sophisticated, the DASS II (Digital Access Signalling System), which used digital trunk lines for connecting a PBX or Automatic Call Distribution system to the telephone network has been replaced by Integrated Services Digital Network (ISDN) systems, using the Euro-ISDN protocol. And in the last two decades, the technology has continued to grow and we have seen the emergence of IP telephony systems. The IP telephony systems allowed the contact center agent to make the telephone over the internet.

In 1995, BT Group that provides global security, cloud, and networking services to multinational companies worldwide with operations in 180 countries, introduced the Caller ID or Caller Line Identity systems. These systems allow the contact center agents to recognize the customer identity when he is calling before the agent picked up the call.

In the present day, the contact center uses Computer Telephony Integration (CTI) systems. This system helps the call center agent to coordinate telephone and computer conversations.

1.2.1 The call center and the internet "Dot com".

In the 1990s with the rise of the internet, the use of call centers takes another dimension. The online presence of multinational companies and small businesses wishing to conquer new markets while reducing costs becomes paramount. Thus, in early 1995, Internet companies using the "dot com" have seduced many capitalist investors attracted by the potential for rapid growth offered by the online economy. Lawrence Byrd, Vice President of Marketing at Quintus, affirmed that "on the dot-com side, the customer experience is progressively making the brand, and online business is, therefore, a passionate executive topic. With this new trend, websites have become the central point of contact and sales between companies and customers. And many companies have integrated call centers into their organizational front line to sell products and services, assist customers and provide technical support. Companies realized that Web contact centers are important in creating a long-lasting viable business in a market characterized by information and technology and driven by online sales and customer loyalty and trust.

1.2.2 The technology transition from the call center to the contact center.

In the 1960s, the invention of Automatic Call Distribution led to the rise of "call centers ". For the first time employees were hired and trained to handle incoming calls at a volume cost-effective pace. The computer technology innovation had made possible to route incoming calls to different agents based on their skills and availability.

In the 1990s, the emergence of the internet with the "dot com" boom played an important role in the history of call centers. They have metamorphosed the business of call center. They jump-started the transition from "call center" to "contact center'". More and more companies started operating online without a physical store and the customers could not reach them when they need support. Thereby businesses shifted to call centers to provide that missing element of customer service. And email has become one of the most popular forms of communication between the customers and online companies.

The company Gartner, describes the contact center as a team or group of teams that exchange with the customers through information and technology channels like emails, phone calls, SMS, live chat and social media.

Broadly speaking call center agents offer support or sales only through the phone. And Contact center agents interact with customers or users or handle inquiries or requests from them through phone calls plus SMS, email, live chat, and social media. Find below the difference between the traditional call centers and the modern multi-channel contact center.

Table 1 Multi-Channel contact Center versus traditional call center

MULTI-CHANNEL CONTACT CENTER VERSUS TRADITIONAL CALL CENTER

Benefit	Multi-channel contact center	Traditional call center
Allows flexibility to customer	✓	✗
Allows flexibility to business	✓	✗
CRM integration	✓	✗
Can be used for vital service issues	✓	✓
24/7 support for customers	✓	✓
Can be used to build brand awareness, loyalty and satisfaction	✓	✓
Increases campaign effectiveness due to pervasiveness of channels	✓	✗
Increases competitive advantage	✓	✗

source: Anupa Rongala Vice President - Business Enabling Function, Invensis Technologies - May 2014

The call center is a platform for the remote telephone management of prospects or customers of a company. It is most often created to accompany and assist customers in the field of after-sales and technical support. Call centers focused on technical support are referred to as hotlines or in other words, helpdesk. This is how we were able to set up online sales or tele sales, followed closely by telemarketing. The call center also aims to assist staff who use a brand, providing information on the use of a work tool, technical equipment or computer software.

The difference between a customer relationship center and a call center. A call center specializes in handling a large number of calls. These calls may come from customers in the case of a claim or reservation. They are also out when it is the brand that contacts prospects by phone, during a product information campaign or a telephone survey.

The contact center is, however, a derivative of the call center, in the sense that it can include in its functions any type of communication tool with customers. These include emails, conventional mail, faxes, and SMS ... The customer relations center also includes in its operation the customer information systems and products of the brand. This process often involves updating general IT management for more customization. The client, therefore, aspires to a thorough knowledge of the optimal use of the products offered to him.

1.2.3 The call center and the rise of the offshore call centre.

The importance of the technological factor in the globalization of the economy seems to be particularly true in the service sector. Among the service activities centered around the use of Information and communications technology (ICT), the case of telephone call centers is interesting in that it is a typical example of the use of these new technologies. "An activity sector that was booming in the 1990s, telephone call centers are a laboratory of the future. Based on an alliance of the telephone and the computer, they embody technological modernity accessible to all in every point of the territory "(Buscatto, M. 2002). Call centers delegate to telephone operators the support of telephone actions whose forms and purposes can vary greatly: telemarketing, online help, telesales, telephone support, customer support, etc. Thus, "with call centers, the customer becomes, if not the king repeatedly announced, a central element around which the company is constantly repositioning itself in the competitive field" (Di Ruzza, Renato, and Collette Franciosi. 2003). Indeed, the call centers allow personalizing the relationship with the customer: identification of the tastes and desires of the customers, remote treatment of their waiting and finally access to the products and services of the company.

With the globalization era, the employment of agents and the management of call centers lead to considerable costs for companies (Access Economics 2009). As a result, several companies in the industrialized countries embarked on the process of outsourcing their business to cheap labor abroad. This phenomenon is known as Call Center Offshoring. Borman, 2006, showed that Call Center Offshoring is an effective solution for companies interested in setting up a call center business while maximizing their profits and reducing their cost by maintaining sales and customers. Considered as the core of the international business expansions, the process of outsourcing of the economy is a complex phenomenon, because within the services sector activities are developed so diverse that scholars do not finish agreeing on the items to be included or on the appropriate denomination of the sector. The outsourcing activities cover domains like business administration, marketing, logistics, sales, customer services, communication and Supply Chain Management (Gartner Group, 2002). But in our literature review, we will only focus on sales, marketing, and customer service domain of the outsourcing business because generally, it's the call centers that offer customer service, support, telemarketing, and order taking. (Gans, N., Koole, G., and Mandelbaum, A. (2003). The common offshore destinations for industrialized English-speaking countries are India, the Philippines, and South Africa. And for the industrialized French-speaking country, we have Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Senegal. In those countries, English and French are presumably well-spoken and the costs of labor are cheap.

Although the offshore phenomena are not new, their current forms as we know them today have been developed in the United States in the 1980s, thanks to strategies of refocusing firms on their "core business". During the 1990s, call center intensified and spread in a context marked by the liberalization of international trade in services, the exacerbation of competition and the technological revolution in the Information, Communication, and Technology (ICT) sector. The reduction of transport costs and the development of New Information, Communication and Technology (NICTs) have rendered some services offshorable. Following the example of the United States and the United Kingdom, which are pioneers in this area, companies in Europe are now more and more concerned. And the call center offshoring has become a symbolic issue of globalization in Europe. The installation of French call centers abroad continues to progress. In 2010 38% of French call centers were abroad and more than 40% in 2015. Also, the average salary in call centers reaches 1,536 euros gross in France. It is at least three times lower in Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria between 400 euros and 500 euros, for 42 or 43 hours per week. Suffice to say that relocations are not ready to stop.

The reasons for call center offshoring are the reduction of costs, high productivity, cheap workforce including salary since a call center is formed of 60 to 70% of the labor force.(Kliem, R.2004) We all know that the customer relationship is a centerpiece of the growth of a company so to promise an unbeatable price to its customers is one thing, to assure them the quality of the service is another. After the euphoria of the beginning, some companies have simply backed down, disappointed by the quality of services or the communication of some teleoperators. This is the case, for example, of Dell, which repatriated last year to the United States the technical support of its Latitude and Optiplex PCs.

The process of offshoring call center activities to non-native French and English country has led to an additional problem for the different parties involved. The linguistic and cultural effect of offshore call center agents abroad affect their communication while communicating with the native customer. (Forey, G., and Lockwood, J. 2007). The offshoring of call centers is often confused with the outsourcing of ICT. (Borman, 2006). Further, it is also confused with those of the outsourcing services of cleaning and restoration. (Rouse and Corbitt 2004.)

Offshore Call centers have been developed in a desire to reduce business costs (D'Cruz and Noronha, 2006), and now represent a significant proportion of the active population of certain territories: around 1 million people in the United Kingdom in 2003 (Paul and Huws, 2002; ACA Research, 2003). In Canada, Service industries now account for three-quarters of employment (74%) and about 70% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Statcan). Huws (2009) speaks of a "Callcenterisation" movement. The call center organization is also developing within public organizations: the police, civil registration services, associations, ministries, etc. Noren J.Pupo and Mark P. Thomas (2009) shown the Canadian administration the transformation of civil servants into call center agents.

The main stakeholders in the offshore call center are firms, vendors, agents and customers. In the offshore call center, Technology and people converge (Taylor and Bain 2005) and there is high human interaction between (agents) and stakeholders (end customer) (Sharma et al. 2009). These elements of interactions concern mainly the socio-cultural elements, the language used, the communication and the level of study of the different actors, which have a considerable impact on the success of the offshore call center.

1.3 Call centers in Quebec, Canada and around the world: currents trends

The call center industry has experienced strong growth since the 1990s in the world, his first growth was first initiated by the telecommunications and finance sector. In Canada, revenues generated by this industry grew on average 27.7% per year between 1998 and 2005 (Vincent and McKeown, 2008). The most recent estimates put the number of people employed in Canada's call centers at almost half a million in the areas of finance, telecommunications, retail, hospitality and even public services (Stevens, 2014: 59). Key factors in the multiplication of call centers are generally related to the global deregulation of the service sector, the spread of call center technologies, the drop-in communications costs and the emergence of multinational companies in this sector.

Although according to a large international study (Batt, Holman and Holtgrewe: 2009), the majority of call centers for a national market, the development of this industry is often presented as an important figure in the phenomenon of offshoring of jobs to countries with emerging economies. This movement of offshoring is partly based on postcolonial links and for example, Great Britain offshore his activities to India, Ireland, and France to Morocco or Tunisia. Canada, according to the most recent estimates, is one of the most popular countries foreign multinationals in the call center industry; in fact, almost a third of 14,000 call centers located in Canada offer offshore services, primarily for US market (Stevens, 2014).

There are two main families of call centers: those intended for receiving calls (service to customers), and those specialized in outgoing calls (telemarketing). In both cases, there are more and more firms specializing in "customer contact management". Some firms take in charge of the entire customer service sector outsourced by large multinationals while others support a variety of fixed-term marketing campaigns. These firms manage their human resources according to the contracts that bind them to the parent companies, and the research shows that this is the sector with the highest turnover rates (Van Jaarsveld et al., 2007: 32).

In the early 2000s, call centers employed approximately 3% of the total Canadian workforce. These establishments are located particularly "in small urban areas where unemployment is high and where there is a relatively educated workforce "(Vincent and McKeown, 2008: 6). New Brunswick, in particular, has a large number of call centers. The New Brunswick government, in the early 1990s, specifically focused on the call centers in a strategy of economic development and fight against unemployment. Using generous grants, he has managed to attract many companies, who have settled mainly in the Moncton area, to benefit from a largely bilingual workforce. The The results of this strategy have been mixed, with several call centers having closed barely years after receiving State subsidies. The most recent government budget. The latest Government of New Brunswick budget confirms that the private call center sector is still considered a preferred partner of the state.

1.3.1 Trend of Canadian call center

Figure 2 Annual revenue of Canadian Call center Industry
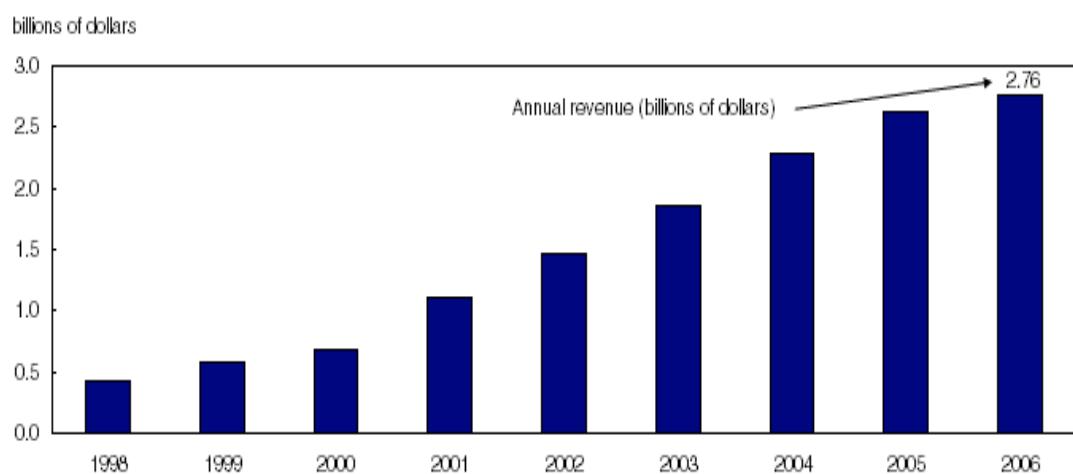
Data source: Statistics Canada, based on experimental use of administrative data.
Figure source: Statistics Canada, 2008, Analytical Paper Series - Service Industries Division, Number 53, "Trends in the telephone call centre industry", catalogue number 63F0002MIE.

The employment rate in the Canadian services sector have surpassed the one in the goods sector. The employment rate in the service-producing enterprises boosted by 25% contrary to the goods-producing enterprises one with only 13% in 1991 to 2005. In the same period the employment rate in the business support services increase by 190%. In 2006, the services sector has generated revenues of more than $ 5.7 billion and call centers represent 48% of these revenues. Call center requires special attention because they have been growing even in the rapidly growing business support services sector. The services sector revenues steadily increased from $ 424 million in 1998 to $ 2.76 billion in 2006 (annual average of 27.7%). More than two-thirds of this revenue increase was generated by call centers located in Ontario. (Tableau 2)

1.3.2 Organization of Canadian call center.

Tableau 2: Number of Canadian call centers per 10,000 commercial establishments, 2005

	nombre
Terre-Neuve	7,1
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	15,8
Nouvelle-Écosse	5,6
Nouveau-Brunswick	13,1
Québec	7,0
Ontario	8,4
Manitoba	6,0
Saskatchewan	4,4
Alberta	4,2
Colombie-Britannique	5,3
Canada	**6,8**

Data source: Statistics Canada, based on experimental use of administrative data.
Figure source: Statistics Canada, 2008, Analytical Paper Series - Service Industries Division, Number 53, "Trends in the telephone call centre industry", catalogue number 63F0002MIE.

In opposite to the geography location of manufacturing plants, which are either supply-side or demand, depending on factor costs of production (eg, transportation) and market factors, the sector of services business are usually offered where they are consumed. Business services are usually located in major shopping centers. With the evolution of technologies, however, it is less necessary for service activities to be located in a location depending on the market. For example, thanks to advances in ICT, it is possible to offer many services on larger distances, even internationally. With call centers, there is more and more to outsourcing and offshoring. In Canada, call centers are more present in some eastern provinces and Ontario (Table 2) than others. Although there is an average of 6.8 call centers per 10,000 Nationally, figures for Prince Edward Island (15.8), New Brunswick (13.1) and Ontario (8.4) are much higher. On the other hand, in the western provinces, where there is a shortage of labor, the number of call centers is below average. Companies with employees were divided into three categories based on the number of employees:

- Small company <10 employees (42% of company),
- Medium company, 10 to 49 employees (33% of company),
- and large company > 50 employees (25% of company).

Table 3 Evolution of the number of Canadian call center companies, 2000 to 2005

Region	Établissement selon le nombre d'employés			
	Petit	Moyen	Grand	Total
Est	-6	4	19	17
Québec	-21	22	12	13
Ontario	-21	42	44	65
Ouest	-25	4	22	1
Total	**-73**	**72**	**97**	**96**

Data source: Statistics Canada, based on experimental use of administrative data.
Figure source: Statistics Canada, 2008, Analytical Paper Series - Service Industries Division, Number 53, "Trends in the telephone call centre industry", catalogue number 63F0002MIE.

Since 2000, there are nearly 100 more active companies (Table 3). There are fewer small centers having a staff of less than ten employees but the number of large centers has increased. This grouping of service providers is a hallmark of the business life cycle model with regard to many services. Generally, in the beginnings of a service activity, the market is characterized by quite a few small suppliers. With the business of telephone call centers, a large number of small providers initially created a competitive market that moved production companies to locations where labor costs were the lowest.

Table 4 Telephone call centers per 100,000 urban citizens by unemployment and education, 2005

Taux de chômage (quartile)	Population ayant fait des études postsecondaires (quartile)				
	Inférieur (<23.3%)	Deuxième (23.3% à 26.0%)	Troisième (26.1% à 30.0%)	Supérieur (>30.0%)	Total
Inférieur (< 6.6%)	1,5	1,4	3,0	2,5	2,3
Deuxième (6.6%-8.0%)	2,0	1,6	4,0	2,4	2,3
Troisième (8.1%-10.3%)	1,7	2,2	3,0	5,8	3,1
Supérieur (> 10.3%)	1,8	2,1	2,5	4,7	2,2
Total	**1,8**	**1,9**	**3,1**	**3,2**	**2,5**

Data source: Statistics Canada, based on experimental use of administrative data.
Figure source: Statistics Canada, 2008, Analytical Paper Series - Service Industries Division, Number 53, "Trends in the telephone call centre industry", catalogue number 63F0002MIE.

Important factors related to the location of telephone call centers include: a combination of factors such as labor supply and skills, cost, proximity to the market and telecommunications infrastructure, concurrently with incentives offered by governments. This table shows the supply of labor and qualifications and to this end, it categorized call center locations by Cities size, the unemployment rate, and the population with postsecondary education. It assumed that the call centers are located, all things being equal, in characterized regions underemployment, a high unemployment rate, but a relatively educated population.

To investigate the relative concentration Canadian call center, we have calculated a measure of the density of the number of call center per 100,000 people. Nationally, there are about 2.5 centers telephone calls per 100,000 Canadians (Table 4). The results support our hypothesis that the highest densities of call centers (5.8 and 4.7100,000 people) are in urban areas with high unemployment (ie, in the first two quartiles) and whose population is the most educated (post-secondary education). And the highest density (6.1 companies per 100,000 population) was observed in small urban areas (population from 33,500 to 58,350).

So, call center companies are disproportionately present in some provinces in small urban areas where unemployment is high and where there is relatively educated workforce.

1.3.3 Problematic of call centers in Canada.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, more and more telephone call centers established themselves in small towns, often where industries were in decline, but also where citizens had more postsecondary education. The telephone call center sector, including telemarketing exit, has created jobs in regions that have greatly need and has contributed to the "export" of useful services. In the beginning of the life cycle of the industry, these affordable labor places are attractive. With a telecommunications infrastructure at its finest a well-educated bilingual workforce and a bold incentive program, the New Brunswick was considered an attractive location.

Call centers in Canada have lost the benefit of a weaker dollar and are facing a stronger competition from call center offshoring in China, India and elsewhere. That is why the call center sector in Canada is expected to progress beyond the low labor cost stage of the cycle of this sector. It's becoming important for call centers to offer greater added value in terms of skills, both technical and linguistic, and technology. However, these value-added services will further transform the determining role of the location, especially for "inbound" service centers, as the proximity of post-secondary institutions and a pool of skilled labor to support advanced ICT infrastructure.

Since the standardization of service industry favors to offshore call center in low-cost workforce regions, city of country, Canada's comparative asset is no longer located in areas with high unemployment rate. In the life cycle of call centers, there are important new factors such as the proximity of universities and the adoption of new technologies. The qualifications of the workforce have evolved too. If the new comparative advantage is the proximity of university, research center or cheap business center, a call center will be much less able to be a catalyst for regional development in peripheral regions.

1.3.4 Call center trend in Turkey

Figure 3 Trend of Turkish Call Center
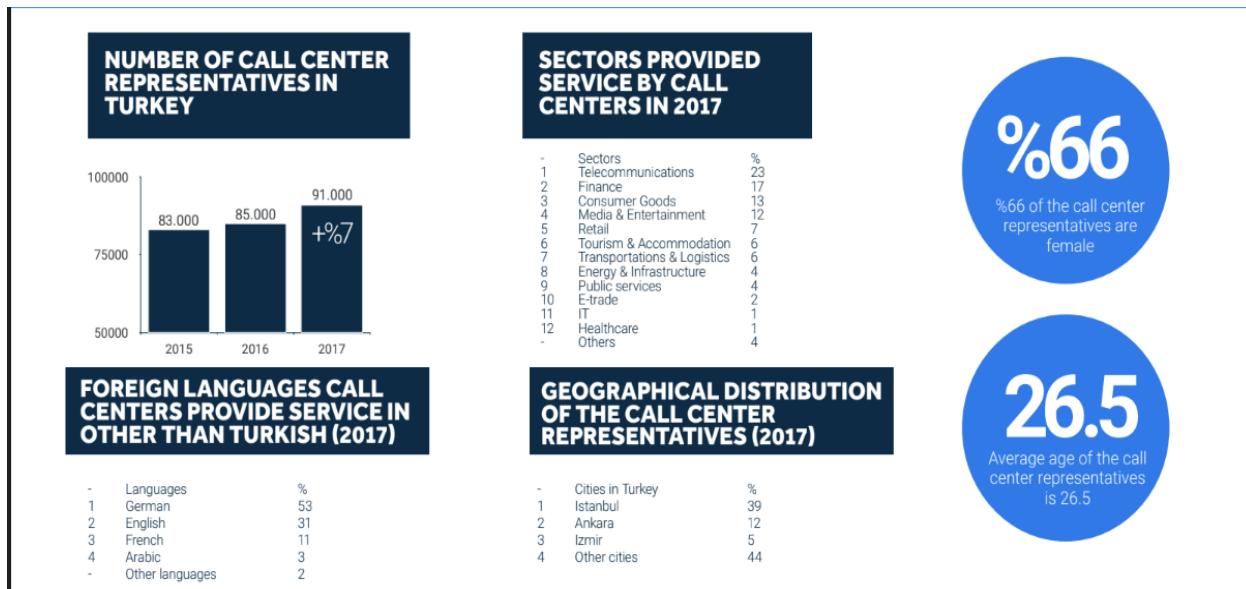
Data source: CAll Center Association (cagrimerkezleridernegi.com)

The call center sector in Turkey has gained new dynamism since the opening of the country's first call center in the 1990s. According to the Turkish Call Center Association, the industry had a value of TRY 2.1 billion and employed 70 200 people in all the call centers throughout the country in 2013, and 91000 employees in 2017 with a value of 5.1 million.

As most of the private sector focuses on customer services, Turkey's call center and business process outsourcing sector has achieved considerable growth in recent years. With thousands of call center all over the country operating for telephone company, airlines, financial institutions, the call center sector is set for further growth. Mainly based in urban cities (like Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir), with young workforce (approximately 26), Turkish call center are mainly dominated by the females (66%). They serve most of the multinational's companies, like Allianz, DHL, ING BANK, Lufthansa, TNT Express, and Vodafone.

