METHODS OF

INDUSTRIAL

RECRUITMENT

JOB FINDING AND METHODS OF INDUSTRIAL RECRUITMENT

A Study of a Selected Group of Persons and Firms in Montreal.

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In comparison with the institutions that have been developed to take care of the marketing of grain, cotton, metals, securities and credit, labour has been almost entirely neglected. The care and direction of the labour supply are, with minor exceptions, without system; and the few agencies or institutions offering assistance are not co-ordinated into a comprehensive system. Even to-day very little is known of the methods of search for employment and the extent, duration, and costs to the worker of a period of adjustment.

This study, part of a survey of many aspects of employment and unemployment problems in Montreal, is intended to throw light on methods and costs of adjustment. Part One analyzes the employment experiences of a selected group of 125 men and discusses the reasons for their losing and leaving jobs, relating these experiences to differences in age groups. From this review, a picture of methods of job-finding and the costs of a period of adjustment incurred by Montreal workers emerges. Since the problem of unemployment for the individual is a function of the security of employment in his occupation and is closely related to methods of recruitment and personnel policies in industry, a comparative sample study was made of these, and are discussed in Part Two. This section is based on information obtained from thirty-five firms in the city whose owners and employment managers offered their co-operation to the investigation.

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(a) Tables.

(b) Charts.#

The Charts in this thesis were made in the Social Research Department.

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CHAPTER I--Introduction.

In recent times, the economist has more and more been led to study aspects of the economic problem which before he had been content to leave to the welfare worker. This is particularly true of unemployment. The personal consequences of unemployment are of special importance and require individual study. For this, the economics student has adopted one of the methods of sociology, namely, the case study.

"The problem of unemployment is the problem of adjusting the supply of labour and the demand for labour. The supply of labour in a country is, in the widest sense, the supply of population.....The demand for labour, on the other hand, is an aggregate of thousands or tens of thousands of separate demands in the present....Discrepancy between two things so distinct in immediate origin is obviously possible.... There is nothing in the existing industrial order to secure this miraculously perfect adjustment."*

* Beveridge, W. H. :Unemployment: a Problem of Industry. (Longmans, Green and Co., 1930). Pg.4.

In the unorganized market, however, "economic forces" have been relied upon to adjust the supply of labour to the fluctuating demand. The frictions that develop in this process of uncontrolled adaptation to change produce a considerable amount of unemployment and excessive reserves of labour.

"There are, no doubt, economic factors which tend in the long run to adjust supply and demand in regard to labour as in regard to all other commodities*...unemployment cannot be attributed to any general want of adjustment between the growth of the supply of labour and the growth of the demand."** But "there are specific imperfections of adjustment between the demand for labour and the supply of labour, and that these give rise to a real and considerable problem of unemployment."***

On the basis of inductive correlation and deductive analysis, Beveridge reached his classic conclusion. This was as far back as 1909. "The deliberate organisation of the labour market is the first step in the permanent solution of the problem of unemployment."**** This is still true to-day.

The study of the organization of the institutions which are part of the system of production and distribution is not a new method of approach for the economics

* Beveridge, op. cit. p.5.
** ditto p.11.
*** ditto p.14.
**** ditto p.198.

student. The markets for capital, capital goods and consumption goods have received his close attention and his economic analysis has had an important influence on the development of these markets. Innovations and improvements in technique, however, have been more directly the result of the activity of the business men who were aware of the need for these markets and were naturally concerned with their development. At the same time, their origin and growth have come under the scrutiny of the economist.

In the labour market however, the absence of a really developed machinery which could serve as a reliable source of information as well as a subject of study, dictated that the student of unemployment busy himself with an analysis of the problem rather than attempt to dissect the market transactions and probe into the details. Industry has been content to allow the price system to perform its function of rationing the factors of production without any special regard to the inherent differences and peculiarities of the particular factors. It has relied, with very little exception, on the forces of supply and demand to work out an equilibrium which suffices to set a basic price for labour from which entrepreneurs can calculate their costs, decide upon their "combination of factors" and recruit enough to satisfy their productive needs.

"Labor is not a commodity, but it is bought and sold like a commodity. Both the thing sold and the

sellers of it, however, have characteristics which distinguish labor from commodities."*

"The labor supply is entirely different. Labor is an expression of the personal energy of a human being. The productive energy which the laborer sells to his employer is inseparable in existence and in use from the personality of the laborer."**

The peculiarity of labour dictates that its services cannot be divorced from the persons rendering them. Labour services have to be "delivered". But this has merely served as an added convenience to many employers. It is liable to be forgotten that this personal characteristic means that they are dealing with human beings who must be adequately fed and clothed; whose family life depends upon the adequacy of their wages; whose ability depends, in part, on their training; whose efficiency varies with their state of mind which is affected by conditions at home and at work; whose earnings, moreover, contribute to the purchasing power which is needed to clear the market at least of the goods produced for mass consumption. Instead, this personal peculiarity precluded the necessity (and expense) of setting up a recognized market for labour. In effect

* Douglas, P. H., Hitchcock, C. N., and Atkins, W. E.: The Worker in Modern Economic Society. (University of Chicago Press 1923) section headed Labor Distinguished from Commodities by Henry Clay.

** Lescohier, D. D.: The Labor Market. (Macmillan Co. 1923).

there are an enormous number of separate labour markets whose individual demands make up the total demand for labour. The methods of obtaining employment in the unorganized labour market have, with very little exception, been that of the seller of his services seeking out the would-be employer through personal application at the factory gates. It is true that in various pockets of the labour market some semblance of regularity and orderly methods have been developed but in no measure can these compare with those specialized institutions which have been built up to take care of the marketing of the other factors of production and the produce of industry.

"It is a commonplace of economic observation that the business of bringing commodities to market, i. e. of putting would be buyer and seller into communication, has become and is continually becoming the subject of more and more specialised attention and organisation. For every commodity important and well-known market places get established and concentrate in large proportions all the business done.....

"In regard to labour, the position remains fundamentally different. The prevailing method of obtaining employment is still that of personal application at the works. In other words, the prevailing method of selling labour is to hawk it from door to door."*

* Beveridge, op. cit. p.197.

The explanation of these fundamentally different positions lies in the fact that institutions are set up and developed only as they cater to the needs of business. The profit motive encourages interest only in those lines of study and organization that revolve around reduction of costs and increase efficiency in production or distribution. Industry has made rapid progress by the adaptation of the physical sciences to industry. In the meantime, the question of man's social relations to man has been neglected and will continue to be neglected by industry until employers generally become more convinced that here, too, is a field of science which can be exploited and justified on a business basis.

"The American employer has been able to assume as a matter of course that there would be idle men at his gate this morning, to-morrow morning, every morning. He has accepted orders on the security of that expectation. If the reserve <u>at his place of business or in the immediate locality</u> disappeared, he complained of a labor shortage. In his mind, consciously or unconsciously, was an idea that <u>he was entitled to have available at all times enough labor to man his plant to maximum capacity</u>, even though he did not run at maximum capacity thirty days in the year....It did not occur to him that a centralization of the labor supply with machinery which would provide him with labor when he needed it and draw off his surplus during his dull seasons was an important

need of the nation. He knew that banks enabled employers to carry on the nation's business on a smaller amount of capital than would be required if each employer carried his own capital reserve, but he did not realize that an organized labor market would enable him and his fellow employers to carry on production with a much smaller idle labor force."*

The recent turn to scientific management and careful study of personnel and its problems is to be interpreted in this light--that such policies are "good business". It is beyond the scope of this study to enlarge upon the costs to the employer of inefficient methods of hiring and handling men which are reflected in the rate of labour turnover. They will be referred to in some degree, however, in discussing the examples of recruitment and personnel management examined in this Montreal study. Close analysis of the problem of turnover and scientific management has been made by such writers as Slichter**and Taylor***. The point that stands out is that if society must wait for industry to conserve and make efficient use of its labour power, then industry must be appealed to with further reduction of costs as the incentive. In the meantime, the facts must be faced. It has been nobody's business to organize

* Lescohier, op. cit. p.14-15.
** Slichter, S. H.: The Turnover of Factory Labor. (D. Appleton and Company 1919).
*** Taylor, F. W.: The Principles of Scientific Management. (New York, 1913).

the labour market, and "a matter which cries out for organisation, and which in regard to every other commodity meets with an increasing measure of organisation, is in regard to labour still left to ill-informed individual action."*

* * * * *

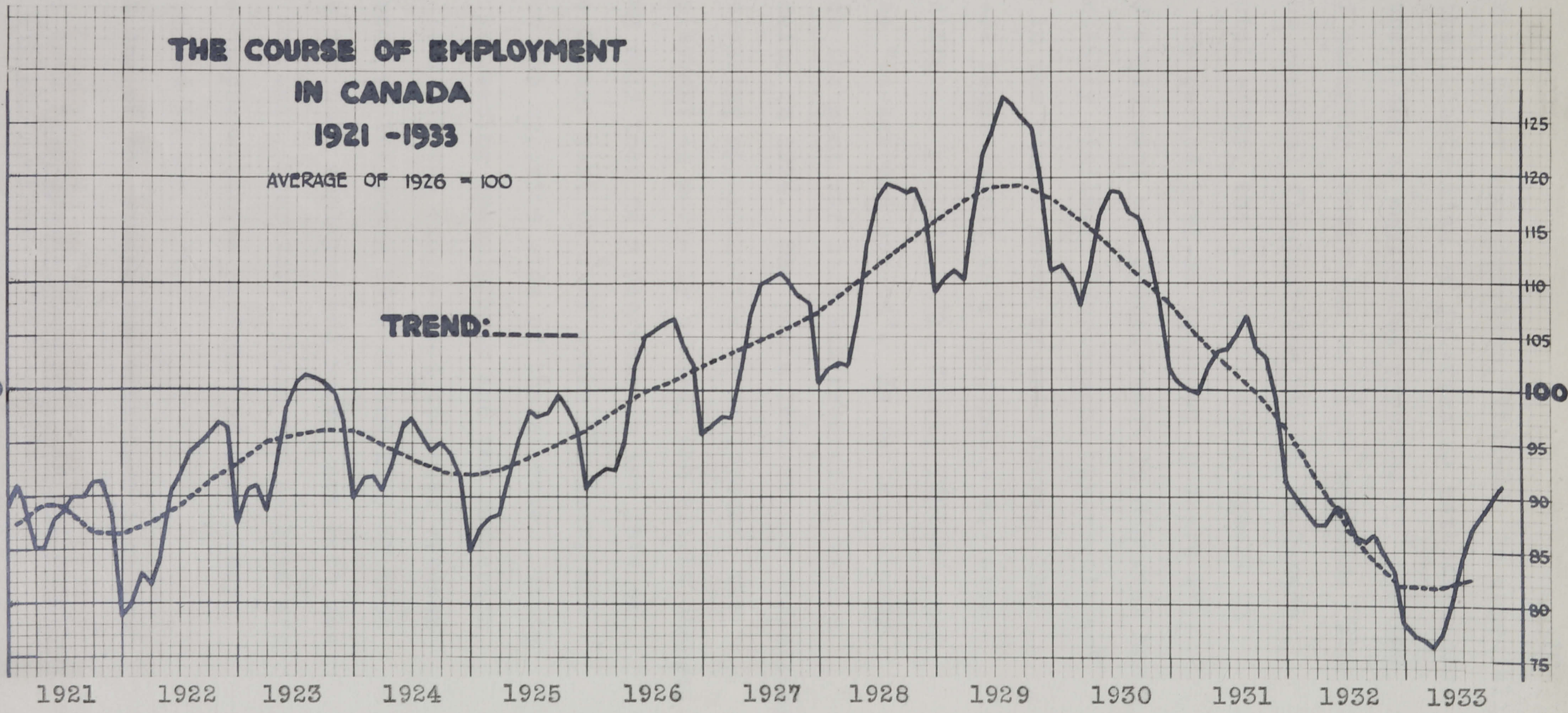
This study is concerned primarily with the problem of employment adjustment in Montreal. It is based on the study of the employment history of discharged workers from representative Montreal firms and is designed to reveal the problem of the worker who loses his job and and the factors which help or handicap him in resecuring employment. It is fundamentally a case study and has followed to some extent the lines of the studies made by Lubin**, Clague and Couper***, and Myers.****

The experiences of the men interviewed reflect, in part, the degree of organization in the Montreal labour market, since the length of the period of adjustment depends largely on whether their search is directed scientifically or whether it lacks such direction and is aimless and haphazard. It will also be reflected in the frequency of adjustments, since turnover "is a symptom of inefficient hiring methods which place workmen in positions for which they are unfitted and for which they are less adapted than for other positions..."*****

* Beveridge, op. cit. p.198.
** "The Absorption of Workers in American Industry".
*** "The Readjustment of Workers Displaced by Plant Shutdowns
**** "Occupational Readjustment of Displaced Skilled Workmen"
***** Slichter, op. cit.

A short period of adjustment at times also coincides with an increased number of adjustments, which suggests that there are other important factors besides the organization of the labour market and efficient methods of hiring, which affect the rate of turnover and the cost of adjustment. Most important of these factors is that of "employment opportunity". It is generally accepted that the lack of any alternative opportunity has a restraining influence on the desire of the workman to give up his job in the hope of finding a better one; and that when he is forced to leave his job for some reason or other, he encounters greater hardships and longer period of unemployment during a period of depression--the present volume of unemployment provides ample testimony of these facts. What is not as well known, or as generally accepted, is the continual process of adjustment that is going on, which in itself involves a certain amount of unemployment even in more normal times. There is no doubt that much of this unemployment is unnecessary, particularly when it is the result of excessive turnover or an unduly long interval between jobs. It is mainly a problem which calls for organization, both of methods of recruitment and of labour policies to reduce turnover, and of the methods of making vacancies known, to reduce the time lost between jobs. This study undertakes to analyze a sample of factual evidence which has been collected to show the extent to which these problems exist in Montreal.

Chart I


THE COURSE OF EMPLOYMENT
IN CANADA
1921 -1933
AVERAGE OF 1926 = 100
TREND:-----
125
120
115
110
105
100
95
90
85
80
75
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933

The period under consideration, 1921-32, is especially suited for the illustration of job-finding methods under different conditions of "employment opportunity", and the influence of changing conditions on these methods. Disregarding the seasonal fluctuations which, in Canada, require special study, the course of unemployment in Canada over the period 1921-32 is shown in Chart I*; the trend of employment and unemployment in Montreal has been substantially similar. "Employment opportunities" have varied in the manner shown by this curve. The period 1921-32 lends itself to a reasonable division into three different periods. The first, 1921-26, may be termed the "background period". It marks a steady recovery from the post war boom and recession, with a slight recession in 1924. The years 1926-29 are definitely years of increasing opportunities of employment, the trend in employment is markedly upward, the slight change in 1927 being only that of a decrease in the rate of growth. The latter part of 1929 marks the turn, and 1930-32 shows the opposite side of the picture. It is a period of increasing unemployment and the reduction of staffs. It is in the exaggerated contrast between the experiences of the years 1926-29 and 1930-32 that the problems for both employer and worker are best observed. In the main, therefore, these two periods are taken as the "representative periods" of this study, and are so termed in the text.

In part one of the study, the experiences of the

* Reproduced from "Employment Research: An Introduction to the McGill Program. (Unpublished).

men interviewed are analyzed and discussed in the light of the trend of "employment opportunity". The frequency of and reasons for losing and leaving jobs are measured and the methods of finding jobs are observed for this group. In chapters V and VI, the process of their adjustment to the changing conditions of industry and the costs involved are examined. The movements from one occupation to a different one as a mode of adjustment, and movements into and out of Montreal in search for jobs are seen to have played an important part in the histories of this "sample group". Finally, the costs of adjustment to the members of the group are elaborated upon to show the extent of the waste and losses occasioned because of the lack of organization.

Methods of adjustment and costs of adjustment are not the only important considerations in the problem of unemployment for the individual. His security of employment determines how often he must go through a process of re-adjustment. Part two, therefore, is concerned with a discussion of methods of recruitment, and considers some of the differences of personnel policy that exist in Montreal, the factors influencing these policies, and the security of employment for different occupations and skill groups. Recognizing that labour turnover depends also on these methods and policies, this is discussed from a particular angle (in chapter X) in the light of information obtained from specific employers and employment managers. The

discussion in part two also takes note of the influences of "employment opportunity" on the security of employment in the different occupations, and upon the personnel policies of employers.

This study, in sum, is a sample survey of the finding of employment in Montreal, as it is influenced by existing methods of recruitment and affected by the relatively abundant opportunities for employment in 1926-29 as compared with the limited opportunities in 1930-32.

PART ONE.

METHODS OF FINDING EMPLOYMENT.

Chapter II--The Sample Group.

It was originally intended that the group interviewed be as far as possible a representative sample of the (Protestant) English speaking wage-earners in Montreal, since the problem of the French Canadian worker was to be the subject of a later investigation. Names and addresses of employees laid off in the past year were obtained through the personnel managers of several firms, and these individuals were traced and interviewed. This method, although productive of results, had to be discontinued after awhile mainly because it gave access to a "sample group" which came almost entirely from two or three particular firms as the necessary co-operation from smaller firms was not forthcoming. In addition, the excessive mobility of the unemployed in Montreal added to the difficulties of this method, and more than 60 per cent of the addresses obtained were out of date. It was then decided to supplement this "sample" by a group to be taken from the files of the Protestant Employment Bureau. The files were taken at random and from these were selected only men between the ages of 20 and 45 whose record showed them to have been fairly regularly employed in the past. Eighty-seven of such men were personally interviewed which brought the total number of the group up to 125.

Since then, the transactions in the labour market have been observed from the demand side, and the "sample group" has necessarily remained small. The evidence thus

obtained, cannot be said to apply to any more than this specific group, but it has proved to be very interesting. It is hoped that in telling of the difficulties and success of this group in particular, it may throw some light on the general problems faced by workers in their search for employment.

Even though the number interviewed was relatively small, the "sample" includes workers distributed in different groups of industries and represents a variety of trades. When classed by their "usual occupation" (the one at which they had worked longest in the ten year period preceding the interview), sixteen, or 13 per cent* are in the clerical group, the majority of them having been in the employ of the railways as record clerks, timekeepers, or despatchers. Only nine, or 7 per cent are in the commercial group, almost all of these having been employed as salesmen, shop assistants or canvassers. The majority of the workers interviewed are in the skilled or semi-skilled classification with forty-nine, or 39 per cent having been employed on some skilled operation while forty-four, or 35 per cent had performed semi-skilled work. The number of unskilled workers was kept down to a minimum, only seven having found their way into the group, since such labourers, particularly in Montreal, present a separate problem that requires individual study.

* Because of the small "sample", percentages have been calculated throughout, correct to the nearest integer.

Table 1.--Group interviewed, classified by skill of their "usual" occupation.

Age Groups Years	Clerical	Commercial	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total No.	Total p.c.
20-24	4	4	1	8	3	20	16.
25-29	5	2	14	15	2	38	30.
30-34	2	-	12	9	-	23	19.
35-39	3	1	7	6	1	18	14.
40-44	1	1	12	6	1	21	17.
45 and over	1	1	3	-	-	5	4.
Total No.	16	9	49	44	7	125	
All ages %	13.	7.	39.	35.	6.		100.

This status-skill classification made is an arbitrary one and the method explains, in part, some of the peculiarities it reflects. It is based on the statement of the individual interviewed as to the normal duration of the period of learning, his length of time at the operation, and whether or not he had served a period of apprenticeship. This information was compared with an estimated classification of the occupations listed in the census into skill groups. The arbitrary definitions by which we were guided classed an operation as skilled, when the period of learning was from six months to two years or more, and which required apprenticeship or training; as semi-skilled, when the period of learning was up to six months, where the work was that of machine tending or routine work; and as unskilled, when the job could be learned in a few days or required no tuition--mainly manual workers who could be easily replaced. The clerical and commercial classifications did not present the same difficulties of definition.

It was also decided to follow the principle of classing the individual according to the job he was performing rather than what his training or experience had been on previous jobs. The classification reflects, then, the type of work on which the men were employed, rather than what they were capable of doing. The difficulties involved in the decisions explain, in part, the predominance of skilled men in the group. In construction, for example, the individual was apt to portray himself as a skilled carpenter, bricklayer, steamfitter or painter, after having been at the trade for a period, particularly after having worked at tradesmen's wages on one or two jobs. This criterion of wages paid on the job was the basis of final decision when all the other definitions still left a particular individual or job in doubt.

A glance at the table of workers interviewed according to their "usual" occupation will show that the collective histories of their experience cover a wide field of search and endeavour as they represent at least fifty-one different occupations. The total number of male wage-earners pursuing these occupations in Montreal, 1931, was 148,144 or 71.6 per cent of the total male wage-earners, excluding managers, professionals and officials. This figure may seem to be unduly high but it is brought up to its large proportions by the inclusion of three large groups, "Labourers", "Salesmen", and "Clerical" which alone comprise 38.9 per cent of all male wage-earners in Montreal. These three groups are

Table 2.--Summary of table(1) showing the amount and duration of unemployment among the wage-earners in the occupations covered by the "sample group". (Male wage-earners Montreal 1930-31).#

Grouped by aggregate time lost.

Aggregate Time Lost Weeks. 000's.	Number of Occupations.	Number in Sample.	Number of Wage-Earners.	Number Losing Some Time.	Per Cent of Total. P. C.	Weeks of Unemployment. No.	Average Wks. Lost by Those Losing Time.
30 or more	11	51	116,315	62,218	53.5	1,550,388	24.9
20 & less than 30	4	6	10,157	4,749	46.8	105,015	22.1
10 & less than 20	7	12	9,008	4,232	47.0	93,766	22.2
5 & less than 10	6	8	4,830	2,117	43.8	44,691	21.1
1 & less than 5	16	34	6,998	1,924	27.5	40,049	20.8
Less than one	7	9	836	250	29.9	4,484	17.9
Unclassified		5					
Total	51	125	148,144	75,490	51.0	1,838,393	24.4

(1) See table 5 at end of chapter.
D. B. S. Bulletin No. IX of Unemployment (Main Cities) series.

included since they also comprise 23 per cent of those interviewed in the sample enquiry.

It is interesting to note the relative amount and duration of unemployment of these different occupations, and they are shown in the table at the end of the chapter. Over 40 per cent of the men interviewed are in occupations which suffered the greatest amount of lost time--group (a). Of the twelve occupations which contributed 30,000 weeks or more to the total volume of unemployment in Montreal, eleven are represented in the "sample". The twelfth, that of longshore workers, stevedores, etc. was not covered since this occupation had already been made the subject of a special study*. At the same time, nine of the men interviewed represented seven different occupations, each of which had contributed less than 1,000 weeks to the total volume of unemployment. In this manner, the "sample" includes representatives both of those occupations which suffered most heavily from unemployment and those which were relatively free from it. The "weight" of the "sample group", also, is definitely towards those occupations "contributing" most heavily to the problem.

Aggregate lost time, however, does not reflect personal liability to unemployment in the different occupations, since this total is also a function of the number of wage-earners. To evaluate the extent of unemployment as between different occupations, it is necessary to look

* Bowker, E. E.: Unemployment among Dock Labourers in Montreal. (McGill thesis, 1933).

to the percentage of the total losing time and the number of weeks lost by those losing time. Most susceptible to unemployment are brick and stone masons, 83 per cent of whom reported they had lost some time 1930-31; next in line are plasterers and lathers with 82 per cent reporting some unemployment. At the other end of the scale i. e. least susceptible to unemployment are police, detectives, 8 per cent of whom reported some "time-loss", followed by janitors and sextons with 15 per cent losing time and "Clerical" with 17 per cent.

The duration of unemployment i. e. average number of weeks lost by those losing time, also varied as between occupations. Structural iron workers and steel erectors suffered heavily by this standard, losing as many weeks (27) on the average as did labourers. Brick and stone masons, plasterers and lathers, roofers and slaters, and cigar makers also lost 25 weeks or more on an average. Linemen and cablemen on the other hand, lost only 14.5 weeks on an average and railway conductors lost only 14.7 weeks.

In the total fifty-one occupations represented, 51 per cent of the workers lost some time and these lost an average of 24.4 weeks as compared with 44.6 per cent of the total male wage-earners who lost time (Montreal,1930-31) on an average, 23.7 weeks.

On the basis of these figures, it may be claimed that not only are the occupations included in the "sample" representative of those pursued by the male wage-earners in Montreal, but that the extent and duration of unemployment

among these occupations are also representative (in the sense of including both those most subject and those least subject to unemployment). In addition, the "sample" also gives a reasonable "weight" to those occupations in which unemployment in the aggregate is greatest.

The fact that a large part of the "sample" came from the Protestant Employment Bureau, precludes the possibility of discussing their success or failure in re-adjustment, since in the group so chosen are included men who have as yet not found jobs. It is possible, however, to discuss their present position in relation to their previous employment experience and methods of adjustment, and in this way to throw light on some of the methods of resecuring employment and the difficulties involved both in the past and present.

For this purpose, although the men were asked for their employment experience since leaving school, special attention was given to the details of their experiences in the two periods 1926-29, and 1930 to the present. Whereas their experiences up to 1926 is to serve somewhat as a background, the contrast, if any, is to be found in a comparison of the "representative periods" (1926-29, one of relative prosperity and increasing "employment opportunity"; 1930-32, one of depression and increasing unemployment).

In this manner, the analysis of the evidence obtained is designed to disclose the problem of adjustment, to-day, of the individual who has shown himself to have been capable

of adjusting himself in the past. It is admitted that the histories of this group are not as representative as those of a sample taken at random from men who lost their jobs a year ago and as a result it is not possible to make a study of their success since that time. The value of this material lies in a comparison of the experiences of these men during the "representative periods", in order to overcome the objection that some of the men were chosen even though they were known to be unemployed at the time of interview. Their experiences are still valuable insofar as they give evidence of the adjustments that are continually being made and the different methods and costs of such adjustments under different conditions of "employment opportunity".

One further change has been made from the original plan of work. It was planned that those interviewed be married men between the ages of twenty and forty-five. This was dictated by a desire to narrow the group down as much as possible to those who would be most likely to be actively and seriously engaged in the search for employment and those who would not present too seriously the additional problem of the age handicap. The consideration of marital status was therefore changed to cover "persons having dependants", since it was considered that the efforts of an unmarried man who had dependants and who was the main support of a family were comparable to those of a married man. The group includes twenty-five such single men, and an analysis

of their present position shows their efforts to have been as successful as the remaining hundred who came in under the original plan. In addition, five of the men interviewed were outside the age limit, being forty-five or over, yet it was decided to include them in the group, since the manner in which their experiences will be analyzed and included will be such as not to allow their age in any way to alter the general conclusions arrived at; rather, possibly, to substantiate them.

This method of analysis follows not only from the method of selecting the "sample" and the characteristics which have already been indicated, but also from the size of the "sample" itself. Although the most recent experiences and the present status of the workers interviewed does to some extent reflect the difficulty involved in finding new employment, a brighter light is thrown on the methods of adjustment by the observation of the sum total of their experiences. Their present position, however, is not to be disregarded and is in itself a criterion of the employment situation at the time.

Table 3.--Group interviewed, according to age groups, marital status and employment at time of interview.

Age Groups Years	Marital Status M.	S.	Employed No.	%	Unemployed No.	%	In Business No.	%	Total No.	%
20-24	7	13	3	15.	17	85.	-	-	20	16.
25-29	27	11	7	18.	28	74.	3	8.	38	30.
30-34	23	-	1	4.	22	96.	-	-	23	19.
35-39	18	-	2	11.	14	78.	2	11.	18	14.
40-44	20	1	5	24.	15	71.	1	5.	21	17.
45 and over	5	-	3	60.	2	40.	-	-	5	4.
Total all ages.	100	25	21	17.	98	78.	6	5.	125	100.

Table 3 shows that only twenty-one or 17 per cent of the group were in any way employed at the time of interview. Not all of these are working full time, several having to apply occasionally for relief even though they are considered as employed. Their income was considerably reduced through short-time and wage-cuts. Of the ninety-eight listed as unemployed at the time of interview, there are several who were laid off only temporarily and who consider that they still have a job as they would be re-employed as soon as things "picked up", or in some cases, as soon as the plant re-opened. However, the period of lay-off had dragged out long enough to force us to consider them as unemployed. An arbitrary distinction was made between those who are on short time (classed as employed) and those who were supposedly only temporarily laid off (who are classed as unemployed).

The age distribution of those who were successful in obtaining jobs does not reflect very much; except possibly that of the group interviewed, the older men, (forty and over) were relatively more fortunate in obtaining work. The figures for the total group are also too small to suggest anything about the relative success of the different skill groups, although a cursory glance tells us that no particular group had markedly more success than any other.

Table 4.--Skill classification of men employed at time of interview.

Skill Groups.	No. Interviewed	Employed	Percent of total
Clerical	16	3	19.
Commercial	9	3	33.
Skilled	49	7	14.
Semi-Skilled	44	7	16.
Unskilled	7	1	14.
Total	125	21	17.

The distribution of the six who had "gone into business" can hardly be held to reflect anything more than the fact that 5 per cent of the group tried this method of overcoming the loss of income incidental to a period of unemployment. In point of fact, only one of the six was proving successful in his new venture--a young unmarried railway clerk of twenty-eight who had gone into the cartage business and who admittedly was doing well only because of the patronage of family and friends. Of the remainder, four were trying to capitalize on their training: one had opened a shoe repair shop, another had begun electrical contracting, and a third tried to do contract work in painting and decorating. None of these were able to eke out an existence and they were all on relief. The last one, a lineman (of 38), had invested all his savings in a small confectionery store and was barely "taking in" enough to pay for his rent and heat: he, too, had to depend on relief authorities or relatives

for his daily needs.

The present status of the group, however, is admittedly unrepresentative and it is necessary to turn to an analysis of their total experiences with special reference to the particular periods to be compared. This is undertaken in the chapters that follow.

Table 5.--Amount and duration of unemployment among the wage-earners in the occupations covered by the "sample group".(Male wage-earners Montreal 1930-31).##

Grouped by aggregate time lost.

(1) Occupation and"Time-Loss" in Thousands of Weeks.	(2) Number in Sample.	(3) Number of Wage-Earners.	(4) Number Losing Some Time.	(5) Per Cent of Total. P. C.	(6) Wks. of Unemploy-ment. No.	(7) Average Wks. lost by those Losing Time.	(8) Dura-tion of Unemp- Order.
(a)30 or more							
Brick and Stone masons.	1	1,567	1,296	82.71	32,904	25.39	4
Carpenters.	4	9,394	6,906	73.52	154,178	22.33	19
Painters, decorators and glaziers.	4	5,283	3,762	71.21	87,663	23.30	10
Labourers(#).	5	47,492	33,389	70.30	914,253	27.38	2
Plumbers, steamfitters, gasfitters.	6	2,419	1,503	62.13	33,432	22.24	21
Tailors.	1	2,529	1,571	62.12	36,289	23.10	12
Machinists.	3	4,342	2,286	52.65	43,744	19.14	40
Mechanics, n. e. s.	3	4,393	1,983	45.14	42,128	21.24	27

(#) And unskilled workers (not agricultural, mining, or logging).
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Table 5.--Amount and duration of unemployment among the wage-earners in the occupations covered by the "sample group". (Male wage-earners Montreal 1930-31). (continued).

Grouped by aggregate time lost.

(1)	(2) No.	(3) No.	(4) No.	(5) P. C.	(6) No.	(7) No.	(8)
(a) continued.							
Truck drivers.	1	5,416	2,382	43.98	49,865	20.93	31
Salesmen.	7	13,608	3,757	27.61	83,709	22.28	20
Clerical.	16	19,872	3,383	17.03	72,223	21.35	26
(b) 20 and less than 30							
Plasterers and lathers.	2	1,205	990	82.16	25,008	25.26	5
Teamsters, draymen, and carriage drivers.	1	2,680	1,263	47.13	28,708	22.73	15
Electricians and wiremen.	2	2,990	1,332	44.55	25,132	18.86	42
Chauffeurs, bus drivers.	1	3,282	1,164	35.47	26,167	22.48	17
(c) 10 and less than 20							
Moulders, coremakers, casters	2	761	554	72.79	13,543	24.45	8
Boiler-makers, platers, riveters.	3	750	517	68.93	11,047	21.37	24
Sheet metal workers and tinsmiths.	2	921	590	64.06	11,953	20.26	34
Blacksmiths, hammermen, forgemen.	1	1,020	568	55.69	12,978	22.85	14

Table 5.--Amount and duration of unemployment among the wage-earners in the occupations covered by the "sample group". (Male wage-earners Montreal 1930-31). (continued).

