MCGILL UNIVERSITY

MONTREAL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

December 10, 1931.

Sir Arthur Currie, Principal and Vice-Chancellor, McGill University.

Dear Sir Arthur :-

I now enclose the progress report for which you asked in your letter of November 26th last. The appendices have been made up from some of the material which was submitted to the recent Council meeting.

Yours very truly,

Lerrard C. Marsh

Director.

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//, DETAILED PROJECTS WHICH HAVE BEEN INITIATED.

Summary.

The work being undertaken this year and, in the case of projects being undertaken by graduate students, the departments to which they are primarily related are as follows. They are listed here in the order corresponding to that of the general programme (above).

(1) Analysis of the available statistics of industries and occupations in general, for Canada and Montreal, since the war. (Director).

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(2) Trends and fluctuations in employment and unemployment in Montreal and comparative areas since 1921 (trade union, Dominion Bureau, and Employment Service statsitics). (Director).

(3) Seasonal variations in employment and unemployment in Canada (and Montreal). (Director).

(4) The preparation of an economic and social base map of Montreal.

(5) The qualitative character and industrial aptitudes of unemployed, as compared with employed groups. (Psychology dept.)

(6) Vocational guidance and juvenide placement in relation to school training and the distribution of mental abilities, a study of high school boys in Montreal. (Psychology dept.)

(7) The permanence of the effect of school teaching and its relevance to employability; a study of unemployed and employed groups. (Education dept.)

(8) The occupational adjustment problems of British immigrants. (Sociology dept.)

(9) Study of the British immigrant areas in Montreal with reference to mocial influences bearing on their employment adjustment. (Sociology dept.)

(10) A comparative survey of the problems of partially or completely unemployable immigrants, as revealed by the records of Montreal social agencies. (Sociology dept.)

(11) Employment and unemployment problems in the rail transport industry, as exemplified by the experience of the C.N.R. and C.P.R. (Economics dept.)

(12) The employment and unemployment problems of dock and harbour labour in Montreal. (Economics dept.)

(13) The relief of unemployment in Western Canada (Economics dept.)

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Research Projects on which graduate students are working (1931-2): Summary of Scope.

(Economics)

1. Employment and unemployment problems in the rail transport industry, as exemplified by the experience of the C.N.R. and C.P.".

The modern railway as the source (with its attendant operations) of employment for a very large part of the Canadian working-force. Importance also because essentially affected by employment conditions special to Canada, and by fluctuations in business conditions in Canada. Various types (occupations, degree of skill, etc.). employed. Methods of recruitment: differences if any for different grades of workers. Problems raised by seasonal fluctuation or variation in type of work. Employment and technical changes. The problem of lay-offs or short-time working in trade depression. Methods by which these problems met, possibly with pre-war and post-war experience compared. Conditions special to railway operation making stabilisation difficult or feasible. Special reference to Montreal but dealing with as much of wider aspects as is consistent with efficiency of the research.

2. The employment and unemployment problems of dock labour in Montreal.

Importance of dock work in Montreal. Special characteristics (e.g., grain). Extent and type of organisation: past history; amount of unskilled labour. Methods of recruitment, type of workers, conditions of work (adjustment of rates, hours, etc., to port activity). Methods and degree of adjustment to (a) daily (b) seasonal fluctuations. Movement of workers to icefree ports in winter: methods, experience, and degree of success.

3. Unemployment and Unemphoyment Relief in Western Canada.

Survey and interpretation of unemployment situation in recent years in the prairie provinces: employment, unemployment and employment-exchange statistics. Local materials. Seasonal, cyclical and technical factors: the special problems of agricultural and rural relief. Differences from Western problem. The operation of the Unemployment Relief Act of 1930 and the Unemployment and Farm Relief Act of 1931. Local relief administration problems. Farm and migratory labour: the employment exchanges and Western employment. Interpretation to bring out differences (and similarities) of Western from Eastern unemployment and relief problems.

(Sociology)

4. A study of a selected group of British immigrants in relation to their occupational adjustment.

Occupational history of the immigrants - former trades and skills, status, conditions, etc. Problems involved in transfer of skills, change of job and employment conditions, including status, labour organisation, cost of living, working conditions, etc. Degree of regular or irregular employment, period of adjustment. Significance of change of job, wages, status and conditions, on individual and on family, in relation to degree of adjustment as member of new community. 5. A study of the British immigrant areas in Montreal withereference to social influences bearing on their employment adjustment.