Figure 4 Major companies operating in Turkish call center industry.
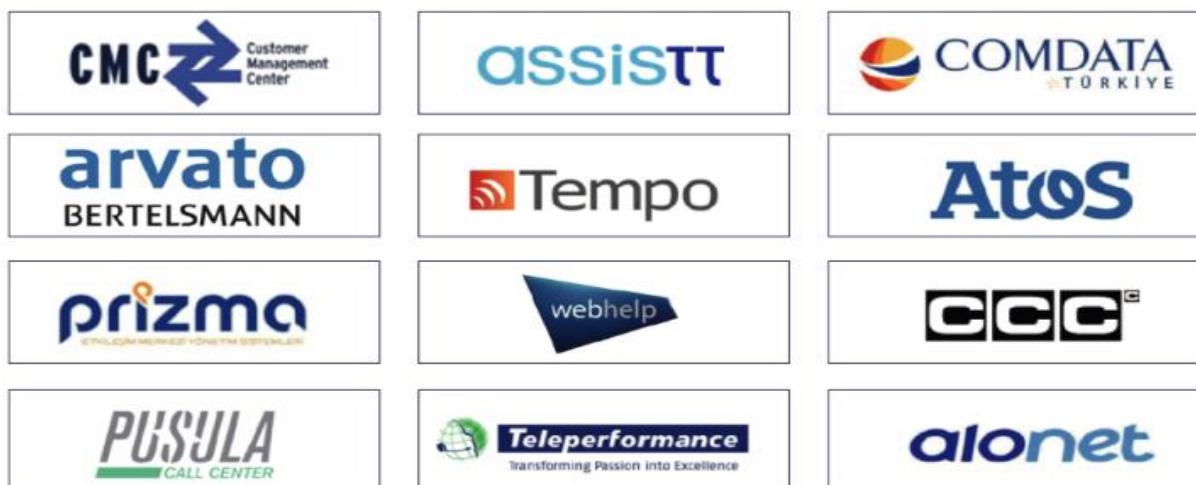
Data source: CAll Center Association (cagrimerkezleridernegi.com)

Figure 4 represent some of the major companies operating in Turkish call center industry. Mainly based in urban cities, with young workforce mainly dominated by the females (figure3), Turkish call center serve most of those multinationals' companies, Allianz, DHL, ING BANK, Lufthansa, TNT Express, and Vodafone.

Figure 5 Major Turkish Governmental and Non-Governmental organization in the call center sector.

Data source: CAll Center Association (cagrimerkezleridernegi.com)

Figure 5 represent some of the Turkish Governmental and Non-Governmental organization in the call center sector. We have ÇSGB (Çalışma ve Sosyal Guvenlik Bakanligi or Ministry of labour and social security) , T.C Ulaştırma Denizcilik ve Haberleşme Bakanlığı (Ministry of Transport and İnfrastructure), BDDK (Bankacilik Düzenleme ve Denetleme Kurumu, or Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency), BTK (Bilgi Teknolojileri ve İletişim kurumu or The Information and Communication Technologies Authority), Cagri Merkezleri Dernegi (Call Centers Association), T.C Gümrük ve Ticaret Bakanlığı (The Ministry of Customs and Trade).

1.4 Working conditions in call centers

In general, the working conditions in the call centers are recognized to be mediocre. Salaries are lower than the average wage in other service jobs, hours are atypical and unstable, the work is intense and very controlled. As a result, the turnover rate, absenteeism and the prevalence of psychological distress are very present.

1.4.1 A highly feminized employment sector

Women represent around 70% of the call center workforce in Canada (Van Jaarsveld et al.), and this proportion is similar elsewhere in the world. This finding refers more
to gender segregation in the labor market and the overrepresentation of female workers in the tertiary sector, particularly in the professions of the health sector, early childhood, but also clerical (administrative) jobs and the sale. Sectors massively occupied by women are hit hard by the phenomenon of job insecurity. The shift of a number of service jobs to call centers accentuates the deterioration of working conditions in this industry, where jobs are generally considered low-skilled, and where there is little labor union and presence.
Studies have shown that the value of socially defined jobs as "feminine" has historically been undervalued, and that many of the skills needed for these jobs have tended to be invisible. For example, relational skills and the ability to withstand pressure are often seen as innate qualities rather than skills deserving of salary recognition. As L. Théry, a specialist in the phenomenon of intensification of work, points out: "What is devalued in the work today could be that which is socially devolved to the feminine. Considering that women are the biggest losers of pathogenic labor organizations questions union action "(Théry, 2009).

1.4.2 The call center industry towards the Taylorism

The development of call centers is part of a strong trend towards the intensification of work, a phenomenon that manifests itself differently depending on the position of workers in the productive system. For intermediate categories, ie professional jobs, this intensification results in greater autonomy and greater complexity of tasks, coupled with a pressure of results. For categories of workers at the bottom of the ladder, for example in call centers, this intensification most often takes the form of "constraint and domination" (Théry, 2009). Call centers are sometimes referred to as "modern factories" (Buscatto, 2002) or a "figure of deregulation of the labor market" (Pichault and Zune, 2000).

In call centers, management is based on industrial-type rationalizations (Buscatto, 2002), with quantitative indicators to measure the productivity of agents and agents: number of calls, duration of calls and, in the case of commercial call centers, sales targets. Targets are set and are closely monitored. Tasks are broken down, at the Taylor's model of assembly lines, and "production" (ie, "customer-oriented service" in the case of centers handling incoming calls) is both specialized and ultra-formalized. The agents repeat a certain number of operations related to a specific branch of the service according to an established procedure which they can not, in theory, derogate from. In the call centers, electronic and human surveillance is ubiquitous, and the role of the supervisory staff as well as the team leaders is "to ensure the effective implementation of the management tools [...]: the follow-up daily productivity goals; conducting evaluation interviews or telephone tapping; ad hoc formations "(Buscatto, 2002: 105).

The contradiction between this highly prescriptive management mode, typical of the industrial model, and the use of services based on the implementation of relational skills through the subjective involvement of agents, was raised by researchers. This tension means that in call centers, staff must constantly develop strategies to circumvent managerial injunctions to simply do the job properly, that is, to meet the needs of a client in a service relationship, by definition not completely predictable and formalizable: "Teleoperators have to deal with a set of directives from the employer and the customer while putting their own value system at stake. Such a posture most often requires performing an arbitration work that allows to achieve a result that employees consider both satisfactory in terms of the design of the service as imposed by the organization and the service as it seems to be desired by the customer "(Feriel, 2013). In public services, this tension between the prescribed work and the actual work can result in a real ethical conflict. As reported by Di Ruzza (2003): "In call centers integrated with public sector companies, teleoperators have difficulties in" treating "their interlocutor as a" customer "because they reproduce, consciously or unconsciously, the historical culture of the public service in which the "consumer" "uses" the service, but does not "buy" it.

1.4.3 Psychological Distress in Call Centers.

Call centers are recognized as stressful and time-consuming workplaces (Cousin, 2002: 504). In Quebec, a major study was recently conducted in unionized call centers under the auspices of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) (Béland-Ouellette et al., 2012). This research, which focuses on the private telecommunications sector, focuses on the psychological health of officers. It shows that the level of distress, absenteeism and consumption of psychotropic drugs among respondents reach high and even alarming levels. The main factors explaining these results are work overload, work-family balance problems, lack of autonomy and supervision. Although the results of this study are not directly transferable to civil service call centers, they can identify significant trends in terms of working conditions in these types of establishments, both private and public, and the resulting consequences on the health of workers.

1.5 Call centers of the Federal Public Service in Canada.

In the federal public service, the establishment of call centers is older than that of the Quebec government. The Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), in collaboration with researchers from York University, conducted a study in 2005 to document working conditions from the workers' perspective (West et al., 2005). From a sample of 671 people working in the Canada Revenue Agency, Canada Post, Citizenship and Immigration, Service Canada, Statistics Canada and Alumni call centers Fighters, the researchers made several findings that echo the results of this research for the public service of Quebec. The themes of control and surveillance, stress, precariousness of employment is recurrent. In addition, the issue of the mismatch between the public service ethics of federal public servants and working conditions that do not specifically allow it to be implemented in service to the citizen, emerges from the PSAC study. This aspect of the work constitutes a fundamental specificity of the public sector compared to the private sector, a specificity that has been little studied until now.

1.5.1 Expansion of call centers in the public sector

Since the 1980s, the vast majority of OECD countries have begun a process of "modernizing" their governments, focusing on the New Public Management (NPM) approach. Inspired by management methods in the private sector, this approach theoretically aims at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector, through the adoption of commercial-type regulation methods and performance indicators encrypted. The establishment of call centers in the image of "customer service" in the private sector is directly in line with this paradigm (Schönauer, 2008)

In addition, the NPM model, also associated with a vision of the "strategic state" that shifts the operationalization of public services to focus on planning functions, favors outsourcing to the private sector of business. formerly provided inside the public apparatus. As call centers often form entities almost independent of the rest of the function
public, they are particularly conducive to different forms of outsourcing (partnerships-public private, subcontracting, privatization). In several European countries, moreover, the privatization of call centers in the civil service has been on the brink, and cultural changes in the delivery of public services have taken place without the need for users. are fully aware of it (Dunkel and Schöenauer, 2005).

In Quebec, the first call centers in the public service appeared in the 1990s, but the centralization of their management, thanks to technological tools, is more recent. In the private sector, the establishment of call centers in regions where production costs (especially labor costs) are lower and common strategy in this area is really competitive (Pierre and Tremblay, 2012), we also observe this regionalization in the Quebec public service. In Gaspésie, for example, the government has clearly focused on the establishment of call centers to fill the gaps left by the departure of certain industries. Between 2005 and 2011, no less than three new public service call centers (CSST, Service Québec, SAAQ) opened in Baie-des-Chaleurs, in addition to the Revenu Québec center located in Chandler since the beginning of the 2000s.

1.5.2 Impacts on quality of employment.

Existing studies tend to show that the establishment of call centers in the public sector, especially when these centers are outsourced, negatively affects the quality of employment at several levels (Schönauer, 2008). First, the introduction of this managerial form often leads to an increase in the disparity of employment conditions in terms of status, salary, hours, job security between new and former employees. In general, call centers offer more atypical schedules and less stable work contracts than in the rest of the public sector. Secondly, the transfer of employees and employees to call centers is often synonymous with deskilling - related to the standardization of work - along with increased job specialization, the extent of which is often underestimated. Third, the centers Appeals pose significant challenges to union representation. In some cases, outsourcing call centers from the public to the private sector may be a strategy for escape from a contract of employment perceived as too restrictive. However, even in non-outsourced call centers, unionized staff are generally covered by the same collective agreement as other workers, and the specificity of their working conditions and claims are not highlighted (Dunkel and Schönauer , 2005).

The deterioration of employment conditions as a result of a restructuring of public administrations has a disproportionate impact on women. The modernization of the public service in the second half of the twentieth century has created a pool of well-paid and stable jobs for women, which nevertheless remain concentrated in low-skilled jobs both privately and publicly. Employment protections in the public sector have been a bulwark for the polarization of the labor market, with women being the first victims in the private sector, especially in the service sector (Schönauer, 2008). The shift towards new public management and the implementation of Call centers did not necessarily accentuate the feminization of the workforce in the public sector, but this transformation was based on the dynamics of segmentation and prioritization of work already at work. Thus, the transformation of public services into "customer services", modeled on the private sector, has led to a downward spiral in terms of employment and working conditions, which is largely based on an invisibility of work, a well-documented mechanism of undervaluing women's work.

1.5.3 Impacts on quality of services.

The establishment of call centers in the public sector transforms both the service delivery mode, the organization of work and the nature of the tasks. The consequences of these changes on utilities are of many kinds.

On the one hand, the precariousness of employment and the deterioration of working conditions have an impact on the quality and accessibility of public services by contributing to a high staff turnover rate (Stinson, 2010: 95). In fact, it is one of the "classic" arguments for job security in the public service, which allows for a great continuity of services on the part of trained and competent staff. Even for the private sector, researchers point to the economic benefits to employers of providing decent working conditions for their employees, which promotes retention, increases the quality of service, customer satisfaction, and decreases training costs (Pierre and Tremblay, 2011).

On the other hand, the current model in the commercial sector is the benchmark on which public administrations rely on when setting up call centers. In this context, the issues related to the specificity of public services and their compatibility with this model have so far been very little questioned in existing studies. Yet some researchers speculate that the very nature of the public service will change, with the introduction of a logic of mass production in the government apparatus. The political and social implications of this new "culture of public service delivery" remain largely to document (Pupo and Noak, 2010: 115). The present study is an original contribution in this respect.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

We first study the reasons for choosing local or regional organizations when it comes to devising ways to attract and retain call centers. We first present the favorable and unfavorable arguments, before presenting the way in which the call center relationship will be shaped according to institutional strategies and choices (see Table 5).

Table 5: The choice of local or regional organizations in attracting and retaining call centers

Attract-retain call centers: An institutional choice. Institutional decision-makers ask: "Do I want to dedicate resources to attract and retain call centers in my area?	
Arguments against: - Call centers tend to offshore - The proposed jobs are uninteresting and precarious. - They have a bad image - They demand significant investments - Some go bankrupt ⟶ Choice reinforces through negative experience	**Arguments for:** - Call centers are job creators - They allow to employ people without prior training. - They facilitate the reconversion of primary and secondary jobs that disappear ⟶ Choice reinforces through positive experiences
Passive attitude towards call centers.	Pro-active attitude towards call centers.

2.1 Arguments in favor of the attraction-retention of call centers

One of the arguments for attracting call centers is that they create jobs for the population. They now represent a significant proportion of the labor force in some territories. These jobs, however, are difficult to identify because they are assimilated to different sectors of activity, according to the main activity of the company, but it is recognized that they represent a large volume. For example, in Canada, while call centers had 20,000 employees in 1987, they had 112,000 in 2004 (Akyampong, 2005), and call center revenues increased by an average of nearly 30% per year. year between 1998 and 2006 (Vincent and Mc-Keown, 2008). In the United Kingdom, there were about 1 million people working in call centers in 2002 (Paul and Huws, 2002). In the Province of New Brunswick (Canada), where particularly strong efforts were made to attract call centers, they accounted for about 3% of the labor force in 2000 (Larner, 2002).

Huws (2009) speaks of a "callcenterisation" movement: jobs are gradually being organized more and more on the model of call centers. Call center organization is developing even within the public administration; In particular, we can refer to the work of Pupo and Noack (2009) on the implementation of the single telephone number in the Canadian administration, which in fact transforms certain civil servants into call center agents.

Call centers are also interesting because they allow the use of a low-skilled population a priori. They are particularly popular in areas with declining activity sectors and job losses due to firm closures. For example, one could read in the Figaro of February 15, 2009, that a subsidiary of Philips was to be closed in Dreux (France). This company employed 212 employees to manufacture LCD TVs. The Minister of Industry was reassuring about the reinstatement of employees, indicating that a call center would be established in the region, and could therefore create new jobs accessible to people who have lost their jobs. In Canada, it is mainly New Brunswick that has developed a call center attraction policy, but Quebec and Montreal region also have a number of them. However, they are difficult to account for since they are often integrated into another sector (financial institutions, information technology, government apparatus), offering information and referral services for companies in these sectors.

Call centers often respond to the territories' desire for economic development, particularly the transition from primary or secondary industries to service jobs. This was the case for New Brunswick politics, and without it being such a strong policy in Quebec, we often see call centers as a source of potential employment in the regions, since these centers do not have to be located in major cities, although they often find a good pool of linguistically qualified labor (university students in particular). In regions where jobs are largely seasonal (wood, fishing, etc.), the establishment of call centers provides year-round employment and reduces unemployment benefits paid during periods of unemployment. vacancy. The attraction of call centers allows regions to stabilize their jobs, but it is also necessary for the local population to have the necessary language skills.

As a result, call centers can present interesting opportunities for institutional actors. However, investment in the attraction of call centers can be perceived negatively if they do not locate permanently on the territory, and if the jobs are not of good level. Although call center jobs are often seen as poor quality, there is a way to avoid this, and some companies are trying to do so; however, this requires an innovative approach in economic and social terms, an approach that will be discussed later.

2.2 The arguments against the attraction-retention of call centers.

A first negative factor in the desire to invest resources to attract call centers comes from the phenomenon of relocation of some of them to regions where they hope to benefit from a reduction in labor costs. This is facilitated by the fact that when the right infrastructure is in place, they can be implanted anywhere in the world (Huws, 2009). Indeed, as described by Brophy (2006), we are in a context of extension and intensification of communication networks. According to this author, companies in the information and communication sector tend to outsource their activities inside the country, the time to set up their organization and their technology; then, when the processes are sufficiently defined, they outsource their activity abroad.

As a result, there is global competition between the territories to attract and retain call centers. For example, business leaders in the information and communication technology sector are seeking low-cost labor internationally, using relocations to reduce costs. Holtgrewe et al. (2009) show that the majority of call centers serve primarily their domestic market, but the number of call centers serving foreign regions is large and growing. Some relocations also appear to be particularly abusive. In the press, call centers are singled out, as they seem to be moving into regions by taking advantage of financial incentives allocated by the institutions to attract them, and leaving soon after seeking new subsidies or reductions in funding. costs. For example, on the Radio-Canada website, it said in July 2000, "A member of the Canadian Auto Workers Union, Ken Taylor, claims that call center owners open and close their businesses in different locations to take advantage of taxpayers' money.

Taylor cited the new Interstate Telephone Company (ICT) center in Miramichi, New Brunswick, as an example, which received $ 1.5 million from the provincial government. Last year, ICT closed its call center in Saint John, which opened in 1996 with $ 400,000 from the province. When some call centers have exhausted their financial incentives, they are trying their luck elsewhere to get new grants. ICT has not yet responded to these comments. " If, for politicians, call centers can be seen on the one hand, as gateways to the knowledge based economy allowing accelerated development for isolated regions, they can be seen on the other hand as "electronic misery workshops" producing routine jobs with no prospect for the future for agents, and doing little to develop the basic skills of a territory (Huws, 2009). These are often highly controlled jobs with low complexity and low diversity of tasks performed, contributing to agent dissatisfaction (Deery and Kinnie, 2004, Zapf et al., 2003). Brophy (2006, 2009) also points to management practices that can be characterized as abusive, notably based on the use of temporary jobs, which are regularly criticized in the press and which led to attempts at unionization. This widespread image does not represent the diversity of call centers as some of them try to combine economic performance and social performance, but these seem less well known.

Due to offshoring and the negative image of jobs offered, call centers generally have a negative reputation that limits the desire of institutions to invest in these organizations that are attacked in the press, the risk in particular, to damage the image of the territory and its decision-makers. Finally, institutional staff are also call center users, and as Huws (2009) puts it, few people have not had to complain about their experiences with a call center as a customer. . This affects the representation of institutional actors who have negative prejudices against call centers.

Another negative element is associated with the fact that the attraction of call centers requires significant investments. These are based on considerable capital requirements, particularly for premises, computer equipment and labor costs. So, the financial incentives seem to be extremely important to attract a call center and not just fund those who would have established themselves anyway. Some institutions have also been confronted with call centers in bankruptcy, which contributes to making them cautious about this industry.

Box 1: Excerpts from witness sentences from our interviews: Reluctance to inject resources to attract and retain call centers

THE CALL CENTERS OFFSHORE ABROAD:
> **Economic developer:** "We can consider that wanting to attract call centers is hardly lost, because sometimes they go away. "
> **Economic developer:** "Call centers are volatile. They can disappear as fast as they came."
> **Call Center**: "In 2006, they sent some of the activity to India. They kicked everyone out. "

THE IMPLANTATION OF CALL CENTER REQUIRES IMPORTANT MEANS
> **Economic developer:** "New players must be able to support the cash flow: someone who hires 100 people   has to pay them at the end of the month, while he is paid only 120 days. It takes good cash. It is "intensive capital cash". We must assume he depreciation. "

CALL CENTERS MAKE BANKRUPTCY
> **Economic developer**: "We had examples of people who wanted to set up a call center more than 10 years ago. But it did not work and they lost a lot of money. "

INSTITUTIONS HAVE PREJUDICE TO THEIR LOCATION
> **Economic developer:** "Call centers have bad press. "
> **Call Center**: "Call centers have a bad reputation. When call centers are well managed, we deserve our acclaim. "
> **Economic developer:** "It's an industry that may seem hard, because you can measure employee productivity in real time. "
> **Economic developer:** "Economic developers think that call centers benefit from subsidies and go away, and that the jobs offered are not interesting. There is a negative prejudice. "

3. Institutional strategic positioning vis-à-vis to call centers

By taking into account the favorable and unfavorable elements stated above, the institutional actors adopt different positions vis-à-vis the call centers. We identify two: a proactive attitude towards call centers, or a reactive posture. In the first case, the institutional actor integrates the attraction and retention of call centers into its strategy and programs, while in the second case, it waits for call centers to be interested in its territory. New Brunswick is the Canadian province that has been the most proactive in this regard, while other provinces are receiving call centers, but not a territorial development or employment development strategy. This last position is no doubt due in large part to the bad reputation of the jobs, although we have seen that some call centers offer fairly well-paid jobs (well above the minimum wage) and good working conditions. work for people who are not necessarily very well qualified (this is particularly the case in certain financial or insurance services, or specialized services of the government, diplomatic services and others). Some institutions will still make efforts to attract call centers. Thus, they will include this will in their territorial strategic plan, deploy resources to identify call centers "candidates" for attraction and retention, and implement actions relying in particular on the development agencies economic. They then adopt a proactive strategy towards call centers.

On the other hand, some institutions do nothing, or nothing, to attract call centers. Thus, institutional players do not include in their strategic plan the attraction and retention of call centers on their territory and they will not meet call centers proactively. However, if a call center addresses them, they will guide it in its implementation or stabilization. In this case, they will be said to adopt a reactive position.

Box 2: Excerpts from witness sentences from our interviews: Strategic positioning of institutional actors vis-à-vis to call centers.

INSTITUTIONS ARE NOT PROACTIVE TO ATTRACT AND RETAIN CALL CENTERS

Economic developer: "We just did a strategic planning exercise. The development of call centers has not been retained as a priority. If they contact us, we will help them. But we do not go out of their way to attract them. "

Economic developer: "I have already analyzed a call center that came to us to obtain funding. But we can not say that our region's niche and priority is the development of call centers. If they come to us, we will help them. "

Economic developer: "Given that we have apriori on call centers, we have a representation that can be false. But it is true that they settle for money, that the work is uninteresting. So, we do not put them forward in our strategy. "

Economic developer: "I have no direction from the city, from the province, to tell me" go on it ". These are things done about the quality of opportunities. "

Among the four economic development agencies we met in Montreal and the National Capital Region (Ottawa-Outaouais), only one was part of a proactive approach to call centers, another was in a passive but positive approach to call centers, while two showed reluctance towards call centers. We can see by reading the extracts of witness sentences presented in box 2, that this last choice is in particular guided by the perception of the internal management practices of the call centers.

3.1 Attraction and retention factors

We are now interested in the elements that influence the choice of the location of call centers. Holtgrewe et al. (2009) show that companies choose the location of their call centers based on the competitive advantages offered by the territories. We distinguish two groups: the socio-economic characteristics of the territories, and the actions taken by the institutions to attract and retain businesses (see Table 6).