Grouped by aggregate time lost.

(1)	(2) No.	(3) No.	(4) No.	(5) P. C.	(6) No.	(7) No.	(8)
(c) continued.							
Cooks.	1	1,776	688	38.74	15,822	23.00	13
Delivery-men, drivers, n.s.	1	1,478	533	36.06	11,820	22.18	22
Waiters, dining car stewards.	2	2,302	782	33.97	16,603	21.23	28
(d) 5 and less than 10.							
Cigar makers.	1	330	250	75.76	6,269	25.08	6
Stone cutters and dressers.	1	513	321	62.57	5,983	18.64	43
Cutters (Textile goods and wearing apparel).	1	788	464	58.87	9,962	21.47	23
Brakemen (railway transport).	1	709	339	47.81	6,416	18.92	41
Compositors, printers, n. s.	3	1,435	474	33.03	9,412	19.86	35
Seamen, sailors, deckhands.	1	1,055	269	25.50	6,649	24.72	7
(e) one and less than 5							
Structural iron workers, steel erectors.	4	146	109	74.66	3,021	27.71	1
Roofers (not metal) and slaters.	1	145	105	72.42	2,668	25.41	3

Table 5.--Amount and duration of unemployment among the wage-earners in the occupations covered by the "sample group". (Male wage-earners Montreal 1930-31). (continued).

Grouped by aggregate time lost.

(1)	(2) No.	(3) No.	(4) No.	(5) P. C.	(6) No.	(7) No.	(8)
(e) continued.							
Polishers and buffers.	1	179	118	65.92	2,521	21.36	25
Other (Rubber products).	1	132	81	61.36	1,833	22.63	16
Wood machinists.	1	138	84	60.87	1,730	20.60	33
Engineering officers.	1	167	101	60.48	2,336	23.13	11
Apprentices (Metal products).	3	369	219	59.35	4,530	20.68	32
Tool makers, die cutters and sinkers.	2	154	71	46.10	1,103	15.54	48
Instrument and appliance assemblers and repairers (Electrical apparatus).	4	167	73	43.71	1,422	19.48	38
Locomotive firemen.	2	359	153	42.63	3,424	22.38	18
Pressmen and plate-printers.	1	254	100	39.37	1,967	19.67	36
Linemen and cablemen.	6	252	95	37.70	1,374	14.46	51
Switchmen, signalmen, flagmen (Railway).	2	267	83	31.09	1,309	15.77	47
Sales agents, canvassers, demonstrators.	2	807	155	19.21	3,382	21.11	30

Table 5.--Amount and duration of unemployment among the wage-earners in the occupations covered by the "sample group". (Male wage-earners Montreal 1930-31). (continued).

Grouped by aggregate time lost.

(1)	(2) No.	(3) No.	(4) No.	(5) P. C.	(6) No.	(7) No.	(8)
(e) continued.							
Janitors, sexton.	1	1,552	227	14.63	4,812	21.20	29
Police, detectives.	2	1,910	150	7.85	2,617	17.45	44
(f) Less than one.							
Curriers, leather dressers and finishers.	1	61	37	60.66	890	24.06	9
Pursers, stewards.	2	68	33	48.53	647	19.61	37
Machine operatives (Pulp and paper).	1	21	10	47.62	172	17.20	45
Paint and varnish makers.	2	60	20	33.33	305	15.25	49
Inspectors, testers (Electrical apparatus).	1	132	41	31.06	668	16.29	46
Baggagemen, expressmen.	1	170	44	25.88	846	19.23	39
Railway conductors.	1	324	65	20.06	956	14.71	50
Unclassified.	5						
Total--All Occupations.	125	148,144	75,490	50.96	1,838,393	24.35	

Chapter III--Losing and Leaving Jobs.

This chapter is concerned with the measurement of labour mobility generally. Its objects are to establish causal relationships between the age distribution and skill-status of the group, and the total movements, as well as to observe the influence of general business conditions on these movements. Hence the analysis of these movements is made impersonally. Later chapters deal with personal characteristics as such. The personal aspect is sacrificed initially only in order to secure some generalizations on employment experience.

In the analysis of losing and leaving jobs, this method calls for an examination of the total terminations of employment, the reasons given, and the factors that influence these movements.

Table 6.--Reasons given for terminations of employment.

Reasons given	1921-26		1926-29		1930-32		1921-32	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Discharged.	14	4.	7	5.	3	2.	24	4.
Laid off.	56	18.	47	33.	127	86.	230	38.
Voluntary.	243	78.	89	62.	18	12.	350	58.
Total All Reasons	313	100.	143	100.	148	100.	604	100.

Table 6 portrays the total movements of the group with particular reference to the reasons given for the terminations. These terminations embody the total mobility (occupational, industrial and geographic) of the group, and are further subdivided in table 7 which shows the extent of these movements relative to the age at the time of termination. This table indicates the greater frequency of movement in the younger age groups when the individual is first becoming accustomed to working and is endeavouring to adjust himself to the trade or type of job into which he can best fit. Thus over 55 per cent of the total movements are seen to have taken place while the men concerned were under twenty-five years of age.

Table 7.--Methods of termination of employment relative to age at time of termination.

Age groups Years.	Discharged		Laid off		Voluntary		Total	
	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.
Under 20	15	64.	19	8.	134	38.	168	28.
20-24	6	24.	75	33.	91	26.	172	28.
25-29	1	4.	49	21.	63	18.	113	19.
30-34	1	4.	38	17.	34	10.	73	12.
35-39	1	4.	33	14.	25	7.	59	10.
40-44	-	-	10	4.	2	1.	12	2.
45 and over	-	-	6	3.	1	-	7	1.
Total all ages.	24	100.	230	100.	350	100.	604	100.

This must not be strictly interpreted to show the extent of adjustments and the decrease of movements with increasing age, as it must be remembered that the method of calculation which takes into consideration the total movements of the group gives an undue "weight" to the younger age groups. At one time or other, every individual interviewed was under 20 and his experiences at the time are included. In the same way, the 20-24 age group includes the histories of 100 per cent of those interviewed while the 25-29 age group only includes 84 per cent, and 30-34 includes 54 per cent etc.

Table 8.--Frequency of employment terminations "weighted" by employment records included.

Age groups Years	Number of Persons Interviewed A.	Employment Records Included B.	Employment Terminations Included C.	Rate of Termination C/B
Under 20	-	125	168	134
20-24	20	125	172	138
25-29	38	105	113	108
30-34	23	67	73	109
35-39	18	44	59	134
40 and over	26	26	19	73
Total	125		604	

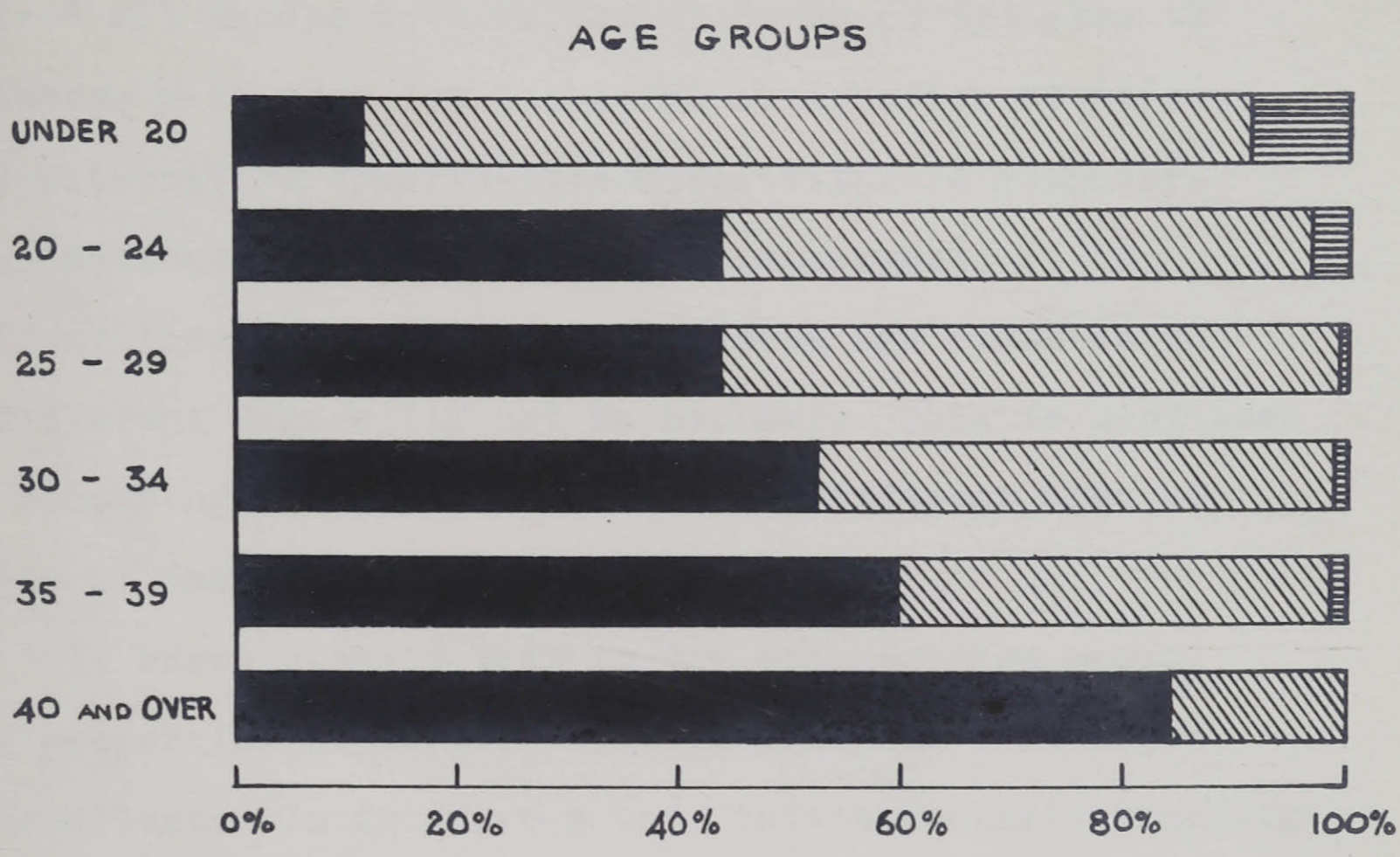
Even after due allowance is made, however, and the proper "weight" given to each age group, the decrease in the number of terminations with increasing age is still evident (although not quite as marked). This calculation

also reflects one peculiarity and that is the increasing proportion of terminations in the age group 35-39, up to a percentage figure equal to that of the under 20 age group. This may be due to any one of several factors, or some combination of these. First, the exceptionally low percentage figure in the next succeeding group (40-44) suggests the possibility of the intentional misquoting of age at which the job was lost and that some of the men, claiming to have lost their job while between the ages of thirty-five and thirty-nine, may have actually been over forty but were loath to say so. The extent to which this would be true must not be exaggerated, however, since the men were asked for the date they left the job, and not their age at the time of termination. Their age was obtained in an earlier section of the questionnaire, and the age at termination is calculated on that basis. The possibility of error here was kept at a minimum as during the interview care was taken to check the number of jobs and the length of time on each to fit in with dates given and the other time-factors included. The intentional misquoting of age at the time of interview would, on the basis of our calculation, tend to shift all the movements by that individual into different age groups with a somewhat balancing effect all along the line. The necessary re-distribution for any such correction would not alter the figures enough to change the picture. This leads us to the second possible explanation of this peculiarity. It is a more subtle one, and is a train of

thought suggested by the observations of Lubin(1) in an analysis of his material. He observed that "the age of the worker appears to be a significant factor in affecting the ease with which labour is re-absorbed. As compared with the younger workers, relatively fewer of those over forty-five years of age were able to secure new employment."(2) At the same time, his data shows "that a greater proportion of those in the age group 36-40 found employment than did those of any other group".(3) How far this fact may contribute to an increased mobility in the 35-39 age group is difficult to say. On the one hand, there is the danger of not being able to find a job immediately or of not fitting into the new job, with the ominous spectre of the hiring age-limit drawing closer. On the other hand, there is the feeling that the age at which adjustment is at all possible and the one at which there is the greatest chance of success is at hand, and that once the forty mark is passed, the possibility of change decreases--after forty-five, very rapidly. It is a time at which a man can survey his position and decide whether he is going to take advantage of this last chance to make a change (and it may result in his doing so).

(1) Clague and Couper, too, found that in New Haven, the men 40-44 "made the best record of any group"-- and that "the handicap to workers over 45 is equally apparent". Op. cit. p. 327
R. J. Myers--" it seems safe to conclude from these indications that men from 35-39 were decidedly more successful than the others in making re-adjustments after losing their trade". Op. cit. p. 488.
(2) Lubin, op. cit., p.18.
(3) Lubin, op. cit., p.13.

MODE OF TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT
RELATIVE TO AGE OF WORKER AND TO TIME OF TERMINATION



Undoubtedly, the most potent factors in the case are conditions and opportunities for employment at the time (which will be discussed later). Although these affect all groups both in the decision of industry to dispense with them (by lay-offs) or to offer additional and alternative opportunities (resulting in voluntary terminations and, incidentally, discharges), it is evident that the different age groups are affected to a different degree (if not in manner). This is confirmed by comparing the experiences at the different ages as shown in chart II.

It shows clearly that in the youngest age group, the proportion of terminations attributed to lay-offs is smallest. In this group too, is found the highest percentage for discharges, and a predominant importance of voluntary terminations as a method of adjustment. It is also obvious that the percentage of terminations attributed to voluntary separations decrease with increasing age until, in the age group 30-34, the majority of terminations are attributed to lay-offs, and at 40 and over, 80 per cent of the terminations are through lay-offs. At the same time, the importance of this latter reason, although slowly increasing, is kept in check somewhat, until the age of forty is reached, when it jumps suddenly some 25 per cent. All this may suggest that the method of adjustment through voluntary separation is kept and made use of until the last opportunity, and further suggests the possibility that the additional impetus of the "last chance" may, in part, be responsible for the peculiarity observed in the movements in the ages between

thirty-five and thirty-nine. Above all, our observations on the number of terminations relative to age groups, does tend to verify Lubin's conclusion (if such movements are to be interpreted as being motivated by probability of success), as over 20 per cent of the "sample" were forty or over and these were responsible for less than 4 per cent of the total terminations for all causes. Moreover, more than 84 per cent of the terminations in this group were because of lay-off.

The question of "employment opportunity" has been suggested as being the most potent factor in influencing movements and hence the number of terminations. We turn now to a comparison of the "representative periods" in search for some such evidence.

The period up to 1926 varies in duration, depending upon the age of the group and the age at which they first entered the labour market. It is best suited as a comparative background since it is a period of gradual recovery from the war and includes the slight recession which occured in 1924. The histories for this period show the greatest number, if not the greatest proportion of cessations to have been by discharge, a fact which may be connected with the age distribution of the group at the time. This is verified by table 7 which shows 64 per cent of the discharged as being individuals under twenty years of age. The total number of voluntary terminations for the period, may also appear comparatively large, but this too, may be attributed, in part, to the

slightly lower average age of the group at the time.

The reasons given for movements during this period were not confined to better opportunities elsewhere, dissatisfaction with existing positions, or to discharges (for cause). Lay-offs also played an important part. It suggests that the men had to be prepared not only to take advantage of chances for improvement, but to adjust themselves to conditions which left them without work whether because of seasonal slackness, bankruptcy, technological displacement, or the completion of the job.(1) This background of the period previous to 1926 reflects a continual adjustment by this group (measured on an average by the loss of three jobs by each) with the greatest proportion of terminations being voluntary, although the danger of being displaced for reasons found in the general condition of trade is an ever present one.

The movements during the period 1926-29, a period of increasing activity and "employment opportunity," portrays a somewhat similar although more definite picture. It suggests at least one change per individual over the four year period. The majority of the terminations again, are voluntary; and since the average age of the group is somewhat higher, the roving tendency of the younger group can be said to play a less important part in the number of voluntary terminations in this period than in the previous one. The attraction of the increasing number of jobs and the ease of obtaining another (if not a better)

(1) No doubt some of the lay-offs during this period can also be directly attributed to the recession in business generally which occured in 1924.

position is recognized as a characteristic of a period of increasing employment and higher prices and was, no doubt, the main contributor to the number of changes.(1) At the same time, one third of the terminations even during this period was attributable to business conditions (if we are to accept the reasons submitted by those interviewed(2)). Part of this, no doubt, can be attributed to the seasonal nature of activity in Montreal, and the tendency for an individual to take advantage of a temporary lay-off period to look for another job. It is also true, however, that even during a boom period as in 1926-29, there were lay-offs because of business failures, completed jobs, and technological displacement (as well as seasonal slackness) which were continually making it necessary for some workers to find other jobs and to make some adjustment to conditions over which they had no control. This factor of the continual flux of industry even when conditions as a whole are improving, and the attendant necessity for individuals to find new jobs because of industrial causes, are apt to be minimized during a prosperity period because of the relative abundance of jobs and the ease of adjustment in such a

(1) "Resignations due to more attractive opportunities are symptoms of favorable industrial conditions, such as good demand for labor, creating opportunities for labor to advance. This, of course, is not saying that the jobs which workers consider better opportunities are always in reality such and does not deny that there is much ill advised changing, especially among youths and girls. In the main,however, the fact that workers have the opportunity to take positions which they consider preferable to the jobs they have indicates a desirable social condition". Slichter, op. cit., p.166-7.
(2) Allowance has been made where possible for those who claimed they were laid off because of lack of work and who were actually discharged for cause.

period (which will be discussed later).

The most striking picture of what goes on in the labour market is reflected when the movements of the 1926-29 period are compared with those since 1930. In the latter period, even though the number of terminations are almost the same as those in 1926-29, the number leaving of their own accord has shrunk to a minute fraction, 12 per cent of the total, as compared to 62 per cent in the previous period. As was to be expected, the greatest number of terminations was attributed to industrial causes, and shows that, on the average, each worker lost at least one job during this period for such reasons. The importance of this cause jumped from 33 per cent of the total terminations during 1926-29, to 86 per cent in the later period. The effect of increasing unemployment and decreasing "employment opportunity" on the number of discharges and the number of voluntary terminations is also very clearly demonstrated in chart II.

The weeding out of the younger and less efficient men during the process of a reduction of staff by lay-offs, leaves a group of relatively older and more efficient men who are more likely to stay on the job, at the same time giving very little cause for discharge. They are apt to be kept in check by the ever present spectre of unemployment and the scarcity of other jobs. The low figures for the number discharged or leaving voluntarily is, no doubt, a product of these factors, and by contrast suggests also the prevalence of such movements during periods when jobs are plentiful.

In sum, the analysis of the total movements of the group enables certain definite observations to be made on the factors influencing the losing and leaving of jobs.

1. Age is definitely a factor of influence. It affects the number of terminations as well as the reasons for such terminations. There is a tendency towards excessive mobility in the younger age groups as shown in the large number and high percentage of voluntary terminations, which also contribute to the relatively high rate of discharge. This decreases with increasing age as the individual becomes accustomed to work and fits himself more satisfactorily into the type of job for which he is suited. With this decrease in the total number of terminations, the leaving of jobs decreases in importance and the losing of jobs makes up a greater proportion of the total movements.

2. The frequency with which jobs are lost and left is closely connected with the "employment opportunities" available. There is always a process of adjustment going on, made necessary by the continual change in economic trends and industrial structure which force individuals to make changes. This necessity is somewhat obscured in a period of increasing "employment opportunity" e.g. 1926-29, but the evidence shows that not all the terminations in this period were voluntary. The normal process of adjustment is best illustrated by comparing the experiences of the group during 1926-29 with their experience since 1930--a period of decreasing "employment opportunity." This

comparison exaggerates, but nevertheless reveals the "normal" forces at work, as does the "background" previous to 1926, with the qualifications which have been discussed.

Chapter IV--Finding a Job.

The discussion in the preceding chapter of the number of jobs lost and left by the men in the group during the periods observed, suggests that the problem of continual re-adjustment was met with some fair degree of success by those interviewed. Briefly, if as many as 604 jobs had been terminated, and twenty-one men were still working at the time of interview, then the group must have obtained employment at 625 jobs (on the average of five jobs per man) between 1921 and 1932.

Table 9.--Methods of obtaining jobs, relative to period in which job was obtained.

Methods	1921-26 No.	1921-26 P.C.	1926-29 No.	1926-29 P.C.	1930-32 No.	1930-32 P.C.	1921-32 No.	1921-32 P.C.
Personal search.	167	42.	70	44.	19	27.	256	41.
Recommendation of friends or relatives.	124	32.	38	24.	30	42.	192	31.
Former employer. #	65	16.	33	20.	15	21.	113	18.
Newspaper advs.	22	6.	14	9.	1	1.	37	6.
Bureaus	4	1.	2	1.	6	8.	12	2.
All other methods.	11	3.	3	2.	1	1.	15	2.
Total all methods.	393	100.	160	100.	72	100.	625	100.

Includes promotions, demotions, re-application to former employer and recall by employer.

The methods of obtaining these jobs are classified in table 9 according to the period in which the job was obtained. This table discloses some interesting facts about the methods which proved successful in the search for employment.

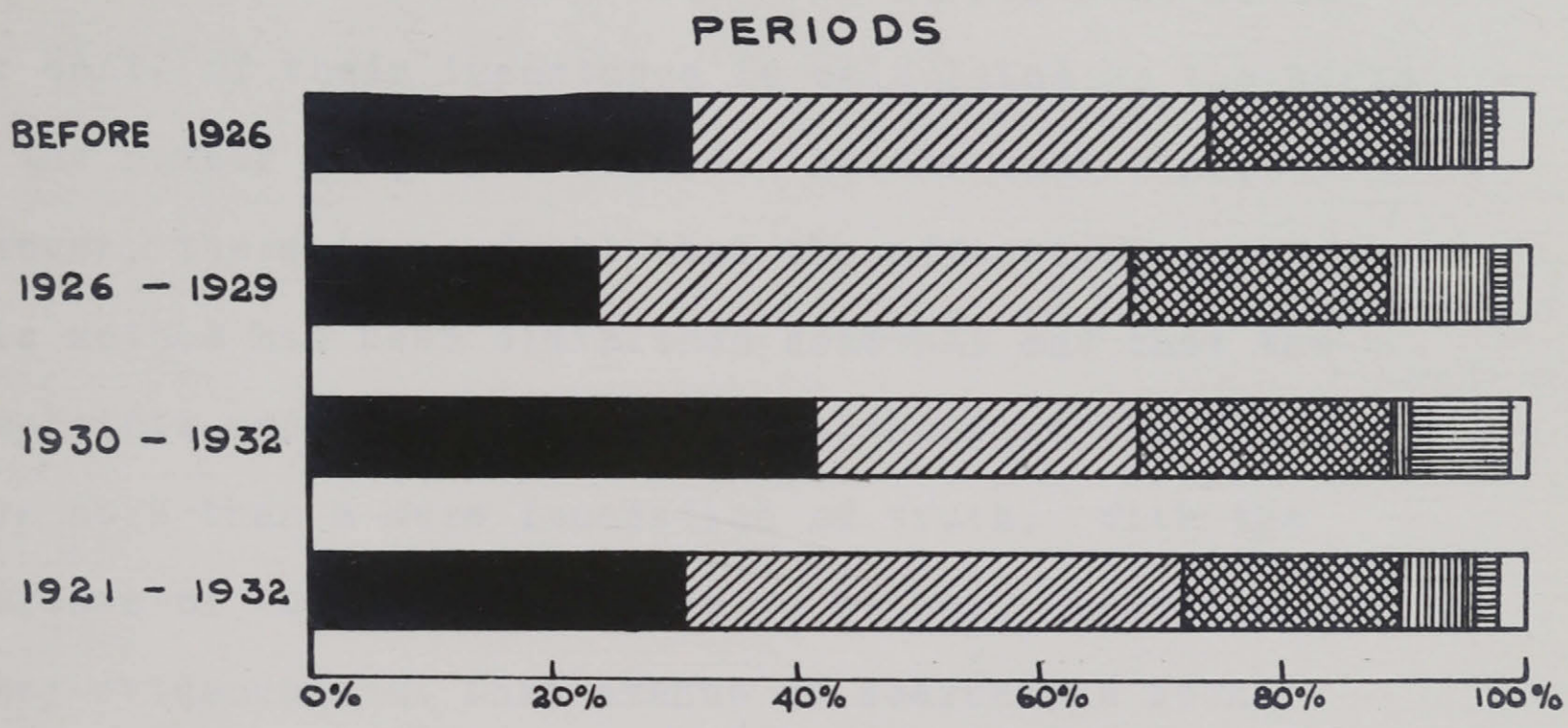
The most universal method over the whole period was evidently that of personal search and direct application to the prospective employer. This was the method by which 41 per cent of the jobs were obtained. It was closely followed by that of recommendation by friends or relatives which helped to obtain 31 per cent of the total jobs. The third best method, that of re-application to the former employer or re-call to the old job, or those obtained by approach of the employer, is somewhat of a combination of the first and second methods and, above all, is slightly swelled by the inclusion of promotions and demotions (particularly in the railroad where the seniority system results in the majority of such moves being to other jobs, at times even in different localities).

The value of this table, however, lies mainly in the contrast which it shows between the relative success of the first two methods, particularly as compared with the small number of jobs obtained by all other methods. Thus the trade union activity in this group only resulted in obtaining three of the 625 jobs, newspaper advertisements were responsible for only 6 per cent and bureaus for only 2 per cent.

It is true that this table does not reflect the details behind such search. It does not tell whether or not there is any regular method behind personal search, nor to how many firms an individual had to and did apply, nor how persistent he must be in continually applying to the same firm before he finally does find work. It does not show--what has often been the case--that the union headquarters are in themselves a source of information of employment conditions in different parts of the city which has an important effect on the timing and direction of any personal search undertaken. This direction may result in finding work which the individual attributes to his own efforts and intuition. Neither does it suggest how many of the personal applications that were successful were the direct result of a "tip off" by a friend that a vacancy existed and that it would be advisable to see a certain party. Although this was found to be the case in very many instances, they are not classed as resulting from the recommendation or influence of friends since the obtaining of the job depended solely on the personal application and merit of the individual. It is surprising, therefore, what an important part is played by the influence and recommendation of friends and relatives in obtaining jobs, as they were directly responsible for no less than 31 per cent of the jobs obtained. It shows the necessity of "connection" in the task of job hunting.

Chart III

METHODS OF SECURING EMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO PERIOD IN WHICH JOB WAS OBTAINED AND TO SKILL OF JOB OBTAINED



Even though it has been suggested that friends with "pull" do not count when there are no jobs to be obtained,(1) it is interesting to note that although the actual number of jobs obtained by this method in the depression period was slightly lower than in 1926-29, their relative importance rose from 24 per cent to 42 per cent, if their importance is calculated on the basis of the number of jobs obtained. At the same time, however, there is no doubt that the effectiveness of this method has been diminished somewhat and that the complaints made by those with experience in the field have more than a mere foundation of truth. With the decrease of the number of jobs to be had, there is every evidence that this avenue of search has been more intensely exploited and has become more important in the method of search than the results show.

The relative success of personal search during the period of increasing "employment opportunity" and its decreasing importance in the later period as shown in chart III, no doubt gives evidence of this fact. In this connection, too, note the decrease in importance in the later period of the newspaper advertisements as a method of obtaining jobs and its being replaced (even in its minor role) by that of employment

(1) This complaint was made by practically all of the unsuccessful applicants who had such influential friends, though those who were doubly unfortunate in not having a job nor influential friends, claimed that nowadays the only way to get a job is through "pull".

bureaus(1)--more evidence of the application for aid in the search, during a period of relative depression.

Table 10.--Methods of obtaining jobs, relative to skill of job obtained.

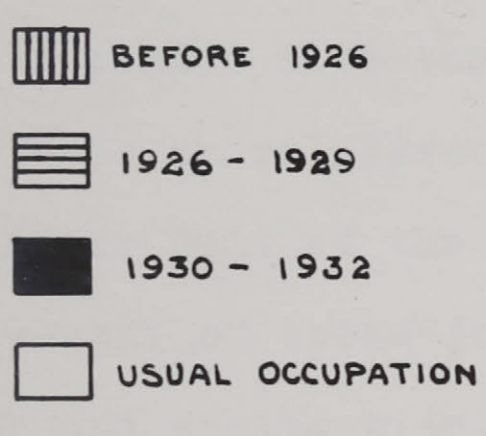
Methods	Clerical		Commercial		Skilled		Semi-Skilled		Unskilled		Total	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Personal search.	27	28.	21	42.	48	37.	118	45.	42	47.	256	41.
Recommendation of friends or relatives.	33	35.	17	34.	18	14.	86	33.	38	42.	192	31.
Former employer.#	23	24.	8	16.	45	35.	33	13.	4	5.	113	18.
Newspaper advs.	8	9.	3	6.	13	10.	10	4.	3	3.	37	6.
Bureaus.	-	-	1	2.	3	2.	5	2.	3	3.	12	2.
All other methods.	4	4.	-	-	3	2.	8	3.	-	-	15	2.
Total all methods.	95	100.	50	100.	130	100.	260	100.	90	100.	685	100.

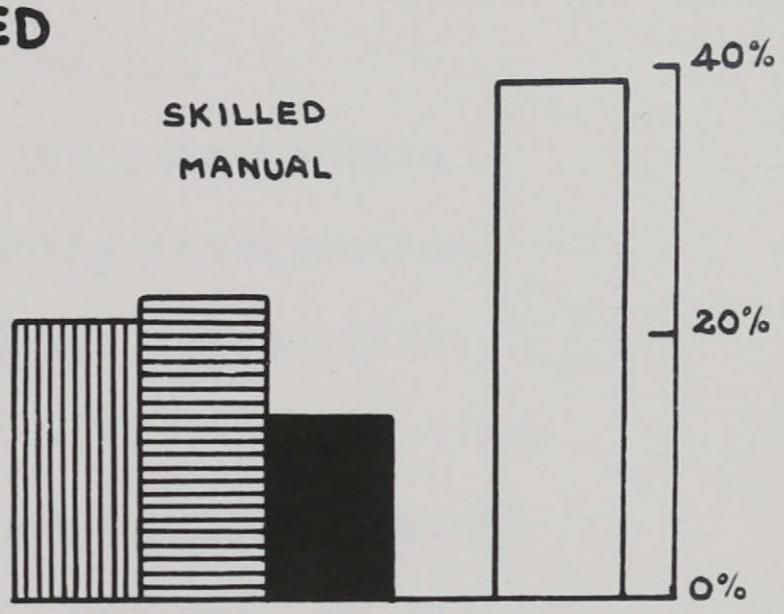
Includes promotions, demotions, re-application to former employer and recall by employer.