Main areas to which British immigrants migrate or are attracted, theri character, the presence or absence of social institutions in these areas aiding or handicapping them in securing livelihood and steady employments. Housing, communications, vivic amenities, family life and social contacts, the attitude of employers, etc. Degree to which occupation, wages and expenses condition location and vice versa.

Effective community organisation makes for more satisfactory and efficient workers, and more stable earning power. Undue localisation tends to make for restricted employment opportunities. How far has the British immigrant escaped the difficulties of immigrants of other nationalities, and the degree of localisation which characterises some of them (e.g., the Jews)?

6. A comparative survey of the problems of partially or completely unemployable immigrants, as revealed by the records of Montreal social agencies.

Study of the statistics and case-histories of selected groups of immigrants of different nationalities who have fallen to the care of social agencies in Montreal. Their economic and social background, reasons for immigration, degree of skill, mobility-history, etc. Among other things, study should throw some light on relation of unemployability to duration of previous period of unemployment or to irregularity or employment when at employable age, etc.

(Psychology)

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7. The qualitative character and industrial aptitudes of unemployed as compared with employed groups.

A study of selected unemployed groups, by means of tests adapted to the purpose, as to their comparative literacy, aptitudes, mental defects, etc. Comparison of more permanently unemployed, temporary unemployed, and employed groups. Relation of these facts to age, race, period unemployed, mobility-history, age of leaving school, etc. (to be ascertained by auxiliary questionnaires).

8. Vocational guidance and juvenile placement in relation to school training and the distribution of mental abilities, high school boys in Montreal.

Study of the results of mental tests, educational tests, etc., in relation to school standing in various courses. Their bearing on chances of success in different occupations, the proper basis for guidance in selection of optional subjects in school, and choice of occupations by new entrants to labour market. Survey of vocational opportunities for boys of these ages (to be undertaken in second year).

(Education)

9. The permanence of the effect of school teaching and its relevance to employability.

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A study relating to unemployed and employed groups, using educational and other tests, of the amount and type of school teaching which has persisted after leaving school. Extent to which factors have bearing on success of failure in particular vocations. Influence of successive school education and survival of school education. Relation to other factors affecting employability (age, period since leaving school, character, economic status of family, etc.).

I. THE PROGRAMME AND ITS RATIONALE.

No one who has given any thought at all the problem, or rather problems, of Unemployment will need to be told that the formulation of a research programme which will cover all the important ground is beset with difficulty. It is initially difficult because of the many possible avenues of approach even if they all do, eventually, and if pursued far enough, lead to much the same ends. It is even more formidable, however, if that programme has other considerations in mind as well. And there are three:

(1) the choice of those aspects which have more than a transitory significance, which constitute a durable or resistant part of the problem, or are of special importance in this country;

(2) the attempt to select, so far as is consistent with scientific and impartial research, the problems where investigation may more reasonably or readily than in others be expected to yield fruit as well as light; and

(3) the choice and definition of problems in such a way that either they can be investigated as a whole, i.e., by the various specialists in the social sciences but in cooperation; or else will link together or support each other at not too far removed an interval.

We should attempt, in sum, to choose projects which will be (1) representative, (2) fruitful, and (3) which will lend themselves to cooperative effort.

Even when these requirements are borne in mind, however, no programme especially when it has to begin on a small and manageable scale - can be expected to be free from criticism. Unemployment is a subject, after all, which embraces, sooner or later, most of our economic and social organisation: and it is a field of enquiry wide and complex enough for there to be scores of students of the problem each of whom feels that his own approach is the most important one. To tackle them all at once, however, would require an army of research workers - apart altogether from special provision for their training. What can be done is to pursue a plan which has reasonable prospects of expansion, while remaining aware of the aspects or problems not touched by it. Once it is begun, time and patience are called for as earnestly as is energy in research.

One broad distinction, which is relevant in defining our research programme, can be made. For practical purposes it is possible to distinguish two main types of unemployment investigations, as follows. The distinction outlined is one of method rather than of subject-matter. The pursuit of one method, moreover, cannot disregard the findings arrived at by the other.