Table 6: The choice of the territory where the call centers wants to offshore

Attraction and retention factors of call centers. Institutional decision-makers ask: What are the elements observed by decision makers and investors to choose the location of call centers?	
The socio-economic and geographical characteristics of the territory. - Competitiveness of costs (labor, real estate, taxes and taxes) - Skills of the workforce - Availability of the workforce - Safety of people and property - Closeness to end customers	**Institutional action** - Financial support incentives (subsidies, tax credits, preferential loans.) - Support to call center managers (Diagnostics, advice, networking)

3.2 The socio-economic and geographical characteristics of the territory

By structuring the witness sentences collected in our interviews and by crossing them with the call center literature review, we have identified several elements that call centers will study to choose their location. In call centers that have developed on the basis of a cost-saving approach (D'Cruz and Noronha, 2006), payroll accounts for most of their expenses. According to Brown et al. (2005), 70% or more of the costs of a call center are allocated to human resources, which explains why they are seeking to locate in territories where labor is cheaper. The call center can observe the price of real estate in a region, allowing it simultaneously to obtain cheap premises and justify the low level of wages paid. Those responsible for setting up a call center can also consider the exchange rate of the currency of the location, which can contribute to the attractiveness of a territory. The logic of cost reduction is one of the main factors dictating the choice of setting up a call center when it does not wish to set up on the internal market. However, it should be noted that these are variable data, since labor costs in particular tend to increase everywhere, including for example in India.

Box 3: Excerpts from witness sentences from our interviews: Call center implementation factors (1/3)

CALL CENTERS ARE LOCATED IN REGIONS WHERE THE COSTS ARE LOWEST

Call center: "The choice to locate in Bolivia is good because the labor is cheaper. "

Economic developer: "I'm surprised that the call centers did not locate our region to settle. People are very bilingual. But it may be because of wages. They try to find the lowest possible wages. "

Economic developer: "The competition is global. The fact of speaking several languages are no longer determinant. It is rather the level of wages. When it's not for very specific training, it's difficult for us. "

Call Center: "In New Brunswick, it's $ 9 an hour. In Ontario or Quebec, it's $ 13 or $ 14 an hour. Call centers take into account the fact that here real estate is cheaper. "

While cost reduction is an important element in choosing the location of call centers, the skills of the population are important, especially language skills. Call centers tend to locate in countries where the language of their end customers is spoken. It is necessary that the agents have a sufficient linguistic level. It can nevertheless be noted that this level is sometimes relatively low and that agents sometimes have difficulty getting out of the text they have in front of them (the script written by the company).

Regions are attractive because they offer a population with a good linguistic level. In addition, some offer a variety of languages, including countries with culturally significant populations such as certain regions of Canada.

It should be added that some call centers require more technical skills, especially when it comes to troubleshooting computer or internet (Huws, 2009). Call centers will therefore choose regions where these skills are available. Kirov and Mircheva (2009) show that Bulgaria has attracted international call centers because its costs are lower than other Eastern European countries, but also because of a high level of education and training. linguistic skills of its young workers.

Box 4: Excerpts from witness sentences from our interviews: Call center implementation factors (2/3)

CALL CENTERS ARE LOCATED IN REGIONS WHERE THE LANGUAGES OF THEIR CUSTOMERS ARE SPOKEN

> **Call Center:** "Call centers come to New Brunswick because it is the only officially bilingual region."

> **Call Center:** "It's easier to find bilingual people in Montreal. "

> **Call Center:** "Our people in Bolivia speak English. Flawless English. "

Call centers also locate where the workforce is available. The choice to locate in India can be explained by the large number of unemployed graduates (D'Cruz and Noronha, 2006). India offers call centers educated and available staff. Well-developed public transportation systems and smooth traffic flow help expand the pool of available call center labor. Finally, it should be noted that call centers also require qualified management staff.

Call centers also include in their strategic thinking about their location, the security dimension offered by the territories considered, as one interviewee said: "There is also the security aspect. In some areas it is difficult. ". Territories where the security of people and property is ensured are preferred, as are countries where corruption and the risk of armed conflict are low.

Call centers make the choice to locate near or not end customers. If the choice to settle remotely is usually influenced by financial imperatives, several reasons explain the choice to settle nearby. The fact of being in the same time zones is advantageous if one does not wish to make the agents work on staggered schedules. When people speak the language with a more understandable focus for the end customers, this increases the quality of the exchanges. Finally, having agents close to the local culture helps to avoid situations of "racism" proven in the client-agent relationship. According to Huws (2009), the need to communicate with foreign clients encourages officers to have to change their focus, even to give false names and to hide their nationality, in particular to avoid problems related to racism. Mirchandani (2003) points out that call center agents in India are trained to avoid having to answer customers' questions about their location. When call centers are set up in "southern" countries for the low cost of their labor, customers sometimes complain to agents that the relocation of call centers generates unemployment at home., and even reproach them (D'Cruz and Noronha, 2006).

Box 5: Excerpts from witness sentences from our interviews: Call center implementation factors (3/3)

> CALL CENTERS IMPLEMENT WHERE THE WORKFORCE IS AVAILABLE
>
> **Economic developer:** "Barriers to entry is money, but also finding a pool of labor. Here, it's good. There are people who speak many languages. There are many in the city center near the metro network and universities. "
>
> **Economic developer:** "The future of call centers in our city is favorable. This will come from the expertise of those who manage the call centers. It's going to be fine as long as we find the workforce. It is not a problem of technology. "
>
> CALL CENTERS APPEAR NEAR THEIR END CUSTOMERS
>
> **Economic developer:** "Call centers need to be there for time zone stories. After the question is where to go in North America? "

We therefore identified five elements characterizing the socio-economic and geographical context of the territory that the call centers will take into account when making their choice of location: cost competitiveness, skill level, availability of labor work, the safety of people and goods and the proximity of end customers. While the focus is often on costs, our interviews have highlighted a range of other factors that also influence decisions.

3.3 Institutional action

We are now interested in actions that institutions, cities or regions are implementing to attract and retain call centers. In a desire to attract and retain call centers on their territory, institutions can first try to act on the socio-economic characteristics of the territory, or promote its competitive advantages. For example, they can set up language training programs, develop transport infrastructure to increase the employment pool, or improve the safety of people and goods. They can also use communication tools (brochure, Internet sites, Forums, conferences ...) to make known the assets of their territory, in particular the cultural diversity and / or the level of education of their population, their proximity to important markets, or cost competitiveness. They can also act on the management of call centers by providing financial assistance or support, what we develop in this part.

The method that is generally considered the first is the incentive to implement by providing financial assistance to call centers. This aid can be tax incentives, loan aids, amounts allocated to job creations, for example. However, we have found that this is not easy, and that this is sometimes insufficient, as noted by four economic developers: "It seems that governments must put a lot of money to attract call centers " "We need the resources of the provinces to attract businesses. It is not always easy to get them "; "When it comes to tax portability, you have to look at what the call center is making, if it is worth it to help them. " "Are tax incentives important? If there is no multilingual offer and universities, it does not work. We complete with financial help »

Institutions generally establish priority development lines and finance companies that contribute to the development of the territory. Institutional partners, including economic development agencies, will help companies obtain the funds allocated under the programs.

Thus, call centers can be particularly targeted by these programs if the institutions are in a proactive position in this regard. However, the programs do not always focus specifically on call centers. For example, Investissement Québec may, by order of the Government of Québec, in the framework of the program of the Fund for Increased Private Investment and the Relaunch of Employment, provide assistance to call centers who wish to install in Quebec or a call center located in Quebec who wishes to carry out an investment project. However, this program is not specific to call centers and Quebec does not have a specific policy in this regard, although there are a large number of call centers, but these are generally integrated with businesses. financial, computer, insurance or other, as noted above. The allocation of funds to call centers, as for other companies, depends on the assessment of their financial strength and their contribution to the territory, but the risk of departure of these companies - or at least their center of appeal when they are integrated with another company - still exists.

It can be difficult to unlock funds to help call centers get established or grow. The funding allocated is not always considered significant and is not a sufficient condition to attract call centers and, above all, to retain them. In addition, we have seen that some use these funds opportunistically and are sometimes then encouraged to relocate to seek new public aid in another region. Other elements must be present for the territory to successfully retain the call centers. Finally, there is a need for call centers to have significant own resources, and to be well managed if we do not want to see the funds invested lost in bankruptcy.

On the other hand, call centers do not seem to think that public support is very important, as two interviewees told us: "Governments have programs that are very difficult to access. They give crumbs "; "We had government support for the creation of a position in human resources management. " Regional or national institutions usually rely on economic development agencies to support companies wishing to set up on their territory.

The economic development agencies first assess the soundness of projects submitted to them: "People come with crazy ideas. We are studying. 75% of the projects we support hold the buck "; "Our job is to find the right managers and the right markets. These are the fundamental factors. ". They will then accompany entrepreneurs in their implementation: "The provincial government tells us when companies want to settle in the region. We try to put our resources to help them. ". They sometimes help call centers to find premises. They can also help them get in touch with other actors in the area to meet recruitment or training needs, for example: "We are rather support for networks, that facilitator. We have several networks. The goal is to encourage other companies to work with them to disseminate information and develop expertise. We support existing networks. We participate in these networks and we support them financially "; "Our advisory role is to put them in touch with universities, training centers". Various advice is provided to entrepreneurs: on potential customers, on products, on installation costs ... Economic development agencies sometimes help them to establish their needs and priorities.

If the call centers are accompanied during their implementation, we wonder about the continuation of this institutional support later, in particular to help them develop, and encourage their retention: "In the framework of networks, we accompany projects, we show entrepreneurs how to go to the markets, how to reformat products "; "A company wants to know the market, if it can settle and at what cost. We help them on that. This is how we position ourselves in relation to others. " Call centers sometimes expect institutions to help them with human resources management, particularly in the training of their supervisors: "We would need help with training for our team leaders: human resources management, planning, time management. We would need help on the organizational side. "
This seems a very interesting prospect to ensure their sustainability and develop special links between territory and companies.

So, we have analyzed elements that may stimulate or not the establishment of call centers in the territories and stressed the importance of institutional action, because that is where actions can be implemented, including responding to the need for support in terms of internal management, which corresponds to a request from the call centers themselves.

Institutional players could also offer a range of socially innovative services, as did the Angus Development Corporation when it wanted to attract businesses to its territory (Tremblay, Klein and Fontan, 2009). They could think of developing joint training in languages or customer service, or promote the development of a common pool of resources for the recruitment or management of human resources, all of which could be seen as interesting social or organizational innovations for this sector.

4. Institutional support for improving call center management practices - a social territorial innovation, a source of competitive advantages?

Starting from our results, presented in the previous parts, we arrive at three observations:

- Call center management practices are sometimes criticized, which leads institutions to a more reactive and proactive position vis-à-vis call centers.
- In addition, in order to attract and retain call centers, institutions can resort to financial incentives, but this does not ensure retention in the territory.
- Finally, we could act on the development of human resources, which is done very little. Indeed, there is little support or follow-up in the medium or long term, little or no support for recruitment or vocational training, or work organization, while this type of innovation would improve both the quality of call center work and retention, while perhaps helping to retain call centers in a given territory. In fact, our research shows that call centers sometimes want more help with managing their human resources.

On the basis of these findings, it may be appropriate for institutions to help call centers improve their management practices in order to increase their socio-economic performance, in order to improve staff retention and retention in the territory. . In this last part, we discuss this idea that we have chosen to define as a socio territorial innovation (Tremblay, Klein and Fontan, 2009), and that we see as a source of potential competitive advantages for the territories.

In order to first explain how this idea could be characterized as a socio-territorial innovation, we rely on the work of Tremblay, Klein and Fontan (2009), as well as Cloutier (2003). Based on a literature review, Cloutier (2003) summarizes social innovation in the territories:

- This idea would bring a "new way of doing things" that would help solve economic and social problems (Dedijer 1984, Henderson 1993, Sabel 1996).
- It aims to improve the quality of life (Gabor, 1970, Gueron, 1984) call center agents who are also "inhabitants" of the territory.
- It would also aim to act preventively on economic and social problems (Henderson, 1993) by preventing call centers from leaving the territory by taking away jobs or allowing unsatisfactory management practices for the resident-agents. .

This definition is similar to that presented in Tremblay, Klein and Fontan (2009). It should be noted that we consider the idea of developing institutional support for call center management practices as a hypothetical socio territorial innovation in the sense that we have not observed it, and that it is only a starting point for further research, or action research. However, we have interesting materials concerning the internal management of call centers.

This research allowed us to show, first of all, that an issue for call center managers is to achieve a reduction in the turnover rate of staff and to develop the commitment or involvement of agents, especially to increase the quality of the services offered. The involvement of agents in the functioning of the organization is generally limited by their desire to eventually leave the call center. The turnover rate is often close to 70%. The lack of involvement and the high turnover of the staff generate absenteeism, lack of staff, and affect the quality of the training of agents and services performed. The Continental Airlines Call Center Manager estimates the cost of staff turnover at $ 30,000 per agent per year (McDonald, 2010). The inability of an agent to respond to a request sometimes leads to additional costs. Koh et al. (2005) show that if the agent can not solve a customer's problem, the company will have to send him a new product according to the DSG insurance clause. When a center encounters problem of engagement and retention of agents, this generates hidden costs (Savall and Zardet, 1987) that are not always identified: for example, overtime related to recruitment, integration, training and management of departures induced by staff turnover.

Box 6: Excerpts from witness sentences from our interviews: Stakes in agent engagement and retention.

AGENTS ARE LOWLY INVOLVED IN THE OPERATION OF THE CALL CENTER
> **Call Center:** "The problems are repeated delays, absences without warning, the disappearance of a person who returns after three weeks ... non-involvement for many. For them it is a transit job. They know they will not stay. "
> **Call Center:** "People are not involved in their work. They do this out of necessity to pay for what they have to pay. "

THE ROTATION OF STAFF IS HIGH
> **Call Center:** "Call center employees are very volatile customers. People like to change regularly, especially in Canada. "
> **Call Center:** "When a lot of people leave, it puts pressure on others who say, 'Why are we staying?' "
> **Call Center:** "Every year there are about 7 people leaving. The turnover is at least 40%, but I would say it is between 50 and 60%. "
> **Call Center:** "In large call centers where I worked, turnover is 70%. On a training of 25 new hires, there remain 10 in 4 weeks, and after 3 months there are 2, and only one after 6 months. They say they only keep the best. "

By analyzing management practices in call centers, we observed elements that would improve the engagement and retention of agents. Call centers make an important effort in terms of comfort and aesthetics of the premises. Geographical location and landscapes can also be appreciated by agents who spend their day on the phone. Some offer to the agents to decide their schedules (volume, planning): each week the agents make known for the following week the hourly volumes and the dates which they wish to work. This way of working, if it requires time in terms of management, is considered rewarding and attractive by the agents, especially those who also lead university studies. The possibility offered in some centers to change the texts used by agents can also make the work less boring. Complementary projects are sometimes entrusted to the agents, for example to organize meetings between the agents and the subcontracted customers, which can increase the interest of the work. Some centers lessen the pressure of control, such as leaving officers with proper breaks and less time to pause between calls: managers say their role is to help officers keep up the pace to reach the results, but also to know how to lift the pressure so that agents do not saturate. In some centers, agents become periodically supervisors when management is on leave or when high demands exceptionally require the hiring of temporary workers for a few days or weeks.

New hierarchical levels are sometimes created to propose possibilities of evolution. On the other hand, if staff want to stay longer, agents should be guaranteed job security at least in the medium term: to let them know that they can work in the center on a long-term basis and that they will be able to do enough hours to meet their needs. As shown by D'Cruz and Noronha (2006) in India, work in call centers is attractive when wages are more generous than in other sectors. This shows that some call centers offer attractive base salaries to their agents. The introduction of salary supplements linked to the achievement of results can also develop their commitment, but in Quebec, it is undoubtedly also on the side of the working conditions, the content of the work and the training that it would be necessary to put the focus to create interesting positions and retain staff. There is also a need to ensure quality management in call centers, in particular by improving relations between management and staff and by refining the recruitment and training processes (see Box 7). We have indeed noticed that some centers make efforts in this direction and that this is appreciated by the employees.

Box 7: Excerpts from witness sentences from our interviews: Improving the quality of management

DEVELOP GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN AGENTS AND HIERARCHY
   Call Center: "The assistant director is really listening. "
   Call Center: "Supervisors, directors, are accessible. If we have a problem, we can go see them. "
   Call Center: "We're close with the supervisors. If we have a problem, we can talk with them. If
   we need to change schedules; they listen to us. There are no problems. "

ENSURE A GOOD WORK ENVIRONMENT AND RECOGNIZE PERFORMANCE AND WORK WELL DONE
   Call Center: "From time to time, we will do a sort of raffle to win cinema tickets, $ 10 vouchers.
   If we do, it is to create a dynamic of relaxation and therefore of cut. Sometimes on Saturdays, we
   bring pizzas for everyone. "
   Call Center: "People like rewards. They like to receive something that is useful to them, and that
    in public. The Other day in a raffle, it was participatory. We also gave rewards to the top three:
   the one with the most sales, the most appointments and the most call taking. "
   Call Center: "Between the agents, everyone gets to know each other, to discuss. The ambiance is good. "

LISTEN TO AGENTS
    Call Center: "We do not have a union here. When people are well treated and listened to, we do not need a
    union. If   people unionize, it is because they have been abused. "
    Call Center: "In call centers, it's mass management and we do not listen to people. Here, we listen and we
    have more than correct results: we have our ratios, and we start our work in time. The customer is happy, the
    boss is happy, and the agents are more valued. "

MAKE QUALITY RECRUITMENT
    Call center: "To recruit agents, we sort by our criteria: mainly voice, phrasing, wording. The voice is the
    tool of   work. We try to be careful that the phrasing is correct. "
    Call Center: "In our call center, we do not do mass recruitment. I prefer to recruit less and better. We try to
    make it stay that way. "

ACCOMPANYING SKILLS DEVELOPMENT
    Call Center: "We invest more in coaching than in training. "
    Call Center: Companies put in place an environment that is right for the agent, but what's important is the
    Coaching, the type of work and the interest of the job. "

By implementing such management practices, it is possible to significantly reduce turnover and increase the involvement of agents, which leads to better economic performance for the call center, and to an improvement in their performance. image to the institutions. The control sentences presented in Box 7 are mainly the result of interviews conducted with management and agents of a Montréal call center who managed, by their practices, to reduce their turnover rate by 70%. at 20%, a social performance correlated according to the direction with the evolution of its economic performances.

In this way it is possible to go beyond management methods based on mistrust and control, generating difficult working environments, sometimes execrable agent-management relationships, based on excessive pressurization, in the optics that in all the agents will not stay. This type of practice is generally decried by agents (see Box 8) and then by the press, which is detrimental to the sector and to the image of the region hosting them.

Box 8: Excerpts from witness sentences from our interviews: Improving the quality of management

EXCEED INEFFICIENT MANAGEMENT METHODS (employee testimonials)

Call Center: "We do not call agents by their code. In some centers, it's sometimes like that. People are not cattle. "

Call Center: "We are treated like cannon fodder. They know that you will not stay anyway. They tell themselves that if an agent stays 9 months on average, why make expensive efforts to try to keep him 3 months more. It's mathematical. "

Call Center: "We see our supervisors as enemies, and they see us as their enemies. The atmosphere is unhealthy. "

Call Center: "We do not have job stability. It is renewable contracts every 8 months. We do not have sick days. When you're away, even with a word from the doctor, it's frowned upon. "

Call Center: "Agents, we have the customer's vision and problems. But when we make recommendations, it does not go back. It was from the top down. It was unilateral. There are simple procedures to change that would improve the quality of the service and make money for the company. This generates significant losses. "

First Conclusion

We have seen that for the territories, it can be interesting to attract and retain call centers to develop or maintain jobs, especially when job losses occur in other sectors. However, local and regional organizations hesitate or often give up resources for this purpose, as call centers sometimes relocate and present jobs that are often precarious and unattractive, giving them a negative image. In this context, institutions cease to be proactive with call centers. We also show that call centers choose their location according to the socio-economic and geographical characteristics of the territory (competitiveness of costs, skills and availability of the workforce, security, proximity to customers), but also according to the services offered by the institutions of the territory (financial assistance, support ...).

Based on these findings, we concluded that it would be interesting for institutions to strengthen their support for call center managers to improve their management practices. Building on our work, we have shown the social as well as economic interest in helping managers improve agent engagement and reduce staff turnover. In addition, we have identified management practices to achieve this and to modify traditional management practices, which are the basis of the prejudices of some institutional actors vis-à-vis call centers, in order to improve working conditions. and employment.

In this way, the institutions could help disseminate and encourage good management practices in the call centers of their territory, notably through conferences, the use of labels or standards, and reference documents. One example is the newspaper Les Affaires, which organized a series of conferences in Montreal on the management of call centers and thus contributes to the dissemination of innovative practices to improve the management of human resources and economic performance. Moreover, if the economic development agencies are already providing support to local businesses, it would be interesting for them to support change management in call centers to facilitate the effective implementation of such practices. . Lastly, when call centers are granted financial assistance from the region's institutions, it would be possible to require counterparties in terms of human resources management practices and the length of time they are established in the territory.

These are reflections that open the way to discussion and experimentation. Weaving this kind of relationship between institutions and call centers would help develop the attachment of call centers to their home territory because they would be offered a "service". If they are thus supported in the evolution of their practice and in the development of their socio-economic performances, this can represent a win-win situation for the territory as well as for the call centers, and a socio territorial innovation source of durable competitive advantages, limiting bankruptcies and relocations.

Working groups of call centers and institutional actors could also be organized to identify ways of implementing good practice. One would be well in the case of figure where an innovation is done in a territorial approach, as Alter (2000) proposes it. We would see public and private actors working together, combining their knowledge and valuing it locally (Holbrook and Wolfe 2002, Tremblay et al., 2002, Klein et al., 2003), while creating new knowledge. This is a proposal that can lead to new research and action in the territories, including Quebec, to improve the situation in terms of employment and innovation.

As we mentioned in the introduction, this call center case study refers to a broader phenomenon, that of mobile companies that move with the relative costs and supports offered by various regions. This allows us to consider practices that could be expanded beyond the call center industry to reach other companies that are easily mobile. Indeed, the provision of management support services or other complementary services could be seen as a means of

attracting and retaining businesses on a broader basis. The conclusions of our case study can therefore probably be applied more broadly to other sectors where companies are highly mobile, and provide avenues to try to anchor these companies in the territory.

5. Second step of the research methodology

The second part of our research is divided into two complementary parts. The first component is based on a quantitative survey aimed at obtaining reliable statistical data on call center workers and their working conditions. The second component is based on a qualitative survey approach aimed at deepening the findings obtained in the quantitative phase of the research and at identifying avenues for analysis of the causes, nature and consequences of the transformation processes of services and working conditions in call centers. Given the lack of factual data available on the number and location of public sector call centers in Quebec, preliminary research was required to begin with a summary inventory.

5.1 Preliminary phase: call center inventory of the public function and Para public

For this phase, we have conducted a call center targeting, in collaboration with members of the union structure. The representatives of the Joint Departmental Labor Relations Committees (CMMRP) were called upon to identify call centers in all departments and agencies (M/O), to estimate their numbers (in number and Job Corps) and to provide an initial overview of members' concerns about working conditions in each of these institutions. This information was subsequently validated and specified by the SFPQ computer system data. In some cases, this portrait has been completed thanks to the information obtained through a request for access to government documents addressed to all M/O.

5.2 Quantitative section.

The objective of this component is to accurately document the socio-demographic characteristics of call center staff and to highlight some trends in working conditions. To do this, in order to rely on reliable and representative data, we proceeded to a reasoned sampling whose parameters were determined according to the objectives and framework of the research. The sampling criteria were established in order to ensure a balance among the people surveyed, according to certain characteristics that underlie the variety of call centers in the public and Para public services of Québec, namely:

- The employment corps of workers;
- The geographical location of the call center;
- The type of schedules in force.