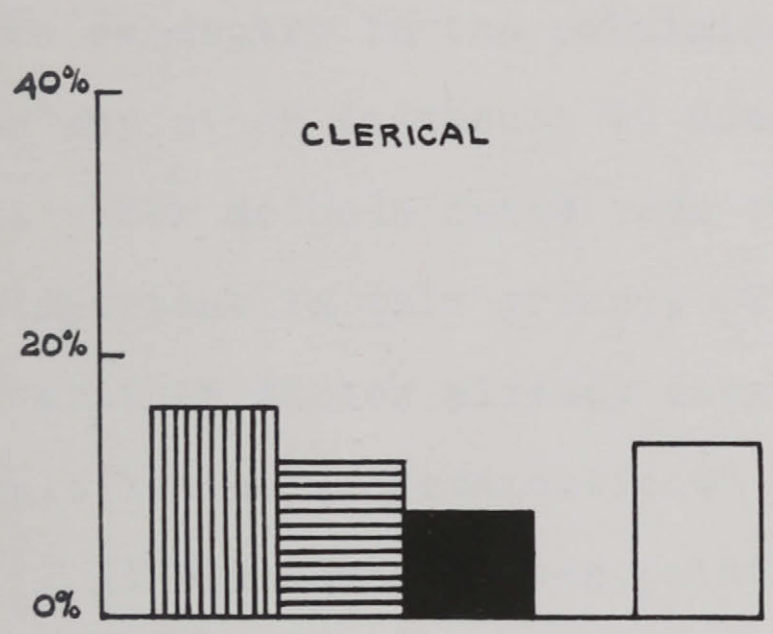
This method of dependent search is not indulged in by any particular group alone, but is taken advantage of in the search for all types of jobs. At first the writer expected to find that this method of securing employment would be used to a greater extent in obtaining clerical jobs than for any other type of jobs. This was inferred from the information obtained from employers who informed the writer that their main source of supply of office

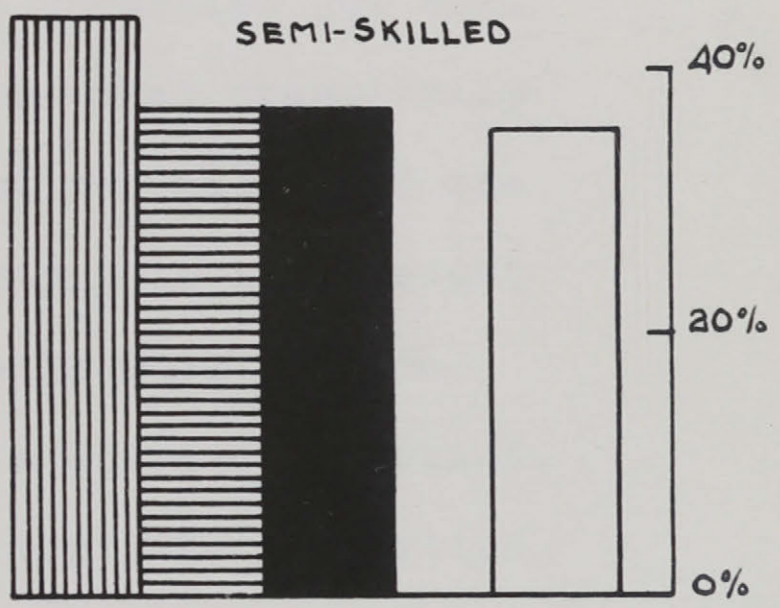
(1) This is not meant to indicate an increase in the number of placements made by agencies in a period of decreasing employment. It is simply intended to reflect an increasing application to aid and their relative importance because of the decreasing success of other methods.

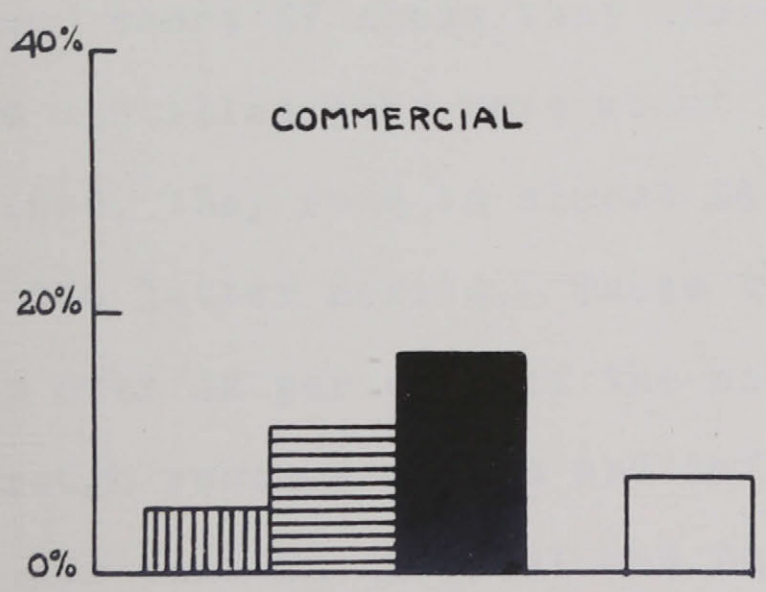
COMPARISON OF SKILL-CATEGORIES OF JOBS OBTAINED ACCORDING TO PERIODS IN WHICH OBTAINED

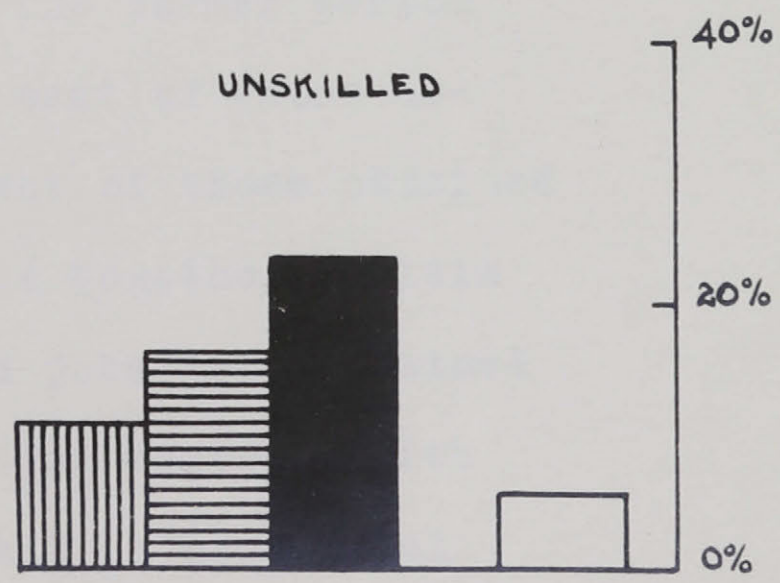












workers was from recommendations. However, an analysis of the experiences of the men interviewed (as portrayed in chart III) does not at all show a distinct tendency in this direction, even though the greatest percentage of clerical jobs was obtained by this method.

In fact, the obtaining of unskilled jobs by this group depended more than any other on the intervention of friends or relatives. This method was responsible for 42 per cent of the unskilled jobs. At the same time, 47 per cent of these jobs were obtained through personal search and application. This does not reflect, as seems at first evident, that, as a rule, patronage is much more necessary in the obtaining of an unskilled job than for any other (although it does suggest that practically all other methods aside from the first two mentioned are unimportant in this group). This picture is the product of another factor already suggested--the more intense exploitation of "connections" during a depression period.

It has already been pointed out that the proportion of jobs obtained through dependent search rose from 24 per cent 1926-29 to 42 per cent in 1930-32. At the same time, chart IV shows that whereas in the former period the unskilled jobs were about 17 per cent of those obtained, they rose to almost 24 per cent of those obtained in the latter period. These two facts together explain why over 42 per cent of the unskilled jobs were obtained through recommendation and influence (as compared with 35 per cent in clerical and 34 per cent in commercial where the highest figures were expected). It is mainly

because a greater proportion of the unskilled jobs were obtained in a period of decreasing "employment opportunity" when better jobs were relatively scarce and when the influence of friends became important in obtaining even what little there was to be had.

Chart III also reflects an interesting fact about the obtaining of skilled jobs (or the relative ability of a skilled man to find employment). Only 14 per cent of the skilled jobs obtained, required influence or recommendation, the majority, 37 per cent, being obtained through personal search. Promotions and recall by former employer and the offering of a job by another employer are most important in this group, having been responsible for 35 per cent of the skilled jobs obtained as compared with 13 per cent of the semi-skilled jobs and 18 per cent of all jobs obtained. In this regard, too, it must be mentioned that whereas skilled jobs made up 23 per cent of those obtained in the 1926-29 period, they were less than 14 per cent of those obtained in 1930-32, this as compared to 21 per cent of all jobs obtained. It is evident, however, that regardless of the smaller number of skilled jobs available for this group, and whenever available, the influence of friends or relatives played a relatively less important part in the obtaining of these jobs than personal application and promotion.

The obtaining of semi-skilled jobs reflect an experience similar to that of the total group, with a slightly greater than average reliance on friends as

well as on personal search.

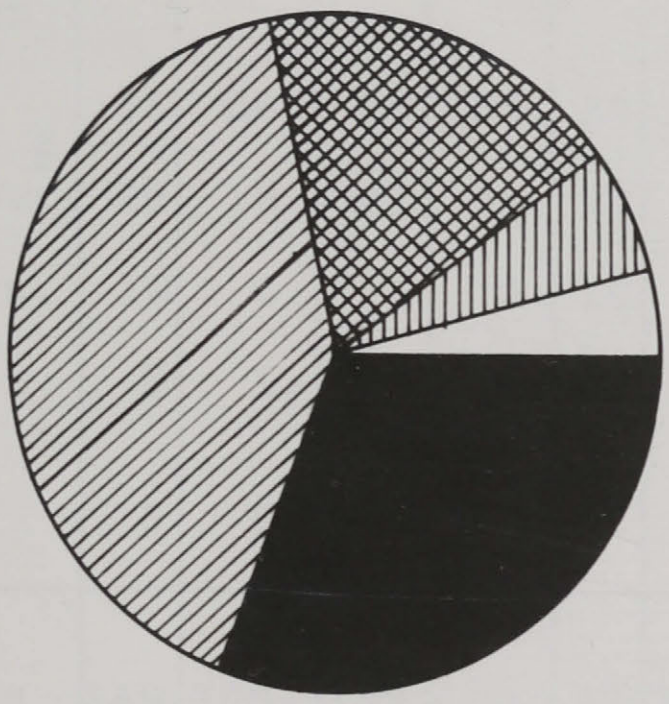
In passing over the relative lack of importance of other methods of obtaining jobs, there are a few comments that ought to be made.

Newspaper advertisements which were responsible for 6 per cent of the jobs obtained were divided four to one between those inserted by employer and those by applicant in search for work. Their success (if not their use) diminished to practically nothing in 1930-32, while the period of their greatest importance, (judged by percentage of jobs obtained) was in 1926-29 when they were responsible for 9 per cent of the jobs. Similarly, the group which made relatively most use of them were the skilled workers who obtained 10 per cent of their jobs in this manner and the clerical workers who made use of advertisements to obtain 9 per cent of the jobs in that group. Trade unions were hardly of any direct use in obtaining jobs for the group interviewed; while bureaus are shown as being responsible for 8 per cent of jobs obtained in the depression period mainly because of the decrease of the total number of jobs obtained.

. . . . . .

Age has been seen to be an important factor which, combined with industrial causes, affect the rate of turnover, the number of terminations decreasing with increasing age. An analysis of the data shows that age is also important in determining the method of search and of obtaining jobs. Reliance upon the recommendation

METHODS OF SECURING EMPLOYMENT



FRIENDS, ETC.

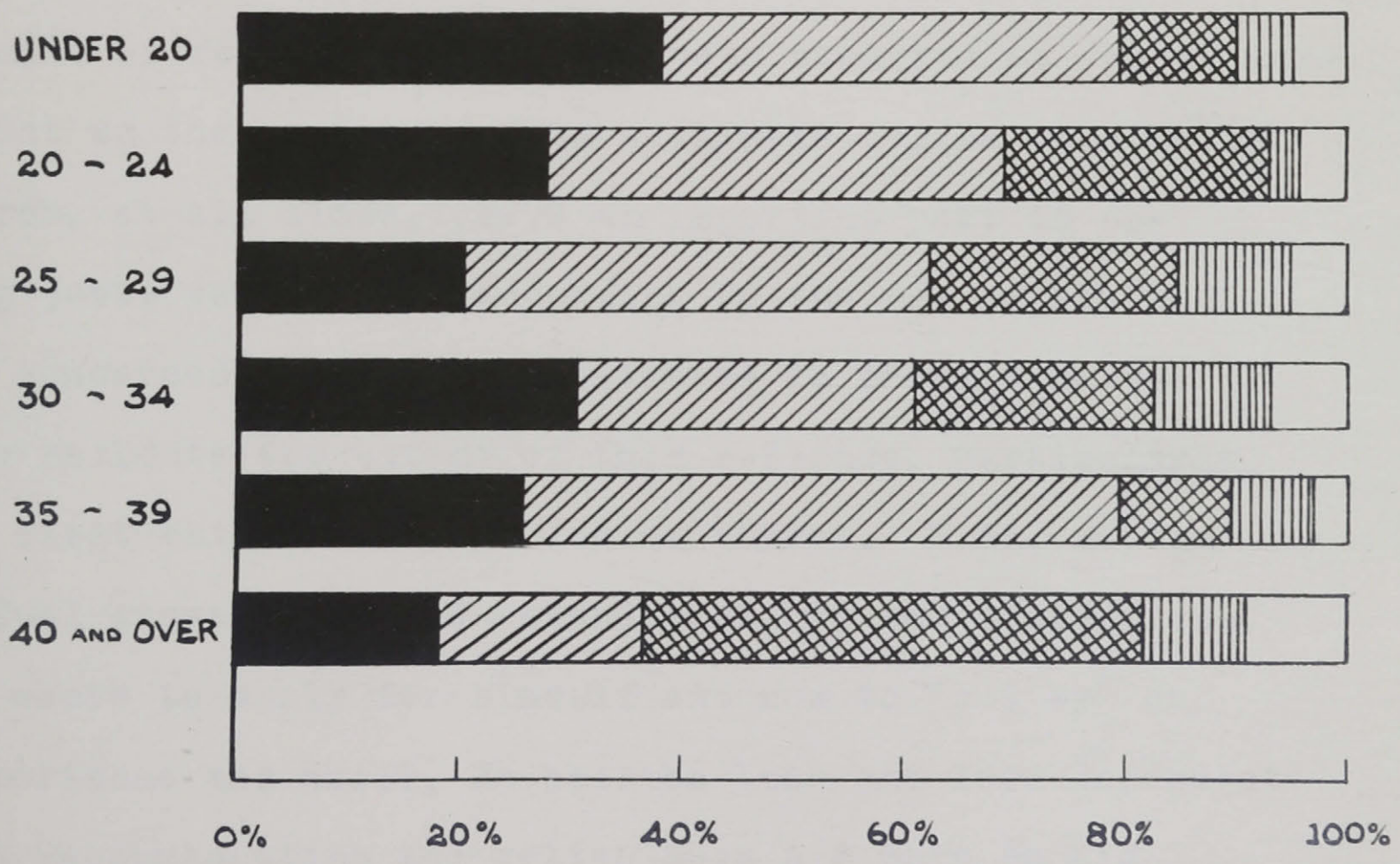
PERSONAL SEARCH

FORMER EMPLOYER

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT

ALL OTHER METHODS

ALL AGES



BY AGE GROUPS

Table 11.--Methods of obtaining jobs relative to age at time of obtaining position.

Methods	Under 20		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40 & over	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Personal search.	104	42.	71	41.	41	42.	17	30.	21	54.	2	18.
Recommendation of friends or relatives.	95	38.	48	28.	20	20.	17	30.	10	26.	2	18.
Former employer #	29	12.	41	24.	22	23.	12	21.	4	10.	5	46.
Newspaper advs.	12	5.	5	3.	10	10.	6	11.	3	8.	1	9.
Bureaus.	3	1.	2	1.	3	3.	2	4.	1	2.	1	9.
All other methods.	6	2.	5	3.	2	2.	2	4.	-	-	-	-
Total all methods.	249	100.	172	100.	98	100.	56	100.	39	100.	11	100.

Includes promotions, demotions, re-application to former employer and recall by employer.

of friends or relatives which has been observed to become more important as the number of jobs available begins to diminish and which, at all times, plays an important part in obtaining jobs, varies also according to the age of the individual concerned. This is illustrated in chart V which clearly reflects the extent of this reliance, particularly on the first entrance to the labour market. Then, as the individual grows older and establishes his own connections, learns where to apply for himself and how to "get by" on his experience and skill, he becomes less and less dependent on such recommendation and relies more and more on his

connections and experience. Of course there are always some jobs which can be obtained only through "pull" just as there are individuals who must always lean on someone to help them "get by". This may explain, in part, the importance of this method at all ages. The factor of industrial conditions of course has not been eliminated from this chart and is a definite influence in determining the methods and their relative success. The importance of friends and connections when looking for work particularly when first entering the labour market is accordingly all the more marked. In fact, over 50 per cent of the first jobs obtained were directly through influence and recommendation, while of all jobs obtained before the age of twenty, relatives and friends were directly responsible for only 38 per cent. This dropped to 28 per cent for the 20-24 age group and then to 20 per cent for those between twenty-five and twenty-nine. The trend up to this point is a definite one. The explanation of the irregularity that occurs in the succeeding age groups, no doubt lies in the action of some of the factors previously suggested which influence the success of methods of search.

An additional peculiarity which we have observed is the uniform responsibility of personal search for 41-42 per cent of the jobs obtained for all early ages until the 30-34 age group is reached when this method is only responsible for the obtaining of 30 per cent of the jobs. An attempt has already been made to segregate the 35-39 age group and to attribute some of its peculiarities

to the fact that it marks the turning point of adaptability. To explain any of the other peculiarities observed in relation to any other factors than those already suggested would require an investigation into the individual characteristics of the group. It is preferable to disregard any such additional complications and discuss only those trends definitely suggested by our evidence.

This method of search which relies on the influence of friends and relatives has been the method by which over 30 per cent of all the jobs were obtained and is of greatest importance to the younger group (at all times). It has been more fully used by all groups in a depression period, but has been least important in the obtaining of skilled jobs. The two former characteristics suggest an additional difficulty encountered by the younger workers in a period of depression, particularly by those who are looking for their first job in the labour market. Not only are they without experience or connections of their own, they also find that the competition for the smaller number of jobs available becomes more acute to the extent that the method of search which was the one used mainly by their group, is now seized upon by the older workers too, in their attempt to get what little is offered (even unskilled jobs). This is, of course, only secondary to the main reasons for the difficulty of successful entry into the labour market to-day.

Appendix to Chapter IV.--Placement Work of Two Montreal Employment Bureaus.

A report issued by W. J. Halliday, manager of the Montreal Bureau for Office Workers(1) shows that in the nine months previous to August 1932, i. e. during the period immediately preceding this survey, 2,030 men and boys registered for employment, 148 men and boys were placed in permanent positions and 157 were placed in temporary work by the Bureau. This placement work was only part of the total work of the Bureau which, as the report shows, included the issue of 9,065 meal tickets and 430 food orders, the providing of 380 men with accommodation in private rooming houses, the assisting of 228 men with advances for business purposes, telegrams, cables, laundry, license fees, street car tickets, railway fares, passports, baggage charges, clothing, sundry items, and the issue of Family Relief Orders to 146 families who were also given other assistance as provided by the Emergency Unemployment Relief Fund.

The report for the week of the same date may also be taken as representative of the type of work done and

(1)"A Few Items of Interest Covering Nine Months Operation of Registration Bureau for Office Workers"--August 13, 1932.

the placements made. It shows:

New Applications	Week of Report.	To Date.
Accountants, Bookkeepers, Stenographers, Clerks.	24	1,522
Engineers, Draughtsmen, Architects, Surveyors.	3	254
Salesmen, Commercial travellers.	4	223
Unclassified.	6	104
Total	37	2,103
Placements		
Office workers and Engineering profession.	3	69
Other work	2	79
Temporary jobs.	2	157
Total	7	305
Reported haveing secured work	10	
Reported leaving city	7	
Reported returning to England	3	

The report adds "Many letters of introduction are given weekly, and men advised where not to call, as well as where to call. In many instances these introductions have led to employment, but we do not consider that we have placed a man unless our contact with the employer is direct. For instance, the ten mentioned above came in this week to report having secured work, but they are not referred to in our placements."

"No record is kept of men referred to selling propositions for commission only. Our experience with this class of work has not been satisfactory. All placements referred to above are for regular wages."

Relief work has undoubtedly become the main function of the Bureau. The amount of placement work reported is evidence of the fact that it can only be incidental to the more urgent duties of direct relief.

The report for the Protestant Employment Bureau(1) reflects a similar activity. Taking the report for week ending March 18th 1933 as representative, we read:

	This Week	Same Week Last Year.
New registrations.	57	40
Re-registrations.	22	21
Placements.	57	63
Men sent to work.	51	48
Men not sent to work.	3,662	1,997
Active files.	3,713	2,025

Relief Work--as from January 1,1933.

	British	Foreign	Total
New applications.	88	17	105
Total applications.	4,298	1,566	5,864
Rations issued this week	3,583	1,317	4,900
Rations issued to date.	37,116	14,289	51,405
Fuel supplied during the week.			$3,200.
Compensation for shelter paid during the week.			$2,093.

Here, too, it is evident that relief work is the main activity of the Bureau, and that placement work is only secondary. It is only fair to say, however, that

(1) Mimeographed Weekly Report, Protestant Employment Bureau, Montreal.

much good work has been done while working under the handicaps the Bureau has had to shoulder. Their system of distributing relief vouchers was developed to a high degree of efficiency, and the staff which was recruited from the unemployed, dispatched their duties in a very efficient manner. The placement work of the Bureau has been curtailed, but not altogether neglected. The Bureau advertises regularly, and at "strategic" times i. e. just before moving time, spring cleaning time, "man a block" campaigns, etc. It has taken an active part in placing young, single men, on farms for the summer by paying their fare and part of their first month's wages. In addition, a regular canvass is made of all firms which, at one time or another, have applied to the Bureau for help and all others which might be able to use men for temporary work. It is on this latter point that the Bureau might be criticized. Even though it would like to place men on regular jobs, the scarcity of jobs has made this task a very difficult one and as a result the appeal made by the Bureau is to the effect that an employer "can get a good man there for any type of job and for any length of time". The writer, after spending almost three months at the Bureau, examining its files, and watching its procedure, left with the feeling that this appeal had been overdone; that the Bureau, in offering to furnish men for any type of job and for any length of time, and even urging employers to find a day or two of work for some of the men, had left most employers with

the impression that this was an agency for casual and temporary workers who could be obtained at a low price and who were not to be considered when a good man was needed for a regular job. Possibly this is putting the point too strongly, but an analysis of the placements made by the Bureau must be the criterion of the work the Bureau is doing.

The classificatioh of occupations in table 12 is, with very few alterations the one in use at the Protestant Employment Bureau. The skill classification is the same as the one used to classify the "sample group". A placement is termed "casual", where the duration of the job is two days or less, (it may be as low as one hour): "temporary", where the job lasts for more than two days, up to a maximum of two months (these are largely temporary placements with a firm, usually for the busiest part of the season). Hence a placement in a seasonal trade is classed as "regular" where the job lasts for more than two months and where the worker is kept for the entire season or until the job is finished,(as in construction) and where notice of dismissal is given to him along with most of the remainder of the staff. This "temporary" class also includes small jobs such as painting, paperhanging, plastering, etc. which are done for private individuals and which come within the time limit (two days to two months inclusive). A"regular" placement is one where the job lasts for a period longer than two months and where the worker apparently becomes a regular employee of the company.

Table 12.--Classification by occupations, skill, and period of employment of a random sample of 408 placements of the Protestant Employment Bureau over a period (March 23rd 1932 to March 23rd 1933) during which the total placements numbered 2,946.

Occupations	Type of Placement																		Total all Types.
	Casual						Temporary						Regular						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Office.	-	1	--	--	-	1	1	4	-	-	-	5	1	1	-	1	-	3	9
Construction.	-	-	23	19	2	44	-	-	27	7	-	34	-	-	1	1	-	2	80
Building service.	-	-	-	1	4	5	-	-	-	3	6	9	-	-	-	1	-	1	15
House service.	-	-	-	10	113	123	-	-	-	5	7	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	135
Factory work.	-	-	-	4	6	10	-	-	-	2	4	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Mechanical.	-	-	-	11	-	11	-	-	1	2	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	15
Trades.	-	-	17	-	-	17	-	-	1	2	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	3	23
Labourers.	-	-	-	-	57	57	-	-	-	-	11	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	68
Extractive.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	9	-	13	13
Hotel and Restaurant.	-	-	1	2	-	3	-	-	2	4	-	6	-	-	2	1	1	4	13
Miscellaneous.	-	-	1	1	17	19	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	21
Total.	-	1	42	48	199	290	1	4	31	25	29	90	1	2	10	14	1	28	408

Key:
(1) Clerical (2) Commercial (3) Skilled (4) Semi-Skilled (5) Unskilled (6) Total all Skills

The twenty-three skilled and nineteen semi-skilled "casual"placements under Construction are mainly of painters, paperhangers, plasterers, plumbers, bricklayers, and carpenters. They were employed by private individuals in the main (a few in office buildings, and still fewer on construction jobs) on odd jobs lasting from a couple of hours to two days. The twenty-seven skilled and seven semi-skilled"temporary"placements in the same occupation, are placements on similar jobs for the longer period, as defined.

The 113 "casual" placements of low skilled in house service are mainly jobs as cleaner, mover, handyman, wood chopper, furnace-man, window cleaner; while the ten semi-skilled in this occupation are mainly as orderly, male-nurses and gardener.

The eleven "casual" semi-skilled placements in mechanical trades are as chauffeur, car washer, and auto mechanic.

The fifty-seven "casual" labourers' jobs are mainly snow shovelling, ditch digging and general labour.

The seventeen "casual" placements of skilled trades-men include sign-writers, upholsterers, a tile setter, electricians, fitters, tinsmiths, and moulders.

The "regular" placements in Extractive industries are those of farm hands, and of firemen and rock drillers in a mine which was being run on a co-operative basis.

The seventeen miscellaneous placements classed as unskilled are mainly as donors, messengers, and sand-wich board carriers.

Over 70 per cent of this sample of placements are seen to be in "casual" jobs, and only 17 per cent are claimed to be "regular" jobs. The bulk of the placements are as labourers, in house service, and on construction.

That the total number of placements for the period considered is relatively small is further shown by the following table.

Table 13.--Number of active files and placements per month at the Protestant Employment Bureau 1926-1933.

Year	Active Files Average Monthly	Placements Year	Placements Monthly	Percent of Placements to Active Files
1926 #	301	1721	191	63.4
1927	460	3597	300	65.2
1928	468	5423	452	96.6
1929	422	5808	484	114.7
1930	757	5162	430	56.8
1931	1742	4800	400	23.0
1932	3067	3264	272	8.9
1933	3475	3017	251	7.2

Nine months only.

The years 1928-29 were the most successful for the Bureau both in respect of number of placements and the percentage of placements to active files. This was mainly due to the boom in construction that was in progress at the time, and on many occasions the office was closed while the manager went down to the docks to try and get enough men to fill the vacancies that were being reported to the Bureau. Hence the number of placements made were greater

than the number of men on the active files in 1929. The number of placements in 1931, 1932 and 1933 did decrease considerably (to almost 50 per cent of the 1929 figures) and the percentage of placements to active files indicates the extent to which this work was superseded by the relief work. The number of active files kept increasing mainly because registration at the Bureau was compulsory for all those on relief. At the same time, the number of jobs available was decreasing. It is interesting to note however, that although the number of placements made had decreased, they did not decrease to anything like the same extent as the number of vacancies available, as indicated by the index of employment. This suggests that the jobs obtained through the Bureau made up a greater proportion of the total jobs obtained during 1931-33 than they did in 1928-29. Evidence of this was also observed in the discussion of the experiences of the "sample group".

Chapter V.--The Process of Adjustment.

(a) Occupational Mobility.

The above discussion of the number and types of terminations and methods of re-adjustment suggests, to a certain extent, the degree of mobility in the group observed. It reflects a number of changes and adaptations over the period 1921-32 without illustrating the nature of this mobility. It gives evidence of movements that have occurred in the course of adjustment and re-adjustment by the group without filling in the details of the point of departure nor the destination of each movement. As yet, no distinction has been made (except by inference) between the number of movements from one occupation to another and those from one job to another (job) in the same occupation. Attention was centered on the number of movements and their causes, and the methods of search, and these were related where possible, to the age and skill of the individual and the conditions of industry. It is still necessary to investigate the details of these movements.

The fact that some of the jobs obtained were skilled, suggests that some of the movements of the group were from unskilled and semi-skilled jobs (helpers and apprentices) to higher skilled and better paid jobs. Similarly,

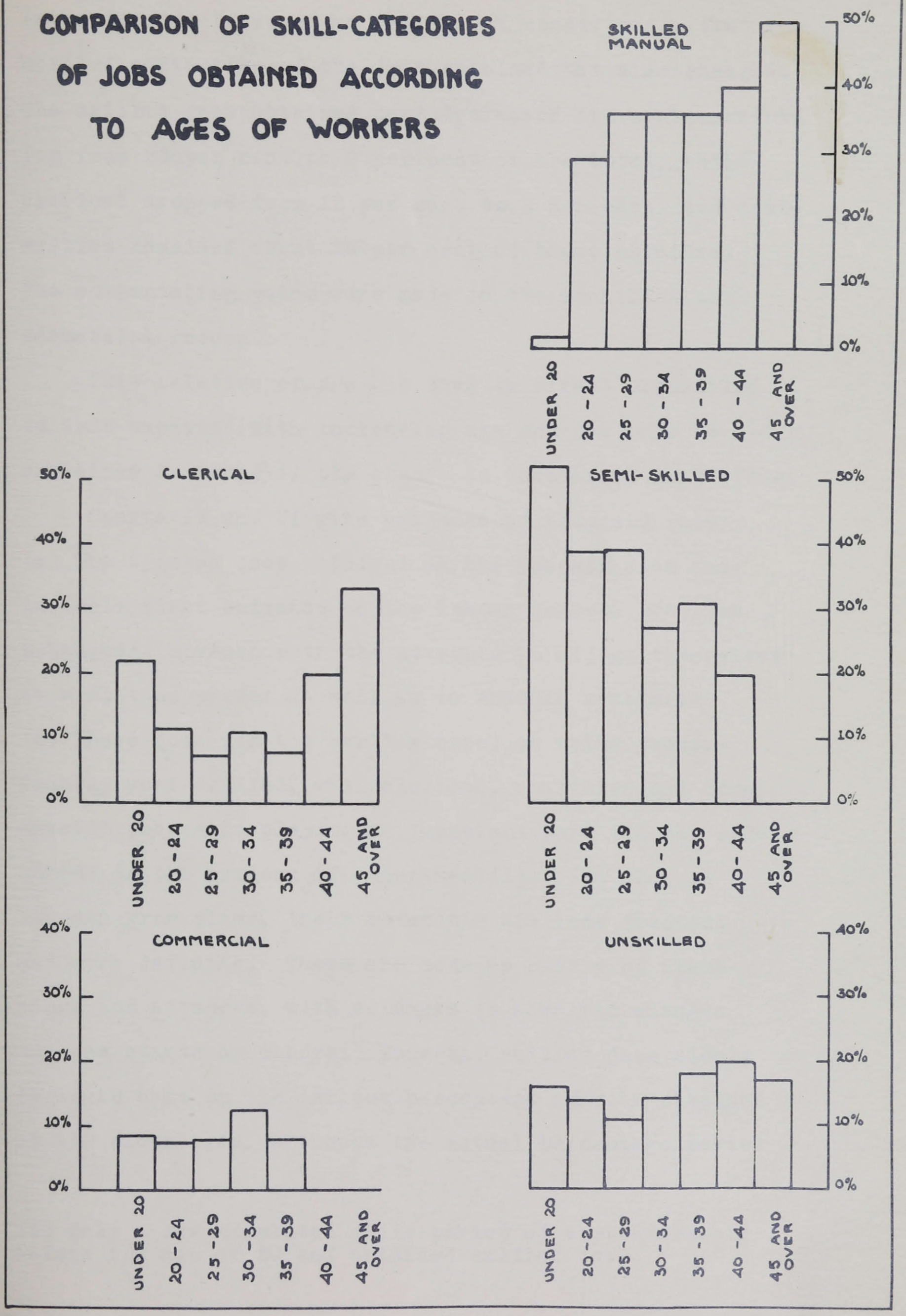
the fact that almost 25 per cent of the jobs obtained in the depression period were unskilled while less than 6 per cent of those interviewed were unskilled according to their "usual occupation," points to a definite sliding backward in this latter period in the type of jobs obtained as compared to the previous job held.

We turn now to an analysis of the data available which reflects, in part, the extent of such occupational movement and its direction. To do so, it is necessary to refer again to chart IV which shows the skill of the jobs obtained according to the period in which they were obtained. This suggests a movement from one skill group to another according to the job obtained and is, in part, evidence of the total occupational movement of the group.