Purely for convenience, we may perhaps call these the "causal approach" and the "survey-method" respectively. It is the latter which we are following.

The "causal" or mainly economic approach

(a) The study of industrial (or "business") fluctuations, why they occur, and how to reduce or prevent them; since these are the main direct causes of unemployment. This is the familiar field of the economist and statistician. Business fluctuations and breakdowns can be resolved into their various elements

- day-to-day or short-period fluctuations, important in some fields; seasonal fluctuations; cyclical (or "trade-cycle") fluctuations; trends of technical progress in various economic spheres; dislocations in international commerce or international finance. Although we know in general terms - certainly more adequately than before the war - the cause, character, and effects of these fluctuations, it is also true that there is abundant room for further detailed analysis and investigation in each field.

The "survey-method" or sociological approach

(b) The study of unemployment as it exists in a particular community. The economic and social conditions which attend and determine it, the practical problems of dealing with it, in the various spheres - social, industrial, and governmental - in which unemployment problems arise. Unemployment of course is to be interpreted widely: it constitutes a problem of which unemployment relief is only a part - a problem, in the last analysis, of the functioning of industry and of social institutions and organisation. The "community" to be used as the area of study, also, though it may well be the city in the first instance, must sooner or later extend to the whole country, and indeed beyond.

In pursuing the first type of investigation, we concentrate primarily on the economic "causes" of unemployment. The second treats it as a problem of sociology, in the older sense of that word - a problem involving all the social sciences (including economics). It gives us more immediately the opportunity of bringing to the problem the aid and experience of specialists other than the economist and the sociologist μ - of enlisting and co-ordinating the contributions of those trained primarily in psychology, education, law, or medicine. Unemployment is a social problem, with ramifications in all these fields. And the divisions of the social sciences are, or should be, ones of convenience only. They are justified only if they are a step towards the more efficient and comprehensive attack on social problems.

An approach which recognises this helps to satisfy two needs which are evident in the field of social science research to-day. There is the need for making the research-student or investigator engaged in one specialised field aware of the other aspects of his problem and other approaches to it, and of the fact that his work is really significant only in relation to these. This is partly a question of training, but partly also a question merely of ensuring his contact with workers in related fields. There is, secondly, the need for efforts directed to securing some balanced or authoritative pronouncement on social problems. In the university we already have the first requisite - men trained in the various social sciences, and also in a position to employ their knowledge or express their veiws impartially The task is to co-ordinate those resources (and to gain the co-operation of bodies outside the university interested in these aims). It is undoubtedly difficult, and an effort from which "results" cannot be expected except with some time and care. But there should be little question as to whether it is worth while.

The "survey-methed" would take full account of what the first approach outlined (the study of industrial fluctuations) has to contribute. Our knowledge in this field would influence any findings revealed or suggested by research. It should be available so far as possible to research-students through the medium of lecture courses. And purely economic research, if in certain fields such limitation is satisfactory and its contribution clear (and this would apply to other departments) would certainly not be excluded. I using the term here in its more restricted modern sense.

THE SCOPE OF THE SURVEY PROGRAMME

The scope which the survey method should cover can be outlined as follows.

(1) The industrial and occupational character of the community.

The industrial and economic make-up of the city in general (with comparisons with other cities and with the Dominion as a whole). The most important industries; the size of their personnel, the types of labour (degree of skill, sex, age, etc.) they employ; their special problems or features of organisation (scale of operations, division between sections, markets, methods of labour recruitment, etc); the influence of these factors on their employment and unemployment problems. The occupations of the population; significant distinctions between

The occupations of the population; significant distinctions between occupational and industrial classifications (incidence of unemployment, specialisation or localisation by age, status, race, etc).

Significant industrial or occupational changes in recent times (e.g., last decade).

(2) The measurement of unemployment in the community - its character, extent, and incidence.

, Detailed analysis of available unemployment statistics (trade union unemployment, Bureau of Statistics Employment indices, Federal Employment Service statistics) for Montreal and comparative areas. Seasonal variations; trends of employment and unemployment since the war; differences between industries or industrial groups.

Analysis of information from other sources, particularly with reference to the characteristics of the unemployed groups in Montreal. Age - and sex-distributions, nationality, occupations, degree of family dependency, sources of relief, degree of mobility.