We also chose call centers that were easily staffed to ensure that the questionnaire was sent to all employees, without exception. The Revenue Agency (ARQ), which has about 1,500 people on telephone lines, almost half of the total number of call centers in the public and parapublic services of Quebec, is a special case. Due to methodological constraints, a selection of some call centers from the Directorate-General for Individuals (DGP) and the Directorate-General for Enterprise (DGE) was favored (see list below), rather than all call centers of the ARQ.

5.2.1 Sample

All of the selected call center workers form a sample of more than 1,800 people. This sample is representative of the variety of call centers in the public service (see Table 2).

MINISTRY OF LABOR, EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY (MTESS):

- **Client Communication Center (Customer Communication Center)**
Location: Trois-Rivières and Gaspé
Employment Corps: Socio-Economic Assistance Officers (AASE)
Hours of Operation: 8:30 am - 4:30 pm

- **Quebec Parental Insurance Plan (RQAP)**
Location: Rouyn, Quebec and Ste-Anne-des-Monts
Employment Corps: Socio-Economic Assistance Officers (AASE)
Hours of operation: 8 am - 8 pm

- **Collection Center**
Location: Quebec
Employment Corps: Socio-Economic Assistance Officers (AASE)
Hours of Operation: 8:30 am - 4:30 pm

- **Customer Relationship Center (CRC de Services Québec)**
Location: Caplan and Quebec
Employment Corps: Information Officers (RAP)
Hours of operation: 8 am - 8 pm

SECURITY OF QUEBEC (FONDS OF THE POLICE SERVICE):

- **Call Management Center (CGA)**
Location: 10 CGAs throughout Quebec
Job Corps: Telecom Attendants (PAT)
Opening hours: 7/7 days, 24 hours a day

COMMISSION ON HEALTH AND SAFETY AT WORK (CSST):

- **Customer Relationship and Eligibility Center (CRCA)**
Location: Montreal and some agents scattered in regional offices
Employment Corps: Information Officers (PAR)
Hours of operation: 8 am - 5 pm

RÉGIE DES RENTES (QPP):

- **Customer Relationship Center (CRC)**
Location: Montreal, Quebec and regions
Employment Corps: Information Officers (RAP)
Hours of Operation: 8:30 - 17:00

QUÉBEC INCOME AGENCY (ARQ):
- Customer Relations Centers (CRC) of the DSP
- Customer service centers of the DGE

Location: Quebec / St-Romuald, Sherbrooke, Montreal and Laval (DGP)
Job Corps: Tax Audit Technician (TVF) , Information Officers (RAP)
Hours of Operation: 8:30 am - 4:30 pm

5.2.1 Survey

All those working in the selected call centers received an invitation by mail to answer an online questionnaire, created with the Survey Monkey online survey application (see the attached questionnaire). When completing the form, each person had to enter a personal code to ensure one entry per person.

The invitation was sent in **May 2015** to the call center staff in the sample (except the ARQ) and, in September, to the ARQ workers. Overall, the response rate to the questionnaire was very positive for an online consultation, surpassing (except for the ARQ) the rates obtained in comparable studies conducted in recent years with call center workers. The lowest response rate for ARQ workers is notable and should be investigated further.

Table 7: Response Rates to the Online Questionnaire

	Job Category	Target group (population)	Respondents (n)	Reply Rate (%)
MTESS (Recovery, CCC and RQAP)	AASE	329	132	40%
MTESS (Services Québec)	PAR	141	39	28%
Safety of Quebec	PAT	316	110	35%
Pension Board	PAR	137	55	40%
CSST	PAR	124	32	26%
ARQ	TVF, PAR	807	124	15%
TOTAL		1954	492	27%

5.3 Qualitative section

The objective of this component was to deepen the results of the questionnaire survey on the issue of working conditions, to validate and possibly qualify these findings for call centers. not included in the quantitative sample. 39 people, most of them holding union positions (delegates or managers), representing the vast majority of call centers of the public and Para public services of Quebec, were consulted during this phase, during individual or group interviews. The group meetings took place in Quebec, in Montreal, in Matane and Trois-Rivières during the months of October to December 2015. Individual interviews were conducted by telephone during the same period.

Different facets of working conditions (see Annex 3) were discussed during these consultations: working hours, working climate, tasks, work organization, health and safety. The meetings were organized in such a way that those present had the opportunity to speak about topics of most concern to them.

6. Portray of Call Centers of the Public services and Para public of Quebec

6.1 General portrait of call centers

The summary table below presents the main call centers of the public and Para public services of Quebec. The complete table is presented in the appendix (with staff by city, branch or sector, precariousness rate, proportion of women and some methodological indications).

Table 8: Number of Call Centers in the Public and Para public Service of Quebec

M/O	City (s)	jobs	Job Category
ARQ	Several regions	1500	TVF and PAR
CARRA	Quebec	70	PAR
CNT	Montreal	32	PAR
CSST	Montreal, Caplan and some positions in region	118	PAR
ISQ	Quebec	60	AB
Justice	Quebec and Montreal	35	PAR
MELS (AFE)	Québec	33	PAR
MIDI	Montreal	29	PAR
MTESS /CCC	Gaspé and Trois-Rivières	109	AASE
MTESS / Call Center Placement	Trois-Rivières	25	AB
MTESS / Collection Center	Quebec	20	AASE
MTESS / CRC Jobs	Montreal	10	AASE

MTESS / Civil status	Quebec	19	PAR
MTESS/RQAP	Québec, Ste-Anne-des-Monts,Rouyn	174	AASE
MTESS/Services Qc	Caplan and Québec	109	PAR
MTQ	Québec and Montréal	88	PAT
OPC	Several Regions	37	ICLR
RAMQ	Quebec	172	PAR
RBQ	Montreal	10	PAR
Accommodation Board	Several regions	83	PAR
RRQ	Quebec, Montreal and Regions	125	PAR
SAAQ	Montréal, Murdochville and Québec	275	PAR
SEPAQ	Quebec	35	PAR
SQ	Several regions	334	PAT
Tourism	Montreal	9	PAR
TOTAL		3511	

---------Due to the heterogeneity of data sources, the information contained in this table should be considered for informational purposes only. For more details, see Appendix 1. At the time of this study, the merger projects of the CSST, the CNT and the Commission de l'équité salariale, on the one hand, and CARRA and the RRQ, on the other, had still not been implemented. This data has been revised since the submission of the report in April 2016 (07-06-16). ----------------

6.1.1 Brief presentation of the main employment groups represented in the centers Call

- **Service Desk Agents (PAR)**

The function of these workers is "to respond to requests for information addressed to the administration concerning the interpretation and application of laws, regulations, guidelines, parliamentary activities, tourist and recreational attractions" of Québec and in some cases to community services available to the citizen or immigrant ". In fact, their tasks vary greatly depending on the sector of activity. In many M / Os, PRAs are performing an increasingly wide range of tasks, some of which were previously reserved for technician categories. Many departments and agencies employ PARs, and this employment category accounts for almost half of the total number of public service call center staff (excluding ARQ staff). This group is made up of 75% women. The minimum education required to apply for a job as a presenter or information officer is the high school diploma. 46% of the PARs are at a precarious status (occasional with or without right of recall).

- **Economic and Social Assistance Workers (AASE)**

"The main and usual duties of socio-economic assistants are to conduct a variety of interviews and technical analysis of data either to determine or review an applicant's eligibility for state financial benefits under the form of social assistance, either to establish a recovery plan for specific clients in order to make them fit for work, or to assist people in the solution of their problems in employment and employers in the recruitment of their hand-d 'artwork ". Almost all AASEs in the civil service are employed by the Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Solidarity (MTESS), mainly in the local employment centers and, in the minority, in administrative centers or call centers (about 13% in these). 79% of AASE are women, and 25% are casual. To be eligible for the AASE class, candidates must have a college diploma in social work, special education, administration or other relevant specialization.

- **Telecommunications Agents (PAT)**

Telecommunications Workers are responsible for "operating various devices in the road network to support and distribute calls," maintain the fluidity of the network, as well as collect, receive and transmit data and information ". In the public service, PATs work mainly for the Ministère des Transports (MTQ) (Land Transportation Network Fund) and the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) (Police Service Fund). The former is responsible for the management of the road network and, in this regard, they must ensure the surveillance and coordination of emergency responses. The latter receive requests for assistance from police forces as well as emergency calls or requests for information from citizens. PATs are a mixed employment body made up of 47% women. The required schooling is the high school diploma. 45% of the PAT are at precarious status.

- **Tax Audit Technicians (TVF) and Tax Collections Officers (ARF)**

TVFs perform "audit, investigation and tax investigation work, as well as provide information on these matters". In call centers from the Individuals Branch and the Business Branch of Revenu Québec, the TVF responds to inquiries about tax measures and programs. The requirements in terms of education for TVF are a college diploma in administrative techniques, finance option or equivalent. At ARQ, many of the call center employees who were in the "award-winning" PAR category, because of the specialization of their duties, have achieved TVF status in recent years through internal promotion competitions. 68% of TVFs are women, and 23% are at risk. At the call center of the ARQ Collection Branch, the employees belong to the ARF employment corps, whose job is to ensure the recovery of "amounts owed [to Revenu Québec] under various acts using the administrative and judicial remedies available to them. 57% are women, and 25% are on precarious status.

6.2 Characteristics of call center staff in the public service and parapublic of Québec

6.2.1 Socio-demographic portray.

A) Sex

The number of call centers is female (70%), slightly higher than the total number of SFPQ members (64%). This is an observed trend beyond the public service, in the private sector as well. In the public service, however, this picture varies greatly between M / O and employment units (see Appendix 1). In fact, women represent about 80% of the staff of the MTESS, CSST and RRQ call centers; on the other hand, they represent only half of the employed SQPs. One hypothesis to explain the lower rate of feminization of SQ staff is the atypical hours that are in effect (rotating day, evening and night), which many women can not accommodate because of family responsibilities that they assume. The results obtained during a recent consultation with SFPQ members about work-family balance also go in this direction.

Figure 6: Women / men ratio in call centers.
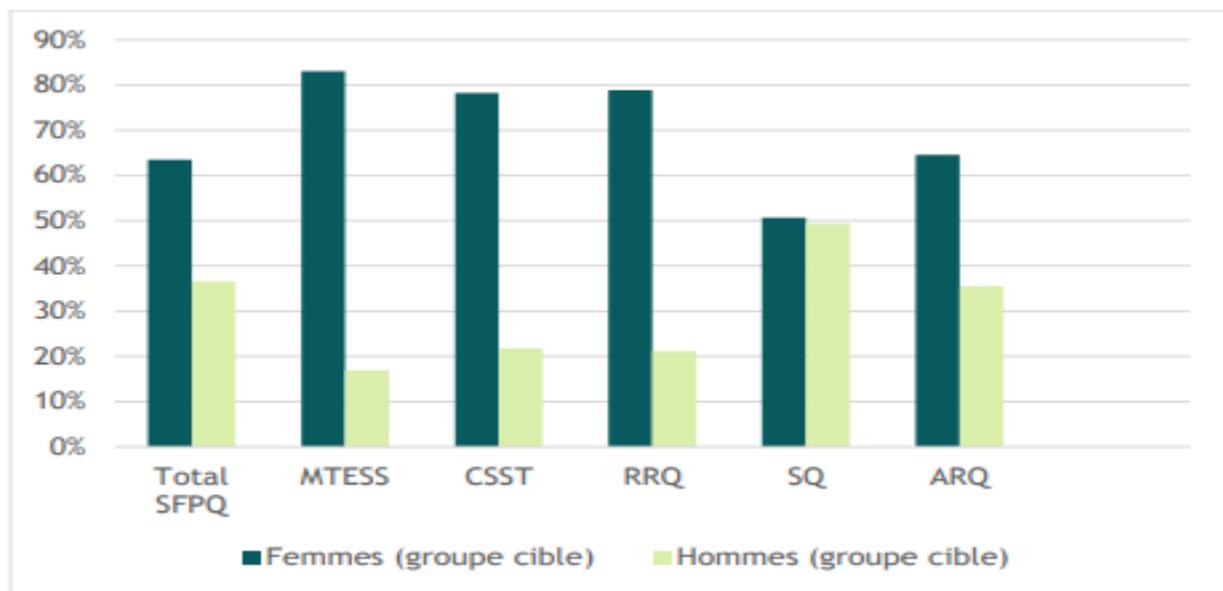
B) Age

In selected call centers, the proportion of young people aged 35 and under is slightly higher than that of all SFPQ members (22.5% compared to 21.4% in the SFPQ). However, it is notable that more than half of the respondents are over the age of 45. This finding invalidates the common misconception that a job in a call center is an early career opportunity opening the door to other positions. In the public service, at least, that does not seem to be the case. Again, these data are strongly differentiated by M / O, as shown in Figure 2. Among the PARs, the proportion of people over 45 (63%) is larger than in the other job classes.

Figure 7: Age structure of respondents
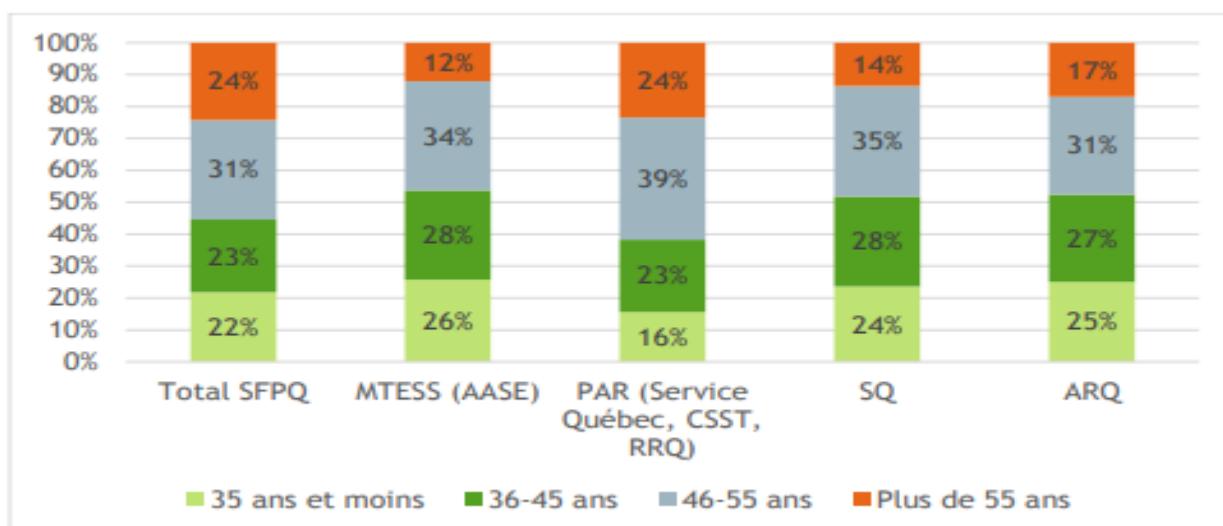
C) Visible minority status

11% of respondents said they belong to a visible minority, and 13% were born outside of Canada. These small proportions do not allow generalizations as to the factors determining their presence in call centers. However, it is notable that almost all people from immigrant or visible minority backgrounds work in the Montreal area. In fact, in the Montréal region, 37% of respondents to the survey were born elsewhere than in Canada, whereas they are only 7% in all other regions.

The profile of people with an immigrant background who work in public service call centers is significantly different from that of the Canadian-born: younger, more educated (2/3 have a university degree, compared to 1 / 3 for Canadian-born respondents), they are also more likely to have a precarious status. Most of them work at ARQ.

D) Region

A certain balance between the urban areas and the other regions was respected in the constitution of the sample. In fact, 46% of the respondents are from Quebec City or Montreal compared to 53% of the rest of Quebec. However, the uneven distribution of call centers in the territory (eg, the MTESS call centers have very little presence in Quebec City and Montréal) does not allow for fine comparisons between the questionnaire results by region. For example, almost half of all respondents in the Montréal region come from Revenu Québec, whereas in the other regions, it is mainly the MTESS AASE and the SQ PAT that are predominant.

Table 9: Distribution of Respondents by Region

|	County	% of respondents
R1	Québec – Chaudière-Appalaches	23%
R2	Montréal – Laval	19%
R3	Montérégie	6%
R4	Centre-du-Québec – Estrie – Mauricie	19%
R5	Laurentides – Lanaudière – Outaouais	5%
R6	Bas-Saint-Laurent – Côte-Nord – Gaspésie and Island	16%
R7	Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean – Chibougamau –Charlevoix – Haute-Côte-Nord	3%
R8	Abitibi – Témiscamingue – North of Québec	7%
	COUNTY TOTAL OF QUEBEC AND MONTREAL	43%
	OTHER COUNTIES TOTAL	56%

Figure 8: Regional Composition of the Sample by employment group

Régions de Québec et Montréal

AASE 12%, MTESS (PAR) 15%, CSST 6%, RRQ 12%, SQ 6%, ARQ 50%

Autres régions

AASE 37%, MTESS (PAR) 3%, CSST 7%, RRQ 11%, SQ 34%, ARQ 6%

Legend: AASE, MTESS (PAR), CSST, RRQ, SQ, ARQ
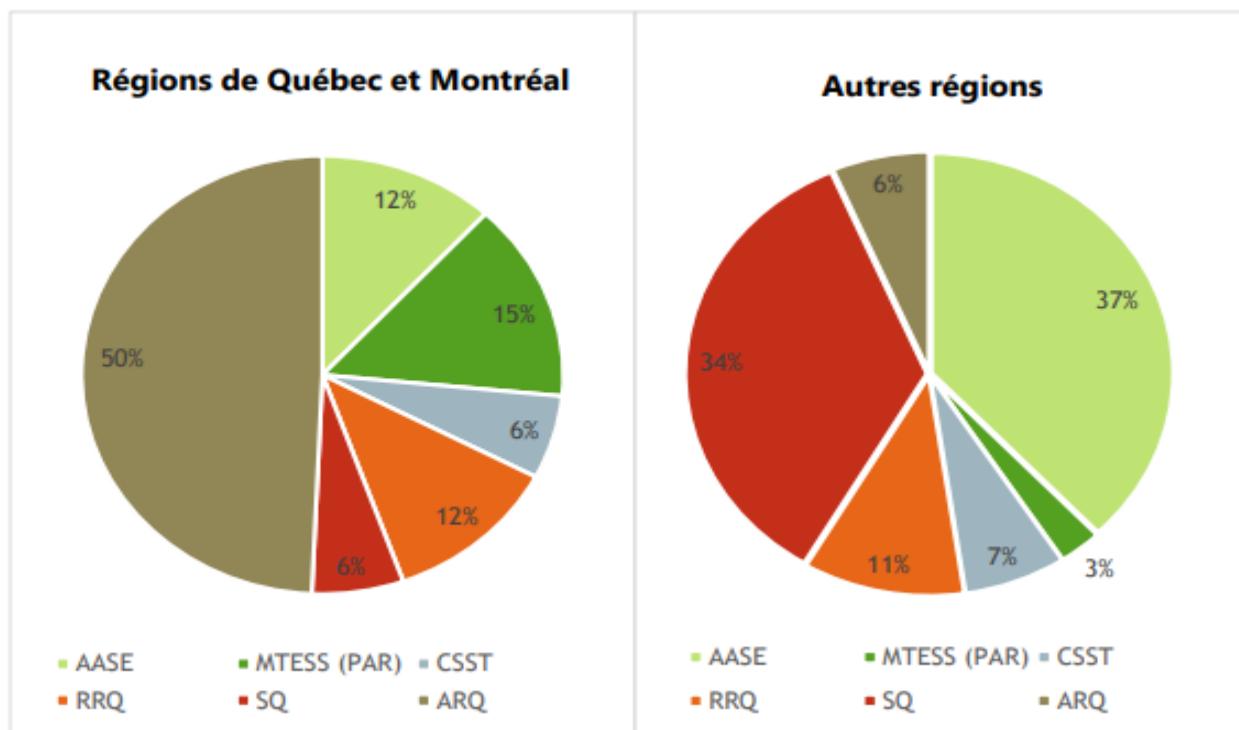
E) Education

The survey results run counter to a widespread belief that call center work is unqualified. Although officially no job category represented in public service call centers requires post-college education, more than one-third of respondents have a university degree. This proportion is high among the AASEs of the MTESS, among the RAPs, and particularly in the call centers of Revenu Québec, where more than half (55%) of the respondents say they hold a university degree.

Figure 9: Highest level of education of respondents


	Secondaire	Collégial	Universitaire
Total	14%	49%	37%
MTESS (AASE)	2%	61%	37%
PAR (Service Québec, CSST, RRQ)	23%	39%	38%
SQ	26%	58%	15%
ARQ	6%	40%	55%
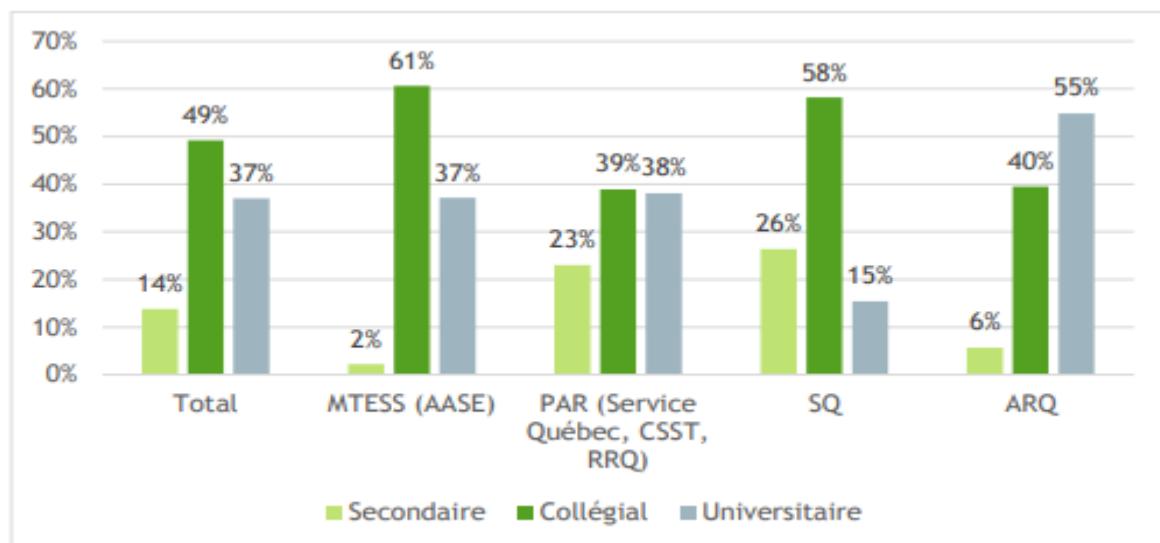
6.2.2 Situation and employment history.

A) Employment status

The proportion of workers with precarious status varies greatly from one call center to another. Among the major call centers, the proportion of casual staff is particularly high in Services Québec, SAAQ, CARRA, RAMQ, MTQ and SQ. Overall, the rate of precariousness among the respondents (28%) is higher than that prevailing among all employees represented by the SFPQ (25%), even if the rate of response to the questionnaire is higher among permanent staff. Among PATs, for example, 23% of respondents have an occasional status, while precarious workers make up 45% of SQT's PAT staff.