The fact that almost 40 per cent of the men interviewed were classed as skilled workers (usually employed at skilled work) while only 21 per cent of the total jobs obtained by the group were skilled jobs reflects, in part, the relative stability of men working at skilled operations, (although, as has been suggested, there are other complicating factors, particularly those of industrial conditions). Contrasted with this is the fact that the majority of jobs obtained (42 per cent) were semi-skilled while less than 37 per cent of the men were usually employed at semi-skilled work. This is partly due to the higher mobility among semi-skilled workers.

A more interesting picture, and one which has already been suggested, is obtained when comparing the type of jobs obtained in the two periods under observation: 1926-29 and 1930-32. Disregarding for the moment that the number

COMPARISON OF SKILL-CATEGORIES OF JOBS OBTAINED ACCORDING TO AGES OF WORKERS



of jobs obtained was less than half in the later period (a product of turnover as well as of conditions), the skill distribution of the jobs obtained has also changed. The skilled jobs obtained have decreased the most, shrinking from 23 per cent to 9 per cent of the total, while clerical dropped from 12 per cent to 8 per cent, and semi-skilled remained about 38 per cent of those obtained. The compensating gains were made in the unskilled and commercial groups.

This relative change has been in direct opposition to that expected with increasing age and can only be explained in terms of the change in industrial conditions.

Charts IV and VI give evidence of this and show: (a) The type of jobs obtained in the younger ages and in their first entrance to the labour market. (b) The subsequent movements in the attempts to adjust themselves to what they prefer as well as to what is available. (c) These jobs (in the earlier ages) as being predominantly semi-skilled, with clerical, unskilled and commercial jobs also playing an important part (in the order named) in the process of adjustment(1). (d) That as the men grow older, their movements are less frequent and more definite. These are made up mainly of promotions and advances, with setbacks to some and changes and new starts by others. Thus the skilled jobs slowly begin to make up the largest percentage of jobs obtained at the older ages, although the actual percentage varies

(1) Only a few completed their period of apprenticeship before the age of 20 and obtained skilled jobs.

very little after the age of twenty-five. (e) The important influence of industrial conditions on these movements through the number and type of jobs available, aiding the progressive advance into skilled and better jobs in a period of increasing"employment opportunity", and retarding this movement as well as causing a certain amount of sliding backward in a depression period.

It must be remembered that in neither diagram has the influence of the other factors been removed, which tends to make the interpretation less clear, and to a certain extent, arbitrary. For this reason, the characteristics which may be suggested, particularly with reference to the other skill groups and which are still less marked, are not discussed in this connection.

A more detailed account of such inter-skill-group movements is given in tables 14 and 15 from which more definite evidence may be gathered. The importance of the different types of jobs at different stages in the adjustment of those interviewed are shown in these tables. The inter-skill-group movements shown are evidence of the (high) degree of occupational mobility that does exist. In addition, many of the movements from one semi-skilled job to another also involved a change of occupation although not of skill. Even though this detail is not included in the table, the occupational movement as reflected by that movement between the groups is, with very few exceptions and peculiarities, a fairly free one.

Evidence of occupational mobility as shown by inter-skill-group movements.

Table 14.

Status-Skill of Job Obtained.	New(1) Entrants.		Status-Skill of Preceding Job. Clerical		Commercial		Skilled		Semi-Skilled		Unskilled		In-Business		Total	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Clerical(2).	33	35.	41	43.	4	4.	3	3.	10	11.	4	4.	-	-	95	100.
Commercial.	10	20.	7	14.	15	30.	5	10.	13	26.	-	-	-	-	50	100.
Skilled(3).	-	-	4	3.	4	3.	63	49.	52	40.	4	3.	3	2.	130	100.
Semi-Skilled.	52	20.	24	9.	10	4.	8	3.	117	45.	44	17.	5	2.	260	100.
Unskilled.	30	33.	7	8.	5	6.	6	7.	19	21.	19	21.	4	4.	90	100.
In Business.	-	-	1	6.	5	28.	7	39.	4	22.	1	5.	-	-	18	100.

Table 15.

Status-Skill of Job Terminated.	Status-Skill of Succeeding Job. Cl.	Com.	Sk.	S.Sk.	Unsk.	Bus.	Total P.C.
Clerical.	49.	8.	5.	29.	8.	1.	100.
Commercial.	9.	35.	9.	23.	12.	12.	100.
Skilled.	3.	5.	69.	9.	6.	8.	100.
Semi-Skilled.	5.	6.	24.	54.	9.	2.	100.
Unskilled.	6.	-	6.	61.	26.	1.	100.
In Business.	-	-	25.	42.	33.	-	100.

(1) Those obtaining their first job.

(2) The majority (59 per cent) of these jobs were obtained before the age of twenty, and 80 per cent were obtained while under twenty-five years of age.

(3) Over 65 per cent of these were obtained between the ages of twenty and thirty.

The clerical jobs would appear to be one of the main means of entry into the labour market. Aside from those who leave one clerical job for another, the main source of supply for these positions seems to be "new entrants". There are, of course, a few drifting in or returning from attempts at other types of jobs, yet in the group interviewed this is seen to make up only a very small proportion (22 per cent) of the total movements. On the other hand, the clerical jobs are in many cases stepping stones not only to other similar jobs, but also to other occupations. Thus, 29 per cent of the terminations of such jobs were followed by a movement to some semi-skilled operation, as compared with 49 per cent which were followed by other clerical jobs.

Commercial jobs show a similar general inward as well as an outward movement, from and to different occupational groups and skills. Here, the number of movements involving the termination of one commercial job which is followed by another is comparatively small. This may be explained by the tendency to take a selling job only for a relatively short time during which to look around for something better.

Among the skilled jobs, where one would expect to find the least tendency towards such free movement, and where, as expected, the majority of such movements are confined to those from one skilled job to another (usually in the same trade), there does appear to be a "leakage" into and out from other less skilled groups (and hence occupations). The first and most important, and that

to be expected, is the inward movement from semi-skilled jobs. This is no doubt in most part made up of the graduation from the semi-skilled helping and apprentice period to that of the skilled craftsman, and hence from such less skilled work to the higher skilled job.

However, only 69 per cent of the skilled jobs terminated are followed by other skilled jobs, the remainder being fairly evenly distributed among the other occupations. Thus the 11 per cent of skilled jobs which were preceded by other than skilled or semi-skilled work, were, no doubt, filled by the skilled men returning to their trade after having had to take another type of job failing work in their own line.

Semi-skilled jobs are seen to be stepping stones both into and out of other occupations. In some cases, such a job is an attraction in itself--because of the added income; in others, it serves as a stopgap for a temporary emergency. The wide range of occupations covered by this group is the main outlet from most of the other groups considered as well as a stepping stone into them. This wide range in itself conceals a certain amount of the occupational mobility which the writer is here attempting to disclose through the indirect method of inter-skill-group movements.

The movements into and out of unskilled jobs, even to a more marked degree than those into and out of the commercial group, reflect such jobs as being considered temporary stopgaps and stepping stones. A third of the

unskilled jobs were taken by those entering the labour market for the first time, while a smaller percentage (26 per cent) were followed by other (even if not similar) unskilled jobs.(1)

The business ventures of this group were not confined to the six most recent ones referred to in an earlier classification. There were eighteen such ventures with varying success over the periods observed, and the undertaking was preceded by a semi-skilled job in most cases. Each marks an unsuccessful attempt to earn a sufficient income independent of direct activity in the labour market--although some were profitable (but not lasting) ventures.

The activity and movements of a group of workers are functions of the economic conditions. At any particular time a cross-section of their activity, when compared with their usual occupation, even if the number unemployed and on short time is disregarded for the moment, will reflect to some extent the "employment opportunity" of the time.

Thus, table 16 which compares the last job held with the "usual occupation" of the group shows that only eleven men were employed on clerical work as compared with sixteen who were "usually" employed on such work.

(1) This is not to be viewed as being indicative of what goes on in the unskilled labour market. It only reflects the movements of a group of which only a small percentage were "usually" employed at unskilled jobs. The need for adjustment at times led them through the unskilled labour market, into and out of unskilled jobs, but these were mainly as stopgap measures.

Table 16.--Comparison of skill of job most recently held with that of "usual occupation".

Skill Groups.	First Job	+ Jobs Obtained	- Jobs Left	= Last Job	"Usual Occupation"
Clerical.	33	62	84	11	16
Commercial.	10	40	43	7	9
Skilled.	-	130	92	38	49
Semi-Skilled.	52	208	215	45	44
Unskilled.	30	60	72	18	7
In Business.	-	18	12	6	-
Total	125	518	518	125	125

More striking than this is the fact that only thirty-eight of the last jobs held were skilled while forty-nine men were qualified to work on such jobs. At the same time, eighteen were doing unskilled work as compared with seven who usually were in this lower group, and six had turned to business in their attempt to solve their problem of unemployment, of whom, as previously mentioned, only one had done so successfully.

The full extent of the occupational mobility of this group is not reflected in the table showing the inter-skill-group movements. True, many of the movements included are those made in the process of what has been referred to as "vertical mobility--the rise of able and presumable adaptable men from lower to higher levels in the economic strata"(1)--yet, undoubtedly a large

(1) Marsh, L. C.: The Mobility of Labour in Relation to Unemployment. (Canadian Political Science Association Vol. III, May, 1931) p.10.

number of such movements were made in an effort to overcome unemployment and irregular employment as well as to realize the opportunity for regular and more suitable employment.

The details of some of the cases throw light upon the types of individuals and of movements that are included in the "sample group" and make up the above total figures.

At one end, there are the men whose total experience in the labour market has been that of being in the employ of only one company. Only in one case did this mean on the same job--that of a packer and sorter who had been on the same job for twenty-five years in a rubber company and who is now unemployed. Another spent all his time (seven years) as a labourer for the railway and under the same foreman. All the other cases in this group, however, were characterized by gradual promotions or "vertical mobility" and often demotions during slack or depression periods. Here, there are a few men who have in turn been messenger, office boy, records clerk, and so on up the scale of clerical work with service in the same company of from ten to seventeen years (and with no other experience elsewhere). In the same class is a railway conductor with fourteen years service whose only experience was his gradual promotion through jobs as trainman, switchman and brakeman to his present job. Here, too, are included a locomotive fireman with nineteen years service, a tinsmith and pipe fitter who began

serving his apprenticeship nine years ago and who was till recently in the employ of the same company. Only slightly different is the experience of a machinist and welder with fourteen years service in the same company who began serving there as a boilermaker's helper and who made the change during his apprenticeship.

This section of the "sample" has not at all contributed to the industrial movements and very little to the total occupational and geographic movements.

Then there are the men who, in a similar manner, did not make any occupational changes, yet who were employed with different companies but whose experiences were in only one trade. Here are included a printer, a painter and decorator, a structural steel worker, a machinist, a boilermaker, a steel carpenter, a stationary engineer, a tailor, a chef, and an electrician. In the same group, (not making any occupational changes) are, the bank clerk with five years service who left to take a job as a book-keeper with wholesale jewelers; the book-keeper who held three similar jobs over the five year period of his employment experience; and the office worker who gave up his position and twelve years seniority with the railway to take a job as book-keeper in a laundry which he held for eight years. None of these movements involved a change of occupation although the individual was employed in different industries.

At the other extreme are the men whose experiences were less settled and more varied and whose movements

(even if slightly excessive in some cases), reflect the continual adjustment made by the labour supply to the jobs available (demand).

Here is included a man who was in turn employed as a farm labourer, factory labourer, cable splicer's helper, dishwasher (in a restaurant), usher (in a theatre), and policeman (on a wharf). Another served four years of his apprenticeship as a compositor and became dissatisfied and attracted away to a job as nailmaker in a steel company. He left there after a year to take a job as a cable splicer's helper at which he decided to stay, as the future with the telephone company was a promising one. At the end of the third year of service he was laid off in consequence of reduction in staff. He worked at several odd jobs before he was fortunate in obtaining a job as timekeeper in a tobacco company where he is at present employed.

A moving picture operator, after losing his job when the theatre in which he was working closed down, found it necessary to take a job as a labourer, after which he worked, in turn, as a counterman (in a restaurant), elevatorman (in a hotel), chauffeur (in private service), bell boy (in a hotel) and most recently as a truck driver for a newspaper company.

Another case is that of a worker who began as a labourer in a valve manufacturing company. At the end of a year he left to take a job at a steel company to learn fine wire drawing. Two years later he enlisted

and went overseas. When he returned, he was faced with the prospect of beginning all over again as the technique of wire drawing had progressed rapidly and was almost completely changed. He turned away from this and obtained a job as a machine tender (dough mixer) in a bakery. Two years later he made another change and obtained a job as lead corroder at which he worked ten years till recently when he was laid off.

A similarly ambitious individual began as office boy and after two years started to serve his apprenticeship to a printer pressman. After a couple of years of press-feeding, he was attracted away by the money to be made working as an expressman. First as a helper, then as an expressman, he worked six years and saved enough money to open a cartage business. This marked the turn. He lost his savings within a year. He obtained a job as a phonograph record packer, but this declined with the coming of radio, and he was laid off at the end of a year. After a few odd jobs he entered the employ of a departmental store as trucker where he worked for two years and then left to take a job as storeman with a chemical manufacturing company.

A striking example of the high occupational mobility of an individual who is handicapped because of the lack of early guidance is reflected in the experience of one who began as a helper and who, as a result, is destined to work only at helper's jobs. Had he been advised against the attraction of higher wages on a helper's job and been

guided towards serving his apprenticeship with lower immediate return, he no doubt would have in time been equipped with the additional earning capacity of a craftsman and his experience might have been less varied.

Lacking this advice, his search brought him first to the semi-skilled but blind alley job of steam-hammer operator in a railway car shop. A year later, he was attracted by the higher pay in a car building company and worked there for four years as a blacksmith's helper, at the end of which time he was laid off. He was by this time too old to begin serving his apprenticeship and again turned to look for a job as a helper. Through his former connections he was again employed in the railway car shops, but this time as a steamfitter's helper at which he worked five years before being laid off on account of slackness. After a couple of odd jobs, he was employed in an iron and steel manufacturing company as a millright's helper, where he is at present working on short time.

A further subdivision of the movements (even of the same individual) into those of a voluntary nature, and those necessitated by a lay-off, was suggested in the earlier discussion. It is relevant here to enlarge upon some of the detail omitted at the time, which compares the type of jobs which follow the different movements. In part, this is a contrast between adjustments in the period 1926-29 and those in 1930-32, since the movements in the main, are so chosen as to illustrate this point.

Table 17.--Details of the jobs which followed some of the voluntary terminations.

Job Left			Job Subsequently Obtained		
Occupation	Industry	Years	Occupation	Industry	Years
Clerical					
Office work	Railway.	10	Book-keeper.	Ice co.	7
(1)" "	"	8	Helper, then cable splicer	Telephone company.	2
(2)" "	Y.M.C.A.	2	Magazine salesman.		½
			Radio operator.	Railway.	2
Clerk.	Brokerage.	3	Taxi driver, odd jobs.		
			Switchboard work.	Electrical apparatus. mfg.	7
Commercial					
Sales clerk.	Wholesale dry goods.	1	Trucker, then checker.	Railway.	10
Egg chandler and clerk.	Poultry market & grocery.	5	Labourer.	"	4
Clerk.	Grocery.	7	Truck driver.	Construction.	3
Bread driver and salesman.	Bakery.	2	Janitor.	Apartment house.	5
Typewriter mechanic & salesman(3).	Insurance company.	7	Stock keeper.	Departmental store.	1
			Helper, then service man.	Telephone company.	3
Semi-Skilled					
Fireman.	Dairy.	4	Handyman maintenance.	Office building.	3
Truck driver(4).	Pastry shop.	2	Helper, then equipment man.	Telephone company.	3
Locomotive stripper.	Railway.	8	Lineman serviceman.	Telephone company.	5
Steward.	Tramp steamers.	5	Odd jobs coremaker.	Steel foundry.	
Low Skilled & Unskilled					
Janitor.	Office building.	3	Machinists' helper.	Railway.	3
Labourer.	Farm.	5	Labourer.	Railway.	4
Labourer(5).	Railway.	2	Lineman, installation.	Telephone company.	7
Labourer(6).	Brewery.	8	Wire-pulling & die cutter.	Electrical apparatus.	13

Table 17 shows some of the voluntary movements undertaken during a period of increasing opportunities for employment, and which, although not always successful, aimed at getting better jobs. It is designed to show the occupation, industry and length of service of the job given up, and similar information for the job subsequently obtained. Compare with these some of the adjustments made following the more recent lay-offs as shown in table 18. The experiences numbered are those of individuals whose previous experiences are included in table 17 under the same number. For these six cases the details of two subsequent movements are thus given. Where the period of employment on the second job is not shown, the individual is still employed.

Tables 17 and 18 also give evidence of the movements from industry to industry that take place in the process of adjustment, as well as those from one occupation to another. The total movements between industries are shown in table 23 (p.95) which also classifies the movements from one job to another in the same firm as well as from one firm to another in the same industry.

Although these movements between industries are partly made up of what has often been referred to as "industrial mobility"--"movement from a certain occupation in one industry to the same or a very similar occupation in another industry"(1)--they are not wholly made up of such movements. The evidence disclosed in the detail of the occupational changes is sufficient proof of this.

(1) Marsh, op. cit. p.9.

Table 18.--Details of the jobs which followed some of the lay-offs.

Job Lost			Job Subsequently Obtained		
Occupation	Industry	Years	Occupation	Industry	Years
Clerical					
Office work.	Railway.	9	Handyman.	Steamship Company.	
" "	"	13	Odd jobs, taxi driver. Opened a cartage business.		
" "	Steamship company.	3	Purser.	Steamship company.	
Skilled					
Equipment man.(4)	Telephone company.	3	Telephone salesman.		
Service-man.(3)	Telephone company.	3	Odd jobs,(steel work) chimney repairing, window fitting.		
Wire puller and die cutter.(6)	Electrical apparatus mfg.	13	Opened a shoe repair.		
Wood machinist.	Railway.	13	Odd jobs Labourer.		
Inspector.	Steel car construction	3	Odd jobs Labourer.		
Semi-Skilled					
Lineman.	Telephone company.	7	Truck driver. Book salesman.		½
Cable splicer(1).	Telephone company.	2	Cleaner.	Office buildings	
Lineman(5).	Telephone company.	7	Clerk.	Grocery store.	1
Cable splicer's helper.	Telephone company.	3	Timekeeper.	Tobacco manufac-turer.	
Radio operator(2).	Railway.	2	Radio salesman.	Depart-mental store.	
Radio operator.	Railway.	8	Service engineer.	Radio mfr.	
Lead cor-roder and maintenance man.	Paint manufac-turing.	14	Pipe-fitter and in-staller.	Oil bur-ners, plumbing company.	
Pressman.	Paper mill.	8	Duco sprayer.	Garage.	1½
Brakeman trainman.	Railway.	8	Chauffeur Salesman.	Soft drink mfr.	1½
Bedstead maker.	Bed manufac-turing.	4	Repair man.	Garage.	1

Table 23, therefore, is not to be taken as showing the extent to which there is an interchangeability between industries in Montreal which could be taken advantage of in a comprehensive plan to organize the movements and adjustment in the labour market. It simply shows the number of movements that have occurred.

In some cases such moves were accompanied by a sacrifice of skill or previous training and loss in earning power. Others were made during the early stages of the process of adjustment in the younger years, when, with little experience, the men moved from one job to another in search of the type of job into which they could best fit. There were undoubtedly cases when such changes meant an advance both in present earnings as well as in future possibilities. In addition, as has already been illustrated, some movements (particularly in the clerical and skilled groups) were purely industrial as defined and were not accompanied by any occupational change. Our "sample", however, does not lend itself to further subdivision and classification, and can hardly presume to give a quantitative estimate of the relative proportion (or importance) of the type of movements.

It is designed rather to give evidence of such movements as reflected in the experience of the men interviewed, and to draw attention to the wide range (of movement) which must necessarily result when individuals are left to be motivated by market conditions rather than guided by a plan based on carefully collected information.

Lacking this guidance, these movements are motivated by opportunity for any change (particularly when it promises a chance for improvement) rather than by the similarity of the occupations and the possibility of interchange. Capability and willingness is not as important, particularly to-day, as the economic pressure of opportunity. Here, in part, is the explanation of the varied movements observed. Willingness and "opportunity" in a period of increasing employment are enough to create a certain "capability" and overcome any lack of it for a time(1). While in a period of decreasing opportunities for employment, "capability" and willingness are disregarded and overcome by the pressure of economic forces. The results are a sacrifice of skill, and a downward trend in the occupational mobility as have been observed.

(1) Employers have remarked that in periods when they need men to fill immediate (rush) orders, they hire all likely individuals and train them for the particular job. Then, when the group so hired becomes more efficient and less of them are necessary to keep production up to the desired level, the least capable men are laid off even though they have become reasonably proficient.

(b) Geographical Mobility.

The movements of the men in the "sample group" have not, as yet, been analyzed for the type of mobility most frequently discussed particularly in connection with Canadian problems--that of the movements from one place to another in search for employment. The obstacles to such movement have been classified into personal or psychological factors and economic factors, and to the strength or weakness of these has been attributed the degree of geographic mobility of a group(1).

The writer cannot presume to give any quantitative evidence of the extent of mobility and the importance of the different factors on the basis of the limited "sample". The experiences of the men in the"group", however, does lend itself to an analysis which may disclose some of the factors that have produced the present immobility as compared with the former movements.

Table 19.--Destination of movements out of Montreal in search for employment.

Location of Job	No.	P. C.
Outside of Montreal.	65	52.
Outside of Canada.	22	18.
Foreign#.	6	5.
Number in "sample".	125	100.

Outside both Canada and United States.

Vide
(1) Marsh, op. cit. p.9.

Of the 125 men interviewed, sixty-five had at one time or other left Montreal to work elsewhere. Only twenty-two of these men worked outside of Canada, sixteen having obtained jobs in the United States, and six outside both United States and Canada. In this connection too, it is interesting to note that twenty-five or 20 per cent of those interviewed, had worked elsewhere before coming to Montreal (of whom only half left again to work elsewhere, and later returned).

Table 20.--Number of men who left Montreal to work elsewhere, relative to the period in which they left.

Periods	No.	P.C.
1921-26	40	32.
1926-29	35	28.
1930-32	6	5.
1921-32	65	52.
Number in "Sample"	125	100.

The dates given for these jobs show that only six of the men ventured to leave Montreal since 1930 as compared with thirty-five during 1926-29 and forty previous to 1926. Although this suggests a large decrease in the mobility of the group interviewed, it is evident that a low geographical mobility would have to be a characteristic of the "group", since the "sample" is made up of residents of Montreal in 1933, and those having recently left the city could not be included. In the earlier description of the method of selecting

the "sample", the difficulty involved in tracing a large number of the men because of the continual changes of address was pointed out. Hence, it is quite possible that the geographical mobility even during a depression period is much higher than our figures suggest. In the course of the field work, the writer did obtain definite information that two of the men who were being traced had left Montreal. One had returned to Scotland, and the other to a small town in Quebec. In fact, information from two men at present employed outside of Montreal was obtained from them while they were visiting their families.

The value of the observations based on the data available, in spite of the shortcomings, lies in the fact that the balance of forces for this group is shown to have shifted to produce only six movements since 1930 as compared with thirty-five in 1926-29.

Before entering into a discussion of these forces, it may be best to have in mind the destinations of the movements, and the type of jobs obtained following the change of residence.

Table 21.--Skill of jobs obtained after leaving Canada, relative to period in which obtained.

Periods	Destination of Movement							
	United States				Foreign#			
	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Un-skilled	Total	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Un-Skilled	Total
1921-26	7	2	2	11	1	2	-	3
1926-29	2	1	2	5	-	-	-	-
1930-32	-	--	-	-	-	2	1	3
1921-32	9	3	4	16	1	4	1	6

Outside both Canada and United States.

For these men, the attraction to United States seemed to be strongest previous to 1926 and mainly because skilled jobs (and higher pay) were being offered. On the other hand, the movements to places outside both Canada and United States seem to be motivated by extreme necessity rather than by the attraction of something desirable. On contrasting these with the movements to the United States, the comparison seems to be between the choice of a lesser of two evils, and that of the search for an opportunity for improvement.

Table 22.--Skill of jobs obtained after leaving Montreal, relative to period in which obtained.

Skill Groups.	1921-26		1926-29		1930-32		1921-32	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Clerical.	3	8.	3	9.	-	-	6	7.
Commercial.	1	2.	3	9.	-	-	4	5.
Skilled.	13	32.	10	28.	1	16.	24	30.
Semi-Skilled.	20	50.	14	40.	4	68.	38	47.
Unskilled.	3	8.	5	14.	1	16.	9	11.
Total all skills.	40	100.	35	100.	6	100.	81	100.

A similar classification of the total jobs obtained after leaving Montreal shows that over the whole period observed 47 per cent of these were on semi-skilled work, 30 per cent on skilled, while only 11 per cent were on unskilled work. Those obtaining clerical jobs made up 7 per cent of the total while the remaining 5 per cent worked on jobs in the commercial classification.

The fact that a majority of the workers obtain semi-skilled work after such moves is readily understood and suggests, in part, the degree of occupational adjustment involved. Very rarely does such a movement result in obtaining a job in the same occupation as the one left.

Similar occupational adjustment is not as necessary for those obtaining skilled jobs after leaving Montreal. In several cases, they were structural steel workers, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers and electricians who are always prepared to move to any large construction job in Canada (or United States). The seniority system of the railway also contributes to the total movements when the moves involve a change of residence. This was the case with most of the clerical workers who found it necessary to make such a change, or forfeit their jobs.

Returning now to the two sets of obstacles to mobility in search of an explanation of the change observed, it immediately becomes evident that the factors of age and marital status are partly responsible. We observe first that geographical mobility, similar to total terminations of employment, does decrease with increasing age. It is difficult, as has been pointed out, to isolate in a limited sample all the other contributing factors and offer a quantitative suggestion as to the importance of age. Our statement must be based mainly on the observation that these movements occurred mainly during the younger ages (under thirty). The difficulty, too, of appraising the importance of the factor of marital

status in quantitative terms is obvious. Even though almost 90 per cent of the men who made such changes did so before they were married, almost 65 per cent made similar moves after marriage, while less than 40 per cent of those making such moves while unmarried did not move again afterwards.

Marital status seems to be less important than the economic conditions at the time in bringing about the changes observed. At the same time, the unwillingness of the married wage-earner to leave his family is apparent, and the extent to which this does influence mobility must not be minimized. In most cases, the married men who moved left their families behind, either sending for them later, or returning as soon as the job was completed. In others, the movement was accompanied by that of the family. Additional expense is incurred, in either case, by a married man and it undoubtedly affects his decision.

These two factors of attachment and additional expense (greater original outlay on fare or duplicate expenditure of living separately from the family) are, under certain circumstances, important factors in the case, and would under those circumstances result in a noticeably greater mobility among the unmarried men for whom these obstastacles would be at a minimum.

It is precisely these circumstances which must be considered, and which are, in the writer's opinion (on the basis of what has been observed), most important in influencing geographical mobility.

Geographic mobility has been defined as "the ability and willingness to move from one place to another--to travel appreciable distances for employment."(1) Any analysis of circumstances then, must focus on their effect on this "ability and willingness". It is obvious that no movement will take place unless the individual is both capable and willing to do so, although it must be admitted that in some cases, ability to move may affect the "willingness" and similarly that some with a will to move will find a way of getting there. For convenience of analysis, however, these two factors must be taken separately and the relative importance of each under different conditions considered.

It immediately becomes evident that in a period of increasing "employment opportunity" and relative prosperity, like that of 1926-29, the question of "ability to move" is secondary to that of "willingness".

"Willingness", in turn, may be analyzed as being the product of economic and personal factors. It will depend on whether conditions and opportunities offered elsewhere are so much more attractive than the alternative opportunities at home as to overcome those personal and psychological obstacles which result in the tendency towards inertia. In these latter are included the relative unwillingness of the married man (which has already been referred to), and that of the older man who has established connections. "Willingness" to move is thus

(1) Marsh, op. cit. p.9.

decreased as the attachments to a particular place increase. These attachments are undoubtedly strengthened as living and working conditions improve with increasing opportunities for employment. The personal and psychological factors will in such a period assert themselves and mobility will be held in check by those obstacles.

In short, "ability to move" may be assumed during this period, yet it must wait upon "willingness", which in turn is the result of the alternative opportunities elsewhere being strong enough to overcome the somewhat re-inforced(1) personal and psychological factors tending towards inertia.

In a depression period like the one we have experienced since 1930, "ability to move" (or lack of it) becomes more important in determining the extent of the movements. It is still secondary to "willingness", but the relative importance of the different factors is somewhat altered. The observations have led the writer to the conclusion that the psychological factors have been potentially weakened to the extent that any artificial stimulus would result in a high degree of mobility. The evidence revealed that this high degree of latent mobility is held in check now less by the psychological and personal factors than by lack of opportunities elsewhere and of "ability to move". It is a paradoxical

(1) The writer recognizes the fact that there are some exceptions to the rule. There are those who wait for such an opportunity to make a change, and who do so as soon as conditions allow it (i. e. ability).

and discouraging situation where the economic pressure has reduced the "willingness" to remain without offering any alternative opportunities elsewhere, and at the same time reducing the "ability" to go in search of a job.

This may become more evident on reviewing the experiences of the group interviewed. The extent of their movements to obtain work previous to 1930, has been observed. It is now necessary to explain the reasons for such a marked reduction in mobility since then.

The number held back by the lack of "ability" to travel to a definite place of employment is relatively small. One man claimed that all he needed was the original outlay of travelling expenses and a few extra dollars, about $100 in all, to get him to a small town in Ontario where he could set up as a shoemaker and where he would be assured of a comfortable living for himself and his family. Another was negotiating for deportation of his family to Scotland where, he felt, he could always take care of them. A third was anxious to get up to the gold mining district in Ontario where he had worked once before and where he felt there was a reasonable chance of employment.

None of the others had anything as definite to go to, but a few planned to make their way out to certain places as soon as they could manage to arrange for transportation. One ambitious young machinist who only recently found it necessary to apply for relief was determined to walk all the way across to Vancouver in his search for a job. He had made the rounds of the

city several times, following up every slightest hint of an opening, without success. He did not at all like the idea of leaving his family, but felt that there was no use waiting here and that if jobs were to be had somewhere, he was going to find one.

A less unfortunate, and as a result, a more enlightened group of men were those who had been laid-off by the railway and who managed to retain their passes (which, however, expired at the end of the year). One or two took advantage of this co-incidence to take a vacation and visit their relatives. The majority, however, realizing the seriousness of their position made full use of this bright side of their misfortune in an attempt to get work elsewhere. In most cases, the range allowed for search was limited to Quebec and Ontario--a limited radius around Montreal. Friends, relatives, and acquaintances in the cities within this range were canvassed in addition to any personal search undertaken. A few travelled continually in an effort to get something before their privilege expired. These now accept the fact that their search must be confined to Montreal with the doubtful consolation that there is nothing to be had elsewhere(1).

"There is nothing to be had elsewhere"--this is the information which they pass on to their friends; it is

(1) It is quite possible that others, taking advantage of the opportunity referred to, were more fortunate. Their success, of course, cannot be recorded, since, as the writer has continually pointed out, such success would preclude any possibility of their finding their way into the "sample". Attention has been drawn to this experience since it is a mobility which has not been reflected in the method of tabulation of the total experiences.

the gist of the replies received by others to letters of enquiry written to their friends and acquaintances in different cities; it is the discouraging advice passed around in union headquarters when one is undecided whether or not to apply for a travelling card. Contrary to the usual obstacle "lack of accurate knowledge of the opportunities for employment", it is even greater in some cases as it seems to be "an accurate knowledge of the lack of any opportunities".

What now of the factors which usually tend towards inertia--the family ties and obligations; the acquaintances and connections which improve their chances for employment? To say that these have disappeared would be to misinterpret what has been observed as well as to contradict what was observed above, of the increasing necessity of friends and connections in the successful search for employment in a depression period.

For the men interviewed, there was evidence of a closer connection between the unemployed man and his family. This was bound to result from his greater frequency of contact with home life and the lack of alternative sources of recreation. In many cases, the home and family were the sole remnants of ambitious plans, and unwillingness to part with the few comforts they offered are easily understood.