Studies of the "qualitative" characteristics of the unemployed. Industrial and mental abilities, literacy, etc. Differences between groups; comparison with employed groups; relation to other characteristics above.

(3) Special problems. These problems which although in one sense special aspects of the general research field, are of more immediate relevance because they are strategic points of attack, or else specially significant in Montreal or Canada.

There are four fields, each of them requiring further subdivision for research, which may be mentioned here: others will undoubtedly emerge as research proceeds.

(a) The juvenile entrant to industry. The relation of education (general and technical) to the problems of employment, placement and industrial opportunities. Employability and vocational guidance. This is a key-field for any research plan which is concerned with

This is a key-field for any research plan which is concerned with more than the immediate conditions of business depression. The inadequately placed or trained boy of 10-day is the unemployed man of tomorrow. Montreal's quota of young entrants is particularly large, and organisation to deal with these problems is only in its earliest stages. (b) The employment problems of the immigrant.

In "new" countries, the immigrant is the second source of recruitment to industry, and a source presenting its own special problems. Immigrant stocks bulk large in any representative group of unemployed. The conditions determining successful and unsuccessful settlement or absorption are varied, and call for analysis by special studies and for different immigrant groups. In Canada so far, the urban immigrant has received less attention then the immigrant to farming areas.

(c) The unskilled labour market.

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Unskilled and low-skilled workers are likely to be the first to be laid off, or to suffer the most underemployment. They comprise the lowest and most resistant stratum of the unemployed. If they are the most familiar to the relief agencies, however, they are also the most difficult to deal with; and the "causes" of their unemployment are likely to be the most complex.

Studies needed: the economic quality, the physical quality, the employment history, etc., of unskilled workers; the unskilled labour market in general - how and where unskilled labour is recruited - and the degree to which it is organised; separate studies of main industries employing low-skilled labour.

(d) The unemployment problems of particular industries or industrial groups.

To say that every industry or industrial group has its own particular unemployment problems is really to say that each reproduces the same constituents of the general problem - casual, seasonal, cyclical, and "technological" unemployment - with its own technical differences. For practical purposes the industry is the unit in which the problem of unemployment - certainly the problem of restricting employment - presents itself. In some matters (seasonal employment, for instance) it is the unit within which the first steps in the regularisation of employment have to be taken. In any case we do not know the details of a large part of the unemployment problem or of the difficulties which have to be met in dealing with it until such studies are made.

(4) Studies and analysis of the existing organisation - industrial, social, and governmental - for dealing with the problems of unemployment.

This, of course, overlaps at certain points with the fields delineated above. Some of it will be accomplished as part of the work in these fields. But it may quite reasonably be separated as a branch of the research eventually to be covered. There is room for a number of studies in Montreal and for comparative areas, of the relevant part of the work of social agencies, of employment bureaux, significant industrial schemes or experientns, and Dominion unemployment relief (1930-1 and 1931-2).

A detailed survey of the social agencies alone, in relation to unemployment relief, would in Montreal be a subject worthy of research: the number of major agencies or institutions in the city concerned in part with unemployment relief amounts to ten or twelve.

(5) Remedies, changes, reorganisation etc., indicated as desirable, and based upon the abovel

At some stage, undoubtedly, it should be possible to draw together the experience and conslusions which the various investigations have brought to light. This should indeed be the ultimate objective of the researchsurvey. It would certainly not be possible, however, until a major part at least, of the programme had been realised.

The parts of the programme here set out would by no means all be filled by the same methods. Not all of it is material for research theses by graduate students, though the larger part of it is so fitted. A considerable amount of statistical material, for instance, bearing upon Canadian employment problems, is available which has not yet been analysed with any central or co-ordinating purpose in mind. There is room for this to be assembled, while special research studies are proceeding.

Some parts of the programme, again, cannot be started upon as soon as others: some parts are more difficult than others. Once a beginning has been made, the materials at hand in each particular year will play some part in determining the next projects to be started.

It is clear that the branches of the programme outlined overlap at many points. But this should be a help rather than a hindrance. If the general lines of the programme are clear, there should be little difficulty in seeing the relation of part to part. Concentration on one main - though widely-interpreted - subject gives order to research which might well otherwise be lacking. And the chance of making a contribution in social sciences is undoubtedly greater from such delimitation for a time at least.