Figure 10: Insecurity rate in large call centers
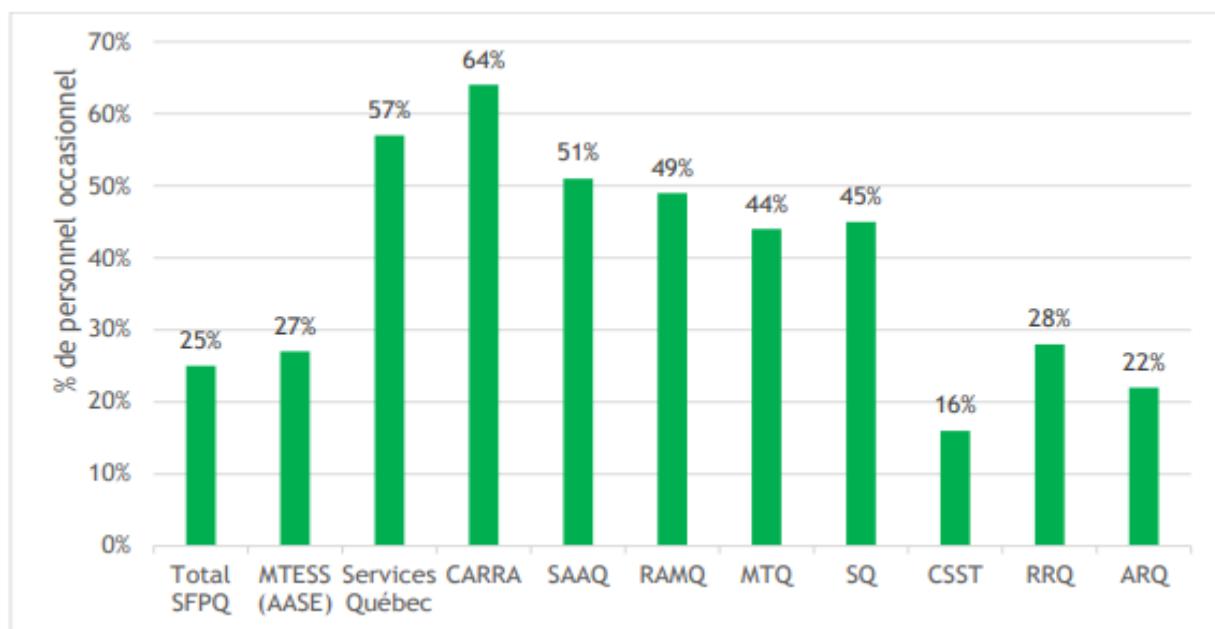
B) Employment History

62% of respondents have been in the workplace for more than 5 years, a higher proportion than in the call center private sector25. Barely 6% have less than one year of seniority. Several factors can explain this state of affairs: job security, unionization, working conditions and / or wages, the captivity of workers (regions), commitment to public service. In addition, in some call centers, such as the ARQ, the workforce is made up of a core of permanent staff, who have been in office for several years, but also a large proportion of casual and highly mobile staff. In fact, only 38% of ARQ respondents had been employed for more than 5 years and 19% had less than one year of seniority.

A minority of workers (29%) have previous experience in a call center. For most respondents, their work in a call center is their first job in the Quebec public service: 63% previously held a position outside the public service, and this is the first job for 6% of them. AASEs are the largest job class in the public service (41%) who have accessed their current position through an internal mobility process or by applying to a competition.

C) Supervision function

Opportunities for advancement are relatively limited in call centers. In many cases, the only alternative option to being a full-time agent is to become a team leader. Team leaders are generally from the same field of employment as their colleagues in the call center and, in addition to coaching, perform a variety of administrative tasks. 16% of respondents to the questionnaire say they have a supervisory or team leader role. Of these, 35% are on the phone less than 50% of their time compared to only 6% of other call center workers.

D) Workers union involvement

Of those answering the questionnaire, the vast majority (80%) have never been part of any union structure, even though most have already attended a meeting of the SFPQ.

Have you ever been involved) in the union structure, in the SFPQ or in another union (delegate, member of a committee, elected on the local executive, or other)?	
Yes, I am currently	8%
Yes, but not anymore	11%
No never	80%

In the last year, how many times did you attend a union meeting (meeting)?	
Once	8%
More than one time	11%
Any	80%

7. Working conditions in call centers

Sections 4 and 5 of the report presents a summary of the results of the two components of the research. The results of the questionnaire survey26 are made explicit and in-depth through group interviews and individual interviews. Highlights from the analysis of questionnaire responses and consultation meetings with workers on the issue of working conditions and service transformation are also presented.

7.1 General findings

Testimonies collected during this survey confirm that the management mode in force in the call centers of the public and Para public service tends to become standardized, as are the models in place in the private sector of the centers. calls. The arrival of new managers, former executives in the telecommunications sector, as well as the development of inter-agency networking around the management of call centers are not unrelated to this convergence.

Indeed, the implementation of technological systems and management tools specific to call centers, all developed in the private sector, is a wave of substance that affects all M / O for a few years. The devices implemented in call centers are designed to produce a large number of performance indicators now adopted fairly uniformly by most M / O. The Center of Expertise for Large Organizations (CEGO) maintains the link between several of these public organizations whose managers share the ways of doing things within the "Network for the Management of Customer Relationship Centers", and compare their performance based on analysis grids proposed by consultants. This standardization of the organization of work has important consequences for working conditions such as will be demonstrated in the following pages.

Moreover, it appears that all the observations presented in this section are amplified by the situations of under-strength. Whether it concerns the pressure on staff to achieve certain performance standards, the difficulty of getting time off, the work climate and even work-related psychological health problems, the SFPQ members employed in Call centers show a negative evolution of their working conditions in recent years.

7.2 Tasks and organization of work

7.2.1 Call Distribution Management

The questionnaire included answerable questions and a single open question answered by no fewer than 260 people, more than half of all respondents. These comments were sorted and categorized, and extracts were selected to provide an overview of the content of the concerns in the different M / O in the sample. These excerpts are presented in Appendix 5.

Most public service call centers operate centrally, that is, all telephony personnel - no matter where the agents are located in the different regions of Quebec - is connected to a single call distribution system. For example, a CSST information officer in Caplan can respond to requests from both Montreal and Abitibi. This centralization is relatively recent in some cases. At the CSST, for example, the complete integration of the network dates from 2006.

In the 1990s, telephone services were territorialized at the CCST, but also at ARQ, RRQ, Services Québec (formerly Communications Québec) and other M / O. At the MTESS, before the creation of the CCC between 2000 and 2002, questions for social assistance were sent directly to the local employment centers, located throughout Quebec. At the SQ, the apportionment of appeals is still territorialized in each of the 10 CGAs, particularly because of the importance of the PAT field knowledge for the effectiveness of the emergency response. Nevertheless, centralization scenarios are currently in place. study at the SQ.

This structuring of the distribution of calls in an extended network has led to a centralization of the management of working time (as we will see in section 4.2), but also a standardization of the distribution of calls according to specialization criteria specific to each M / O. Each agent, according to his profile, receives calls automatically by the central system through various channels (depending on the language and the type of request).
In general, the implementation of centralized technological systems has also resulted in a multiplication of coding tasks for statistical production purposes. Agents and agents categorize all requests made to them and the resulting interventions. They must also code all of their activities off-line: interventions in folders, other administrative tasks, union tasks, unplanned break or meeting a team leader, for example. All this information is subject to individual statistics which are subject to strict control in most cases.

In addition, most call centers in the public service have software packages in place to automate the pace of calls. The vast majority of respondents believe that the rate of calls is too high.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
The rate of calls is managed automatically.	**71%**	118	**89%**	115	**91%**	12	**11%**	103	**83%**
I have enough time between calls.	**29%**	33	**25%**	51	**40%**	29	**26%**	27	**22%**
I have enough preparation time.	**49%**	59	**45%**	81	**64%**	41	**37%**	57	**46%**
I can take the time to recover after a difficult call	**55%**	73	**55%**	88	**70%**	34	**31%**	76	**61%**

The rate of calls

Most public service call centers have adjusted their dispatch system to establish an automatic call clock. However, many people we met during the consultations testified that this very short period of time is often missed during peak periods. Here is a non-exhaustive list of call rates in call centers:

RBQ: 15 seconds
SAAQ and CNT: 12 seconds
Services Québec: 10 seconds
RAMQ and CSST: 8 seconds
CSST and RRQ: 7 seconds
MTESS: 3 to 5 seconds
MIDI: 3 seconds
ARQ: 2 seconds

At the SQ, because of the very nature of the work, the rate of calls is more irregular. During periods of high traffic, quieter periods follow, depending on the time of day and the unexpected (for example a major accident). The lack of staffing in many of the SQ's Call Management Centers multiplies situations where an attendant must remain online during lunch or break times due to call volume or absence. relief. Just over one-third of the SQPs claim to be able to take their breaks every half-day while this fee is generally respected in other call centers.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I can take my breaks at each half day	**78%**	122	**92%**	121	**96%**	38	**35%**	101	**81%**

7.2.2 Telephony time and other tasks

The proportion of time spent on telephony by agents and agents varies by M / O and employment. Overall, more than half of respondents say they combine telephony and other tasks. In fact, however, call center staff who do not have a supervisory role are generally assigned to telephony the vast majority of the time.

In addition, the centralization of the distribution of calls by the creation of large DE territorialized call centers has the consequence that the personnel assigned to the telephony has less and less the possibility to vary his tasks. In the M / O where there are still RAPs in the regional offices, this staff usually combines reception and telephony tasks (at Services Québec and the RRQ, for example), a formula that is appreciated by RAPs. At the RRQ, however, regional staff fear the closure of reception desks.

How much of your working day do you spend on the phone for the call center?	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
100% of my time	**35%**	39	**30%**	68	**54%**	46	**42%**	18	**15%**
Between 50% and 100% of my time	**54%**	80	**61%**	56	**44%**	56	**51%**	76	**61%**
Less than 50% of my time	**11%**	13	**10%**	2	**2%**	8	**7%**	30	**24%**

Figure 11: Telephony time (excluding team leaders)

- 100% of my time
- Between 50% and 100% of my time
- Less than 50% of my time

6.1%
36.7%
57.1%
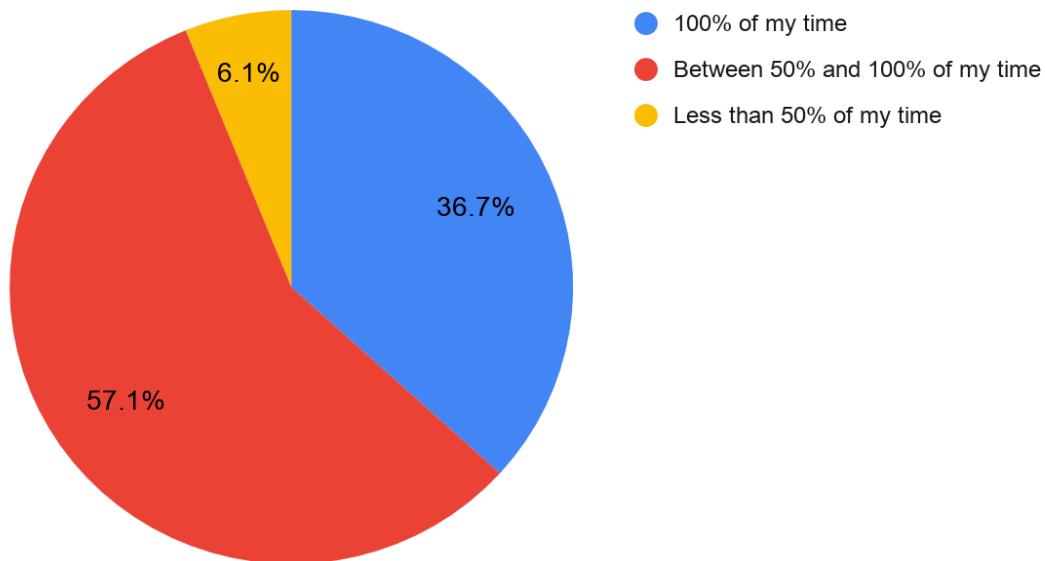
Figure 12: Telephony time of the team leaders

- 100% of my time
- Between 50% and 100% of my time
- Less than 50% of my time

18.8%
34.7%
46.5%
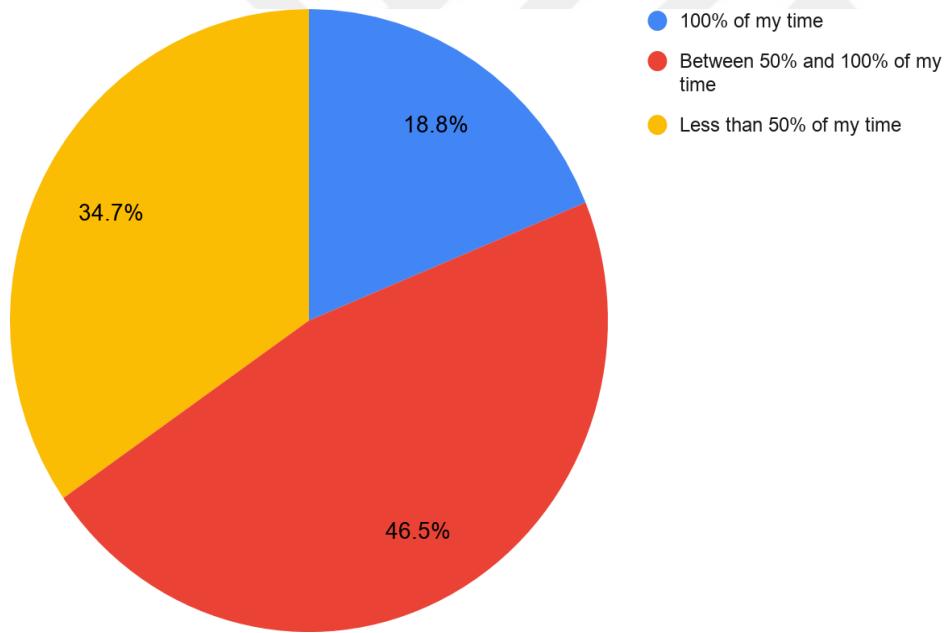
Call center staff are subject to a computer system that measures time according to the "status" of agents: online (on the phone with a user), on a "post-call" basis (to supplement notes on the file, for example), offline (read e-mail or self-study, among others), paused. In some call centers, such as the ARQ and the RQAP, agents also have time to process their scheduled files. In the RQAP, there are 9 different statutes that the AASE must declare in order to allow the managers to accurately record their schedule.

In a context where M / O aims at increasing the "productivity" of agents (measured in terms of number of calls and time online) to compensate for the lack of staff, the time they have for performing various tasks is becoming more restricted. Most call center employees have interventions in computer systems (notes to records) related to their telephony tasks. However, managers are increasingly asking agents to complete all the interventions during the call, while the person is waiting. In this way, they hope to reduce as much as possible the so-called "unproductive" time, and improve the statistics of their call center.

However, this approach has many disadvantages for staff, including the stress of having someone wait on the line, and the increased pressure to take calls without interruption.

In general, the workers consulted during this research were unanimous in denouncing the effects of being assigned all day long to the reception of calls: in terms of health (see section 4.2) and also on motivation at work. Several people said they felt "attached" to their workstation, "on a leash," especially since the prohibition to get up from their workstation to consult a team leader tends to become widespread in call centers.

Some M / O's that operate small call centers have adopted different models adapted to their organizational reality and the nature of the services they offer. For example, at the OPC, legislative and regulatory compliance inspectors in all offices allocate rotational telephony time. About half of their day is spent processing files, the other half is on the phone service. This mixed formula, whose predictability allows a certain flexibility of schedule, is appreciated by the staff of the OPC.

Training time in the minds of managers.

In the context of downsizing, call center managers are looking for ways to maximize online time for agents. The periods devoted to meetings, upgrading, training or self-training are becoming rarer.

For example, at the MTESS CAC, the weekly Wednesday morning meeting, where AASEs are informed of news, has recently been abolished. Half hour daily self-training is also threatened with being cut off. At the Service Québec call center, the scheduled periods of the RAPs for the upgrade are regularly canceled due to traffic.

The consequences of this trimming on the training are felt on the working conditions and on the quality of the services. Indeed, for people assigned to front-line services, it is frustrating and demotivating to not be fully aware of new procedures or changes to programs. Feelings of incompetence and helplessness can significantly undermine quality of work life and psychological health.

7.2.3 Statistics and performance indicators

Managers manage call centers based on performance indicators and software that allows them to accurately measure a set of data such as traffic, waiting times, call durations and more. This results in increased pressure on employees who feel that their "performance" is strictly related to their "productivity": more calls in less time and more time online.

In general, performance targets are based on the average obtained by agents and call center agents. Thus, every worker must attempt to comply with the number of calls average or the average duration of calls in his M / O. A person who is regularly below the group average may be under pressure from the team leader or manager to increase productivity. Depending on the zeal of superiors or the culture of performance established in the call center, interventions with a less efficient agent or agent may be more or less constructive or repressive. In any case, most management systems rely on self-discipline by putting staff continually in contact with a comparison of their personal and group statistics.

In some cases, managers use individual performance indicators over which agents have virtually no power. For example, the "successful promise rate" in a collection center that measures the percentage of "clients" who have fulfilled their obligations to the state (for example, paying back an overpayment) as a result of telephone contact. The agents are thus assigned on their personal file a statistic that is in no way dependent on their work.

Again, the SQ's PATs are in a different situation, because of the nature of their work, call number targets do not apply in CGAs. The answers given by the PATs to the questions in the form relating to the performance measures are thus clearly distinct from the rest. In the other M / O, most respondents and respondents stated that they were subject to hard-to-reach performance standards and, if SQ's PATs are excluded, a large majority say they are subject to a call timeline.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I am subject to performance standards that are difficult to reach	**53%**	78	**59%**	74	**59%**	39	**35%**	67	**54%**
My calls are timed	**68%**	118	**89 %**	87	**69%**	29	**26%**	99	**80%**

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Membership and compliance

In call centers, staff are evaluated on their performance (number and duration of calls), but also on their degree of "adherence" (or "adherence") and "compliance" to the schedule and the telephony time established by the central planning system. Adherence refers to respecting the planned schedule (eg, taking a break between 10 am and 10.15 am precisely) and compliance refers to "productive hours".

For example, at the MTESS CCC, the "compliance rate" (the "customer service" time on total working time) is 95%. To meet this target, staff have a maximum of 21 minutes per day of leeway to go get a coffee or go to the bathroom outside their official break, fill out the working time forms take a break after a difficult call.

As for the target "membership rate", it is 92% in the MTESS CCC, 95% in the MELS and the CSST. If an officer shifts her break or dinner time by a few minutes to complete a call (which happens frequently), this influences her membership rate down. An agent who wants to accumulate 15 minutes of credit time by reducing his lunch period to 45 minutes also lowers his membership rate. These differences can negatively affect their performance ratio. Moreover, in order to maintain good membership statistics, post-adjustment to the schedule in the planning system is often necessary, for example to take into account shortened or prolonged coaching meetings, technical glitches that prevent connect to the system at the scheduled time, delays, etc. In addition to penalizing agents doing their job rigorously, management through statistics also leads to additional management tasks unrelated to the work itself.

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7.3 Working time

7.3.1 Schedules and shifts

The lack of flexibility in work schedules is a major trend in the call centers of the public service. In the private sector, when it comes to "flexible" call center hours, this refers to flexibility for the employer and instability for the displaced labor force. In the public service, several call centers also work in this way, providing work schedules at the last minute. The most extreme cases are those of the SQ's on-call PAT and the AB of the ISQ central office (see boxes).

The underrepresentation of casual staff among respondents to the questionnaire may give a partially biased picture of the perception of hours in some call centers, as illustrated in the following table. For example, at the SQ, 85% of people say they know their work schedule at least two weeks in advance, but only 22% of casual PATs answered the questionnaire while they represent 45% of CGA staff. Of note: the perception of unfairness in scheduling is widespread in the call centers surveyed.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I'm still working on the same shift	**60%**	66	**50%**	113	**90%**	16	**15%**	98	**79%**
I know my work schedule at least two weeks in advance	**76%**	116	**88%**	95	**75%**	94	**85%**	65	**52%**
I regularly need to find a coworker who agrees to change shift with me	**13%**	24	**18%**	20	**16%**	11	**10%**	10	**8%**
Schedule management is fair	**59%**	78	**59%**	75	**60%**	82	**75%**	52	**42%**

Scheduling models in the public and Para public call centers fall into three categories:

- Call centers are open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, working on shifts (MTQ, SQ). At the SQ, the PAT must work alternately day, evening and night. This very rigid scheduling system does not allow for any adjustment on a regular basis, and makes work-life balance virtually impossible for those who have family responsibilities.
- Day and evening call centers that operate on rotating schedules (QPIP) or not (Services Québec). Some call centers are also open on weekends (SEPAQ, Tourism, ISQ).
- Call centers open during the day, with fixed or slightly flexible schedules

Occasional on-call from the SQ

Of the SQPs, 45% have a precarious status. Occasional on-call PATs, who may have been employed by the SQ for several years, can not rely on any scheduling predictability. Their shifts are day, evening or night between 0 and 40 hours per week. They receive their schedule a week in advance only. The consequences of such a regime on the living conditions are important: especially on work-family balance, social life, sleep, the possibility of planning activities, etc. People interviewed for this research show a high turnover rate at the SQ, mainly because of the particularly difficult schedule conditions and also because of the poor pay conditions. In addition, because of their precarious status, APWs on call are not entitled to the same benefits as other employees.

ISQ interviewers

At the ISQ, all those hired to carry out the telephone surveys are occasional, fixed-price contracts. Their number varies according to the surveys commissioned by the departments and agencies of the public service. In the off-peak period, they are barely 5 working alternately two weeks a month at the central office, and two weeks unemployed. In an intensive period, they can be more than 60. No hours are guaranteed to these workers whose classification is "office worker". At the end of the survey, they can work only fifteen hours a week before falling into unemployment. They must be available for day, evening and weekend work. Recently, the management has started offering interviewers broken schedules, which are working days with time slots in the morning and evening. Once hired, they know their schedule on Friday for the following week. As casual hires for less than a year, they are not entitled to sick leave, and hiring is based on their report card rather than seniority. The turnover rate of the personnel of the telephone exchange is, unsurprisingly, very high.

A multiple schedule system is in effect at many open daytime call centers (eg, 8 am-4 pm, 8am-30: 16 pm, 9 am-5 pm). In some cases, the schedules are rotated, depending on whether or not the required presence of certain skill profiles are taken into account at certain times. For call centers open at night, at night or on weekends, rotating schedules can create significant difficulties in articulating family schedules. In call centers where fixed hours are allocated, it is usually seniority that determines the priority of the scheduling choice, although this rule is unequally applied in M / O.

7.3.2 "VARIABLE" or "FLEXIBLE" hours

In the public service generally, flex time is a departmental policy. This is discussed in CMMRP. Generally, variable schedule formulas establish mandatory fixed periods (eg, 9:30 am to 11:30 am, and 2 pm to 3:30 pm), as well as moving ranges at the beginning and end of the day, as well as on dinner time. Most M / O workers arrange their schedules in this setting, which can accumulate time (for example, +/- 7 hours in a given period) and resume it as a leave of absence. However, in all M / O, the customer service staff are subject to more rigid conditions than other workers, even if their specific plan is not always formalized in a policy (at Services Québec, for example, no variable has so far been established for the staff).