Here, economic pressure discloses the full extent of its power. In spite of this closer contact, or possibly because of it, willingness to leave their families on the promise of a job was in the majority of cases expressed with readiness.

Questions on this subject were bound to be received with suspicion. As a result, there were a few who mumbled that they couldn't say, or that it would all depend, and refused to give any definite comments or reasons. Others, in desperation, suspecting a ruse, pleaded that their family could not get along without them, and that under no circumstances would they leave Montreal. These were only exceptional.

About 25 per cent of those out of work explained reasonably why they would not consider leaving, even if offered a good job elsewhere. These men explained that they were held back by family connections (usually sickness in the family), consideration of age, connections and duties (interests) in the community, as well as confidence in their ability to get along in Montreal which was based on promises of jobs in the near future.

About 60 per cent of the unemployed in the "sample group", however, had no such promises nor faith in the future in Montreal, and were willing to sacrifice what little comforts they had there in the hope of getting started again. Even of these, several were unwilling to go beyond a certain distance from Montreal and their families, and a few stipulated that the size of the town and the possibilities of permanent and comfortable settlement there would have to be considered before making their respective decisions.

In further discussing this with those willing to go into detail, it became evident that practically all were

willing to take a job away from home, as a temporary measure to help tide them over their lay-off at that time. Many, too, were indifferent as to whether they would return to Montreal or not, being quite willing to make a new start elsewhere and have their families follow them out. The question of wages, too, was broached by the men. The discussion, of course, was difficult to carry on in the abstract, but in this connection, the men appeared to be well aware of the additional expense involved in living separately from their families and insisted that the question of wages would be of primary consideration.

Table 23.--Industrial Movements observed in "sample group".

To / From	E	Manufacturing 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	C1	C2	Transport 1	2	3	4	Td.	F	Service 1	2	3	4	Bus.	S. F.	Sub-Total	L. J.	Total
E		1		1	2	1	2		3	2			1		1		1	1	3				1	1			21		21
M1	1				1	1												2	1						1		7		7
M2	—				2		1				1		2														6	2	8
M3	1		—		2								1	1					1					1		2	9	5	14
M4			1	2	27	2	3	1	1	1		1	5	3	3		3	2	2	1	6	1	3	1	4	10	83	18	101
M5					1	—							1				1		1		1	1				7	13	5	18
M6					2		1			1			2								1				2	3	12	4	16
M7	1				2			2					1	1						2						1	10	1	11
M8				2	1				3				1					3	1		2		1	2		1	17	3	20
M9	2				1			1		—			1		1				1		1	1				2	11	2	13
M10			1		1		1	1			10				2			1	2				1			1	21	3	24
M11					1	1				1					1			2								6	2	8
C1	1		1	1	6	1		1	2	1		—	13	1	2		2	2	2		1				1	9	47	17	64
C2					3	1							2	2	1											2	11		11
T1	1				1			1	2		1	1	1		2		1	3	4		3		1	1	3	25	51	15	66
T2																		1									1		1
T3	1				2				1			1	1			—	6				1			3		2	18	5	23
T4	1	1		1	2	1			1	1		1	1		1	1		1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	29	8	37
Td.	1	2	2	1	8	1			1		1	2	4		7		1	6	8		2		2		3		52	10	62
F		1			1	1			1		1		1		1		1		3	3	3					2	19	1	20
S1	1			1	7						1		2		3			1	1		6			1	2	1	27	8	35
S2				1															1		1	7	1				11	4	15
S3		1			1						2		2				1	1	1			1	1				11	2	13
S4					1		3	1	1				1		1		1								1	3	13	4	17
Bus.					2		1					1	3		1			1	1		1	1		—			12	6	18
S.F.				2	10	7	3	1	1	2	1		9	2	25		2	6		2	1			3		77			
Sub-Total	11	6	5	12	87	17	15	9	17	9	18	7	55	10	52	1	20	33	37	9	31	13	12	14	18		518		
F.J.	10	1	3	2	14	1	1	2	3	4	6	1	9	1	14		3	4	25	11	4	2	1	3				125	
Total	21	7	8	14	101	18	16	11	20	13	24	8	64	11	66	1	23	37	62	20	35	15	13	17	18				643

Key to table 23.

E--Extractive Industries.

Manufacturing.

M1--Animal Products, Food.

M2--Rubber, Leather, and Furs.

M3--Chemical and Allied.

M4--Iron and Steel.

M5--Non-ferrous Metals.

M6--Non-metallic Minerals.

M7--Textiles.

M8--Vegetable Products, Food, Drink and Tobacco.

M9--Wood and Paper Industries.

M10--Printing and Bookbinding.

M11--Miscellaneous.

C1--Building and Construction.

C2--Shipbuilding.

Transport.

T1--Steam Railways.

T2--Street Railways.

T3--Water Transport.

T4--Other Transport, and Communication.

Td.--Trade.

F.--Finance.

Service.

S1--Domestic and Personal.

S2--Custom and Repair.

S3--Professional and Allied.

S4--Public Administration.

Bus.--Business.

L.J.--Last Job Held.

S.F.--Same Firm.

F.J.--First Job Obtained.

Chapter VI.--The Costs of Adjustment.

To obtain more evidence on methods of adjustment by supplementing actual experiences with their attitudes on the subject, the men were further questioned as to their willingness to do semi-skilled and unskilled work and at lower wages. The readiness of a large majority of the workers to do so was apparent, and not at all difficult to explain as most of them (79 per cent) were on relief, and many had accepted odd labouring jobs in an effort to get away from such dependence.

There were several exceptions.

A few tradesmen who would not do unskilled or semi-skilled work declared, if not in the same words "There are others who have always been dependent on that type of work for a living. To take such a job, it would be necessary to displace an individual who is fairly entitled to what little there is to be offered there, since he is always ready to do that type of work". These fair-minded individuals usually continued by saying that they were willing to accept a reasonable reduction in the wages at their trade, but would refuse to compete for jobs at the absurd level of wages offered. Their argument was that this "cut-throat" competition would only serve to depress wages further and make the lot of those fortunate enough to get a few days work still more difficult.

In addition, there were some in the "white-collar" group who refused to do pick and shovel work, claiming it to be too strenuous as well as unpleasant. Their efforts were confined to a search for the type of work they had become accustomed to do as they did not want to lose touch with what connections they had already established. The fear of "losing status" evidently is a factor tending towards inertia.

At the other end of the scale, there were those who had been reduced by the pressure of circumstances to where they would take anything within reason. Here could be found skilled craftsmen and clerical workers as well as semi-skilled and unskilled individuals. Although the reply reflected, in part, the individual plus his previous training and ability, it even more so reflected his economic circumstances (dependence) and the length of time he had been out of work. The experiences encountered during that period of enforced idleness were also important in determining the re-action to the questions.

To get a picture of the preparation (if any) made during this period for future adjustment by the men in the "sample group", questions were also asked as to their willingness to take advantage of opportunities for additional education, for additional training at their present trade or occupation, and for opportunities to learn a new trade.

Table 24.--Number willing to make use of any facilities for additional education, according to their usual skill-status.

Skill Groups	Number in "Sample"	Willing. No.	P. C.
Clerical.	16	9	56.
Commercial.	9	3	33.
Skilled.	49	22	45.
Semi-Skilled.	44	26	59.
Unskilled.	7	2	29.
Total all skills.	125	62	50.

The question of education appealed almost as much to the older group as it did to the younger, and to the skilled and semi-skilled workers as to the clerical. Although in a large number of cases it was met with the reply "I would, if it would get me a job", or "What good would it do me?", considerable interest was evinced by those who had had to leave school at an early age for economic reasons and who now felt they were handicapped by this lack of education. Another, smaller, group felt that this would be a good method of spending time and developing an interest in things, a sort of diversion. The smallest, and most eager group (and those who were actually educating themselves), were those who were very much interested to find out why things were as they were, and what could and should be done about it. It was evident that any reasonable facilities for additional education would be taken advantage of by a large proportion (about half) of the men, even if only till the novelty of the idea wore off.

The immediate obstacle was lack of adequate facilities. Thus, because willingness is only a secondary factor under our present economic system, the period of enforced idleness becomes even more demoralizing.

More interesting and important than the disclosure of the small proportion of workers who had begun to think for themselves and to try and find things out, were the answers given to the questions about additional training and re-training.

There were, of course, those who felt they were too old to begin learning a (new) trade--too old from the point of view that the length of their probable life at the trade, after having served their apprenticeship, would not warrant spending so much time at apprentice's wages. This, plus the added difficulty of training an older, less receptive individual would have to be faced by any organized scheme for re-training. A few older men (over thirty-five), however, were willing to begin learning another trade, while, on the other hand, there were a few younger men (under thirty) who had never been faced with the need for such a change and the scrapping of previous training, and who considered themselves too old to begin again.

Although there was no definite objection to any plan for additional training, only 36 per cent of the men evinced willingness to co-operate with any such plan to the extent of making use of facilities offered.(1)

(1) Most of the men admitted there was always something more to be learned about their trade, and that "you never could know too much".

Table 25.--Number willing to make use of any facilities for additional training or for learning a new trade, according to their "usual" skill-status.

Skill Groups	Additional Training		Learn a New Trade		Total#	
	No. (1)	P. C.	No. (2)	P. C.	No.	P. C.
Clerical.	2	13.	3	19.	4	25.
Commercial.	2	22.	2	22.	3	33.
Skilled.	22	45.	15	31.	33	67.
Semi-Skilled.	19	43.	15	34.	27	61.
Unskilled.	-	-	4	51.	4	57.
Total all skills.	45	36.	39	31.	71	57.

Total figure is not equal to sum of (1) and (2), because some of the men were willing to take advantage of an opportunity to learn a new trade as well as to get additional training at their own.

This low figure was, no doubt, partly due to the fact that some of the men were suspicious and sceptical about committing themselves on such a subject. The question conjured up for some of those on relief, images of a work test and unemployed camps and roused a certain suspicion and animosity. The consensus of the opinions given, although biased (and, in some cases, deliberately untruthful) was that additional training had very little to do with the problem of finding a job and of holding it once one was obtained. It was difficult to get anyone to admit that had he received any more training at his particular trade or occupation that he would be at

present employed(1). The discussion on this point with the individual would become too abstract and somewhat indefinite.

It is interesting to note, however, that those expressing enthusiasm (and willingness to take advantage of an opportunity) for additional training, were mainly the skilled and semi-skilled men who had had a taste of training and who, no doubt, realized the possible future value of such an investment. The small percentage of clerical workers attracted by the plan may be explained by the fact that their interest was mainly in an opportunity for additional education.

A fairer indication of the enthusiasm of the group on the matter is the total figure (57 per cent) for those interested in opportunities either for additional training or to learn a (new) trade. This, too, must be qualified by some of the group opinions in order to give a more realistic picture of their attitude particularly towards the suggestion of learning a trade.

While 61 per cent of the semi-skilled and 57 per cent of the unskilled men were willing and in some cases extremely anxious to co-operate in any scheme suggested, only a few of these felt that their lack of training was an important cause of the duration of their unemployment;

(1) There were those of course, who had been laid off during their period of learning with a firm. This, however, could not be attributed to their lack of training as much as to the need for fewer trained men. This suggests still another source of difficulty to the group of younger men (and "new entrants"). Having overcome the obstacles mentioned in the earlier discussion, they are faced with the added threat of being laid off during their period of learning because the need for trained men has decreased and this smaller demand can be more than filled by the existing supply.

or that by learning a trade would they increase to any large extent their chances of being re-employed. The rest, confident in their capacities at the time, built up a forceful argument on the presence of so many unemployed among the craftsmen and skilled groups. Their claim was, that when conditions improved, they too would be re-employed as quickly as (and in some cases quicker than) the skilled men. The main attraction of any scheme for additional training or re-training for them lay in the utilization of leisure to increase their future earning capacity in order to be better prepared for a period of low earnings (or of no income at all) that might follow.

The percentage of skilled men who were willing to begin learning a new trade does at first sight appear to be somewhat high and it might be suggested that these men only wanted to appear obliging in their willingness to co-operate with any scheme of re-training. To the interviewer, however, it was evident that even though in some few cases the individual portrayed himself as willing to try anything, and hence willing to learn a new trade, several of these skilled men were seriously concerned about the future in their particular trade.

There are those like the skilled car builder (wood) who realizes that he must learn steel carpentry if he hopes ever to be re-employed in the same industry. Others who had been connected with the railway, have also given up hope of ever being re-employed by them. In

a somewhat similar position are the men who had been trained to perform a specialized yet skilled operation while in the employ of the telephone company or with the manufacturers of electrical apparatus supplying this company, and who are aware that these companies will not be in a position to begin hiring again for a long time to come. These men realize that during this prolonged period their skill is of little or no use to them and they are more than willing to begin again at something practical and of more immediate benefit.

It seemed from the answers given and the manner in which they were given that the problem of additional training, and particularly that of re-training, is one least capable of being solved by the individuals themselves. In the main, uninformed, or even grossly misinformed, as to the future possibilities, they are incapable of deciding for themselves (neither to their own advantage nor to the best interests of the community) what their course of action should be. The actions of individuals are motivated by immediate needs and opportunities while a correct decision requires a broader outlook on the trend of events; a trend which becomes still more obscured in a period of depression. As a result, they do not take any decided action and the quality of their labour as well as their ability of adjustment diminishes rather than improves.

These factors of ignorance and indecision, as well as the discouragement at the sight of so many unemployed

among the skilled men are secondary obstacles when compared with that of economic pressure. The men complained of the prohibitive expense of courses (particularly of those that are advertised as trainings for the trades of the future), of the connections and money needed to be allowed an opportunity to learn a trade, and above all of the inadequacy of wages during the apprenticeship period. It is true that many of them would at present take a job as an apprentice (lacking any alternative opportunity) and begin learning a trade, but they would be equally ready to give up the idea of acquiring a training as soon as a job at higher pay presented itself.

The improvement of the quality of workers with a view to increasing their adaptibility and to approximating the supply to the fluctuating demand is undoubtedly a task for society. It must be planned and the planning must be enlightened. It must be based on a knowledge of all necessary facts without which any attempt at preparing for the future is blind and aimless. It is a task that cannot be satisfactorily taken care of by the unenlightened individual for whom everything is obscured by his immediate problems and needs.

Such action by society is advisable particularly during a period of decreasing "employment opportunity". It is easiest to institute at this time when the unemployed are willing to subscribe to such a scheme since they too have begun to realize the need for it. It must be undertaken to counteract the demoralizing influence of

a period of unemployment, which impairs the adaptibility as well as the skill of the unemployed man. Above all, vocational guidance, which would be part of any scheme for training and re-training, would help obtain a better approximation of the supply to future demand. It would aid industry to recruit the desired amount of the type of labour required and reduce the waste involved in the process of hurriedly training and weeding out the least efficient.

Social waste is produced during each movement even when such movements are made in the process of adjustment. It is at a minimum when "the adjustment is secured with least amount of movement"(1)--and this can only be obtained through planning and guidance.

The varied experience and high mobility of the group which have been discussed, are evidence of the extent of the waste during a period of adjustment (in addition to that produced in the present period of unemployment). The unnecessary expenditure involved in training more men than will ever be needed for a trade or operation that is temporarily booming and overexpanding beyond reasonable size--an overexpansion which may partly be due to the artificial stimulus of the original scarcity of the type of skilled men required--adds to the waste which reduces the net income of society, and further retards the rate of progress by requiring a return to normal through more painful and costly adjustments.

(1) Marsh, op. cit. p.12.

Employment managers and foremen can testify to the high costs incurred by their companies in selecting and training of staffs(1), to help fill orders which were coming in faster than the required number of men and materials could be obtained.. These men to-day are unemployed, because of this abnormal and hurried expansion, and for the same reason are endowed with a training which is of no immediate (monetary) value to them and of which some of them may never again make use--an investment of the type society can least afford to keep making.

The cost of training in an effort to adjust the (quality of the) supply to the demand has not been confined to that incurred by the employer(2). The worker, too, motivated by the influences of the market, attempts, in some cases, to improve his position by investing in a training that is professed to prepare him for advancement.

Thus, re-training or additional training under our present arrangements in the labour market, does not co-incide with a period of depression and idleness when such changes and preparation for future demand can best be made with least cost. It occurs, rather, in a period of increasing orders, when a supply must be hurriedly

(1) In chapter VI of the "Turnover of Factory Labor," Slichter carefully analyzes the cost of hiring and of training, to illustrate the saving that can be effected by reducing the turnover. This cost is even greater, and the return to the investment in training is just as negligible in the case suggested of hurried overexpansion followed by the scrapping of the trained workers.
(2) Slichter illustrates how this is shared, to a certain extent, by the worker through a lower rate of pay during (and after) the learning period, which, by gradual increases is in time brought up to the regular rate. Op. cit.

(and hence inefficiently) created; and when workers, attracted by higher wages produced by the immediate scarcity in these occupations, can afford to invest in a training to fit themselves for such jobs. This is the inefficient and wasteful manner in which supply must (and does) adjust itself to the fluctuating and changing demand, under a system which relies on individual initiative to take care of the necessary adjustments.

Evidence of this was observed in the experiences of those interviewed. Twenty-one of the men had at one time or another, after leaving school, taken additional training in the hope that it would prepare them for better jobs, or for advancement in their own. Eight of these were taken in the period previous to 1926, and included business college and commercial courses at night, night technical school and trade school, as well as correspondence courses (particularly as auto mechanic), involving expenditures up to $150.

Twelve of the remaining thirteen had taken their courses in the 1926-29 period of increasing employment and opportunity. These, in addition to taking advantage of special courses offered by the firms with which they were employed, sought to increase their earning capacity by investments in correspondence courses and those given at trade schools. One of the men had spent $118 on a correspondence course in the hope of becoming an electrical engineer. He had, in addition, taken four years of technical school at night, and had done some serious study at home.

The courses in electricity and radio work offered by the International Correspondence Schools and the Canadian School for Electricity, were the ones mainly subscribed to in this period, the expenditure on these courses ranging from $50 to $150. One of the three attracted by a different type of opportunity in this period, invested $135 in a correspondence course offered by the La Salle Hotel Schools, and on obtaining his degree was rewarded with a job as manager of a small hotel in Nova Scotia.

The most recent (1930-32) endeavour to obtain additional training was that made by a young bookkeeper who is taking a correspondence course preparing him for a C. A. degree.

It is in this manner (among others) that ambitious individuals struggle along in the hope that they may supplement their previous training (or make up for the lack of it) and obtain better positions for which they would otherwise not be fitted. It is a method undoubtedly marked with some degree of success and reward for efforts, yet it is apparent that the possibility of unproductive investments and victimization exists, allowing for malpractice and abuse.

As yet, we have no quantitative evidence as to how successful this method is, nor of the extent to which there is violation of confidence, if any. These efforts by the men in the "sample" have been observed. The majority of them have been unproductive. In all fairness,

this must be attributed mainly to the unfavourable conditions which followed. The argument remains, however, that organized assistance to those desiring to improve their status, would be less wasteful and more productive of results to the advantage of both the individual and society.

. . . . .

A discussion of the costs incurred by workers during the process of adjustment is not complete without an estimate of the time lost and of changes in their earnings over the period observed. This, in itself, must not be the sole basis of gauging the "real" costs, but must be qualified by all that has been discussed above.

The length of the period of adjustment of those interviewed is as yet unknown (for their most recent lay-offs) since it can only be observed in retrospect after the adjustment has been made. Sufficient time has elapsed, however, to illustrate, by comparison with their previous experiences, the additional difficulty encountered in a depression period.

The total number of terminations in the periods 1926-29 and 1930-32 were 143 and 148 respectively. The comparison of the distribution of the reasons given for termination in the two periods has been made and elaborated upon in an earlier discussion. Table 26 shows the time lost because of these terminations.

Over 50 per cent of the men interviewed lost no time at all during the period 1926-29 and only 25 per cent lost on the average of one month or more per year.

Table 26.--Distribution of time lost by men interviewed.

Months Per Annum	1926-29		1930-32		1932	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
No time lost.	66	53.	7	5.	11	9.
Up to one.	28	22.	8	6.	3	3.
1 and up to 2.	11	9.	17	14.	6	5.
2 and up to 3.	8	6.	21	17.	6	5.
3 and up to 6.	12	10.	41	33.	28	22.
6 and up to 9.	-	-	26	21.	33	26.
9 and up to 12.	-	-	5	4.	14	11.
Twelve months.	-	-	-	-	24	19.
Total.	125	100.	125	100.	125	100.

The average time, per man per annum, lost during this period is less than one month, while if those who lost no time at all are excluded, the average time lost by the rest is not quite two months.

Table 27.--Time lost by "sample".

"Time-Loss"	1926-29 Months.	1930-32 Months.	1932 Months.
Total Loss.	449	1,569	865
Annual Loss.	112¼	523	865
Per Man Per Annum.	.9	4.2	6.9
Per Man Per Annum of those losing time.	1.9	4.4	7.7

Their search during the later period, however, was very much less successful. Only 5 per cent of the men were fortunate enough to come through this period without any loss in tims; 25 per cent lost six months or more per annum, and 58 per cent lost three months or more (i. e. nine months or more over the period 1930-32). The average time lost per man per annum is slightly more than four months, while if only those losing time are included, the average is almost four and a half months per annum.

The record of the year 1932 was worse than the average of the poor years. Even though four of these men who lost time in 1930 and 1931 managed to work the full twelve months in 1932, on the whole the group was least fortunate in this year(1). Almost 20 per cent did not work at any job at all in this year (except for a few odd jobs and relief work) and 56 per cent had not been employed as much as six months in the year, while those losing less than three months only make up 22 per cent of the total. The average time lost per man is almost seven months, while those losing time lost almost eight months on the average.

Thus in comparing the two periods under consideration: (a) The number losing time in the later period is doubled, 118 in 1930-32 as compared with 59 in 1926-29. (b) The time lost per man per annum increased to over four times

(1) This can be partly explained by the fact that some of those interviewed did not lose their jobs until sometime in 1932.

as much as in 1926-29. (c) Even if this time lost is calculated per man per annum only for those losing time, it increased in the later period to more than double the average for 1926-29; and for 1932 alone the "time-loss" is four times this average.

This comparison of time lost does not tell the full story of the costs of adjustment following the loss of a job. It must be supplemented with comparative figures for earnings over each period. These will reflect, in part, the number who have gained in the process of adjustment, but it will also indicate the amount lost because of wage cuts and acceptance of work at lower pay (although it will do so somewhat roughly), which is not disclosed in the story of time lost.

Table 28.--Annual earnings of men in "sample".

Annual Earnings in Hundreds of Dollars.	Numbers			Percentages			Accumulated P.C.		
	1926-29	1930-32	1932	1926-29	1930-32	1932	1926-29	1930-32	1932
0	-	-	18	-	-	14.	-	-	14.
Less than 2½.	-	7	26	-	6.	21.	-	6.	35.
2½ and less than 5.	3	21	36	2.	17.	29.	2.	23.	64.
5 and less than 7½.	11	35	21	9.	28.	17.	11.	51.	81.
7½ and less than 10.	30	31	14	24.	25.	11.	35.	76.	92.
10 and less than 12½.	27	15	3	22.	12.	2.	57.	88.	94.
12½ and less than 15.	23	9	2	18.	7.	2.	75.	95.	96.
15 and less than 17½.	20	3	-	16.	2.	-	91.	97.	96.
17½ and less than 20.	8	-	1	6.	-	1.	97.	97.	97.
20 and over.	2	-	-	2.	-	-	99.	97.	97.
Unclassified.	1	4	4	1.	3.	3.	100.	100.	100.
Total.	125	125	125	100.	100.	100.			

Table 28 shows the annual earnings for the periods under consideration, as well as for 1932 separately. The median (earnings) in 1926-29 was over $1150 per annum as compared with slightly less than $750 in 1930-32 and about $375 in 1932. If $750 may be taken as the "poverty level", then only 11 per cent were below this in 1926-29, 51 per cent in 1930-32, while 81 per cent of the men were earning less than this amount in 1932.

As compared with 64 per cent of the men earning between $750 and $1500 per annum in 1926-29; 70 per cent of the men earned between $250 and $1000 per annum in 1930-32, and 64 per cent of the men earned less than $500 in 1932.

It is not necessary to elaborate upon the difficulties involved in reducing expenditure made necessary by this marked reduction in income. Loss of savings, "running up" of debts, and finally application for relief is the usual experience following such a reduction.

In spite of the fact that the reduction was of such a marked nature, not all of those interviewed suffered by the loss of their jobs. To some few it even meant an improvement, since they were able to obtain better jobs and at higher pay. Evidence of this is partly shown in table 29 which compared annual earnings for the "representative periods".

This table shows that twenty of the men were in the same income groups in both periods. Half of these earned more per annum in the later period. Thus, with the five who were in the higher income groups, a total of fifteen, i. e. 12 per cent of the men interviewed, earned more per annum in 1930-32 than in 1926-29. Of these, however,

the increase could have amounted to more than $250 per annum in only five cases.

It is with regard to the decrease in income that the table is of greatest value. It shows that the high income groups are equally susceptible to a period of unemployment and marked reduction as the low ones, and that among those reduced to below the (suggested) "poverty level" are many who were accustomed to an income above the normal "comfort and decency level".

Thus, of the thirty who were earning $1500 per annum or more in 1926-29, ten averaged less than $750 during 1930-32, and only fifteen earned $1000 or more per annum. The reduction becomes more marked when the year 1932 is considered alone. Of this same group of thirty, three did not earn anything during the year, while twenty-two earned less than $750 and only two earned more than $1000 for the year.

The burden of unemployment falls heavily on those immediately concerned. The period of adjustment is a costly one. It is obscured in a time of increasing opportunities for employment, since the cost is lower, the time lost shorter, and the gains to be made are attractive.

Adjustment is necessary, but the method by which it is at present allowed to "happen" is both painful and unduly wasteful. The brunt of the burden is borne by the workers in a drastic reduction of income through short time, unemployment, and wage cuts.

Table 29.--Comparison of annual earnings of men in "sample" for "representative periods".

Earnings in Hundreds of Dollars. 1926-29	Earnings in Hundreds of Dollars. 1930-32										Total		1932										Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	No.	P.C.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	No.	P.C.
1.Less than $2\frac{1}{2}$	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. $2\frac{1}{2}$ and less than 5.	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.
3. 5 and less than $7\frac{1}{2}$.	1	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	9.	3	1	7	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	9.
4. $7\frac{1}{2}$ and less than 10.	2	6	14	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	30	24.	5	8	10	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	30	24.
5. 10 and less than $12\frac{1}{2}$.	1	3	6	11	4	2	-	-	-	-	27	22.	4	4	6	8	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	27	22.
6. $12\frac{1}{2}$ and less than 15.	1	2	5	8	4	2	-	-	-	1	23	18.	2	4	7	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	1	23	18.
7. 15 and less than $17\frac{1}{2}$.	1	2	5	2	3	4	2	-	-	1	20	16.	3	5	2	5	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	20	16.
8. $17\frac{1}{2}$ and less than 20.	-	2	-	1	4	-	1	-	-	-	8	6.	-	3	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	6.
9. 20 and over.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	2.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2.
10.Unclassified.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.
Total. No.	7	21	35	31	15	9	3	-	-	4	125	100.	18	26	36	21	14	3	2	-	1	-	4	125	100.
P.C.	6.	17.	28.	25.	12.	7.	2.	-	-	3.		100.	14.	21.	29.	17.	11.	2.	2.	-	1.	-	3.		100.

Note: The numbers under 1930-32 and 1932 respectively, represent the income groups shown under 1926-29 under the corresponding numbers. Thus 1 represents the income group "Less than $250", 2 represents "$250 and less than $500",etc..

PART TWO.

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT.

Chapter VII--Retail Trade as an Example.

Speaking of the United States, D. D. Lescohier has said: "One of the most important problems which confronts our nation is the creation of means for feeding a decentralized demand for labor into a centralized organization able to locate the individual workman suited to each individual demand, and bring the two together with the least disturbance to industry and to the home life of the worker"(1).

The present study, in its attempt to ascertain how workers find jobs and the costs of a period of adjustment, has branched out to observe to what extent such a problem does exist and how far industry in Montreal has taken care of the need. To do so, it was planned to interview as many of the employment managers and employers as were willing to co-operate, and a number sufficient to give a representative cross-section of industry and trade in Montreal. Time did not permit the complete covering of all fields of industry, but the "sample" obtained, though limited, still serves nevertheless to illustrate what goes on in important sections of the labour market. One of the sections thus illustrated is that of retail trade.

Retail trade with its wide range in size of establishments, its day to day fluctuations in activity, its seasonal character, and its close contact with general business conditions is an outstanding field in which unorganized methods

(1) Lescohier, op. cit.

of recruitment of labour for a decentralized demand and the economies that can be effected by organization can both be demonstrated. Here, establishments range in size from stores employing one and two salesclerks who may also be doing the delivering and possibly the clerical work, to the departmental stores employing more than a thousand employees who are assigned to do specialized work which is part of the process of distribution (purchasing, receiving, displaying, advertising, selling, wrapping, shipping, delivering, maintenance, administration and supervision).

Table 30 shows the comparative size of the retail establishments in Greater Montreal (1930) and the relative importance of the different units as employers of labour. These figures include full-time and part-time employees and proprietors and firm members drawing a fixed salary. The total of 13,038 establishments at this date employed 52,601 persons, or an average of 4.0 persons each. Over 85 per cent of these establishments employed, on the average, less than three (2.3) persons each. Their employees, however, made up just under half of the total number employed in retail merchandise trade. All of the business groups included in this section employed on the average less than five persons in each store. Thus, only 3 per cent of the stores were in business groups which averaged at least ten but less than thirty employees in each store, and these employed 13.3 per cent of the total employees in retail merchandise trade.

Table 30.--Employees in Retail Merchandise Trade, Montreal 1930.(1)

Average Number of Employees per Store in Different Businesses.	Number of Stores.		Number of Employees.			Number of Stores.#		Number of Employees.#		
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	Average.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	Average.
Less than 5.	11,107	85.2	25,763	49.0	2.3	10,919	87.8	25,161	53.7	2.3
5 and less than 10.	1,523	11.7	10,447	19.9	6.9	1,190	9.6	7,298	15.6	6.1
10 and less than 20.	288	2.2	4,745	9.0	16.5	288	2.3	4,745	10.1	16.5
20 and less than 30.	100	.8	2,257	4.3	22.6	9	.1	255	.6	28.3
Department and General Stores over $100,000.	20	.1	9,389	17.8	469.5	20	.2	9,389	20.0	469.5
Total all Stores.	13,038	100.0	52,601	100.0	4.0	12,426	100.0	46,848	100.0	3.8

(1) From Retail Trade in Montreal 1930: D. B. S. Census of Merchandising.

Excluding milk dealers (dairies), cafeterias, restaurants, and lunch rooms which employ a different type of employee from the sales clerk in whom this discussion of Trade is primarily interested. The problems of their employees are more closely linked up with particular groups which should be discussed separately. Dairy employees should be linked up with those of similar occupations or skills, e. g. bottlers, stablemen, deliverymen etc. Similarly the employees of cafeterias, restaurants, and lunch rooms should be discussed and related to their own groups, i. e. porters, waiters, chefs and cooks, countermen etc., and separate from the group employed in retail trade. Thus, a truer picture of the size of establishments in retail trade and their relative importance is shown when these are excluded.

If we exclude milk dealers, cafeterias, restaurants and lunch rooms, for reasons explained in the footnote to the table, the characteristics of the extremes that exist in retail trade are still more marked. The businesses with stores employing on the average less than five persons made up 87.8 per cent of the total establishments and employed 53.7 per cent of the total employees. On the other hand, "Department and general stores" which made up only 0.2 per cent of the total stores, employed 20 per cent of the total employees. These stores employed on the average of 469.5 persons each, as compared with an average of 3.8 persons for all stores and 2.3 persons for those in the business groups employing on an average of less than five persons each.