On the question of what "results" are to be expected, a few further words may perhaps be added. In the first place, the question "are we to discover the causes of unemployment?" is largely a misleading one. It is possible to regard certain economic phenomena, of which changes in the price-level are the chiff, as direct causes of unemployment. But generally speaking, unemployment research, whatever the method we pursue and the sphere in which we work, is research directed not towards the discovery of "causes", but the separation and solution of types (or specific cases) of dislocation, maladjustment, or lack of organisation. Some of them may be much more important, more far-reaching in their effects then others: <u>unemployment is really a series of problems of this sort, fanging all the way from those which are local or limited to those which are international.</u> Our choice from this range has to be determined, jointly, by our resources and our aim.

The period to which the results are relevant may also call for a word. In a period of economic depression there are certain immediate problems, of which the most pressing are those of direct relief - the "ambulance work" of the unemployment problem. In a period of severe unemployment it is an aspect of which everyone is aware, and which colours a great deal of current thinking on unemployment. But supremely important as these questions of relief may be, they are still problems of emergency administration. We can learn from them; but research cannot do much at this stage to remedy the immediate situation. It is forward-looking and, in major part at least, directed towards questions which are a more continuous part of the total problem. Its contribution, necessarily, is not immediate, but in helping to prevent the recurrence or to reduce the magnitude and complexity of unemployment problems in the future.

SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH: (UNEMPLOYMENT SURVEY): TROCRESS REPORT, 1936-51.

General Programme

The evolution of a programme of research in general outline, and of plans to enable its details to be filled in, was the task of the first part of last session. After discussion of these plans, it was agreed that four departments would participate (in cooperation with the Director) immediately - the departments of Economics, Sociology, Psychology, and Education - and that the departments of Medicine and Law would probably begin active participation in the second year.

A statement of this programme and its objectives, in the form in which it has been accepted by the Executive Committee and the Council, is appended.(7).

Separate projects.

Nine graduate students have now been secured to work upon separate projects fitting into the general programme, and have started work this term. All of them will work for at least two years (subject to their project and progress meriting this): eight of them proceeding to the degree of M.A., and two to the degree of Ph.D. These students are working under the joint guidance of the Director and a member of the Department with which the specific study is primarily concerned; and are of course taking lectures relevant to their research on the subjects bearing upon their work.

Provision for continuous contact between the students and their advisers, and between the Director and the departments concerned, has become the established principle and practice of the research.

The list of the separate projects now under way is appended, (2) together with a list of the graduate students and their qualifications (2). Without exception all of them appear to be fitted for their work and to have the capacity to profit from research experience and training.

The type and proportion of preliminary reading, statistical work, etc., and actual field work undertaken by each student of course very widely: but each has now formulated his own programme in detail, is working upon the extant or more readily-available relevant materials, and will undertake some field work at least this term. The summary of the scope of each project, which is appended, is the best indication of what each will be doing in the future.

A basic questionnaire has been drawn up for use by all investigators dealing with employed or unemployed groups. It covers the most immediately relevant information we need in order to know the detailed nature of the unemployment problem in Montreal. The ideal would be to have this answered by all the unemployed, but the most that can be hoped for this year is that we obtain this information from a number of sample groups (including employed groups) which between them give us a representative picture of the whole.

Director's organisation

As the organisation of the work has so far proceeded, the following appear to be the functions which the Director can usefully serve: (1) The coordination of the research, and the preservation of the

outlines and objectives of the programme, in general.

(2) The maintenance of contact between departments (which is also secured through the meetings of the Executive Dommittee).

(3) Acting as a central agency for the collection of relevant statistical material, references, and other information.

(4) Acting as a centralising department for research expenditures.
(5) The prosecution of research (additional to that of graduate students) contributing to the general programme.

(6) The provision of lectures on the economic theory of unemployment and its related problems.

The collection and compilation of basic and generally relevant material has been proceeding, with the aid of one full-time (salaried) research assistant, and some occasional part-time help. Some of this is already available in incomplete form for students requiring it. Some of it is shaping towards the stage in which it can be written up in study form. The following are the most advanced.

1. Statistics of the industrial and occupational character of Montreal, with comparative material for Canada and other areas. This can only be brought up to date when 1931 Census material is available. Arrangements have been made to secure this as soon as it is ready.