Unlike the majority of other public service workers, therefore, call center staff do not have a truly flexible schedule. The employer justifies scheduling constraints in call centers by the need to provide services during business hours of "customer service". In the majority of call centers, the amplitude of the so-called "flexible" schedule is very limited: you can accumulate 15 minutes of credit in the morning, noon and evening. In some cases, the accumulation of evening time credits is accepted only in the case of the involuntary extension of a call (eg Services Québec). In other cases, the accumulation of 10 minutes in morning credit hours is "required" to be able to open the system and be online at 8:30 am. Certain special conditions in applying flexible hours to call centers are also imposed without apparent justification. For example, at the MIDI, at the SAAQ, and at the service of individuals at ARQ, employees have the right to accumulate a bank of credit hours (for a maximum of 7 hours during a period), but no balance Negative is not tolerated. The "flexibility" of these hours is rather designed according to the needs of the call center and not those of the workers.

The current trend is to standardize schedules under the umbrella of a centralized planning team. This results in a further decline in the modest margins of flexibility available to staff to adjust his schedule. At the MTESS CCC, for example, management decided to abolish the schedule rotation system, which was appreciated by the staff, and to standardize the scheduling all of its call centers. Despite the great mobilization of staff around this issue, as well as representations made in CMMRP by union representatives to show the disadvantages of this change, the MTESS managers seem determined to apply a unique model.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I have a flexible schedule	**15%**	13	**10%**	14	**11%**	17	**15%**	30	**24%**
My manager is flexible in the management of times	**51%**	43	**33%**	52	**41%**	73	**66%**	80	6**5%**
I often work Additional hours	**29%**	12	**9%**	17	**13%**	74	**67%**	38	**31%**

Is the flexible schedule applicable in a call center?

Unlike most major call centers in the public and Para public sector (MTESS, SAAQ, RAMQ, SAAQ, QPP, CSST), some smaller call centers have introduced schedules that offer more flexibility for the benefit of employees. The MELS, CARRA and SAAQ technical assistance call centers, for example, operate on a rotation model between (real) variable hours and fixed hours (based on one week out of 2, or 2 weeks out of 6). The existence of such models for rather small establishments (between 30 and 70 employees) proves that the pretext of customer service requirements to impose a rigid schedule is not easy. In large call centers (more than 100 employees), such accommodations do not exist even though, theoretically, it would be easier to implement such flexibility when the volume of employees is sufficient to ensure a natural balance of work presence at the beginning and end of the day.

7.3.3 Holiday management

Holidays, such as schedules, are managed by the central planning team. Required enrollments are based on daily traffic patterns (for each fifteen-minute period), weekly, monthly and annual. The historical data collected are used to develop traffic projections and form the basis of the scheduling system. This results in a very rigid schedule planning (for example, in several centers calls, no leave is granted on Monday), but may be modified at the last minute depending on unforeseen circumstances that influence traffic or waiting time on the lines. This centralized planning leaves little room for accommodations requested by staff and creates a lot of dissatisfaction among workers. In the opinion of the people we met in the course of this research, on-site call center managers claim they have no power over centralized planning and do not take responsibility for managing staff schedules.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I have a flexible schedule	**15%**	13	**10%**	14	**11%**	17	**15%**	30	**24%**
My manager is flexible in the management of times	**51%**	43	**33%**	52	**41%**	73	**66%**	80	6**5%**

Furthermore, given the priority given to the needs of the service in all circumstances (depending on the ridership on the lines), the arrangements for reducing working hours (ARTT) are regularly suspended during peak periods. Thus, in the call centers of the ARQ's Personal Services Department, all ARTT are suspended during the intensive period that runs from March to June. In other words, call centers strictly enforce the principle that individual scheduling schemes are subject to the vagaries of service needs, and the granting of an ARTT is in no way a guarantee of a right to reduce working time on a continuous and predictable basis.

The same is true for the granting of one-off holidays in call centers that are managed by a centralized planning system. In a context of understaffing, they are almost systematically refused - the reasons invoked are always related to the foreseeable traffic and to the required staff as a result - or they are granted only at the last minute (for example the day before), even if the request was made several weeks in advance. Several people consulted for this study revealed that it was virtually impossible to sell their time credits for these reasons. In the fall of 2015, for example, the SAAQ management announced that no flexible leave would be granted for three consecutive months. Since it is often not possible in fact to simply stop accumulating credit hours (because as soon as a call extends beyond the shift, the surplus time is paid into the bank hour credits), they are regularly threatened with being "clipped", that is to say that the time which exceeds the authorized ceiling of hour credits is simply unpaid. In a context of understaffing, all these findings are exacerbated. Several people consulted during this survey reported that those who take sick leave are told to "think of their colleagues" before leaving.

7.4 Work environment and health

Overall, just half of the respondents feel that their workplace is healthy. Rates are comparable for AASEs and ARQ employees, but slightly higher among the RAPs of the three ministries selected in the sample. At the SQ, only 27% of respondents agree.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132	PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126	SQ n=110	ARQ n=124
I work in a healthy environment	**52%**	71 **54%**	82 **65%**	30 **27%**	72 **58%**

7.4.1 Physical health

In terms of physical health, call centers are demanding workplaces. The static position and repeated movements cause musculoskeletal pain that can become chronic. Hearing problems were also identified during the consultations. Indeed, call centers are located in open spaces (workstations separated by screens), and a large number of people who speak at the same time creates a background that can cause hearing fatigue. Although the majority of those consulted said they had adequate equipment, many noted that the sound quality of calls, sometimes poor due to noise, is a significant irritant.

Management's efforts to improve the physical and environmental conditions of work in call centers appear to be inversely proportional to the proportion of precarious workers employed there. In some SQ CGAs, no steps have been taken to improve the ergonomics of the workstations. At the ISQ, where all the women workers are
the employer fails to show any intention to improve environmental conditions. During peak periods, they do not have a dedicated workstation, which makes any ergonomic adjustment of the workstation impossible and poses hygiene problems.

Of course, beyond the quality of the equipment and the ergonomics of the workstations, the fact of being subjected to high work rates, in static positions for long hours, is itself problematic. In most call centers, agents are now forbidden to get up and go to the office of their team leader, whom they must instead call by phone.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I have equipment adapted to my needs (workstation, headphones, chair)	**78%**	111	**84%**	106	**84%**	65	**15%**	30	**80%**
The noise level is too high	**54%**	52	**39%**	52	**40%**	85	**66%**	80	**61%**
My work environment often causes me pain (pain of back, sore throat, etc.)	**64%**	83	**63%**	17	**60%**	74	**6%**	82	**60%**

In some call centers, management has shown an effort to adapt workstations, which is appreciated by staff (for example, the CSST call center in Montreal is provided with standing orders). Nevertheless, many of the people consulted testified to the feeling that, beyond the technical changes easily implemented, the employer is disinterested in the global conditions of work in the call centers. In particular, they denounced the impact on their health of the race for performance and performance.

7.4.2 Psychological health

Call centers are recognized as particularly difficult work environments in terms of psychological health (Béland-Ouellette et al, 2012). The results of our study confirm this trend. Indeed, a large majority of respondents said they work in a stressful environment.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I work in a stressful environment	**71%**	89	**84%**	71	**56%**	103	**94%**	83	**67%**
I often feel tired	**76%**	103	**39%**	94	**75%**	87	**79%**	90	**73%**
I am concerned about the penalties I may receive because of my performance	**52%**	75	**63%**	59	**47%**	48	**44%**	71	**57%**

A high proportion of workers surveyed say they have taken medications over the last year to show symptoms of anxiety or depression (20%); Also, 23% have been off work for a psychological health issue since they were employed by the call center. These figures are slightly higher for people who work all day in telephony (24% and 28%). However, the most striking indicators of environments conducive to psychological distress concern call centers that employ AASEs and PARs, very heavily feminized employment bodies. Individualized pressures on performance and lack of staff autonomy would be particularly acute. Other socio-demographic factors may also have an impact on these statistics (age, previous work experience). During consultations, union representatives confirmed that sick leave is very common in call centers.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
In the past year, I have been taking medication regularly to counteract anxiety or depression symptoms.	**20%**	34	**26%**	25	**20%**	19	**17%**	20	**16%**
In my current job, I have already been off work because of psychological distress, depression, burnout, anxiety, or any other psychological health problems.	**23%**	41	**31%**	39	**31%**	17	**15%**	15	**12%**

An important dimension of the arduousness of work in call centers is related to the emotional load, inherent in-service work, but which management is particularly difficult in a context where telephone exchanges are subject to performance and performance standards. This aspect has been documented by several researchers in occupational psychodynamics, who note that the gap between the emotions displayed (for example, "smiling on the phone") and the emotions felt (tiredness, irritation, anger) create tensions that can eventually lead to psychological disorders (INRS, 2011: 5).

The fact that the margin of autonomy in the exchanges is strictly limited, especially with the use of scripts and the rigidity of procedures, accentuates these psychological constraints. Historically, this "emotional work" required in the service trades has been minimized and especially perceived as mere (feminine) "innate" qualities: kindness, empathy, patience, gentleness. Identifying these components of work as psychological constraints provides a more accurate picture of the experience of call center workers.

The organization of work in call centers generally does not provide any space-time intended to recreate a psychic equilibrium linked to the contradictory emotions experienced at work. Experiential exchanges between colleagues provide essential support to relieve stress, but such collective meetings are not institutionalized in the public and Para public services. Even more fundamentally, workers at several call centers said that no protocol is in place to deal with and recover from aggressive or even violent calls.

In the opinion of several people interviewed during this survey, these emotionally charged calls have been more frequent in recent years, due in particular to the increasing difficulty of accessing lines in some M / O and waiting times. that cause impatience among users and users of public services. In addition, in a context where several government offices have closed down, the telephone is becoming more and more the only medium that allows the public to have direct access to public service personnel.

In the CGAs of the SQ, the stress experienced by the PAT can reach extreme levels and involves a considerable emotional burden whose management is more difficult because of being away from the field where the action is ongoing. A recent Canadian study has shown that the prevalence of posttraumatic stress symptoms among call distribution staff in different police forces "far exceeds that of police officers of both sexes and the general population" (Birze et al., 2014).

7.5 Job satisfaction

A clear majority of respondents like their jobs despite the harsh working conditions. Several people interviewed explained that contact with citizens was the most positive aspect of their work. Nevertheless, almost half (44%) still seek other work, even though the majority (61%) feel captive to their job. Opportunities for advancement are very rare for call center operator personnel, especially in regional facilities, where M / O does not necessarily have other offices. Surprisingly, the proportion of respondents feeling themselves captive to their jobs is nevertheless higher in urban areas (71% in Montréal and 62% in Quebec City) than elsewhere in the province (59% for all other regions).

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I like my job	**75%**	93	**70%**	90	**71%**	96	**87%**	88	**71%**
I feel captive / captive of my job (no other option)	**61%**	79	**60%**	79	**63%**	63	**57%**	80	**65%**
My work is motivating	**52%**	50	**38%**	68	**54%**	78	**71%**	58	**47%**

My work is repetitive	**76%**	114	**86%**	108	8**6%**	60	**55%**	89	**72%**
I have the opportunity to be creative in my work	**17%**	10	**8%**	17	**13%**	26	24%	28	**23%**
I can satisfactorily reconcile my family and professional responsibilities	**66%**	66	**50%**	91	**72%**	71	65%	96	**77%**
I am looking for another job	**44%**	61	**46%**	47	**37%**	52	47%	58	**47%**
I have opportunities to grow in my workplace	**22%**	16	**12%**	34	**27%**	24	22%	36	**29%**
I feel competent	**90%**	110	**83%**	117	**93%**	108	98%	106	**85%**

7.5.1 Working atmosphere

Among the factors recognized as determinants of job satisfaction, work-family balance, the sense of competence and also the recognition of peers and superiors are important. Several people we met during the consultations said that the good agreement among colleagues in the call center alleviates the disadvantages of difficult working conditions, although in other cases the perception of inequities in on the contrary, management fuels rivalries or mistrust between colleagues.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
My relationships with my colleagues are positive	**91%**	124	**94%**	115	**91%**	97	**88%**	112	**90%**

In general, however, all agree that friendly contact between colleagues is very limited in call centers because of interrupted work over the phone. There is some evidence that some employers are strategically opting for the isolation of agents to increase the performance of the call center: shifting break and lunch hours between officers in the same area, constant monitoring to avoid chatter, ban on getting up.

Solidarity is often more difficult to establish between call center staff and other employees of a M / O. For example, it is often impossible for front-line employees to participate in social activities because of the rigidity of telephone hours. The perception of being "apart" from other employees, to be scorned by those who believe that RAPs are "just" answering the phone, is widespread.

7.5.2 Hierarchical management

Call centers are highly hierarchical environments. In some settings, employees feel they are constantly being monitored. Direct communication between colleagues in the call center or to another department, for example to verify information, is strictly prohibited. The respect of the hierarchical line, that is to say the obligation to pass first by his or her team leader, is set up as a golden rule. Similarly, staff are generally instructed not to contact the scheduling team directly.

Work in call centers is closely monitored. In many M / O all calls are recorded. Evaluations are carried out periodically on the basis of a sample of these calls. Recently, call centers (including the ARQ and the RRQ) have installed a new "screen capture" system that allows supervisor or team leader to access the agents screen at all times and to ensure compliance with the established procedure. Many feels that all of their deeds are being watched, and this can lead to anxiety.

At ARQ, "listening instructors" have the exclusive task of listening to calls and evaluating them. In most call centers, it is the team leaders who do this work, usually on a monthly basis. Managers compile these results and make the annual assessment. The method of selecting evaluated calls is not always explicit on the part of the management and tends to be more and more opaque in some M / O. Before 2008 at the RRQ, for example, the PARs could choose a "Y" evaluation formula, that is to say, be listened to at the time of their choice by a superior who was hooking up live on their line. This right has been abolished. Workers in some call centers have reported targeting and increased listening processes for some lower-performing employees.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132	PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126	SQ n=110	ARQ n=124
My work is regularly under listening.	**83%**	108 **82%**	116 **91%**	92 **98%**	87 **70%**

Team leaders provide support to officers in the day-to-day exercise of their responsibilities and also play an important role in operationalizing the evaluation. In the best cases, they are perceived as "coaches" and intermediaries who facilitate relations with managers. In other cases, they are more perceived as allies of the management in the application of repressive measures. Several people testified that due to lack of staff, coaching meetings were virtually suspended.

7.5.3 Recognition

Call centers are often isolated from the rest of the M / O, and the people who work in them feel that the nature and importance of their work is poorly understood by their M / O colleagues and by their superiors. The high rate of overqualification of these workers **(see section 3.2)** exacerbates this feeling of frustration. The perception of managers by call center staff is highly variable and highly dependent on the personality and management style of the call center staff. During the consultations, the members argued that, notwithstanding the quality of the human relationships established with a particular director, it had little impact on the organization of work that is not the responsibility of the local managers. Positive relationships with management, however, have a significant impact on the work climate.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132	PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126	SQ n=110	ARQ n=124
feel valued in my workplace	**75%**	65 **49%**	85 **67%**	48 **44%**	66 **53%**
I feel respected by my manager	**78%**	103 **78%**	97 **77%**	82 **75%**	102 **82%**

7.5.4 Language skills in call centers

Of those answering the questionnaire, almost half regularly or mainly use a language other than French in the course of their work. In some departments and agencies not covered by our sampling (such as Tourism or MIDI, for example), all officers speak at least two languages, and often a third.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132	PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126	SQ n=110	ARQ n=124
I only use French as part of my job	**39%**	92 **70%**	50 **40%**	8 **7%**	40 **32%**
I occasionally use a language other than French as part of my job (less than once a week on average)	**15%**	8 **6%**	10 **8%**	34 **31%**	21 **17%**
I regularly use a language other than French in the context of my work (at least once a week on average)	**40%**	25 **19%**	56 **44%**	66 **60%**	49 **40%**
I mainly use a language other than French in the context of my work.	**7%**	7 **5%**	10 **8%**	2 **2%**	14 **11%**

This competence is not the subject of any salary recognition. In some cases, being bilingual may even be penalizing when this minority of agents must "empty the English lines" before they can leave at the end of their shift, or in the authorization process. In addition, the increased complexity of the work involved in having to move quickly from one language to another and to handle calls with interlocutors who sometimes have only approximate English is not always recognized or even taken into account in the evaluation of performance statistics.

8. The consequences of implantation of the Call Center on Public service.

The establishment of call centers in the public sector is part of a larger process of state transformation and the delivery of public services (see section 1). The transformation of service delivery is based, among other things, on the gradual removal of public servants from the population and points to the gradual disappearance of direct services (in-person) to other modes of delivery. This restructuring takes place in most developed countries; in Canada, in particular, it tends to be accompanied by privatization, outsourcing, and commercialization of public services (Pupo and Noack, 2010: 116)

In section 4, we presented the main findings concerning the deterioration of working conditions in call centers; this deterioration is directly linked to new management methods through statistics and quantitative performance indicators. These findings are entirely consistent with those of researchers who have studied working conditions in the call centers of the federal public service (West et al., 2006). The people we met during the consultations were very numerous to deplore that, in the call centers, it is the "quantity" rather than the "quality" of the services which takes precedence. This productivist paradigm is not without consequences on the quality of life at work, as we have seen, but also on the quality and even the nature of the public services themselves.

Research shows that the professional identity of public servants is strongly linked to the public service mission and the relationship with service users. The motivation of public sector employees would be more strongly anchored and linked to their "work in and not only [to] their salary" than in the private sector (what in psychology is called "intrinsic motivation") (Benhamou et al., 2013). In other words, public service workers are more sensitive to loss of meaning and perceived deterioration in service quality than workers and workers in the private commercial sector.

8.1 Quality of services: tools and quantitative measures

Call centers, whether in public service or in the private sector, have very few tools to measure the quality of services compared to the set of performance indicators for staff or the center. calls (volume and duration of calls, occupancy rate, callback rate, etc.). In the above-mentioned CEGO report, intended for members of the CRC management network, the only indicator to the proposed planning for measuring service quality is "the percentage of calls answered [sic.]". within a predetermined number of seconds "(CEGO, 2013: 9).

As for the "quality assurance" programs put in place in a number of M / Os, these are essentially conformity assessment systems. People interviewed during this study lamented that the expertise of agents in service delivery is almost never solicited during the development and evaluation of the appropriateness of standards and procedures in call centers.

Under the Public Administration Act, passed in 2002, departments and agencies are required to file a Customer Service Statement. This Declaration contains public commitments on accessibility of services. Thus, all call centers in the public and Para public service have set targets, usually displayed in their service statement to citizens, response time. For example, several M / Os commit to answering calls within 3 minutes. In a context of budget cuts and restrictions on hiring, the planning department manages the workforce and the telephone lines according to the maintenance of statistical indicators of accessibility of services. These data become the measure of excellence in the quality of services reported by M / O in their annual management report.

8.2 Time pressures and standardization of work: consequences for services

In a management mode focused on statistics, the goal is to maximize the time online: the training or self-training time is cut, periodic meetings are spaced, even almost abolished in some cases, interventions to be done in the files by the agents must be carried out online. The agents feel the contradiction between the quality of the service and the pressure to the production.
 In addition, the standardization of calls in the public sector is limited to non-existent barriers in the private sector due to the heterogeneity of the needs of the population and the range of information or services provided. During the consultation meetings, the workers in the call centers of most M / Os explained that the duration of the calls was very variable, from a few minutes for a request for general information to several dozen minutes for more complex and file-specific questions. Call duration targets in
Utilities are ultimately just average accounting measures, but not a reflection of "standard" call duration.

Agents in some call centers, particularly in situations of low staffing, are under significant pressure to improve their "productivity" by reducing the average duration of their calls and their "off-line" time. In many cases, the people we met said they preferred not to consider these time pressures too much to focus on the needs of citizens; however, most recognized that, despite this, some time stress was unavoidable. In several call centers, a timer appears on the screen from the beginning of the call; from a certain level of overtaking (for example a 30-minute call while the target is 3 minutes), the officer knows very well that his or her individual performance statistics will be affected. In some cases, managers have introduced a system of colors (green-yellow-red) to illustrate the level of performance of employees. These devices are perceived as infantilizing by many workers, in addition to exerting undue pressure on individuals.

	Total n=492	AASE (MTESS) n=132		PAR (MTESS, CSST, RRQ) n=126		SQ n=110		ARQ n=124	
I can take the time to respond properly to citizens	**71%**	77	**58%**	108	**86%**	71	**65%**	93	**75%**
I have enough preparation time	**49%**	59	**45%**	81	**64%**	41	**37%**	57	**46%**

> **Staff cuts and increased time pressure at MTESS**
>
> In all the call centers of the MTESS (see tables in the appendix), the numbers have fallen in recent years. At Services Québec, for example, even though the number of calls has increased slightly in recent years, call center staff have decreased by 18% since 2011. In the opinion of the Caplan and Québec City This has resulted in a significant increase in work.
>
> In the Social Assistance Call Center (CCC), staff numbers have also dropped in recent years as the number of calls has remained more or less stable. The average number of AASEs working per day to answer calls increased from 82 to 69 between 2010 and 2015 while, at the same time, the pressure on these agents has increased. To meet the needs of an often-vulnerable population, a target of 3 minutes per call has been established by the MTESS. Yet, the data provided by the Ministry reveals that the average duration of calls throughout the CCC is consistently higher (4 m 42 s on average in 2014-2015), which has as a result of continually giving agents the feeling of not being efficient enough. Wednesday morning training meetings, an institution in several M / O, have been abolished. According to the MTESS, this decision was taken in order to "increase the accessibility of services", and this, "in accordance with the best practices of the call center industry".

Work in call centers is framed by very strict procedures. Agents must follow scripts and systematically promote Internet services, among other things. People interviewed during the consultations revealed that in some M / O, managers ask agents to limit the information transmitted in their exchanges. For example, at the MTESS CAC, it is strictly forbidden for the AASE of the welfare call center to take the initiative of mentioning to people on the line the remedies to which they may be entitled or other benefits of which they could make the request. For many public servants, such guidelines conflict with their work ethic and public service design. On the other hand, the general impression of having to "ship" citizens as quickly as possible is undermining the morale of many ASEAN, TVV and RAP call centers in the public service.

Conclusion

This research on call centers in the public and Para public services identified the main issues related to working conditions and the provision of services in this type of institution, from the perspective of SFPQ who work there.

Work intensification and overcontrol are widespread in call centers, and management by statistics and quantitative performance indicators are now being implemented in all M / O. The transformation of public services into "customer services", on the model of the private sector, brings the conditions of employment and the working conditions of the public sector in a downward spiral. This deterioration in the quality of employment in the public sector with the implementation of the call center model has a disproportionate impact on women.

The consequences of the deterioration of working conditions have a major impact on the physical and psychological health of workers and on their satisfaction at work, but also on the quality of the public services that they are able to give to the population. Indeed, the establishment within the public sector of a model directly imported from the private sector comes upset the traditional report that civil servants - who see their margin of autonomy more and more reduced - maintain with their work of public utility. So, the introduction of a logic of mass production in the governmental apparatus and the substitution of the notion of public service for that of "customer service" induce a new culture of public service provision, the political and social implications of which still remain largely to document.