Table 31.--Retail Merchandising in Montreal 1930.(1)

Type of Operation	Stores.		Employees.		Average.
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	
Single Store Independents.	10,475	80.3	35,650	67.8	3.4
Single Stores (in voluntary chains).	767	5.9	2,290	4.4	3.0
Two-store Multiples.	..,500	3.8	3,643	6.9	7.3
Three-store Multiples.	176	1.4	1,006	1.9	5.7
Local Chains (Four stores and over).	335	2.6	2,009	3.8	6.0
Sectional and National Chains.	785	6.0	8,003	15.2	10.2
All Stores.	13,038	100.0	52,601	100.0	4.0

Chain stores, as shown in table 31 made up slightly less than 20 per cent of the total and employed almost

(1) From Retail Trade in Montreal 1930: D. B. S. Census of Merchandising.

one third of the total employees. The small extent to which this resulted in a centralization of the demand for labour and organized methods of recruitment for these stores is disclosed by the fact that 5.9 per cent were "Single stores (in voluntary chains)",--usually for the advantages to be derived by joint buying and advertising,--that 3.8 per cent and 1.4 per cent were "Two-store multiples" and "Three-store multiples" respectively, and only 2.6 per cent were "Local chains (four stores and over)", and 6.0 per cent were part of "Sectional and National chains". The latter group, however, employed 15.2 per cent of the total employees and averaged 10.2 persons per store. In addition to the departmental stores, the "Sectional and national chains" and the "Local chains (four store and over)", which averaged six persons per store, have enough employees to be faced with the problem of requiring some semblance of organization in the building up of a suitable staff.

Over such a wide field it was not possible to make a survey which would include the smaller establishments. The departmental stores and the sectional and local chains were the only ones covered. Even though the observations which follow are confined in the main to the larger stores, it is not difficult to infer the contrasts.

A word may be said about the smaller stores which contribute at least 50 per cent of the total demand for labour. The little capital and experience required and the ease of setting up a small business, must necessarily

result in instability and produce a relatively high rate of mortality and change. This change necessarily involves unemployment and the need for adjustment for the hired help. In addition, the lack of scope for advancement, except possibly into a partnership or to the opening of a similar business by the employee, will result in a high rate of labour turnover. These two considerations are minimized and often outweighed by the close contact that exists between employer and employee which is usually obtained by the hiring of friends and relatives.

Regardless of the method of recruiting help, there is evidence here of decentralized demand in its most extreme form. The total demand for labour from the very nature of things--the habits of shoppers, in other words--requires from time to time temporary and part-time help. In the smallest stores, this is no doubt met with the hiring of relatives or friends for the busy periods. In the stores where a few sales-people are employed, the need for temporary help would no doubt partly be taken care of by hiring the friends or relatives of the regular staff. The problem of organization does not become acute until the force is too large for personal contact and requires supervision and internal checking. This is a problem that must be met by those who employ large and specialized staffs--mainly departmental and chain stores.

First of all, there is the realization that the right type of individual is required, one who can be trusted as well as trained. The sales clerk is the contact between the firm and the customer, hence his (or her)

appearance and manner must be given careful attention, and the individual must be trained to realize this responsibility. In addition, he must know the merchandise well enough to sell it. The staff must cooperate to give efficient service and to please the customer(1). This latter is necessary if the employee is to keep up his sales record and, incidentally, keep his job. All this suggests the need for careful selection and training.

Careful selection and training means additional expense and involves an investment in employees. This leads the employer to the next problem, and that is the full utilization of his staff to justify such expenditure. This can only be obtained through efforts to decrease the fluctuations (particularly from day to day) in the number of employees required, as well as in a reduction of the labour turnover by increasing the inducements to remain. The large departmental stores have realized that the problem of labour costs is closely linked up with that of organization and their personnel policies aim at a reduction of these costs.

The problem begins with the selection of the individual to be hired. Many possible future difficulties are overcome by a careful selection of the right type of

(1) In the days when the "price appeal" became of minor importance, the services offered to shoppers were among the main attractions of departmental stores. This was exploited to the extent that one of the methods of advertising was the displaying of expensive signs proclaiming "It's a pleasure to shop at--".

individual who can be trained to fit into the organization and who will repay for his training by giving efficient service. For this, the departmental store has an employment office, usually open every morning, where the employment manager interviews all applicants, regardless of whether a vacancy exists or not. These are carefully classed according to the qualifications and experience of the individual, and the impressions of the interviewer, and are filed away for future reference. No one is hired at the first interview. When a vacancy occurs and must be filled with one of the applicants, the files are referred to and five or six of the most likely individuals are called and again interviewed before the final choice is made. The policy of training their own staff and fitting them into the organization, then allowing their employees to work up into responsible positions, has resulted in many stores being able to fill practically all better grade vacancies that occur by a series of such promotions, and the hiring (if necessary) of a younger helper who is prepared to begin learning things "from the bottom". Thus they claim that at practically no time have they had to go beyond their employment office for help. They have always had enough on their waiting list to take care of their needs, whether it be for an experienced individual, or one prepared to be trained and fitted into their organization.

Selection in this way, if made carefully, partly solves the problem of retaining the individual, since

the choice is made with that in mind. The next step is to give the better employees the greatest possible steadiness of employment, and to create working conditions and opportunities that will induce them to want to stay. This latter is taken care of by allowing for opportunities of self advancement. The policy of some stores is to have as many of the responsible positions as possible held by men who have been trained in the firm and who have worked their way up. This policy is adhered to right down the line whether it be from junior (wrapping or helping) to sales clerk, from driver's helper to deliveryman, or any other position. Whenever a vacancy occurs, the individual next in line is always given preference (if he is ready to make the step). In addition, care is taken to fit the individual to the right department enabling him to do the type of work to which he is most adaptable, or to handle the type of merchandise about which he knows most. Different methods are employed to take care of this.

One firm uses the system of "open transfer". Thus when a department manager decides that a certain individual is of no use to him but merits another chance in a different department, he puts him on "open transfer" and an attempt is made to fit that employee into another department.

The problem of regularity of employment, which is linked up with the full utilization of a trained staff, was also attacked by the employment managers. In one

store interviewed, steady employment is ensured to all regular employees by their policy of not laying anyone off, and sharing the work available among the total staff. This involved an elaborate system of interdepartmental transfer which can only be carried to a certain limit. However, the superintendent claimed that he had adopted methods to take care of this policy and that the force has remained satisfied. This policy of elasticity of hours and of transfers has also served to reduce considerably the need for temporary help during the Christmas and Easter rushes and minimized the extra cost which an untrained staff would involve. In this store, there is a general shifting from one department to another practically daily, and on Saturdays the office staff is given an opportunity to earn additional money when they are sent to sell at counters and paid a commission on their sales. This is made possible by the fact that these girls are given a training in selling when they are first employed, while many of them are former sales clerks who have, on application, been trained for, and promoted to, their present positions in the office. In the same way, there is a possibility of promotion (on merit) and interchange from elevatorman to salesman, window dressing, shipping, advertising, etc.

This policy has produced in this store a staff of employees who are capable of giving efficient service and are willing to do so, in the assurance that they will be kept on as long as they can give good service and are

in line for promotion if they merit it. Long service records of employees and a low rate of turnover are the results which justify the expense and effort involved in such handling of personnel.

As yet, no mention has been made of the "emergency staff" which was made up of those who were prepared to come in at a moment's notice and to work in any one of several departments. They were ready to come in to take care of any emergency and their next step would be that of advancement to the regular staff. The need for this staff has, of late, considerably diminished because of the reduction of the total burden of work. This is particularly true in those stores where the regular staff shares what work there is, as they are thus prepared for almost any sudden increase of work without needing to call upon the "emergency staff".

The methods of attack on the problems of fluctuation of activity was not the same for all the firms. Another had met this condition with a special "part-time staff" who came in only on the busy shopping days. It was made up mainly of students who were interested only in such "part-time" jobs. This firm also had a staff of "occasional help" who were trained in several different departments and who were prepared to come in at a moment's notice. The need for a temporary staff for seasonal peaks was in this firm even more accentuated, since no policy of elasticity of hours and work sharing had been instituted. Their staff was pared down to their needs, and lay-offs

were made on the basis of merit and sales record rather than on length of service. The general personnel policy however, did not lose sight of the necessary fundamentals required to build up a satisfied and stable staff; it was just their method that differed.

In this latter store the method of interdepartmental transfer was not developed to anything like the same extent as in the one already described. They did realize the need for fitting the individual into the right type of job and allowed for this by a system of "open transfer". At the same time, they claimed to reward merit by promotion even when it did involve such transfer. The extent of these transfers, however, was limited, and can be explained by two points of their policy.

First, they consider each department as a separate entity responsible for itself. It must pay its own rent, light (overhead) and salaries, do its own advertising (rents space in the advertising page) and even rent a window if it wishes to display its goods. Thus all departments are paying for, or contributing to, a joint service, and even though they are directed from above as to general policy, each department is responsible for itself. Their system is less flexible than the one outlined above and is co-ordinated by a more rigid method of formal contact with the employment department which actually serves their needs.

The second limitation is one connected with the type of merchandise, and the specialized knowledge required.

Their policy is that the customer must be considered first. A good shoe salesman who knows the type of shoe and leather one should wear, is of no use in the men's shirt department where a knowledge of sleeve lengths, styles and tastes is necessary. Thus where the job of merchandising becomes more specialized and where more must be known about a particular type of article, this consideration of "service to the customer"--and incidentally ability to sell the merchandise--lessens the possibility of transfer and may even result in the temporary lay-off of a good shoe salesman coinciding with the hiring of a new employee in another specialized department.

In this manner, by careful selection, training, regularity of employment, and opportunity for promotion, these firms have been able to reduce their turnover of labour. One firm keeps careful records of the labour turnover figures and the employment department must explain to the directors any significant changes that may occur in them. They have realized the need for the right type of individual and have invested in facilities for training such a staff. They are reluctant to lose any of their capable help and are aware that their training is of very little use to the individual who decides to leave and enter the employ of another firm. This is due to the fact that the main part of their training has been as part of a system and at best, can only serve as a background for another job. Hence, the firm's policy is to allow opportunities for advancement and the satisfaction

of the employee, and thus to obtain the best possible return in services.(1)

. . . . .

A special complication in the field of retail trade, which cannot be ignored, is that of female competition. Our discussion of methods of recruitment and source of supply for industry is confined to that of the recruitment of male employees. In "Trade", however, it cannot be divorced from the recruitment of female employees, since in the occupations for which they compete, the methods are usually identical for both. This is particularly true with regard to the hiring of salesmen and saleswomen with which we were mainly concerned above. It is not intended to enter into a discussion of the problems that arise from such female competition since the main interest is that of the costs of adjustment, and the methods of recruitment which condition the methods of search for employment.

It is relevant to mention the extent of this competition and refer to some of its characteristics. The 1931 census for Montreal lists 13,608 Salesmen as compared with 5,861 Saleswomen. This is the focal point of female competition in "Trade" as only 300 females are reported as employed in the other occupations (in "Trade") as compared with 7,958 male wage-earners.

(1) In one of the firms this was carried further into studies of comforts for employees, rest rooms, clubs, lunch room, and general interest in their welfare. Most of these plans had to be dropped because of the strict economy forced upon them by the depression. They also had to discontinue their system of bonuses and regular increases.

Table 32.--Extent and duration of "time-loss" among salesmen and saleswomen.# Montreal, 1931.

	Salesmen	Saleswomen
Number of wage-earners.	13,608	5,861
Number losing some time.	3,757	1,639
Per cent of total.	27.61	27.96
Aggregate weeks of "time-loss"	83,709	35,434
Average number of weeks lost (a) by all wage-earners.	6.15	6.05
(b) by those losing time.	22.28	21.62

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The extent and duration of total time lost was about the same for both salesmen and saleswomen as the average number of weeks lost by the groups were 6.15 and 6.05 respectively. Similarly the percentage of salesmen losing time and the average number of weeks lost by those losing time were only slightly different from the similar figures for saleswomen.

Table 33.--Causes of unemployment among salesmen and saleswomen.# Montreal, 1931.

Causes of Unemployment	Number Losing Time	Aggregate Weeks Lost	Average Weeks Lost by those Losing Time	Proportionate Importance of the Various Causes.
All Causes.				
Salesmen.	3,757	83,709	22.28	100.00
Saleswomen.	1,639	35,434	21.62	100.00
No Job.				
Salesmen.	2,984	71,813	24.07	85.79
Saleswomen.	1,163	27,781	23.89	78.40
Temporary Lay-off.				
Salesmen.	276	3,188	11.55	3.81
Saleswomen.	207	2,835	13.70	8.00
Illness.				
Salesmen.	559	7,965	14.25	9.51
Saleswomen.	310	4,019	12.96	11.34
Accidents.				
Salesmen.	45	333	7.40	.40
Saleswomen.	16	210	13.13	.60
Other Causes.				
Salesmen.	-	410	-	.49
Saleswomen.	-	589	-	1.66

The difference in "time-loss" for these competitive groups are to be found by reference to the "causes of unemployment". "No Job" was responsible for 85.79 per cent of the time lost by salesmen as compared with only 78.40 per cent of the time lost by saleswomen, even though the average number of weeks lost by those losing time was 24.07 and 23.89 respectively for the two groups. The saleswomen lost proportionately more time because of "Temporary Lay-off" than did the salesmen. The former seemed to have been laid-off in greater numbers, proportionately, as well as for longer periods.(1)

These figures do not serve to disclose what proportion of the jobs held by salesmen can be filled by saleswomen, and are retained in spite of this competition, and vice versa. There is no doubt that many of the positions held are interchangeable between the two sexes. The figures do suggest, however, that the extent and duration of unemployment which must accompany a period of depression, has, through a series of causes of different importance for each group, been fairly evenly shared between the two groups. In each, the burden has been borne by an almost equal fraction of the group, and the average number of weeks lost by those losing time has been very nearly the same.

(1) "Illness" as a cause of unemployment was peculiar insofar as the average time lost for this reason was much (1.29 weeks) longer for salesmen. At the same time, a greater percentage of the saleswomen lost time because of illness. The difference was enough to make the proportionate importance of this cause greater for the latter group. Almost the reverse was true of "Accident". Saleswomen lost on the average nearly twice as much time as salesmen for this reason. However, the number of salesmen losing time for this reason was almost three times the number of saleswomen who lost time.

COMPARATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SALESMEN AND SALESWOMEN IN MONTREAL AND TIME LOST 1930-31

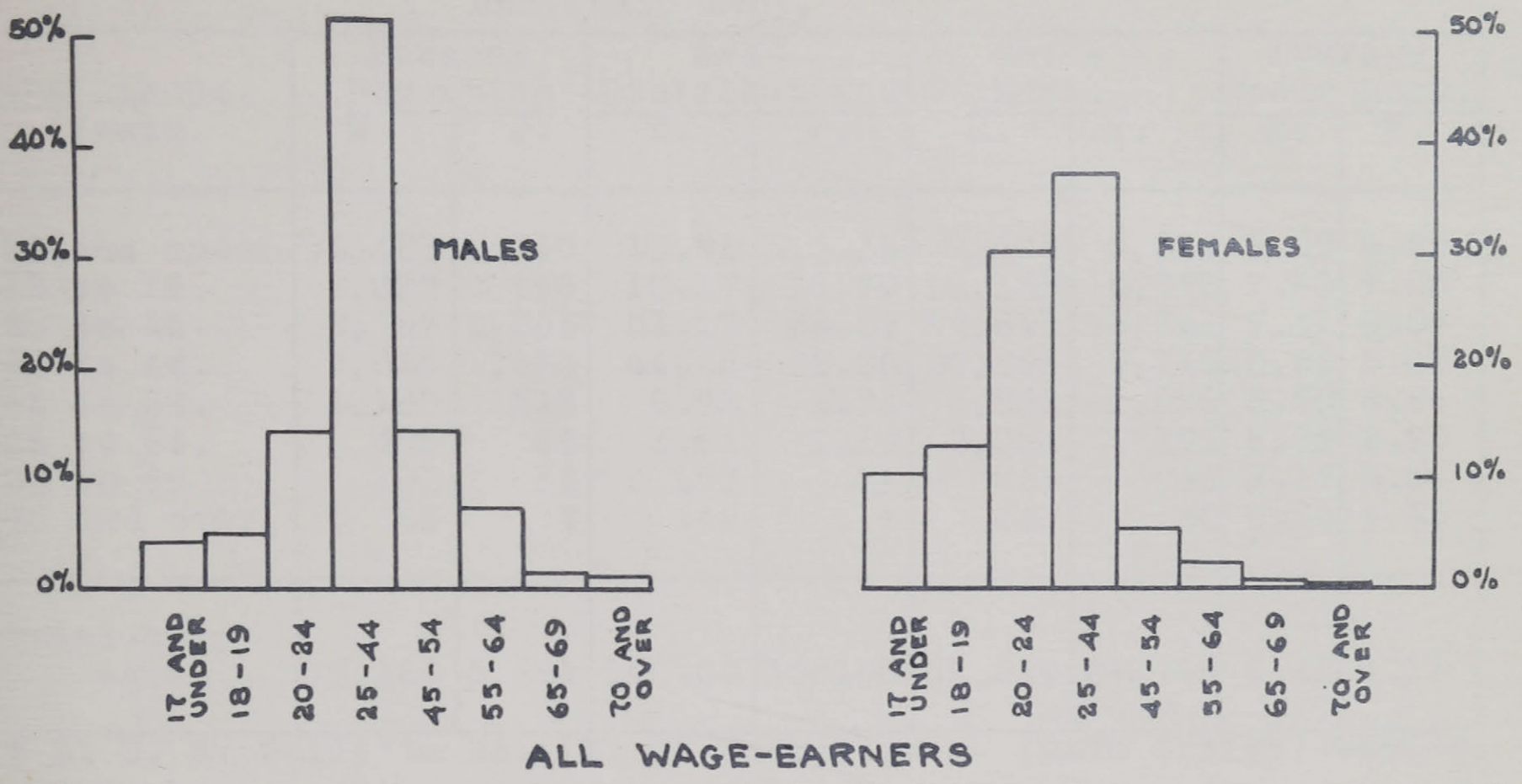

Table 34.--Age distribution of salesmen and saleswomen, and average number of weeks lost by each group.#
Montreal, 1931.

Age groups. Years.	Persons Reporting		Age Distribution.		Weeks Lost.		Average Weeks Lost.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
17 and under.	1,423	760	10.81	13.35	9,698	6,302	6.82	8.29
18 to 19.	1,339	956	10.17	16.80	10,183	6,773	7.60	7.08
20 to 24.	2,787	1,855	21.17	32.59	20,641	11,241	7.41	6.06
25 to 44.	5,826	1,824	44.25	32.05	30,566	9,149	5.25	5.02
45 to 54.	1,150	213	8.73	3.74	6,555	1,036	5.70	4.86
55 to 64.	475	65	3.61	1.14	3,034	192	6.39	2.95
65 to 69	101	12	.77	.21	825	42	8.17	3.50
70 and over.	65	7	.49	.12	347	30	5.34	4.29
Total all ages.	13,166	5,692	100.00	100.00	81,849	34,765	6.22	6.11

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The age distribution of salesmen and saleswomen and the time lost by each are of equal importance for comparative purposes. The average age of each of these groups was much lower than that of the total wage-earners. The mean age for salesmen was 29-30 years as compared with 33-34 years for all male wage-earners. Similarly the mean age for saleswomen was 22-23 years as compared with 23-24 years for all female wage-earners. The gap in age is greater between salesmen and the total male wage-earners, yet the age distribution of saleswomen is still lower.

The average time lost has already been shown as having been about the same for both groups. However, the share of the burden borne by the different age groups was markedly different for the two sexes.

For the salesmen, the average time lost followed the normal (bell-shaped) curve with only minor variations. Thus the longest average period of unemployment is seen to be

in the youngest and oldest groups, with the shortest period of unemployment suffered by the most adaptable group--25-44 years of age. The ages on each side of this group were marked with a progressive increase in average time lost. The saleswomen, on the other hand, showed a somewhat abnormal distribution of "time-loss". The average number of weeks lost was highest for the youngest age group and was less for each succeeding age group, until it was at a minimum at the 55-64 age group. Then it increased slightly, but the average time lost in the oldest group--70 years and over--was less than that lost in the 45-54 age group and at all other preceding ages. This might be explained by the small percentage of saleswomen in the older groups. Only 5.21 per cent were 45 or over and 1.47 per cent were 55 and over as compared with 13.60 per cent and 4.87 per cent respectively for the salesmen.

It is no doubt true that the competition is keenest among the younger groups. Here the saleswomen suffered the longest average periods of unemployment; and only in this age group--17 years and under--was their average "time-loss" greater than that lost by the salesmen. With increasing age, particularly after the age of twenty-four, the men held a much greater proportion of the jobs, but the women who did remain in the occupation seemed to lose much less time.

In summing up the picture presented by the labour market in the field of retail trade, these differences in respect of male and female employees must be kept in mind.

The departmental stores with their employment offices and personnel policies represent the highest degree of organization that exists in the field of trade. Able to compete with smaller retail stores only insofar as they can effect economies and offer the "appeal of price" as well as of "service", they can least afford any unnecessary expenditure on facilities whose return does not warrant such outlay. The setting up of employment offices and the development of personnel policies (as outlined) was motivated only by the realization of the necessity of building up a suitable staff in the most efficient and least costly manner. They have undoubtedly gained by setting up centralized organizations able to locate the individual workman suited to each individual demand ; by attempting to train and fit the individual to the job ; by allowing "opportunities for self advancement" and by ensuring "the greatest possible steadiness of work".

Their efforts serve to illustrate what can be done in the way of organization. It shows how the reserve of labour can be centralized and more efficiently and fully utilized. The size of the reserve necessary to fill their needs can be reduced, minimizing unemployment and the amount of unnecessary training. Although they are examples of what can be done profitably, they are far from the stage of efficiency to which this principle could be developed. Economy in operation and improvement in service can be advanced still further.

First of all, much of the duplication of effort could be effectively eliminated. The maintenance of an employment office by each of the departmental stores in the city as well as by each of the chain stores, to which, in many cases, the same applicants may apply and be interviewed, is much more costly than a centralized agency serving their total needs, as well as the needs of the smaller stores who separately cannot afford such services. It is evident that the service of the offices at present maintained by each of these larger organizations has warranted their upkeep. It is equally obvious that should any or all of these organizations merge or come into the ownership of the same individual, a merging of the employment offices would be effected, and economies in operation would undoubtedly result. An improvement in service would also be obtained through the wider choice allowed, and the specialization in the work which would be made necessary by the increased size and duties of such an office. The problems (particularly of under-employment) resulting from conditions of decentralized demand and unnecessarily large and stagnant reserves, would partly be solved or overcome by such machinery.

These organizations have led the way, and all concerned have benefited by their policies, even though they were motivated by profit and economy in operation. The limits of this development must necessarily remain restricted if it waits for private organization to carry on the work. "It has been nobody's business to rationalize the labour

market. Yet from the viewpoint of Social Science, the task is a necessary one because it is so evidently everybody's business".(1) It is only by governmental action that this principle can be improved upon and extended to its natural limits.

(1) Marsh, L. C.: Employment Research: An Introduction to the McGill Program (Unpublished).

Chapter VIII.--Differences of Personnel Policy in Industry.

What has been said of trade is also true of industry in general. Here, too, there exists a wide range both in methods of recruitment and labour policies as well as in size of establishments. Each factory has its own labour reserves, and in some cases of completely decentralized methods of recruitment, each foreman in the same factory has his own particular reserve. The organization of the labour market in Montreal is haphazard and inadequate and, with only very few exceptions, the onus of finding employment remains with the individual workman.

The problem of finding employment differs for every group since it is conditioned largely by the methods of recruitment and the policy of employers. At one extreme, there are employers who accept as normal, their present ease of recruiting labour by drawing upon the reserves of would-be employees who are continually applying at their gates. They assume that this method, supplemented when necessary by "runners" who spread the word that they are hiring men, will always suffice to take care of their needs, and that this is the cheapest method of recruiting labour. At the other extreme are the exceptional firms with specific employment departments, who are more careful in the selection and training of their men, since they

have realized the costs resulting from inefficient help and high turnover.

The position of a particular firm within this range will depend on several factors, each in its turn important in influencing the policy towards labour.

(a) Demand.

Most obvious of all is the size of the firm, i. e. the number of employees on the payroll. It is evident, that in a smaller firm where personal contact exists between employer and employee, or, where at the most, there is only one foreman, the problem of recruiting labour is a relatively simple and centralized one(1). It is only when the size of the firm takes on larger proportions, broken up into several departments under the supervision of different foremen, that there exists the need for organization within the individual business. Here the decision must be made whether there should be a centralized agency to feed the demands of the different foremen, or whether each should take care of his own needs--a decision which will determine whether a particular firm will have a centralized reserve to be drawn upon by all departments, or whether each foreman will have a reserve of his own.

This question of the size of firm and its influence on policy, is closely connected with that of the relative importance of the labour factor in production. If the

(1) However, the sum total of all the demands of these individual firms, which make up the "demand for labour", is highly decentralized, and presents the same problem as that already referred to in the discussion of trade establishments.

proportion of labour is low, or if labour is entrusted with expensive machinery, or is placed at central points attending and directing expensive machinery, a certain amount of stability will be promoted. An attack on costs will not necessarily be directed at labour costs. In addition, the responsibilities assumed by the individual workman will give rise to the need for careful selection and possibly training. The implications are that there will be a tendency towards stability and organization(1). On the other hand, where labour costs are a large proportion of the total, it seems evident that these will be the costs first attacked when any reduction is necessary. The size of the staff (or its man-hours of employment) must necessarily vary with fluctuations in production. However, the importance of the labour factor, per se, may result in its being given special consideration, and the setting up of an organization to recruit the required staff. This, of course, will be closely connected with the degree of fluctuation in activity and the extent to which there is a need for a large number of additional men from time to time. Again the interdependence of all factors must be emphasized.

An important qualification to the above considerations is that of the skill of the labour required. A highly skilled staff may be difficult to obtain, particularly when a large number is required at the same time. This

(1) At the same time, the influence of other factors, and the interdependence of these must be recognized.

building up of staff may involve a high cost of training, which can undoubtedly be reduced if the men are carefully chosen and selected with this in mind. In addition, such a staff represents an investment, an asset to be retained. Under such circumstances, organization and stability as far as possible is inferred. On the other hand, if low skilled or unskilled men are required, there is no incentive to organization or to attempts to promote stability, since they are abundantly obtainable and easily replacable.

This, too, depends largely on the personnel of the management, and the view they take of the labour factor. At one extreme, is the more enlightened employer who realizes that his employees are striving to make a living, and that they must earn enough to take care of their primary economic needs. He attempts to reconcile the welfare of his employees, through their efficiency, with his labour costs, and will direct his methods towards obtaining a satisfied and loyal staff. At the other extreme is the employer who is still obsessed with the idea of cheap labour. He is not aware of the translation of his methods in terms of real labour costs, nor is he interested in the social implications of his policy. A good example of these extremes was obtained in the course of our survey.

One superintendent of a paint factory, who employed a staff of over two hundred men, about 90 per cent of whom were unskilled, had been guided in his policies by the realization that he was dealing with human beings. He set about promoting stability in his staff by ensuring

steady work for all, and interesting himself in their problems. The men were kept satisfied, and a close contact was established to discover any reasons for dissatisfaction. This superintendent made it his business to root out the causes of troubles, even when, as in some cases, it meant delving into the home life and problems of the individuals concerned. The result was that all the other problems of personnel management took care of themselves. Supervision became comparatively simple. Turnover was reduced to practically nil, and the occasional recruitment that was necessary was taken care of by the hiring of a friend or relative of one of the employees. The records of long service in this firm were exceptional for a staff of unskilled workers. Long service in this firm is rewarded at the end of twenty-five years with a gold watch and a cheque for $1,000. To date, over $75,000 has been paid out under this scheme. (This, of course, also includes office and sales staff, which would bring the total employees up to about 350). In addition, the convenience of the employees has been considered in other respects. A lunch room is operated at a deficit of about $100 per month: there is a sickness and death benefit scheme; a "get-together" club, bowling league, annual outings and other considerations of the comforts and satisfaction of the employees. A description of the methods and policy of a brewery, investigated by the writer, employing about five hundred men, of whom almost 95 per cent are unskilled, would show them to have adopted a similar attitude towards their employees with similar results.

The superintendent of a glass factory furnished an example of the other extreme. Although a large proportion of his three hundred employees were labourers, he also employed a large number of semi-skilled and some skilled help. His source of supply was the factory gate, and he had always had enough applicants there to take care of all his needs. His policy could be summed up as "obtaining the worker as cheaply as possible and getting the maximum amount of work out of him". His claim was that he was forced to do so because of keen competition. At the same time, he was critical of the large companies who, he claimed, were "pampering" their labourers by paying them too high wages and who were not obtaining the best results. His opinion of sick benefits was that the worker would abuse this privilege and stay away for all sorts of petty excuses; and of pensions, that his firm paid its employees for their work and would keep them on as long as they were willing to work (if work were available) and that no pensions were necessary. He could not understand the attitude of one firm which had installed shower baths, and suggested that if a man wanted a bath he should wait till he got home to take it. Although this was indeed an extreme case, and reflected--to put it mildly--some queer ideas, this attitude towards employees is not an isolated case. Many of the employees, particularly in the contract shops in iron and steel work, are hired at the gate as so much man power required for a particular job, and without any regard to the human element.

In some cases, there has been an evolution of the methods of recruitment and of policies, forced by economic pressure of circumstances. To keep down the accident risk which increases their costs, one firm now (since 1929) insists on the medical examination of all applicants before hiring. Laxity in their methods of hiring (they previously did not pay much attention to the physical condition of the men) had meant an increased cost of medical services. Still another firm whose policies have been altered somewhat by the pressure of such forces, was a spinning company. Formerly, the management had paid no particular attention to the unsanitary working conditions nor to the character of the individual worker. The grade of worker hired was low, and in many cases a slight scratch would become infected and blood poisoning would set in. Their liability under the Workmen's Compensation Act, however, translates such laxity in terms of direct costs. As a result, more attention has been paid since 1926 to working conditions, the type of individuals hired, and the training of employees to help overcome this problem.

The attitude of management towards employees is undoubtedly a qualifying factor in the policy adopted. In the case of those who look only for the cheapest method of hiring labour, without any regard to social implications, social legislation is necessary to bring economic pressure to bear, and to remould their policies towards a more humane outlook (even if it is motivated, in part, by a desire to escape extra costs). Employers

must be forced to realize that they are buying labour power that can not be divorced from the human being who must deliver it. Those who have met these facts squarely have introduced some degree of regularity of method and considerate treatment into their labour policies. Some few far-sighted and enlightened employers have already translated the welfare of their workers in terms of efficient service which result in lower labour costs.

(b) Supply.

One other consideration that must go together with the attitude of employers, and which influences it through economic pressure, is the condition of supply, i. e. the comparative ease or difficulty of obtaining the required amount of labour desired. The employer who has never been faced with a shortage of labour is prone to accept as normal a supply of applicants at his gates in more than sufficient numbers. In true philanthropic fashion, he may give orders to his foremen to hire their help for only short periods of time, allowing an opportunity for each deserving applicant to earn some money while in the employ of the firm. At the same time, he would be ensuring for himself a continual re-application of would-be employees attracted by the chance of being hired for a day or two. When this is done only to rotate the work among former employees in a period of stress, the principle is not to be condemned. When it is haphazard, however, the method is to be criticized, for then it brings the same individuals to the factory in excessive numbers even though only a few are to be hired. This

practice has been all too prevalent in such times when it has had the purpose--or at least the result--of building up reserves for the busy seasons. It is admitted that the grade of work and scale of production of the additional staff so hired is not up to par, but this cost is only secondary to the compensating factor of having enough men available to take care of any extra rush of work.

With very few exceptions, the supply of labour in Montreal has been adequate since the war. In the United States, the methods employed to overcome the emergency of the war period, are ably described by Lescohier in his description of the workings of the American labour market(1). It is interesting to note the competitive efforts of employers when the onus of finding workers rests with them. It is only when conditions are aggravated by a crisis, that the need for a central organization becomes obvious. The waste involved in such keen competition for labour is amply demonstrated. It exists at present but in a different form, that of "distress-competition" for jobs. In both periods (scarcity of labour or scarcity of jobs), the present methods of adaptation are unduly wasteful. In the former, the offer of better jobs and higher pay results in high turnover and excessive mobility. In the latter, unrestrained competition results in a progressive reduction of labour standards. The full implications of this are discussed in the chapters on the methods and

(1) Lescohier, op. cit.

costs of adjustment, on the basis of the movements of the "sample group", and in the concluding chapter.