2. Analysis of the post-war employment and unemployment statistics of Canada (and Montreal).

3. A study of seasonal fluctuations, as between different areas and industrial groups, in Montreal and Canada.

4. Data for the preparation of social and economic base maps of Montreal. A good deal of the necessary material has been assembled. But some essential data have to be secured from 1931 Census results. Some extra assistance could profitably be employed on this at an early date.

Future Extension of Work.

The lines along which future work are likely to proceed can be indicated briefly as follows:

1. Extension or "follow-up" of the "departmental" projects now under way, e.g., studies of other important industries (Economics); of immigrant groups other than British (Sociology); other aspects of vocational guidance and juvenile employment; the training or retraining of unemployed, (Education, Psychology), etc.

2. Extension by more detailed work, of the study of the industrial and occupational character of Montreal (e.g., studies of mobility of industries, changes in type of skills required, in recent years).

Docomber, 1961.

Leonard B. Marsh

3. Participation by the Law and Medical departments.

4. Beginning of detailed study of institutions and organisation dealing with unemployment problems in Montreal.

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The GRADUATE STUDENTS WORKING ON DEPARTMENTAL PROJECTS, 1931-2.

(Economics).

(1) E.E. Bowker.

B. Com. (2nd class), M.A., (honours), University of Alberta. Courses included economics and statistics. Thesis work on "seasonal unemployment in Alberta". Has had some practical experience in lumber industry. Has genuine interest in labour problems, which he wishes to make his life work. Degree (is candidate for M.A. from McGill) is obviously secondary.

Research subject: the unemployment problems of dock and harbour workers in Montreal.

(2) G.M. Rountree.

B.A., McGill. First class honours, economics and political science. Good all-round student, anxious to do worth-while piece of research; interested primarily in economics and statistics.

Research subject: the unemployment problems of the railroad transport industry.

(3) F.V. Stone.

B.A., McGill. First class honours, economics and political science. Spent year in West as exchange-student; interested in and informed on Western economic problems. In McGill
Debating Team, Porto Rico, this summer.
Research subject: unemployment and unemployment relief in Western Canada.

(Sociology).

(4) Miss M.H. Davidson.

B.A., Western University. Honours in classics. Also number of specialist examinations in commercial subjects constituting a nearly complete B. Com. course. Versatile and active "allround" girl with fine personality. Specially fitted for making contacts, and splendid material for research training. Research subject: comparative survey of the problems of partially or completely unemployable immigrants, as revealed by the records of Montreal social agencies.

(5) Miss M.E.Ramsden.

B.A., honours (gold medal) in economics and political science Western University. Has acted as (Economics) departmental assistant. Good personality. Background of study cultural rather than specialist in economics. Wishes to become research worker in social problems, and anxious to secure graduate training in such investigation.

Research subject: study of British immigrant areas in Montreal with reference to social influences bearing on their employment adjustment.

(6) Lloyd C. Reynolds.

B.A.; first-class honours in political economy, University of Alberta. Statistics and mathematics included in his courses. Has done extra-curricular work on labour problems, research work (report on industrial and labour management) with Columbia Conserve Co., U.S.A. Interested in broadening his approach from purely economic, and therefore anxious to receive sociological training in addition to doing research. Research subject: the problems of occupational adjustment of British immigrants in Montreal.

(Psychology).

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(7) N.W. Morton.

B.A., McGill. First-class honours (gold medal) in Psychology. M.A., with honours, Thesis on "The Psychology of Evidence". Brilliant and capable, one of best students the Psychology Department has ever had.

Research subject: comparative study of the industrial and qualitative character of unemployed groups.

(8) E.C. Webster.

B.A.; honours in psychology, McGill. (included statistical courses). One of best students of his year. Reader in department of Psychology for session 1931-2. Career will be in psychology research and teaching.

Research subject: vocational guidance and juvenile placement in relation to school training and the distribution of mental abilities; a study of high school boys in Montreal.

(Education)

(9) K.V. Norris.

B.A., McGill. Honours in psychology: (included statistical courses). M.A., with honours, in field of Psychology and Education. McGill. Thesis on "comparative abilities and achievements of day-school and evening-school pupils". Practical experience as Registrar of Sir George Williams College. Interests are in educational research work.

Research subject: the permanence of the effect of school teaching and its relevance to employability, as determined by investigation of employed and unemployed groups.