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APPENDIX

1. Global Portrait of Call Centers (by city and M / O)
2. Questionnaire
3. Service Guide
4. Actual tables VS call volume
5. Excerpts from testimonials

APPENDIX 1 OVERALL PORTRAIT OF CALL CENTERS (BY CITY AND M / O)

M/O	City	Data source	Employment	% casual	% women
ARQ	All county	a, m	1500	22%	68%
CARRA	Québec	s	70	64%	79%
CNT	Montréal	s	32	16%	42%
CSST	Montreal, Caplan and some regional positions	s	118	16%	73%
ISQ	Québec	m	60	-	-
Justice	Québec -Montréal	a	35	-	-
MELS (AFE)	Québec	s	33	70%	90%
MIDI	Montréal	s	29	31%	81%
MTESS /CCC	Gaspé	s	53	23%	76%
	Trois-Rivières	s	56	25%	81%
MTESS / Call Center Placement	Trois-Rivières	m	25	-	96%
MTESS / Collection Center	Québec	m	20	-	-
MTESS / CRC Jobs	Montréal	m	10	-	-
MTESS /Civil status	Québec	s	19	32%	65%
MTESS /RQAP	Québec	s	44	39%	72%
	Ste-Anne-des-Monts	s	21	14%	85%
	Rouyn-Noranda	s	109	27%	87%

M/O	City	Data source	Employment	% casual	% women
MTESS/ Services Québec	Caplan	s	19	74%	82%
	Québec	s	90	53%	78%
MTQ	Québec,Montréal	s	82	44%	35%
MTQ - 511	Montréal	a	6	-	-
OPC	All county	s	37	0%	88%
RAMQ	Québec	s	172	49%	84%
RBQ	Montréal	a	10	-	-
Housing Authority	All County	a	83	38%	70%
RRQ	Québec-Montréal and county	s	125	28%	79%
SAAQ	Montréal	s	109	47%	65%
	Murdochville	s	40	38%	66%
	Québec	s	126	59%	76%
SEPAQ	Québec	s	35	69%	71%
SQ	County	s	334	45%	54%
Tourisme	Montréal	a	9	-	-
TOTAL			3511	32%	70%

Appendix 2 QUESTIONNAIRE (QUANTITATIVE SECTION)

1. Recherche sur les centres d'appels de la fonction publique et parapublique du Québec

Vous avez reçu par la poste une invitation à remplir ce questionnaire en ligne.

Nous vous rappelons que votre participation demeurera strictement confidentielle. Il est important de répondre à toutes les questions et de cocher les réponses qui correspondent à votre situation.

Vous aurez l'opportunité de vous exprimer plus librement dans une question ouverte à la fin du questionnaire.

Merci beaucoup de votre collaboration.

2. RENSEIGNEMENTS PERSONNELS

* 1. Veuillez inscrire le code personnel qui vous a été attribué dans la lettre d'invitation.

[   ]

* 2. Sexe
- ○ F
- ○ M

* 3. Âge
- ○ 18-25 ans
- ○ 26-35 ans
- ○ 36-45 ans
- ○ 46-55 ans
- ○ 56 ans et plus

* 4. Êtes-vous né(e) au Canada?
- ○ Oui
- ○ Non, j'habite au Canada depuis 5 ans ou moins
- ○ Non, j'habite au Canada depuis plus de 5 ans

* 5. Faites-vous partie d'une minorité visible?
- ○ Oui
- ○ Non

* 6. Quel niveau d'études le plus élevé avez-vous terminé?

○ Diplôme d'études secondaires ou équivalent

○ Diplôme d'études collégiales/CÉGEP ou équivalent

○ Baccalauréat

○ Diplôme d'études supérieures (maîtrise, doctorat)

○ Autre (veuillez préciser)

3. SITUATION D'EMPLOI/HISTORIQUE D'EMPLOI

* 7. Quel est votre statut d'emploi?

○ Permanent ou en voie de le devenir

○ Occasionnel

○ Saisonnier

○ Ne sait pas

* 8. Quand avez-vous été embauché(e) pour la première fois dans le centre d'appel où vous travaillez présentement?

○ Il y a moins d'un an

○ Il y a entre 1 et 5 ans

○ Il y a entre 5 et 10 ans

○ Il y a plus de 10 ans

* 9. Quel est votre corps d'emploi?

○ Préposé(e) aux renseignements

○ Agent(e) d'aide socio-économique

○ Technicien(ne) en vérification fiscale

Autre (veuillez préciser)

* 10. Dans quel ministère ou organisme travaillez-vous?

* 11. Quelle proportion de votre journée de travail passez-vous au téléphone pour le centre d'appel?

○ 100% de mon temps

○ Entre 50% et 100% de mon temps

○ Moins de 50% de mon temps

* 12. Si vous avez répondu que la téléphonie occupait moins de 100% de votre temps, quelles sont vos autres tâches?

☐ Ne s'applique pas

☐ Courriels

☐ Traitement de dossiers

☐ Autre (veuillez préciser)

[   ]

* 13. Lorsque vous travaillez au centre d'appels, êtes-vous branché(e) à un système automatisé de répartition des appels?

○ Oui

○ Non

* 14. Exercez-vous une fonction de supervision/chef d'équipe?

○ Oui

○ Non

* 15. Quel est le dernier poste que vous avez occupé avant de travailler dans ce centre d'appels?

○ Un autre poste, dans le même ministère ou organisme

○ Un autre poste, dans la fonction publique ou parapublique du Québec

○ Un autre poste, à l'extérieur de la fonction publique ou parapublique du Québec

○ Il s'agit de mon premier emploi

* 16. Avant d'occuper votre poste actuel, aviez-vous déjà travaillé dans un centre d'appels?

○ Oui, dans un autre ministère ou organisme de la fonction publique du Québec

○ Oui, à l'extérieur de la fonction publique du Québec

○ Non

* 17. Au sujet de la langue de travail, veuillez cocher l'option qui correspond à votre réalité :

○ J'utilise seulement le français dans le cadre de mon travail

○ J'utilise occasionnellement une autre langue que le français dans le cadre de mon travail (moins d'une fois par semaine en
moyenne)

○ J'utilise régulièrement une autre langue que le français dans le cadre de mon travail (au moins d'une fois par semaine en
moyenne)

○ J'utilise principalement une autre langue que le français dans le cadre de mon travail

4. CONDITIONS DE TRAVAIL

* 18. **TÂCHES ET ORGANISATION DE VOTRE TRAVAIL** - Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure ces
affirmations correspondent à votre situation :

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt en désaccord	Tout à fait en désaccord	Sans objet/ne sait pas
a) Mon travail est répétitif	○	○	○	○	○
b) J'ai la possibilité d'être créatif/créative dans mon travail	○	○	○	○	○
c) Je reçois parfois des consignes contradictoires	○	○	○	○	○
d) Je suis tenu(e) de respecter strictement des procédures	○	○	○	○	○
e) Je sais exactement ce que j'ai à faire	○	○	○	○	○
f) Je suis soumis(e) à des standards de performance difficiles à atteindre	○	○	○	○	○
g) Mon travail est régulièrement sous écoute	○	○	○	○	○
h) J'ai suffisamment de temps entre les appels	○	○	○	○	○
i) Je peux prendre mes pauses à chaque demi-journée	○	○	○	○	○
j) Je dispose d'un temps de préparation suffisant	○	○	○	○	○

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt en désaccord	Tout à fait en désaccord	Sans objet/ne sait pas
k) Je peux prendre le temps de récupérer après un appel difficile	○	○	○	○	○
l) Mes appels sont minutés	○	○	○	○	○
m) La cadence des appels est gérée automatiquement	○	○	○	○	○
n) Je peux quitter momentanément mon poste de travail pour aller à la toilette au besoin	○	○	○	○	○
o) Mes proches peuvent facilement me rejoindre au travail	○	○	○	○	○

* 19. HORAIRE DE TRAVAIL - Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure ces affirmations correspondent à votre situation :

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt en désaccord	Tout à fait en désaccord	Sans objet/ne sait pas
a) Je travaille toujours sur le même quart de travail	○	○	○	○	○
b) Je connais mon horaire de travail au moins deux semaines à l'avance	○	○	○	○	○
c) J'ai un horaire flexible	○	○	○	○	○
d) Mon/ma gestionnaire fait preuve de souplesse dans la gestion des horaires	○	○	○	○	○
e) Je peux planifier mes jours de congé selon mes besoins	○	○	○	○	○
f) Je fais souvent des heures supplémentaires	○	○	○	○	○
g) Je peux prendre mes vacances au moment de mon choix	○	○	○	○	○
h) Je dois régulièrement trouver un(e) collègue qui accepte de changer de quart de travail avec moi	○	○	○	○	○
i) La gestion des horaires se fait de façon équitable	○	○	○	○	○

* 20. HORAIRE DE TRAVAIL - Sur une base mensuelle, quel énoncé correspond le mieux à votre horaire de travail?

○ Horaire de hour

○ Horaire de jour et de soir

○ Horaire de jour, de soir et de nuit

○ Autre (veuillez préciser)

[   ]

* 21. **HORAIRE DE TRAVAIL** - Êtes-vous présentement sur un régime d'aménagement de réduction de temps de travail (ARTT)?

○ Oui

○ Non

○ Ne sait pas

* 22. **ENVIRONNEMENT DE TRAVAIL/SANTÉ** - Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure ces affirmations correspondent à votre situation :

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt en désaccord	Tout à fait en désaccord	Sans objet/ne sait pas
a) Je travaille dans un environnement sain	○	○	○	○	○
b) Je dispose d'un équipement adapté à mes besoins (poste de travail, casque d'écoute, chaise)	○	○	○	○	○
c) Le niveau de bruit est trop élevé	○	○	○	○	○
d) Mon environnement de travail me cause souvent des douleurs (mal de dos, mal de gorge, etc)	○	○	○	○	○
e) Je travaille dans un environnement stressant	○	○	○	○	○
f) Je me sens souvent fatigué(e)	○	○	○	○	○
g) Je suis préoccupée par les sanctions que je pourrais recevoir en raison de mon rendement	○	○	○	○	○

23. **ENVIRONNEMENT DE TRAVAIL/SANTÉ** - Au cours de la dernière année, avez-vous pris de façon régulière des médicaments pour contrer des symptômes d'anxiété ou de dépression?

○ Oui

○ Non

24. **ENVIRONNEMENT DE TRAVAIL/SANTÉ** - Au cours de la dernière année, avez-vous fait appel au Programme d'aide aux employés PAE?

○ Oui

○ Non

25. ENVIRONNEMENT DE TRAVAIL/SANTÉ - Dans votre emploi actuel, avez-vous déjà été en arrêt de travail pour cause de détresse psychologique, dépression, épuisement professionnel, anxiété, ou tout autre problème de santé psychologique?

○ Oui

○ Non

* 26. SATISFACTION AU TRAVAIL - Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure ces affirmations correspondent à votre situation :

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt en désaccord	Tout à fait en désaccord	Sans objet/ne sait pas
a) J'aime mon emploi	○	○	○	○	○
b) Je me sens captif/captive de mon emploi (pas d'autre option)	○	○	○	○	○
c) Mon travail est motivant	○	○	○	○	○
d) J'arrive à concilier de façon satisfaisante mes responsabilités familiales et professionnelles	○	○	○	○	○
e) Je recherche un autre emploi	○	○	○	○	○
f) J'ai des possibilités d'avancement dans mon milieu de travail	○	○	○	○	○
g) Je me sens compétent(e)	○	○	○	○	○
h) Je me sens reconnu(e) dans mon milieu de travail	○	○	○	○	○
i) Mes relations avec mes collègues sont positives	○	○	○	○	○
j) Je me sens respecté(e) par mon (ma) gestionnaire	○	○	○	○	○

* 27. ENJEUX DES SERVICES PUBLICS -Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure ces affirmations correspondent à votre situation :

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt en désaccord	Tout à fait en désaccord	Sans objet/ne sait pas
a) Je pense que le service que je donne est important	○	○	○	○	○
b) Je peux prendre le temps nécessaire pour répondre correctement aux citoyens/nes	○	○	○	○	○
c) Je ressens souvent un sentiment d'impuissance dans mon travail	○	○	○	○	○
d) Je reçois parfois des consignes qui vont à l'encontre de mon éthique de travail	○	○	○	○	○
e) Je considère que je suis dans une relation d'aide avec les citoyens/nes	○	○	○	○	○
f) J'estime que j'ai une responsabilité morale de répondre aux besoins des citoyens/nes	○	○	○	○	○

5. VIE SYNDICALE

* 28. Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure ces affirmations correspondent à votre situation :

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt en désaccord	Tout à fait en désaccord	Sans objet/ne sait pas
a) Je connais mon (ma) délégué(e) syndical(e)	○	○	○	○	○
b) Je suis à l'aise de m'adresser à mon (ma) représentant(e) syndical(e) en cas de problème	○	○	○	○	○
c) Mon (ma) représentant(e) syndical(e) est disponible en cas de besoin	○	○	○	○	○
d) J'estime que le syndicat est à l'écoute de mes préoccupations	○	○	○	○	○

* 29. Avez-vous déjà été impliqué(e) dans la structure syndicale, au SFPQ ou dans un autre syndicat (délégué(e), membre d'un comité, élu(e) sur l'exécutif local, ou autre)?

○ Oui, je le suis actuellement

○ Oui, mais plus maintenant

○ Non, jamais

* 30. Au cours de la dernière année, à combien de reprises avez-vous participé à une rencontre syndicale (assemblée, réunion)?

○ Une fois

○ Plus d'une fois

○ Aucune

6. COMMENTAIRES

31. Y a-t-il un aspect relatif à votre travail dans un centre d'appel qui n'a pas été abordé dans ce questionnaire et dont vous aimeriez témoigner?

7. PARTICIPATION À UNE ENTREVUE DE GROUPE

* 32. Dans le cadre de cette recherche sur les centres d'appels de la fonction publique et parapublique, des rencontres de groupe (focus groups) seront organisées au cours de l'automne 2015. Acceptez-vous d'être contacté pour participer à une de ces rencontres?

○ Non

○ Oui (si cette option est choisie, veuillez fournir vos coordonnées ci-dessous)

33. Coordonnées

Nom

**Adresse e-mail personnelle**

Téléphone

**Appendix 3 INTERVIEW GUIDE (QUALITATIVE SECTION)**

Here are the topics that will be discussed during the meeting. You can also bring other topics to the end of the discussion. Please read the topics first, and if necessary, discuss with your colleagues in the call center to ensure that their concerns are related.

30 minutes was planned per theme, with a break in the middle of the meeting.

Work schedules: flexibility, shifts, work-family balance, leave planning, etc.	
Work climate: relationships with, managers, recognition, etc.	
Tasks: according to classification, overload, quality of public services, etc.	
Organization of work: measurement performance, performance, timing of calls, statistics, etc.	
Health and safety: physical and psychological health, work-related pains, absenteeism, etc.	
Other themes	

APPENDIX 4 EMPLOYEES VS VOLUME OF APPEALS TO THE MTESS AND THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

Variation des effectifs et du volume d'appels au CCC du ministère de la Justice depuis 2011

Variation des effectifs et du volume d'appels au CAP du MTESS depuis 2011
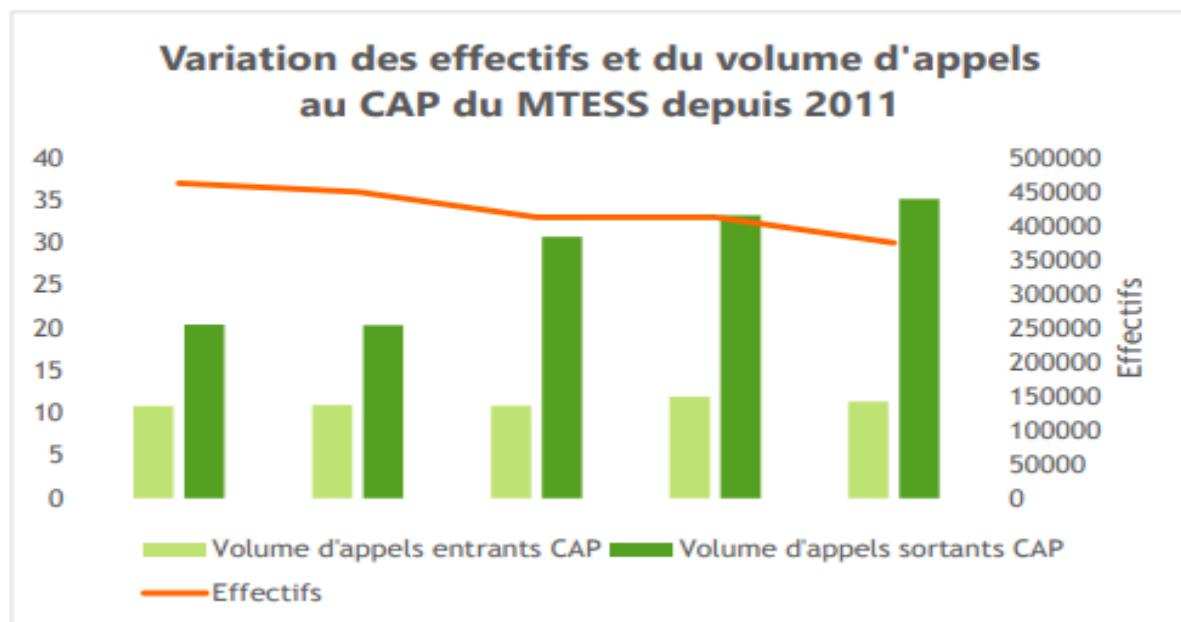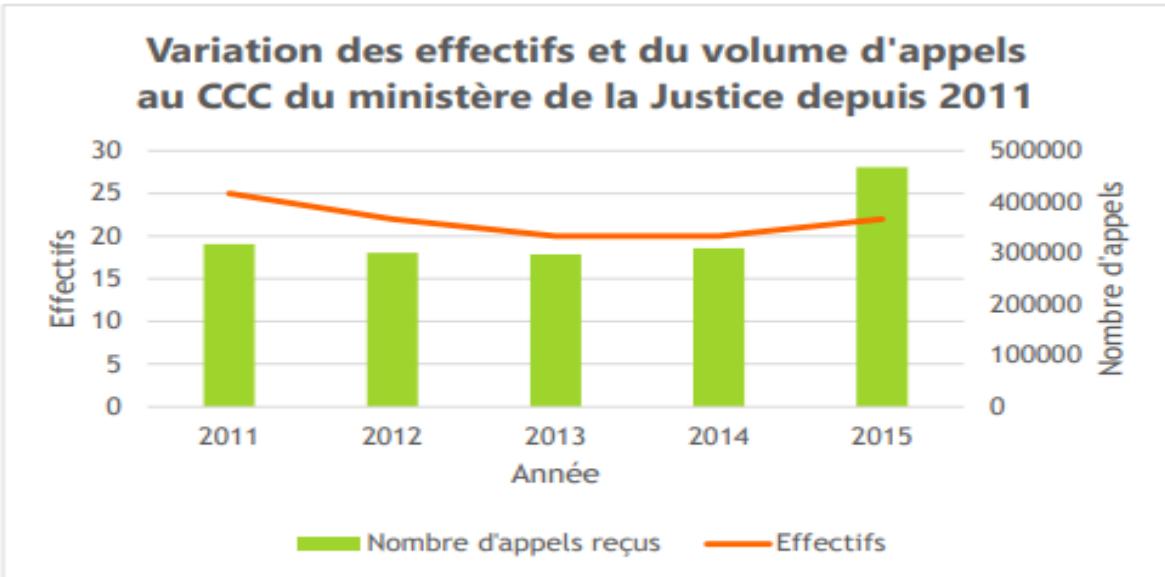
Variation des effectifs et du volume d'appels au CCC du MTESS depuis 2011
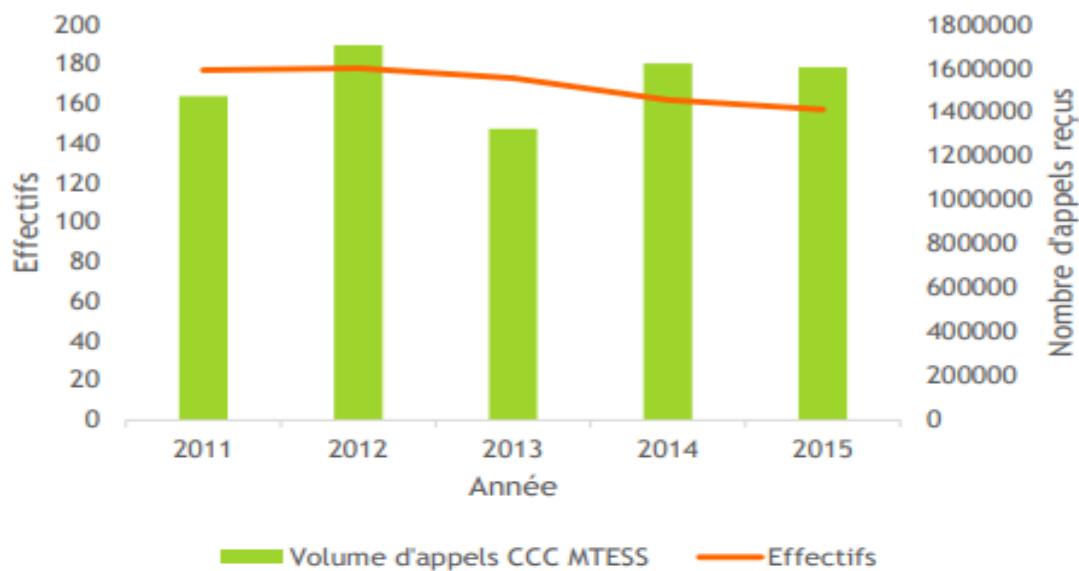
Variation des effectifs et du volume d'appels au CRC de Services Québec depuis 2010
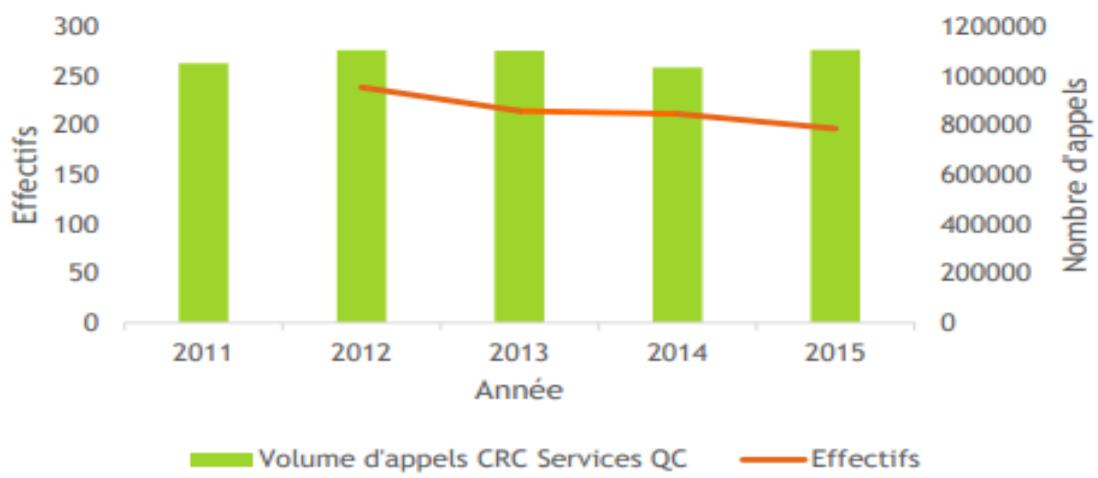
APPENDIX 5 EXTRACTS FROM TESTIMONIALS

Feedback from respondents (excerpts)
Socio-economic Assistance Officers (AASE)
Although I did not use the PAE and never stopped working because of depression, anxiety or anything else, I voluntarily extended paternity leave and I am followed by a psychologist because work affects me in my life personal. The noise caused by equipment that is not under the control of the employer is a real nuisance to our work. The telephone line with frying or the noise that people make in the handset for example: nobody on the toilet, dishes, person who eats and undermines, screaming baby and others are exhausting and constant in the work on the phone. ARTT offered recently allows greater stability in the schedule. This is a great asset. When an agent performs records processing, he must in half the cases make calls to customers, leave messages. So despite the term: file processing, it does not mean a lack of time on the phone. Keyboards too big for space and are not suitable for people constantly handling the mouse and keyboard
It's a job that I like a lot, but the pressure on us to reach targets is rather demotivating (because the month we exceeded our goal and we are proud of we are told that we could have done even better!) and especially stressful (by the innumerable plays and innumerable small reports of insignificant details to correct, to say differently, to present differently ...). We are humans with different colors and we will not be more effective if we become all clones!
Since 2001 that I work for the MESS, I have been a full time substitute for seven years, so never vacation. When I had a work accident (CSST), I lost my right to the 44/48 permanence. [...] It's really stressful to be always casual and wonder if our contract will be renewed or if there will be a job cut.
Since the arrival of [a new deputy minister], my working conditions have deteriorated. Moreover, by trying to make the CCC a call center modeled on the private enterprise model, it is in the process of to demolish the bond of trust and collaboration we have with our colleagues who work in local employment centers. Our customers also suffer and they no longer trust us. I am an excellent social worker, but my talent is wasted on statistics and numbers created artificially by a deputy minister who does not even know what my job is. I would be ready to testify WITHOUT the cover of anonymity despite my occasional status. Thank you for taking the time to do this survey.
In recent months, in addition to statistics on the time of the call and the processing of the file, our membership and compliance rate is verified (breaks, lunch hours, time to go to the toilet, etc.). The ARTT has not been renewed so far this year. In addition, the CCC seems to be getting assimilated by Service Québec because [the new deputy minister] swears by them. We were presented the expected changes and we would regress (no flexible schedule for people with ARTT, possibility to accumulate a maximum of 15 minutes per day, so 1 h 15 per week rather than 2 h 30 as before, the team leaders would no longer do coaching and should take customer calls, etc.). In short, there is no real quality of work and it could get worse.