The need for organization exists, but the stimulus to private enterprise to work towards this end, can only be applied under conditions of scarcity of supply. Such scarcity since the war has only been felt by a few of the larger organizations who were expanding rapidly, and who needed particular types of skilled employees. In all cases, this meant the setting up of an organized system of recruitment and training. In some cases, this was combined with scientific personnel management to ensure stability, in order to get full returns for the training invested in the staff. In the present period of stress and necessary reduction of staff, the reluctance to part with the men in whom they had invested an expensive training, dictated a policy of work-sharing, and the transfer of such men to less skilled and unskilled jobs, in order to keep as many of them as possible in the employ of the firm. It has all entailed expense, but it has been an expense justified by "good business". There is no doubt that it would be similarly "good business" for society to protect its labour resources, training, directing and conserving it.

The experience during the war, and since then, has proved conclusively that this can not be left to private enterprise. "It is nobody's business to organize the labour market"(1). Private enterprise is stimulated by

(1) Marsh, L. C.: Employment Research: An Introduction to the McGill Program. (Unpublished).

scarcity, and in times of scarcity, the competitive methods indulged in are definitely wasteful and anti-social. In periods of depression, there is no stimulus to industry to train and prepare the labour supply for future demand, and the men are left to adjust themselves as best they can, without any regard to the social repercussions of their methods.

. . . . .

There are, in addition to the employment departments of the larger and better managed firms, institutions and agencies offering assistance in the search for employment adjustment. Among these are technical and trade schools, business and vocational colleges, employment bureaus, welfare agencies, and trade unions. Most of the schools and colleges referred to, cater only to those groups that can afford to pay for the training or courses they offer. Their placement work has undoubtedly been curtailed in the present period of decreasing "employment opportunity", thus further decreasing their attraction even to those groups who usually avail themselves of such facilities. In addition, the numbers who are in a position to make such investment has also decreased considerably. The experiences of our "sample group" with such schools and courses give evidence of this trend. Their period of greatest activity and service undoubtedly coincides with a period of increasing "employment opportunity", when the prospects of placing those who take their courses and pass their examinations seem greatest. It is then, too,

that workers can best afford to take advantage of their offers, and invest in courses to improve their status. Those technical schools whose courses are within the reach of almost all workers also experience a similar activity. In the writer's interview with two of the employment managers who "contacted" the graduates of these schools, and who were the main direct outlets these schools offered, they admitted that they had resorted to this source of supply only when they had found it necessary to build up a large staff in as short a time as possible (1927-29). Since 1930, however, both of these firms have had to lay-off all the men so hired and many additional employees of longer service. It will be a long time before they will again need to "contact" these schools for men. With this, the attraction of the courses offered by these schools is further diminished until another period of activity and scarcity of particular types of men. This anomaly is more fully discussed in chapter VI, in connections with similar characteristics of the labour market, and the stimuli given to the labour supply at different periods to adjust itself to immediate demands.

As for the Employment Service of Canada, it handles only a relatively small part of the total labour recruitment. The average monthly registrations 1926-30 were around 2500, and placements averaged about 1,000 monthly. More than 80 per cent of the placements made by the Federal Employment Service of Canada (for men) are made for farm labourers, building workers, loggers, and miners(1).

(1) Cf. Marsh, op. cit. Chapter V.

The Protestant Employment Bureau and more recently the Registration Bureau for Office Workers, were originally intended to give vocational guidance to workers in need of advice and applying for aid. Their placement work was only incidental to the main purpose of welfare work. In the present period of stress, particularly in 1932 and 1933, they were the centres of distribution of relief to Protestant families and to office workers respectively. They were flooded by this relief work and their placement work was definitely curtailed and suffered because of this diversion of activity. An analysis of a sample group of their placements amply portrays the extent of their work in this field during the period referred to(1). However, due credit must be given for the work that was done under the circumstances, and with the funds available.

Trade union organization in Montreal covers about 20 per cent of the male wage-earning population, but its influence varies considerably downwards from the railway crafts and the printing trades which are the most strongly unionized. Here, too, the "closed shop" is far more the exception than the rule. In the four large printing shops that were visited, they admitted that they found the union to be very useful in helping them get in touch with their former employees, and that the union was the best source for temporary help, particularly when a good man was needed on a moment's notice. All of these shops

(1) For detailed discussion, see the appendix to chapter IV.

paid union wages plus a bonus, in order to keep their men satisfied. They did not discriminate against union men, yet they did not admit affiliation to the unions to the extent of operating a "closed shop". This was partly explained by an official of one of the unions. He suggested that employers were willing to apply to the union for their temporary help, and would be quite satisfied with the work done by such men. However, most of them considered that the fact that the men were unemployed and looking for work marked them as being not as good as those men at work. As a result, whenever a man was needed to fill a permanent position, these firms preferred to "contact" a good man working in another firm and lure him away by offering him a good job. In some cases, too, they would advertise even when a man was not needed immediately. This method was branded as being unfair since, in addition to promoting unnecessary turnover, it would often result in a man's putting in application for his own position, with the possibility that the employer would be antagonized against him.

The employers interviewed, only partly admitted that they had used such methods of recruitment. Since 1930 their orders had been considerably reduced, necessitating a reduction in staff or in hours. Any increase in work since that time was taken care of by the increase in hours worked, the re-hiring of former employees (laid-off temporarily) and occasionally by the taking on of some temporary help. It was thus difficult to get from

them any definite information on their methods in more normal periods. This was particularly true with those who were resigned to the fact that the present conditions will remain as normal for a long time to come.

Table 35.--Trade union membership of men in "sample".

Skill-Status of Workers.	Period of Membership. At Time of Interview.	1926-29.	Up to 1926.	Total (1).
Clerical..	-	4	6	7
Skilled.	6	20	29	32
Semi-Skilled.	3	9	10	12
Unskilled.	-	3	-	3
Total.	9	36	45	54

(1) Shows the number in the group who were members of unions at one time or another. These figures are less than the total of the figures for the different periods, since some of the men who belonged to a union previous to 1926 were also members in 1926-29.

The value of the union as a placement agency was also reflected in the experiences of the men interviewed. Fifty-four of the 125 men had at one time or other been members of a union. Their membership was distributed among twenty-three different unions. At the same time, only three of the 625 jobs obtained by the men in the "sample" were obtained directly through the union. It is true that the union headquarters may have been a good source of information of opportunities in different parts of the city, which served to direct the search of an individual who succeeded in obtaining a job. The extent to which this was responsible for jobs obtained was not disclosed in our survey. Regardless of this fact, the element of personal search and hawking of labour has

not been removed by such services as the unions have to offer. However, we can not minimize the fact that they did serve to lend some direction to the search--a direction sorely needed.

Since 1932, most of the unions have been chartered as employment bureaus and are required to keep records of their placements. In order to ascertain the extent of their activity as placement agencies, twelve unions were visited and their secretaries interviewed(1). These unions represented over thirty locals and had a membership of over 11,000 of whom slightly less than 2,000 were female members. Without exception, the membership at the time of interview was considerably smaller than it had been in 1929; the reductions in some cases were as high as 65 per cent. The estimated 1929 membership based on the figures given by these officials was very nearly 15,000. These figures have been used rather than the statistics furnished by the government(2), to illustrate this change in membership. The government figures should be discounted as it is generally admitted that the information submitted to them by the unions tend to overestimate rather than underestimate the current membership.

In practically none of the unions visited did the fact that they had been chartered as placement agencies mean anything more than the hanging of another charter

(1) See list of unions in bibliography.
(2)"Labour Organization in Canada".

on the wall. In most cases, this may be directly attributed to the fact that very few jobs were available. At the same time, hardly any of the jobs that were available passed through the union. The chartering of an organization as a placement agency is not all that is necessary to make it function as one. It needs publicity of the right sort--publicity that is backed up by efficient service.

A placement agency lives on its reputation, and the calibre of its service, once built up, develops of itself in a cumulative manner. As soon as an agency builds up a reputation of supplying capable men in an efficient manner and thus gains the confidence of employers, a greater proportion of vacancies will be reported to it. This, in turn, would enable it to attract more and better men who will realize that application at this agency is more likely to be successful than their own uninformed personal search. As a result, a wider source of supply (and) of better quality would be tapped, which allows for a still more improved service given to employers, and the reporting of an even greater proportion of vacancies. Hawking of labour would be reduced, and as long as this centralized agency would function properly and produce results, such hawking would be unprofitable and become negligible. These cumulative forces, however, work both ways. A reduction in service, and hence of confidence, would work just as quickly to produce a still poorer service and a shattering of confidence and the smashing of the whole

system(1).

The above is applicable both to the strength of the union in gaining its demands and enforcing its regulations, as well as to its success as a placement agency. The granting of charters to unions recognizing them legally as placement agencies, it seems, has hardly, if at all, affected their regular routine. It may have resulted in the keeping of better records of placements made, but definitely has not increased the number of placements or changed their methods of finding jobs for their members.

Incidentally, these methods of the union are almost as important as the strength of the union in determining the reaction of the individual employer. There is no doubt that his co-operation is necessary particularly where the union is not strong enough to force him to accede to their demands.

An example of this was found in a large shoe manufacturing establishment in the city. The local Boot and Shoe Workers Union had admittedly lost a good number of its members since 1929 and was certainly in no position to dictate to a firm which employed almost half of the union members in good standing. However, this firm, sensing the advantages of working in co-operation with the union, hired only union help (closed shop) and obtained all of its help through the union. Its source of supply was the union headquarters, which could be called, specifying the type of individual required.

(1) For a detailed discussion, see Seymour, J. B.: The British Employment Exchange. (P. S. King and Son Ltd. 1928).

The man or woman sent up would be given a trial and kept on if satisfactory.

The advantages claimed for this method of recruitment were mainly those connected with the existence of a satisfied labour force whose problems would be discussed with their representatives and settled without any undue loss of time. Whether or not the employees have been satisfied with the arrangements,--that would be argued out at union headquarters--the employer has ensured himself against any unnecessary labour troubles, is protected against a high labour turnover, and has always at hand an abundant supply of capable workmen, who can be obtained at short notice.

Another example was that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers who had to enlist the aid of some of the larger manufacturers and of the "Contractors" Association" in their drive to organize the Montreal market. All three parties concerned had felt the pressure of "distress-[illegible] competition" and unfair practices, and declared a truce in their struggles against one another in order to fight the common enemy. Without the help of these larger manufacturers and of the "Association", the union would not have been able to gain control of the market as quickly and decisively as it did. It is now attempting to regulate competition and to institute uniform conditions in the industry. The main concentration is on hours and wages, but the union has also served, indirectly, to infuse some semblance of organization into the methods

of recruitment, and above all, to reduce labour turnover. Even though a manufacturer can at any time call union headquarters, following which, the type of workman specified will be sent up, the union does not do away with the hawking of labour. The insistence upon the "closed shop" principle requires that the individual hired be a member of the union, but any man armed with a "union card" may make personal application to the employer and be taken on, whether he has been sent directly from union headquarters or not. As a result, hawking of labour has not been eliminated even though employers can obtain help from union headquarters. The main contribution, as has already been suggested, is in the reduction of labour turnover. The union protects the employer against having his men continually leaving to work in another union shop, as long as he conforms with the regular demands.

The cases of a weak union securing the co-operation of stronger employers, or being helped to gain strength by manufacturers, is the exception rather than the rule. Generally, employers are prepared to combat the demands of the union and attempt to smash its control. The advantages that are at present being taken of the weakness and divisions in the building trade unions are good examples of this point. These unions admit that they exercise practically no control over the market, although up to 1929, they had "gentleman's agreements" with practically all of the large contractors in the city.

One of these contractors, when interviewed, deplored the disorganized condition of labour in the industry. He suggested that in his line of work (which involved the use of expensive wood panelling) there existed a problem of obtaining skilled help to handle the expensive material with the least amount of waste and loss. He claimed that he was willing to co-operate with the union, but could not, since they were unwilling to "grade" their men. When called for help, they would send up the next man in line rather than the best man available. As a rule, these men were unreliable since anyone who could handle his tools at all could become a union man. What is required is a strict supervision of apprenticeship and a system of "grading" the men, thus introducing the required element of confidence when applying to the union for help. Since no such regulations existed and the men sent up by the union could not be relied upon, it was necessary to develop a system of strict and careful supervision in order to reduce the waste in the material used. He suggested, too, that this additional cost of unproductive labour kept down the wages of his regular help, and that he would be willing to pay more than the union rates to men whom he could trust without the need for supervision. In addition, he found it difficult to work solely with any one union, as, regardless of which he preferred, he was forced to hire men from the "International Unions" or from the "Catholic Syndicate" according to the

specifications on the particular contract. Above all, he made it clear that he did not rely on the union for his men, even when he had his working agreement with them. He would hire union men but would rely on his foremen to "pick-up" those who had worked for them before. They always had to be prepared to build up a staff of the required size and specifications, and only as a last resort to apply to the union. He admitted that this allowed for a certain amount of "patronage" but claimed that he kept a close check on his foremen in this respect. The reason for the close check did not lie in a desire to see that the foremen should not abuse his privelege at the expense of the men hired. It was motivated rather by less altruistic reasons. The repercussion of such "patronage" was often found to be that a man who had paid for his job would threaten the particular foreman with exposure unless he would be allowed to make some extra money working overtime. This threat of blackmail would usually result in collusion whereby the overtime pay roll would be "padded" to the advantage of both the foreman and the employee. These details have been mentioned since they illustrate the consequences which follow almost directly from weak unions. This tends to aggravate further the conditions of disorganized supply and decentralized demand.

One other example to illustrate the rule--i. e. the antagonism between employers and unions--is that of a cloak manufacturer,who had for several years worked with

the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, had kept a "closed shop" and obtained all his help from union headquarters. Early in 1931, when increasing unemployment among union members began to make appreciable inroads into the strength of the union, this manufacturer was one of the leaders in the movement to break away from union control. The charges against the union were that their methods were too clumsy and their regulations too rigid. One of the main points of friction was the union's method of sending up workers when a request for help was phoned in. Here, too, the system of the next eligible man on the list in preference to the best man available, together with the insistence that the man sent up was to be given two days trial before being laid off, was claimed to be an unnecessary and wasteful requirement. After a bitter struggle with charges and countercharges, the control of the union was smashed and the major part of the industry carried on without the services it had to offer.

The above account does not at all exhaust the story of the functions and experiences of the unions. It serves to relate some of the salient details of the unions visited, with regard to their contribution to the organization of the labour market, and their work as placement agencies. Important sections of organized labour, such as the railway unions, have not been discussed(1). In

(1) Full discussion of the railway unions is given in Rountree, G. M.: The Employment and Unemployment Problems of the Railway Industry of Canada. (McGill thesis 1933, Unpublished).

the main, they do not function as placement agencies, but are organizations (of workers already employed by the railways) which voice the opinion of the workers through the agreements on hours, wages and working conditions, and the interpretation of said agreements. Similarly, the Tramways union is an organization of workers already in the employ of the Tramways which negotiates similar agreements for the workers, and protects their interests. It has been admitted that these unions, which are not far removed from the ordinary "company unions" or "plant councils", are organized for the express purpose of forestalling any organizational activity from outside unions. They have been referred to as convenient "safety valves", where all complaints of workers are threshed out and argued amongst themselves. The company's task is thus somewhat eased, since all they have to do is to live up to the agreement signed by their representatives and those of the union.

In sum, the assistance offered by trade unions in the search for employment seems still of minor importance (in securing jobs) having regard to the total size of the problem. Even though 20 per cent of the workers in Montreal are organized into some kind of union, the weakness of these individual unions and their methods of functioning have, with very few exceptions, meant that they could offer no direct assistance in the search. In spite of all the above-mentioned institutions which profess to offer assistance, the problem of securing employment

still requires individual solution. The experiences of our "sample group" indicate the overwhelming importance of personal search and the influence of friends in the process of adjustment.

Chapter IX.--Security of Employment among Clerical and Commercial Workers.

It has already been pointed out that the problem of unemployment and of finding a job differs for every type of worker. This was fully discussed in the above analysis of the employment experience of workers of various ages and skills, with special reference to their methods of adjustment. "Unemployment is a product not alone of the individual movements of the labour force, and of the trends of demand in general, but of methods of recruitment and the degrees of security which attach to particular types of engagement"(1). These methods of recruitment, and degrees of security vary, not only between firms, but also between different skill groups in the same firm. The policies are in most cases determined by the factors which have been discussed above, and an illustration of this can be made by an examination of the policies observed in this sample survey.

Of the thirty-five firms visited, only five had followed a policy of non-reduction of staff because of lack of work, three had increased their staffs since 1928, while all of the remainder told stories of reductions since then. These reductions ranged from 20 per cent to over 60 per cent of the average 1926-29 staff. Two of

(1) Marsh, op. cit.

these firms had closed down since that time. The total number of men on the payrolls had been reduced from almost 20,000 in 1928 to abour 15,000 in 1933, an average reduction of from 20 to 25 per cent.

This general reduction did not apply to the office staffs. As many as twenty of the firms interviewed maintained staffs--in 1933--which were equal in number to those of 1929, and in many cases this meant exactly the same personnel. Five of the remaining firms showed some slight changes (in size and personnel) and employed a total of eighty in their offices in 1933 as compared with 91 in 1928-29. Marked reductions in office staffs had occurred in four of the largest firms. Three of these employed 443, 125, and 133 in 1933 as compared with 483, 175, and 281 respectively, in 1928. The exact figures for the fourth firm were not available but it was intimated that the reduction in this case was even greater than in the third firm for which figures are given.

With very few exceptions, the firms which had not shown any reduction, employed small office staffs. Even though the total number employed by these twenty firms was about 670, four of them alone employed slightly more than 450. In two of these four firms the stability can be explained by the fact that the amount of work available had not been diminished. In the other two, even though the work to be done had decreased and a reduction in staff could have been effected, the policy of these firms had been to retain their total staffs and not to lay-off anyone of their employees for lack of work. (Incidentally,

this policy of non-reduction, also applied to the manual workers in these two firms).

Apart from the exceptions just mentioned, the smaller offices had not reduced their staffs while the largest ones had. The two determining factors so far have been the size of staff and the policy of the firm. Intimately connected with these two are other characteristics of office staffs.

In the smaller offices, a system once installed, is not very flexible, nor does the work fluctuate very much i. e. enough to allow for continual change. In some of these smaller firms, the amount of clerical work was not reduced, even though there had been a reduction in the plant's production, while in one of these visited by the writer, it was found that the clerical work had to be continued even though the plant had temporarily closed down. In addition, it was evident that a close contact had been established and the staff had become part of the business. A certain amount of responsibility had to be assumed by each member of the staff, and this, in most cases, involved an added difficulty in hiring a new clerk, who had to be taught the particular system of the office as well as his general duties. This responsibility and close contact was often assured by the hiring of friends and relatives of the staff. In this way, the members of the staff became responsible for the individuals they had recommended.

Among the larger staffs, and where reductions did

occur, the lack of personal contact was evident. In these offices a great deal of detailed work, minutely subdivided, and intimately connected with production, had been developed. In one case, this even produced a seasonal variation in the size of the office staff because of the seasonal character of certain work done in the plant. In all cases, the detailed work to be done varied directly with production, sufficiently to be of marked importance. In addition, the orders for reduction of staff came down from the management, a further evidence of impersonal contact. A great deal of unnecessary work and wasteful detail usually characterises such larger offices, particularly in a period of growth. The period 1926-29 witnessed a rapid expansion in two of these offices, and some of the systems then put into operation were later revealed to be unproductive. The elimination of these unnecessary duties, plus the reduction of total work to be done, made possible the dismissal of part of the staff, the necessary work being assumed by the remainder.

This procedure in a large office amounts to an appreciable reduction and saving. Such efforts by efficiency experts in a smaller office might result in the elimination of, let us say, two and one third men. Although this may be a reasonable percentage of the total staff, it would not result in enough total saving to warrant expenditure on such expert advice. Additional costs (disutility) to be allowed for, would be the antipathy of the staff towards such impersonal methods, and the loss of the advantages gained from their close contact with the firm.

In addition to the relative stability of employment, the low turnover rate is also a striking characteristic of office-staffs. This is no doubt partly due to their stability and security of employment. In the smaller offices, the responsibilities that members of the staff must assume and the close contact between the employers and employees are additional attractions to remain. There is here, too, a possibility of the employee becoming an indispensable part of the business. There is no such close contact between employer and employee in the larger offices. This is compensated for, however, by the more numerous opportunities for promotion and the prizes of responsible positions that are always held before employees.

Although it is not intended to break up further the broad classification of "office worker" into the different types of work covered and the particular problems and security of each, attention should be drawn to the position of the office boy and the junior clerk in the larger offices. The impatience and relatively high mobility of younger workers have been discussed and demonstrated in the chapter on losing and leaving jobs(1). The opportunities for promotion and a promising future, no doubt, are strong incentives for them to stay. However, their patience must not be taxed beyond a certain limit, particularly in a period when alternative opportunities are presenting themselves elsewhere. The problem, somewhat paradoxically, arises from the fact that good

(1) Page 31-33.

treatment of the staff by the management, and satisfaction with their positions and salaries, reduces the desire for change, and turnover is practically eliminated. In addition, the older members are not likely to retire, particularly because of the extra consideration given to men of long service. The result is, that unless the business is expanding rapidly, the opportunities for advancement only come when some member of the staff finally retires. This, in many cases, is a relatively infrequent occurrence. Translated in terms of opportunities for the junior clerk or office boy, it is altogether too slow a process in spite of the fact that it is a sure one. It tends to produce a relatively high rate of turnover among these younger groups depending on the conditions of industry at the time.

This situation was apparent in practically all of the large offices visited. The average length of service of office boys and junior clerks had increased in the past couple of years, in spite of the fact that the rate (and probability) of promotion had decreased. This low rate of turnover was the result of a lack of alternative opportunity. It suggests a problem for this younger group directly due to the stable employment position of the rest of the staff, which is further aggravated by the longer "working life" of the office worker.

The last mentioned factor is not immediately disclosed in the census figures. The age distribution of "Stenographers, typists and, office appliance operators"

Table 36.--Age distribution of male "clerical" workers, Montreal 1931.#

Age Groups Years	Bookkeepers Cashiers		Stenographers Typists etc.		Clerical n. e. s.	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
17 and under.	6	1	40	6.7	1,216	8.7
18 to 19.	277	5.6	113	18.9	1,497	10.7
20 to 24.	1,200	24.1	230	38.5	3,153	22.6
25 to 44.	2,753	55.4	184	30.8	5,923	42.4
45 to 54.	441	8.9	20	3.4	1,332	9.5
55 to 64.	218	4.4	6	1.0	634	4.5
65 to 69.	49	1.0	4	.7	170	1.2
70 and over.	27	.5	-	-	50	.4
All Ages.	4,971	100.0	597	100.0	13,975	100.0

is relatively low, 64.1 per cent being under twenty-five years of age and only 5.1 per cent being forty-five years or over. Similarly the age distribution of "Bookkeepers and cashiers", although not quite so low, is lower than that for the total male wage-earners. A negligible fraction (0.1 per cent) are under eighteen, but 29.8 per cent are under twenty-five years and only 5.9 per cent are fifty-five years and over. The corresponding figures for male wage-earners show 23.8 per cent to be under twenty-five and 9.7 per cent fifty-five years of age and over. The age distribution of "Clerical (n. e. s.)" seems definitely to contradict our reference to the "longer working life" of office workers. The figures show that 42 per cent are under twenty-five and only 6.1 per cent are fifty-five years and over. This shows that a large proportion of office jobs are held by young workers, a point which has already been referred to in discussing office jobs as a means of entrance into the

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labour market. This is only one half of the picture.

The other half is disclosed by observing the age distribution of "Managers and Officials" (excluding managers of retail stores).

Table 37.--Age distribution of Managers and Officials(Males), Montreal 1931.#

Age Groups Years.	Managers and Officials No.	P.C.	Total Male Wage-Earners. P.C.
Under 20.	-	-	9.5
20-24.	63	1.3	14.3
25-44.	2,794	58.8	51.5
45-54.	1,151	24.2	15.0
55-64.	560	11.8	7.3
65-69.	118	2.5	1.6
70 and over.	64	1.4	.8
Total All Ages.	4,750	100.0	100.0

Table 37 shows that even though a large percentage are promoted to managerial positions and hold them at the ages 25 to 44, the numbers that remain in the succeeding age groups are proportionately greater than the total male wage-earners at those ages. Thus, 15.7 per cent of the managers are aged fifty-five years and over and 3.9 per cent are sixty-five years and over. In the same age groups there are respectively only 9.7 per cent and 2.4 per cent of the total male wage-earners. It is this situation, the relatively longer "working life" of those holding executive positions and the better office jobs that aggravates the problem for the young office clerk by decreasing his chances of promotion.

It has already been indicated, that the general reduction in

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total staffs did not apply to the office-staffs in the firms visited. The few exceptions have been referred to and identified as being, in the main, the firms with large office staffs. The inference is that clerical workers have not suffered from unemployment to anything like the same extent as other groups.

This is verified by the census figures of unemployment among wage-earners. They disclose that only 17.03 per cent of all male clerical workers lost any time (in 1930-31) as compared with 44.62 per cent of all male wage-earners. Of the 51 different occupations included in the "sample group" (p.26), clerical workers were forty-ninth in the list of percentages of workers losing time. However, the average number of weeks lost by the clerical workers who did lose time was as much as 21.35 weeks as compared with 23.71 weeks by all male wage-earners losing time.

Table 38.--Extent of unemployment among office workers(male), Montreal 1931.#

Occupation	Number Reporting	Number Losing Time	Per cent Losing Time	Aggregate Weeks Lost	Average Weeks Lost by those Losing Time
Clerical n.e.s.	14,238	2,528	17.76	54,587	21.59
Bookkeepers, Cashiers.	5,014	745	14.74	15,062	20.22
Stenographers etc.	620	110	17.74	2,574	23.40

In the three sub-classffications of clerical workers, "Stenographers etc." suffered the greatest amount of unemployment as 17.76 per cent lost time and these lost on an average, 23.40 weeks each. "Clerical n.e.s." came

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next with 17.76 per cent losing time and on an average, 21.59 weeks each, while only 14.74 per cent of the "Bookkeepers, cashiers" lost time and these lost 20.22 weeks.

The causes of unemployment for these groups are also of some interest. Unemployment (i. e. total time lost on account of no job and temporary lay-off) was responsible for 87.12 per cent, 89.24 per cent and 92.97 per cent of the total "time-loss" suffered by "Bookkeepers etc.", "Clerical n.e.s." and "Stenographers etc." respectively. This calls for some explanation since the "time-loss" on account of these causes was responsible for 92.04 per cent of the aggregate number of weeks lost by all male wage-earners. The difference lies in the time lost for illness, as a percentage of total "time-loss".

Table 39.--Illness as a cause of lost time. (Male wage-earners only).# Montreal, 1931.

	All Wage-Earners	Clerical n.e.s.	Bookkeepers Cashiers	Stenographers etc.
Average number of weeks lost by those losing time for this reason. No.	14.70	11.25	13.34	15.00
Proportionate importance of illness as a cause. P.C.	6.54	8.89	11.65	6.41

It is evident that among clerical workers, particularly among "Bookkeepers etc.", the average number of weeks lost because of illness is less than that lost by all male wage-earners on account of this cause. At the same time, illness is of greater relative importance as

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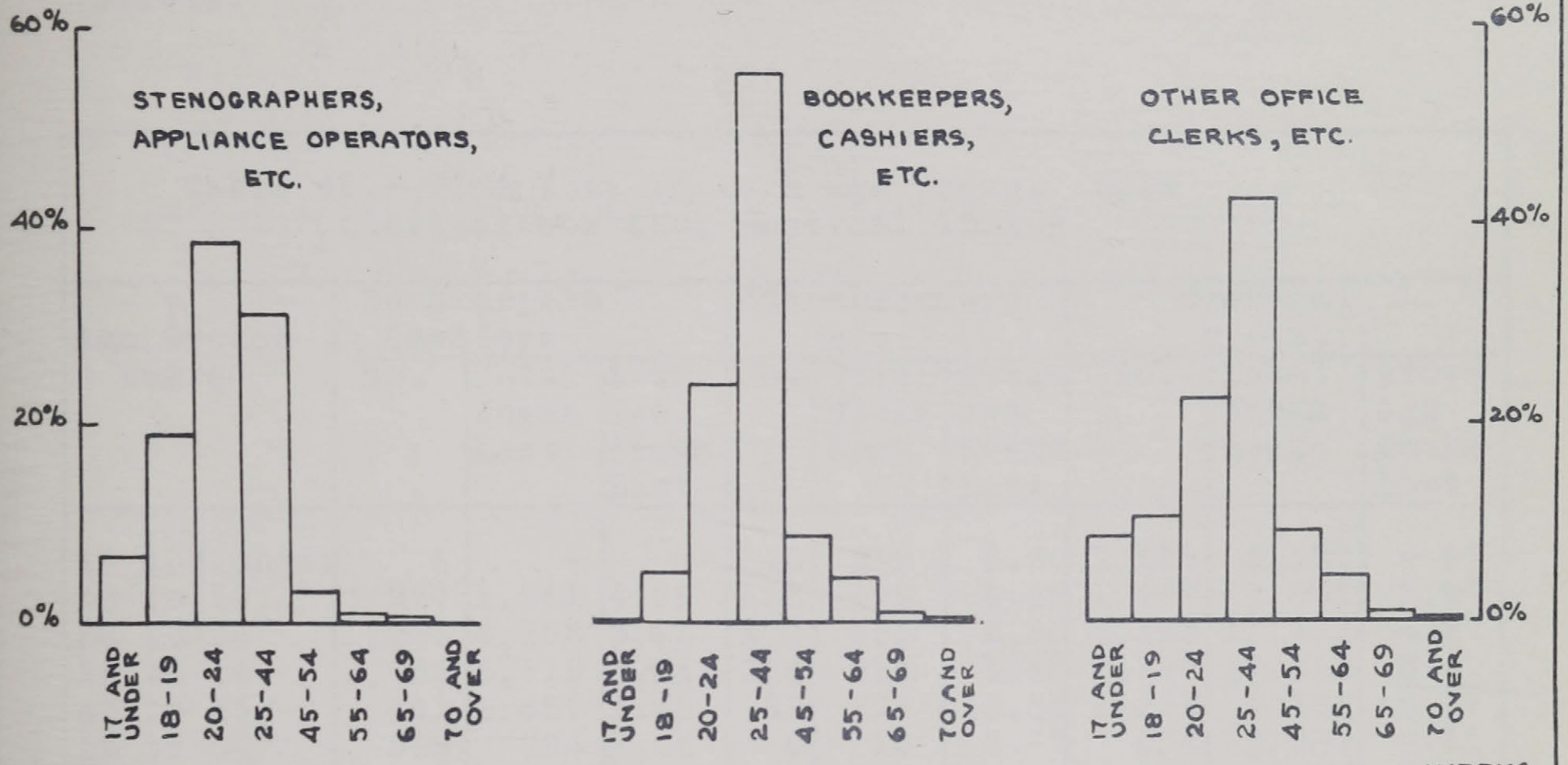
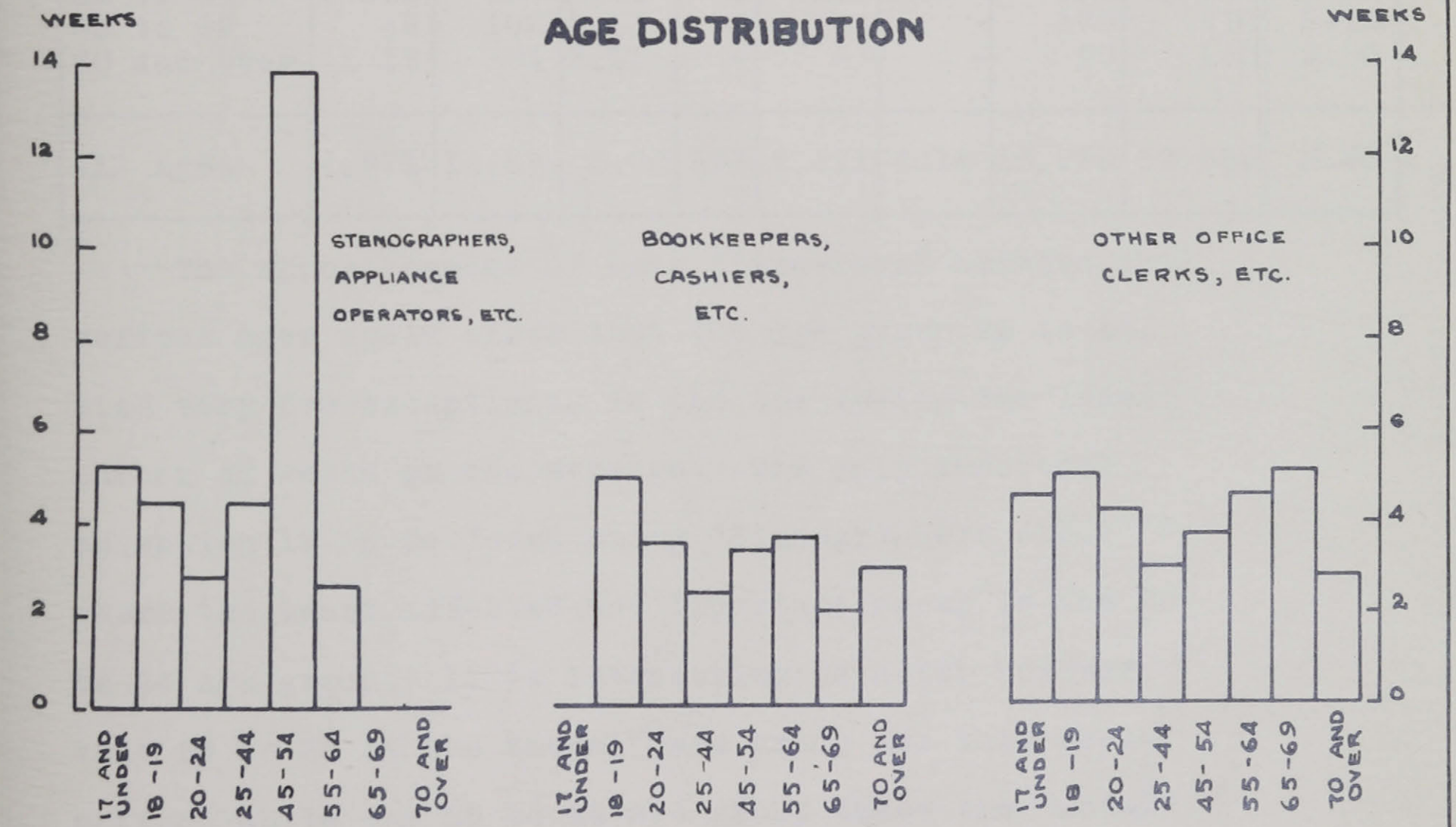
Chart VIII

INCIDENCE OF LOST TIME AMONG MALE CLERICAL WORKERS BY AGE GROUPS MONTREAL, 1931



AGE DISTRIBUTION



AVERAGE WEEKS LOST

a cause of lost time among clerical workers than among total wage-earners. This is due to the fact that the aggregate number of weeks lost on account of the other causes is proportionately less among clerical than other workers.