I am 51 years old. I have been working since the age of 16 (first student jobs). I have been in the department for seven years and is the first in the public service. Never has any employer made me feel as "less than nothing", a "booger", as my current employer. I felt recognition, appreciation, I always had advancement in my other jobs, but in the CCC nothing but being "tapped" all the time, rarely gratification. Since I've been in this office "we win nothing; we are losing it. It's so disheartening. I am naturally optimistic and I have tended to understand the decisions made by the management (I've already been an executive director [in another job]), but at CCC, my god, it's depressing, I have to take antidepressants to get there ... I'm say ... I agree to do the job, so endure, but if you can help improve our fate ...

The new Deputy compares the CAC with other call centers, but CAC staff are not staffed by information officers or clerks. At the CCC, they are socio-economic helpers who intervene in cases, who sometimes offer moral support or who explain how to proceed. This brings greater stress, higher mental exhaustion, because the clientele comes from all walks of life. We are so watched, timed and infantilized that it is discouraging. In addition, there is a great deal of manipulation of CKC statistics by managers regarding rejection rates, waiting times, etc. They tell the numbers what they want. We were robbed of certain privileges we had such as accumulating time when we wanted, no ARTT for now. Since April 1, there is no longer the period for team meetings or staff on Wednesday morning, etc.

Yes, the current trend is to think of ourselves as a call center, agents, while we are a treatment center, like the QPIP. We do the same thing as an agent at a local employment center, except that our interviews are over the phone, and our transactional is based on the client's verbal statement instead of the mail. Operation of our department has changed precisely so that we can make the transactional phone while the agent CLE makes fewer and fewer meetings in person. The trend is at the interview telephone for them. They even changed the requests for appointments to this effect. I fear that the present ministry wants to consider us as attendants, and pay us as such. This concern is shared by my co-workers. The atmosphere is tense in our workplace because of that. I would like you to show us that we have been heard and that we will be protected. Then I will regain confidence in my union, like many others. Thank you for taking the time to do this survey, it reassures us. We talk about it during breaks. This situation is really worrying for all of us. She insecure us.

I have been trained and hired as a Socio-Economic Support Officer and recognition of my classification is important to me and my colleagues, it reflects my skills and qualifications as well as Salary scale recognized by our current collective agreement.

1. Scheduling of days (phone and file processing): Despite daily planning, there are several disconnections and reconnections requested daily by coordination. This situation creates frustrations. The treatment periods are different for each agent, it is possible to be in file analysis and to be reconnected because another team has been disconnected and the number of clients waiting is increasing considerably ... it would be less frustrating to have the same team schedules and to have status changes at the same time!
2. Accumulated time to resume: it is common to be refused in a request for leave and the same day or the week before, the same day is offered to the highest bidder (more accumulated time wins!).
3. Annual vacations refused and vacation offers in previous weeks
4. Status monitoring: pause and post-call time very closely monitored
5. Code 118 [delay]: no flexibility even if 1 minute late in the morning or noon ... even if regularly the evening time is exceeded for the last call
6. Summary: a lot of flexibility required of the agents towards the organization, but not the opposite! Impression that the statistics are more important than the work of the agents!
7. Fortunately, the spirit of my team is very good with a competent team leader and close to the concerns of his agents ... that's what makes the difference in my work!

Very strict schedule. We must respect it to the letter. Very difficult to have a leave if necessary, you have to call in the morning and say that you are sick. Good moves are never underlined, but the smallest mistake is quickly put on the nose. Telephone listening: all calls are recorded and many are heard without our being notified in advance. The guidelines are constantly changing, so are the procedures and it is very difficult to keep up to date as there is no time to do it. Two separate groups in the office and we never talk to each other, different schedules, breaks never at the same time.

There is no flexible schedule. Only variable hours and leave granted very often according to the needs of services and not according to real needs.

I like working with clients, but I would like to have a little more time to do my job. What matters most to the department is production and performance without necessarily worrying about the employee. I have not been arrested for fatigue or depression because I am taking steps. I am currently treated in acupuncture because of tension and stress and it is very expensive because I do not have insurance. I have not had the ARTT since [a few months] and I find it very difficult to do this work 5 days / week. It is thanks to the ARTT that I do this work for 14 years without work stoppage. I sincerely hope that the ARTT will return soon.

Respect of working hours calculated to the nearest second and which proves to be the most stressful element for me.

Yes, the fact that the assessment of a person's performance is based on the number of calls they make is something that irritates me. The quality of the service must prevail.

With the telephone system, we have the post-call option that allows us to block the next call to return automatically to allow us to finalize the processing of the current file. However, this option is possible only exceptionally, because its use distorts the statistics. I believe that in the context of call center for information and file processing, it would be normal to use this option as needed when processing a file in order to have the time necessary to complete the entire application. analysis, transactions and remarks on the record without having the pressure that must be completed as soon as possible to take another call. The procedure requires us to keep the client on hold to prevent a new call from returning. But the fact that the customer is waiting always adds pressure, because depending on the time required for processing, often the customer hangs up and must start over when he recalls. Always in the name of statistics.

I find it a shame and a bit ridiculous that there is no bilingual bonus for agents working on the English line.

The work climate has changed a lot since the arrival of the new manager. You did not talk about the scores; our presence is controlled to the minute. Currently, major irritants at work are the statistics that are clearly handled and the work schedule until 20 pm. An example of statistics that are manipulated is to disconnect when there are 15 calls waiting because we were too fast in the day to reach our 80% [on the dashboard], and the reverse is possible too. Evening work is for people who can not contact us during the day, but I have many people who call to apply while they are on leave. These calls could have been made in the day. Very few calls after 6 pm are needed and there is little work. Very few opportunities for advancement, it is very repetitive, structured and controlled.

The feeling of knowing all of our actions [being] "watched" throughout the day becomes stressful and exhausting. The lack of respect received from other employment bodies. It is as if we were their "inferiors" whereas, if we were not there, they would not have time to work, given the number of calls of a general nature that we manage for them! [...] It is also the often involuntary micro aggressions on the part of colleagues coming from other bodies of jobs, for example to make me invite to a dinner, but to run to incomprehension when I say that I can not because I do not choose what time I dine and especially I can not take more than 1 h typing. It becomes heavy in the long run. Being an attendant means that it is virtually impossible to participate in social activities organized by the office such as yoga classes, community dinners, baskets of organic vegetables, dinners with colleagues, etc., because of schedule constraints. I feel excluded and it starts to be very hard on my morale. I have symptoms of anxiety [...].

The possibility of accumulating time, but no available time to offer [on leave].

I have been working in the Quebec public service for 34 years and I have never seen a job as rigorous as that in a call center. I have been in a call center since June 2007. Working hours are imposed, eg meal period, break period that are subject to change every day according to the needs of the center. All calls are recorded in addition to the telephone call by the team leader. There are procedures for every type of call and you have to know and respect them on every call. We must not be absent from our workstation for more than 10 minutes otherwise we must notify the reason of our absence. I have a 15-minute break in AM and PM, and if I'm unfortunate enough to go over for a minute, it's in my annual rating. [...] Since I've been in a call center, I feel stressed and stressed by all these constraints, because I'm always afraid to spend more time in the bathroom or for a break or for dinner. I am constantly on the run to get to time everywhere, it's so rigorous. Finally, I will retire or I will resign because it is too rigorous. Every morning when I go to work, I tell myself that everyday worked brings me closer to my retirement and that's how I can hold on. Thank you for reading me, it feels good.

comments

1. The reason I am in ARTT is that I feel drained, drained of energy if I work 5 consecutive days. So I agree to amputate my salary one day a week to maintain mental balance. Many colleagues would also do it if they could afford it ... it's preventative.
2. Being bilingual contributes to call overload and additional stress ... No recognition for this purpose!
3. The physical body is not designed to sit in the same position, attached to a headset which must be adjusted volume at each call many consecutive hours. In my case, many health issues related to posture have appeared for 4 years.
4. My hearing decreased
5. Neon lighting and screen tire eyesight
6. The strict supervision (timing, among others), the rate of calls, requests for justification of "not ready" or periods of disconnection of a few minutes on connection reports (toilet) by some heads, the quality of repetitive calls (social assistance, for example) and the absence of latitude among others for the delays, the breaks of 16 minutes occasionally, the impression of overflowing the subjects by reading the cards mechanically, to repeat the same phrases call after call, etc., This type of job can become debilitating, demoralizing and robotics. [...] A normally constituted person can not survive this job for many years without cracking ... I am fortunate to be able to process requests by email as part of my job, which keeps my head above the water. Otherwise, I do not know .... I do not know how, but I have always thought that the job description for this position should be revised to diversify it. Anyway, thank you for creating this survey which, I hope, will benefit everyone by improving our quality of life!

Feedback from respondents (excerpts)
Information Attendants (PAR)
Being seated ALL day is a well-known cause of many types of diseases! We should be encouraged to work upright and our offices designed to do this (this is easily feasible). SEVERAL of my colleagues would like to have a pair of headphones, but do not dare to ask for it! It should be an option for all employees because it reduces stress for many people. The focus at work is on the NUMBER of calls rather than the quality of the calls. We do not distinguish between an elderly person, an immigrant, a worker and a professional who is used to dealing with government forms. Instead of making them user-friendly, we add steps and explanations far too often expressed in [language] "official". There should be video clips explaining how to complete the most commonly used forms. The bosses defend the employers, the employee unions, but who defends the customers who do not dare to complain?
Bilingualism is not optional, but a condition of employment. [...] The Cisco call discriminator assigns a rating of 1 to 10 for bilingualism and the 10 side is assigned calls in a continuous stream as soon as his line is free.
The name "attendant" does not fit the responsibility we have, the salary either. The importance of what we do on the front line should be magnified. Problem of calls in English without additional premium. Internal culture too hierarchical and bad (haughty) face the attendants.
Increasingly, my organization is training new workers by giving them less training, which is causing a great difference in the service given to citizens. In my organization, the important thing is not to wait too long for the citizen to have it called several times, because he did not have the information during the previous call. The elders, we are told "we give too many explanations". These comments are derogatory, frustrating and demotivating. Everything is quantified in our call center and, in our virtual phone, we must mention any activity we do other than the phone ...
The employer should offer more ergonomic workstations, or even work standing a few hours a day. Also schedule related tasks regularly, otherwise this job is gassy, stultifying, demoralizing. Forecently during the day the morale goes down, and I live from the psychological distress, it is unhealthy this work. Putting one call after another, with a problematic clientele, and also constantly English-speaking and allophone, it ends up looking like mental cruelty. You have to be very strong to support this job. And fixed hours are detrimental to the quality of life; no flexibility, no escape.
More and more, there is a difficult clientele. Problem of mental health, distress, and even suicidal.

My work at the call center suits me perfectly and I feel very well treated and paid. The only thing I would appreciate a salary adjustment is working in English on a regular basis.
Whenever we want to improve our conditions, we are told that this is the reality of call centers (holidays). To have a leave, we have to ask for it 6 months in advance and there is no guarantee that we will have it. Difficult to plan if we do not know in advance if we have the leave or not.
It is very difficult to get a leave; it is often known the day before at 3 pm if it is granted or refused and it is often refused. It's even hard to have a vacation. Last year I had only 2 weeks granted. I'm exhausted. In addition, there is no flexibility in the schedule. When you have children, it is not ideal as a job. It would be nice to have other tasks, because we are 87% of the time on the phone only and it is very demanding mentally and physically as we are in a static position all day. Sometimes I feel like a robot with the punch and always being told what to say and what to do to the nearest second. And finally, in the region, we have no chance for advancement.

Feedback from respondents (excerpts)
Tax audit technicians (TVF)
Insufficient training. Referral tools not up to date. Repetitive schedule changes and without justification.
At work there is a lot of stress and a lot of subjects or concentrations to master. Also a big volume of stress comes from the achievement report (treatment time / not free / waiting time ...). They ask us to respond quickly to difficult questions and often complicated tax issues as quickly as possible and I may at this point mislead the taxpayer.
No recognition, - Service is not as important as the number of calls taken per day (based on quantity rather than quality) - A lot of monitoring and control creating a lot of stress (no time to breathe between calls, go to the toilet you are looking for ... -   We feel prisoner, not able to ask for a half-day or a day for our family obligations, any absence needs a document of doctor justifying, but sometimes we need to be absent for another reason, family or administrative, which does not allow the provision of supporting evidence (sometimes it is also confidential).
Although we must provide an impeccable service to citizens, but sometimes the citizen is incorrect with the call center agent. In these situations, management should also be able to accompany the agent to deal with these attacks. Because very often one realizes that during a delicate situation, the regulation by the direction is more tolerant towards the citizen even when he had hurtful words to the agent. We seem to be unaware that the agent also has some emotional intelligence to manage, which makes the job a little thankless because the answers we give to the phone are the ones we received instructions and procedures from the organization. Answering the phone is very complex and we need support, to feel that our organization, which we strive to represent, does not turn our backs. The famous phrase "the customer is king" must be a little nuanced to avoid some frustrations that we support, because having no choice. In some organizations, there are posters warning the user that verbal or other aggression is not tolerated. One could think of putting some messages in script advising the caller to avoid the aggressive words and to show respect in his exchange with the agent. Thank you !
It is impossible to report a team leader or abusive manager without risking losing his job.
The new listening tool makes management literally cloak on STATISTICS, we no longer work for the citizen, but for the bonus of managers reached via statistics, we are more stressed.

Currently, no defined framework or standard for recorded calls, all managers, management, team leaders listen to calls at all times, only certain standards set for listening by listeners and feedback to employees. Another aspect: We changed our job title for "customer service technician" instead of TVF??? Without being informed! I'm retiring in a year and I've been working as a TVF for over 10 years and I've agreed to be a listening instructor so I do not have to do the phone full time, and with all the changes made to this post which has been completely changed, I would have looked for another job elsewhere rather than continuing to work in a "call center" modeled on BELL CANADA! It was not for this kind of job that I had been involved, and my skills were no longer used on the phone since we mostly answered the calls of former attendants rather than tax matters.

Seven hours online is way too long, there should be a limit of five hours a day.

It's tiring to sit down for a long time and let a computer dictate how you manage your time; there is no room for maneuver; no flexible schedule; we work like robots; with repetitive phrases and terms; spending all your time on the phone is really routine.

I have never understood why managers are not valued by their employees. It is inhuman to do five hours a day more phone calls and to see file inventories constantly increase, not having the time to read emails and feel helpless. The many changes are difficult to live. It's hard on morale ...

Being on the phone all day is very difficult because there is not enough time to recover between calls. I am emptied after a day in telephony.

The ARQ claims to want to provide quality services to businesses and taxpayers. In fact, employees can not meet this goal due to a chronic lack of staff. Employees are rarely less than 5:30 in direct contact with customers (telephony, reception or making appointments). It often happens that their schedule is changed that morning because of an absence. The number of employees in the customer service department of the General Directorate of Companies does not allow for an unplanned absence without the team being adversely affected. The employer requires the employee to retain and process customer inquiries received by telephone or at the front desk, BUT hardly gives time to process such requests (processing of report rejections, rejections of payment, declaration amended, repayment not received, year-end change, frequency, accounting method, accounting adjustment, etc.). Employees have less than an hour and a half per day to process their files, read their e-mail, and do self-study (read IT deliveries, changes to work instructions, etc.).

Feedback from respondents (excerpts)
Telecommunications Attendants (PAT)
The constant cutting of employees which leads to work overload at critical moments. We work with human lives sometimes and it is the opening statistics of calling cards that come into play. How many citizen calls do we have to answer and for which we do not have calling cards? What image would the Sûreté du Québec have if we Should we hang up on the citizens who are questioning, if it is not related to the police? We are not considered a center of emergency, so less pay and less recognition as well. Why is the ambulance and fire department distribution considering an emergency center, and we, the police, a call center? In short, that's without counting the schedules, the payroll errors (when we are paid) and the non-recognition of our employer. I would have even more to say, but it starts to demoralize me ...
Working conditions are difficult in an environment where the hygiene of the installations and the quality of the air is doubtful. The lack of staff forces us to work overtime (without the superiors' obligation) to share the hours between employees. The reality of attendant with variable schedules is acceptable. The concept of priorities for seniority is also, but there is inequality for the schedule of some, I am aware of the family realities of some, but it is not normal to have to wait 22 weeks to have a Saturday and a Sunday off and have make 2 requests in advance and not get them. The instability of job guarantees is a stress, not knowing how many years to do before you can have a work contract. I believe that the salary clause is unfair regarding weekend premiums and qualifications compared to other government employees.
First, I think telecom workers do a completely different job from other public service call centers. Yet this is one of the lowest paid job classes where responsibilities are overwhelming. We operate an emergency call center. The citizens who call us live in distress where their lives are sometimes at stake ... accidents ... victims of violent crimes ... dead ... suicides ... The level of stress is extreme and the response time immediate. The psychological resources are limited, the breaks are not enough ... the shifts are exhausting and the organization does not recognize the value of our work. As proof, the arrival of a new technology in the call centers is reduced to reducing staff. For them, it is not to improve the quality of work, it is to do more with less. At the salary level, the Sûreté du Québec's telecoms lag behind municipal services by 20 to 30%. In urban centers, retention of staff is difficult. The Sûreté recruits new employees who, once trained, go to work for a municipal police force. This means that the teams are often short of members and the remaining members must share the call flow of these missing people while the pace is already infernal "full staff". I would add that we feel abandoned by our union, which negotiated a reclassification with the employer that had the effect of a slap.
This is an emergency call center and not a citizen's questions service on an xyz program. We deal with criminal and civil appeals that sometimes put people's lives at risk and we must respond to urgent calls where life is in danger. This work has ABSOLUTELY nothing to do with call centers or listens to other departments.

I often feel that, apart from the attendants and the manager, no one understands what this work is. And nobody really cares to want to know it. Especially not the union. I feel like a nuisance rather than an asset to the public service union for the union side. Nobody wants to recognize our work as really different from the whole public service, but our dues are always paid. Why I pay dues to the union, if he can never defend me. I have rights too. I really do not feel respected by my union.

We have a reality very different from other call centers. Sometimes the lives of the citizens we have online can depend on our interventions. We are on the front line just before the police. It is a pity that we are not recognized as such ...

On several occasions when I went to the SFPQ, local or regional representative, I was misinformed and directed. So, I felt uncomfortable with my employer. The SFPQ should become familiar with members working on shifts and in call centers. He should try to learn and understand our reality. I do not feel any sense of belonging to the SFPQ. Currently, my manager guides me and informs me more than my union.

For over 10 years, I have witnessed very little training not to say any relevant training. We, as a respondent for the Sûreté du Québec, have to juggle clients who are living in negative situations (aggression, harassment, mental health problem, etc.), and no sensitization in this sense is transmitted to us, which could lead to risk the life of citizens by a bad reaction of an attendant. The employer insists on leaving everything in the wave in order to save (in all appearances). Management seems to do its best because it can not do more than the SQ allows.

Casual employees under one year are renewed every year and we do not know how long it will take before having a work contract over a year with a stable schedule. It's been more than 3 years and half that I'm casual less than a year and I have no stable schedule, in addition to the advancement issues, in addition to unallocated increases because of the system that does not is not able to give it to me. Very difficult job on family life.

The tools and technological supports relating to my work are sometimes unsuited to the concrete and practical reality in the exercise of my functions. It misses the possibility of being able to suggest and improve our tools of work so that they are better adapted and functional in our workplace with our own peculiarities. It is not normal that employees can not take their break time in the morning and afternoon as well as during our meals. However, this situation is continually coming back to telecom workers. Eating on the corner of our office answering emergency calls one after the other without being able to ventilate the mind especially when considering the nature of the calls, makes no sense.

The delay in pay against other call centers (municipal security).

Stress is an important issue in our work, we are under pressure from the beginning to the end of our shift, we have a new dispatch system that adds to our workload, the work instructions are getting bigger and better. heavier. The Emergency Department of the Sûreté du Québec requires fluency in English in order to respond appropriately to emergency situations for citizens' lives. However, we do not have English training and [fluency in English] is not required. On the other hand, in the multilingual context of the population and the nature of the calls, our actions often determine whether a person will live or die.

Formerly, we had a lot of emergency lines available that restricted the level of callers, now with the new system, no limit on the number of calls and lines available to process and everything has to be processed quickly to minimize the impacts on people's lives and their safety. The standards currently required are too high for the austerity we are experiencing and the lack of staff. The salary comparisons between our profession and the government mean that we have to renew our staff frequently. Many leave for the same type of job, less stressful and less demanding, for a wage difference of about $ 10 an hour in the neighboring municipal police and for a feeling of respect and belonging that we do not have to the SQ.

I think telecom workers are being squeezed out because of the number of employees, but that should not be the case, because we are contributing to the same level as others, and for that we should be fairly represented. We are not just people answering the phone, but people who listen to the people and the emergencies that can happen. There is a lot of stress in this work and we need to acquire a lot of knowledge both in terms of the laws and the geographic side of the territory we cover, and the salary should be representative.