Table 40.--Time lost in each age group. Male clerical workers, Montreal 1931.#

Age Groups Years	Bookkeepers Cashiers			Stenographers etc.			Clerical n.e.s.		
	No.	Total Weeks Lost	Average Weeks Lost	No.	Total Weeks Lost	Average Weeks Lost	No.	Total Weeks Lost	Average Weeks Lost
17 and under	6	-	--	40	212	5.30	1,216	5,430	4.47
18 to 19	277	1,381	4.99	113	499	4.42	1,497	7,586	5.07
20 to 24	1,200	4,328	3.61	230	655	2.85	3,153	13,479	4.27
25 to 44	2,753	6,715	2.44	184	813	4.42	5,923	18,313	3.09
45 to 54	441	1,489	3.35	20	276	13.80	1,332	4,884	3.67
55 to 64	218	794	3.64	6	16	2.67	634	2,887	4.55
65 to 69	49	103	2.10	4	-	-	170	870	5.12
70 and over	27	84	3.11	-	-	-	50	140	2.80
All Ages	4,971	14,894	3.00	597	2,471	4.14	13,975	53,589	3.85

The apportionment of this "time-loss" between the various ages again shows that the age group 25 to 44, with very few exceptions, is the one losing the least number of weeks on the average. The only important exception is to be found among "Stenographers etc." where the least affected and important group is the 20 to 24 age group. It is interesting to note, however, that 20 to 24 is the "modal" age group for this occupation, while the 25 to 44 age group takes the "modal" position in the other "Clerical" occupations. In addition, this occupation is the focal point for female

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competition in the "Clerical group. Female "Stenographers etc." outnumber the males in this occupation by 8,572 to 620. The similar figures for "Bookkeepers" are 2,337 females and 5,014 males, while "Clerical n.e.s." number 5,132 females and 14,238 males.

With all the qualifications, as outlined above, the outstanding fact is the proportionately low"time-loss" for office staffs. Even though the group as a whole lost over 30,000 weeks in 1930-31, thus contributing a large bulk of the total "time-loss" for all occupations, the problem of unemployment for the individual in this group is relatively less burdensome. This is verified by the fact that the average number of weeks lost by this group was only 3.64 as compared with 10.58 for all male wage-earners.

Office-staffs were not alone in escaping the general reduction of staff in the firms visited. It was evident that the sales-staffs, upon whom the activity of the various plants depended, also received special consideration and treatment.

In fourteen firms from whom figures for the numbers on the sales-staffs were obtained, the total in 1933 was 613 as compared with 611 in 1928-29. The difference in the totals was due to changes in seven of the firms concerned. Three of these had reduced their staffs and employed a total of 50 in 1933 as compared with 64 in 1928-29. The other four had increased their sales-staffs since that time from a total of 50 in 1928-29 to 66 in 1933.

The personnel of these staffs had, with very few exceptions, remained the same during that time, as the turnover, particularly since 1930, had been practically negligible. Even in 1926-29, when jobs were plentiful and the incentive to change was relatively greater, none of the firms interviewed had been faced with problems of voluntary terminations and the necessity of recruiting new sales help. There were only isolated cases of individuals leaving to take better jobs and these were not sufficiently frequent to present a problem of turnover.

The stability and security of employment of the sales-staff may be explained in terms somewhat similar to those explaining the position of clerical workers. There is established a close contact between this staff and the employer, and it becomes more an integral part of the business than does the small office-staff, which was discussed above. Aside from the dependence of the firm on orders brought in by their sales-staff, there is the additional consideration that this staff is only direct the firm's contact with customers. This suggests that not only is there the difficulty of "breaking in" a new man to work the territory developed by another, but the man who has developed that territory is a potential competitor, and the experience may be a costly one if he should be hired by a rival firm.

The opinions on this subject held by several travellers were that they preferred to represent the same "house" of to carry the same "line" as long as it was reasonably

profitable. Several reasons were offered. First, the changing of "lines" carried, meant that they would have to begin developing a new territory or a new "string of customers", which, aside from the advantage of their experience in the "game", would put them in the same position as a new man just "breaking in". Secondly, the handling of the same "line" for a different "house" would, in addition to making the competition keener, result in the man's reliability being questioned by his customers. As one traveller put it, "It doesn't pay to have to take time to explain to your customers why you are representing another 'house'. In most cases, other versions of the story are going to be related to them. Some of them are going to be sceptical about the whole story anyway. Remember, if they have never before dealt with the 'house' you are now representing, you will have to offer them much better terms to get them to transfer their accounts. By doing that, you are letting yourself in for trouble. The competition will become keener and your reputation will not have gained much in the meantime".

One of these men had continually been receiving offers to work for another "house". He explained his "turning down" of these offers in the following terms:

"I have to consider my customers", he said. "As long as I treat them fairly and give them value for their money, I will get their accounts. In many cases, to do so, I must put their case before my employer, with the result that, even though I may get the desired terms, he feels that I am siding with the customer against him.

I must overcome this by proving my loyalty to the firm, and impress him with the fact that I am working with the firm and not only for it. If I were to accept any better offer made by another 'house', my new employer would soon feel that I am there to make as much as I can for myself, even at the expense of the firm, and that I am prepared to leave him if any better offer is made. As a result, he becomes more wary of my moves and is just as ready to replace me as he was to take me on. Such firms are always on the lookout for the best salesman in the 'line', to make him a good offer until they find a better man. No, I intend to stay with my present employer, work with him for our mutual benefit, and keep his confidence. In this 'game' you are a middleman and must satisfy both the parties on whom you depend. You live on your 'connections' and you can't afford to have them lose confidence in you".

The above remarks may be accepted as representative of the opinions of most travellers, even though they are conditioned by the individual's background, position, and his general attitude towards these matters. It suggests the things that must be and are considered before a change is made. There is no doubt that commercial travellers do make changes both in the "lines" they carry and the "houses" they represent. This is particularly true of the younger men who are either adjusting themselves to changing conditions or who are advancing in their field by carrying more profitable "lines" or representing better

known "houses". The fact remains that there is danger in such changes, if they are made too often, or if made for unwarranted and purely selfish reasons, which may result in sacrifice of the close connection and confidence which is necessary between employer and employee. It is evident that both parties concerned are interested in remaining together as long as it is reasonably profitable for each, and in spite of any slightly better offers that may be made. There may be other reasons connected with the firm, the individual, and, at present, with business conditions, affecting the rate of turnover, but there is no doubt that the factors outlined above contribute to a large extent to the low turnover and long service records which are evident in the sales-staffs.

In addition to the desire to keep a man on as long as possible in order to forestall the possibility of his being hired by a competitor, there is the question of the policy of the firm in times of stress and decreasing orders. One of the firms which had enlarged their selling staff, did so for the very reason that others had reduced theirs--the falling off of orders. Instead of reducing the size of their selling staff and giving each traveller a larger territory to cover, they preferred to increase the size of their staff and have each man concentrate on the smaller section and canvass it more thoroughly. This decision, no doubt, was influenced by the general marketing policy of the firm, their alternative outlets, and the type of their product. It was

pointed out that the rest of the employees (300-400 persons in the total plant) who depended on the orders brought in, had to be considered, and that the total sales had increased because of this closer canvass.

Another firm explained that the sales-staff had been reduced in order to give those salesmen who remained a chance to make a living wage by allowing them to cover a larger territory and to see more customers. This was preferred to the alternative of allowing the travellers to carry supplementary "lines" with which to bolster their income. They insisted that their representatives give all their time and attention to the one product and that one only.

Regardless of the different policies of the firms, it was evident that such changes as did occur in these staffs, were only minor ones compared with those taking place in the rest of the staff. For this group, there seemed to be a relatively greater security of employment, re-enforced by a common interest in a low rate of turnover. As a result, replacements, or the necessity of hiring a new man, were few and far between. Thus, there were no specifically organized methods of recruitment. In all the firms visited, the responsibility for these staffs was centralized, whether in the hands of the sales manager, office manager, or the assistant to the general manager. In only two of the firms were there regular methods. One of these always advertised whenever a traveller was needed. The other, promoted a man from production if he showed promise of becoming a capable salesman. All the recruitment in this firm had been done by

this method, and the management was always certain that the man, so chosen, knew enough about the product to sell it.

In all the other firms, a great majority of the salesmen hired had gained their jobs through some type of personal recommendation. In some few cases, a member of the office staff who had appeared to be capable, had, on application, been promoted to the selling-staff; in others they had been recommended by some employees in the office; but the most frequent method was recommendation by the travellers themselves. As soon as a vacancy would occur, the offices would invariably receive letters from their own men recommending some one who had previously done some selling and had gone into some other line of work, and who was now looking around for an opportunity to become connected with some reputable "house". It is clear that the travellers themselves, who are always in contact with others in their line of work, are the best sources of information for conditions of supply in their occupation. In most cases, the problem of recruitment was solved by applying to this source.

It is not intended to draw too pleasant a picture of the position of the commercial traveller and his security of employment. His position is not any more secure than the solvency of the firm he represents, and the security of both depends largely on his ability to write orders. It is no doubt true that many travellers reported "No Job" because of the bankruptcy of the firm they had

represented. Some firms had reduced their sales-staffs and assigned each of the remaining travellers to a larger territory. (Only three of the firms interviewed had done this). In addition, because of the scarcity of vacancies that require replacements, the difficulty of becoming connected with another firm is even greater for these workers.

Table 41.--Extent and duration of unemployment among commercial travellers (males). Montreal 1931.#

	Commercial Travellers	Total Wage-Earners
Total number.	4,282	224,075
Number losing time.	767	99,983
Per cent of total.	17.91	44.62
"Time-loss", weeks.		
Total.	16,244	2,370,103
Per man.	3.79	10.58
Per man losing time.	21.18	23.71
"No job" as a cause of unemployment.		
1. Per cent of total losing time.	12.82	35.60
2. Average number of weeks lost by those losing time.	23.21	25.17

However, the extent of unemployment suffered by commercial travellers as shown by the census figures, was proportionately less than that suffered by all male wage-earners. The average time lost by this group was only 3.79 weeks as compared with 10.58 weeks for all male wage-earners. This "time-loss" was shared by only 17.91 per cent of the commercial travellers, while 44.62 per cent of the total male wage-earners lost some time. The average number of weeks lost by those losing time was 21.18 weeks for travellers and 23.71 weeks for all male

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wage-earners. Thus the problem of unemployment is, in this group, confined to a small proportion of the total (17.91 per cent), but those suffering unemployment lost, on the average, over 21 weeks, a figure comparable with the "time-loss" suffered by all male wage-earners. This was even more true of those who lost time because of "No Job". They made up only 22.82 per cent of all commercial travellers listed, but they lost on an average of 23.21 weeks each.

Another occupation in the "commercial" classification which should be given special attention, is that of delivery-men. These have been classed under "Commercial" since a major part of their work is to canvass the district assigned to them and to sell their products to the housewife. In addition, the firms visited paid these men a minimum wage plus a commission on sales, and their jobs depended on their sales record. These men, too, provided the main contact between producer and consumer, and the employers realized that the impression they made upon the customers was important.

In two of the firms visited, even though the hiring of the men in the plant had been left to the discretion of the production manager, a special sales manager had been appointed to take care of the deliverymen. His duties, in addition to the regular ones connected with such a position, were to build up a staff of deliverymen that would give the best possible results. This involved a careful selection, training and supervision. In one of the firms, no particular mechanism was set up. The sales

manager, among other things, kept a list of all applicants whom he had interviewed. This waiting list was referred to whenever an additional man was needed, and the references submitted by the applicant were investigated. Only on a few occasions in the past was it necessary to apply to any other source of supply, and then the employees of the firm were asked to recommend friends or relatives who they thought were fit for this job.

The need for extra men--canvassers and deliverymen--arises in the spring (in April) when the country [illegible] routes are opened. These men are taken on temporarily, to be laid off again at the end of the summer months (in September). In addition, a close check is kept on the sales record of the regular men, and there is a continual weeding out of the poorest sellers who are replaced by the regular canvassers. Their places, in turn, are filled by temporary men who have shown good sales records. The incentive to the regular deliverymen, in addition to the commission on sales, is the possibility of being promoted to the position of route supervisor. These supervisors are each responsible for a certain number of routes, and see that they are taken care of, teach a new man his route, and substitute for any one of the men on those routes in case of sickness or leave of absence.

The number of voluntary terminations had in this staff been considerably reduced since 1929. It was estimated, however, that the turnover remained at around 20 per cent in the period 1930-33. This figure was made up mainly of discharges, particularly of the new men and was partly explained by the policy of the firm. The

men are bonded when hired and a strict check is made of their collections. As soon as any serious shortage is discovered, the employee is immediately discharged. In a depression period, this has proved to be a source of difficulty for the deliverymen. First, they are liable for the collections from their customers, and the number of bad debts have been increasing. Secondly, some of the men have been pressed by their own debts, and once having borrowed some of the firm's money, they find it difficult to replace. This problem has always existed. In the words of the sales manager, "Men have to be trusted with receipts, and some can't be trusted". As a result, those employees who are forced to borrow their firm's money, and with honest intention, must also pay the penalty. It is an expensive experience for all concerned, since the cost of training a new man is high, and there remains the possibility, in times like the present, that the same situation will recur.

The methods and experiences of the second firm visited were different enough to make an interesting comparison. The sales manager in this firm is more strict and more careful in the selection of his deliverymen. He interviews all applicants whether a vacancy exists or not, and in many cases does so out of courtesy to the individual who may be a prospective customer. He has decided what type of applicant he would hire, and makes a careful note of all these men. The information and references given are investigated and carefully filed.

This sales manager definitely prefers to train his own men rather than hire a man with previous experience in another company. He has developed what he considers to be the best method for selling his type of merchandise and wants men who can be trained to become delivery-men of the type required and who will approach the customer in the desired manner. For this, he suggested that men who had worked as clerks in chain stores are the most desirable.

He has also set a definite hiring age--21 to 35. The firm used to hire boys 18 to 21 years of age, and train them, but found this practice unsatisfactory as the boys were not mature enough to assume the responsibilities attached to the job, particularly that of handling collections. The upper age limit was set because of a desire to get a long enough period of service from the individual to warrant the expenditure on his training. Thus, the man is carefully selected, trained, and given an opportunity to make good. He is paid a commission and a minimum wage, and the opportunity of becoming a route supervisor is also held out to him. However, if he begins to slip (and his sales are carefully watched), he is liable to be replaced by an extra man who has made a better showing.

The need for extra men in this firm also arises out of the opening of the country routes in the summer. Twenty extra men are hired to supplement the regular staff of 260. These men are <u>not</u> taken on as temporary

help. It is made clear to them that every man making a good showing will be retained, replacing those regular men who are falling down in their activity and sales. This has kept the force on its toes at all times, and the laggards were weeded out after the first couple of years of this policy. This method, plus the policy of keeping all good men, has resulted in the retention of more men than are necessary to do the work. The sales manager claimed that at the time of interview, he was carrying six more men than he had need for, and that he would not let them go for lack of work.

This insistence upon keeping up to the mark has not proved to be a handicap to older workers. They are given special consideration and are allowed to stay on the job as long as they can take care of it, even though a younger man could get along much more easily and quickly. Later, when an older man applies for easier work, a job is usually "made" for him about the plant. As yet, no pension scheme has been instituted, but a superannuation fund is being considered, and the sales manager suggested that "something would be done about it" when funds were more easily obtainable.

The question of the language difficulty was also broached. All members of the delivery-staff are required to read and write English. About 40 per cent must be able to speak French, since they are needed for the French districts. There is no problem of having to turn away a capable applicant because he does not speak French, since he can always be placed in an English section.

What has been the result in this firm of the careful policy outlined above? We can only take the word of the sales manager, backed by a few records which we were allowed to examine. He claimed that at least 80 per cent of the present members of the sales-staff have been with the firm five years or more, and that over 25 per cent have been in his employ for ten years or more. The numbers replaced, who were referred to as "those unwilling to put forth additional effort to get ahead" normally amounted to about 4 per cent per annum, and has been less than that in the last two years. The voluntary terminations were negligible, and were confined to the older men who retired. This firm was satisfied that the extra efforts and costs involved had been more than repaid by the efficient service of a capable staff.

It is clear that the stability of this staff and its security of employment will depend, to a large measure, on the policy of the firm and its methods. It has been indicated that the turnover in the two firms visited showed a considerable difference--20 per cent to 4 per cent--and that this was largely attributable to the differences in their methods. At the same time, it is equally clear that no firm can keep changing the personnel of its deliverymen and continue to compete with those firms who have reduced their turnover and costs. The fact that men have been discharged suggests that their sales have not been up to the mark while they were employed, or that they had caused the company some trouble and expense. A capable man who leaves voluntarily may be hired by a competitor

which may also mean a transfer of a certain number of customers and a reduction of sales. Above all, the training of new men, particularly for this work, is expensive. Before long, a firm must realize that the costs of excessive turnover are greater than the expenses involved in the careful selection and training which aims at the building up of an efficient staff.

The next step, and one that usually follows, is that of guaranteeing a certain security of employment and offering inducements to the employees to remain with the firm long enough to warrant the original expenditure. There is no doubt that security of employment is one of the greatest incentives to stability. In the occupation just discussed, it has been very easy to translate high turnover in terms of costs; the additional expense involved is obvious. As a result, in most cases, at least part of the step towards reduction of these costs has been taken, and in cases like the second firm visited, the costs resulting from turnover have been kept down to a minimum. In the process, the deliverymen have benefited, since they have been guaranteed a certain security which removes part of the problem of unemployment--the need for continual readjustment.

It is unfortunate that the census figures do not show the extent of unemployment among deliverymen, who are also members of the sales-force. The census classification is a wider one and includes wagon boys, jumpers, street sprinkler drivers, haulage contractor's drivers etc.,

who do not come in under the "Commercial" classification. It is interesting to note, however, that in this total group of "Deliverymen, drivers, n. s.", temporary lay-offs only contributed 2.77 per cent of the "time-loss" as compared with 7.36 per cent for all male wage-earners. This serves to illustrate that even though 36.06 per cent of this group lost some time, and these lost over 22 weeks, unemployment was mainly of the "No Job" type(1) (which was responsible for 89.31 per cent of the "time-loss") and that temporary lay-off of these workers was proportionately less important as compared with all occupations.

(1) "No Job"--because of discharge, or prolonged lay-off.

Chapter X.--Labour Turnover: Some Examples.

From the amount of factual evidence collected in this study, this chapter cannot presume to make a comprehensive analysis of labour turnover in Montreal industry. It is based on facts obtained from a few of the more progressive establishments who have given rather close study to the problem of labour instability. No more is attempted here than to analyze the turnover conditions in these firms in the light of their labour and employment policies, and to compare their figures with those of firms which have paid less attention to their labour force. The results may not be very conclusive because of the small number of firms from which evidence was obtained, but they are, to say the least, instructive.

It has been pointed out that job-changing may mean either gain or loss to the individual workman. In a period of increasing "employment opportunity", the change of jobs may be of definite profit to the worker, as has been shown in the progressive experiences of the "sample group" during 1926-29. It would scarcely involve a loss since, even at the worst, the period of unemployment between jobs is relatively short(1). However, in a period

(1) See page 111.

of depression and decreasing "employment opportunity", these changes present a problem of unemployment and irregular employment for the individual. This too, is illustrated in the comparative figures for 'time-lost' since 1930 by the men in the "sample group".

What, then, of the employer; what is his concern in the problem of labour turnover, or instability? Scientifically, this question is answered by John R. Commons in his introduction to Dr. Slichter's book, "The Turnover of Factory Labor". He writes, "But suddenly it is found that one of the greatest costs of labor is not the inefficiency of the individual but the lack of goodwill of labor as a whole. Labor turnover, which is a group phenomenon and not an individual question, suddenly looms up as an intangible overhead cost, and the future scientific management must deal not alone with individuals as such but with labor as a class and as a whole". In his book, Dr. Slichter gives a thorough analysis of the causes of labour turnover in factories, the costs to the worker, employer, and the public, and suggests methods of reducing the turnover, based on the experiences of a number of establishments in attempts at its reduction.

The question in which this study is interested is how far this problem has been realized in Montreal and whether employment policies have been instituted to reduce labour turnover to any extent. The broad answer to this question is given in chapters VIII and IX which

discuss the factors that influence personnel policy and illustrate these by reference to the experiences of clerical and commercial workers.

In the chapters mentioned, the important considerations which influence labour policies are seen to be six:

(a) the size of the staff,

(b) the relative importance of the labour factor in production (or distribution),

(c) the skill of the labour required,

(d) the attitude of the management towards labour,

(e) the conditions of the supply of labour,

(f) the institutions that exist to aid labour in the process of adjustment.

In most cases, the stability of the labour force is seen to depend on whether or not the employer has realized that it is less expensive to keep trained experienced men than it is to hire new and untrained men.

The questions which may be asked in this chapter are two: (a) What are the effects of alternating periods of prosperity and depression on the extent of turnover; and (b) how does stability of employment vary as between the skilled and the unskilled worker?

The effect of alternating periods of prosperity and depression upon the extent of accessions and separations has been summarized by Brissenden and Frankel(1) as follows:

"In a rising labor market many new employment opportunities are created, which means that jobless workers

(1) Brissenden, P. F. and Frankel, E.: Labor Turnover in Industry. (MacMillan 1922)

get jobs and many employed workers leave their jobs and take employment elsewhere, ostensibly to better their industrial situation. Because of the urgency of work, it becomes necessary to replace quickly those employees who have left. The rapidity with which employees leave their jobs and the extent to which job changes take place will depend upon the extent to which industrial operations are enlarged and how favorable an employment situation is thus created. The more favorable the employment situation, the larger the number of accessions. These, of course, in addition to those hired from among the unemployed, are the cause of an increase in the number of separations from other plants, where, in turn, additional replacement accessions are required. Through the single fact that employees leave their jobs in rapid succession, constantly increasing employment opportunities are created, thus increasing both accessions and separations(1)".

"When there is extensive industrial activity and considerable competition for labor, the process of selection in industrial establishments also considerably accelerates the frequency of labor shifting. It is obvious that when an establishment is rapidly increasing its work force in a tight labor market, it cannot usually make a very careful examination of the fitness of a particular applicant for the job. During such times it is also possible that people are taken on who in

(1) The fact that labor turnover is heaviest in periods of prosperity partially explains the existence in such periods of the so-called "irreducible minimum of unemployment".

normal times would not be hired at all. After these people actually begin to work in an establishment, however, a good many of them will be found to be unfit or undesirable and after a longer or shorter period of service are let go. This selective process is, of course, greatly intensified in times of unusual industrial activity, when there is a scarcity of labor. All this involves an increase in the number of both accessions and separations far above the ordinary number, which is already unnecessarily large".

"In periods of industrial depression, when there are considerably fewer job opportunities relatively to the labor supply and the number of available job opportunities is diminishing, there will take place at first a considerable number of forced separations (lay-offs and discharges): there will be, moreover, fewer voluntary separations. There will be practically no occasion for accessions for replacement, inasmuch as most of the jobs abandoned are being at least temporarily discontinued. While under these circumstances, the number of separations may at first be considerable, the whole number of separations over the entire period of depression and the sum total of labor changes during that period will on the whole be much less".

The above considerations have been found to be true and have been discussed in connection with the analysis of the experiences of our "sample group". It remains now to examine the evidence obtained from employers in relation to these facts.

Table 42.--Male employees in Firm B, (1927-33).

Year	Number of Employees on Monthly Payroll			Number Leaving During Year			
				All Reasons		Resigned	
	Average	Maximum	Minimum	No.	P.C. of Average Payroll	No.	P.C. of Average Payroll
1927	1,851	Oct.-1,890	July-1,794	383	20.7	213	11.5
1928	1,756	Feb.-1,818	July-1,701	337	19.2	182	10.4
1929	2,162	Dec.-2,623	Jan.-1,842	552	25.5	335	15.5
1930	2,709	Mar.-2,974	Dec.-2,329	1,084	40.0	376	13.5
1931	1,918	Jan.-2,296	Dec.-1,550	807	42.1	61	3.2
1932	1,238	Jan.-1,567	Nov.-1,001	582	47.0	6	.5
1933#	922	Jan.- 982	June- 855	193	20.9	2	.2

First six months only.

The figures obtained from firm B show the number leaving each year over a period in which a large staff was built up and then laid-off. The figures for the average payroll and the months of maximum and minimum payrolls, show the trend of the size of the total number of male employees. This shows the period of uncertainty marked by an increase between July and October 1927, then a recession from that date till July of 1928. Then came the turn, and from August 1928 there was a continuous increase in staff till the peak figure was reached in March 1930. Following that, there was a downward swing, and a steady decrease in staff through 1930, '31, '32 and '33. The experiences in this plant are ideal so far as concerns the illustration of the effects of alternating periods of prosperity and depression on the extent of turnover.

In the years of uncertainty and slight recession, 1927-1928, the percentage of the total staff leaving drops slightly, and the percentage leaving voluntarily also drops. Then there is a period of relative prosperity and

Chart IX

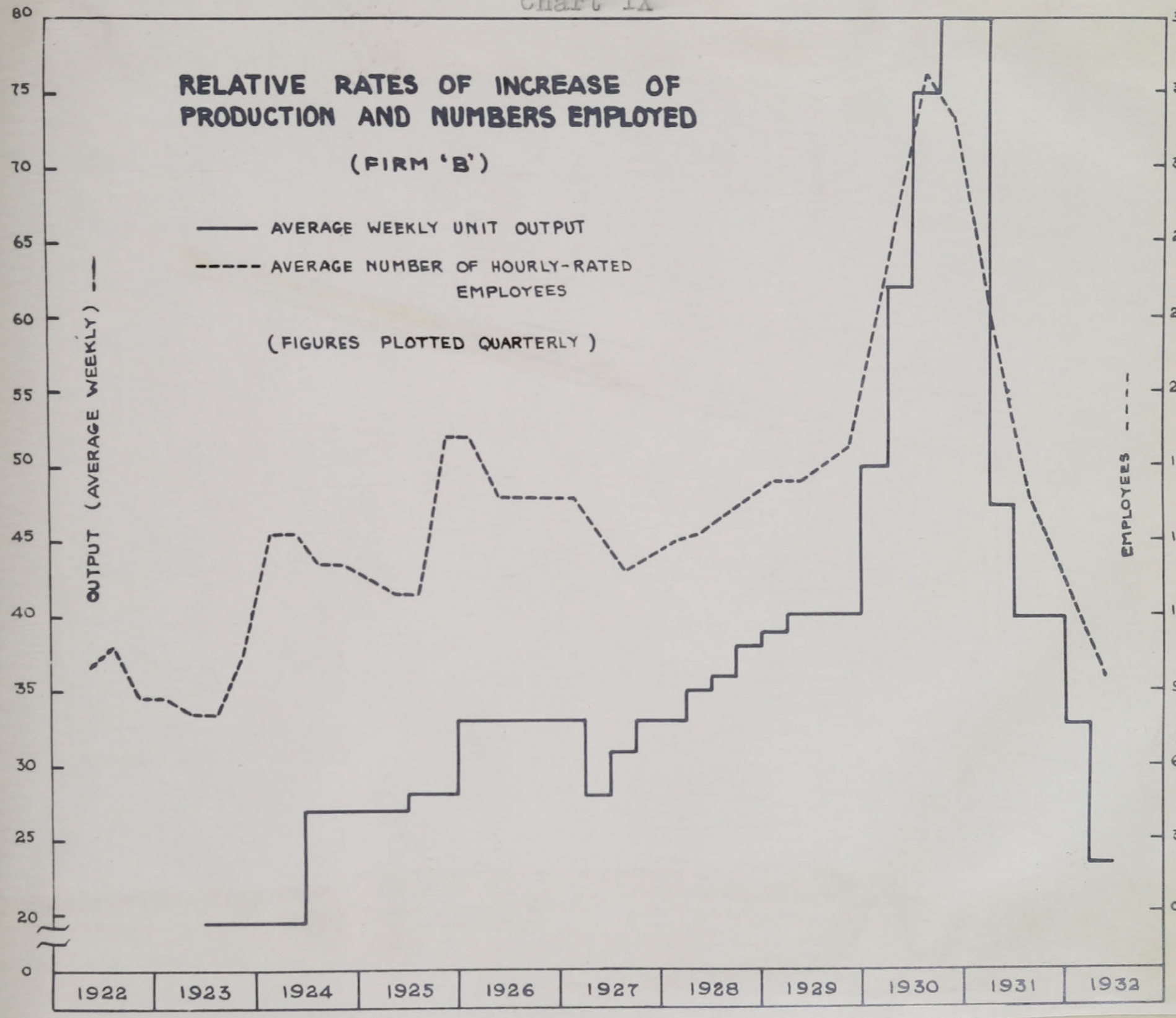
RELATIVE RATES OF INCREASE OF PRODUCTION AND NUMBERS EMPLOYED

(FIRM 'B')

—— AVERAGE WEEKLY UNIT OUTPUT

----- AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURLY-RATED EMPLOYEES

(FIGURES PLOTTED QUARTERLY)



increase of staff. From July 1928 to March 1930, the staff was increased each month--and with it the percentage leaving also increases. It is interesting to note that even though the percentage leaving voluntarily increases considerably in 1929, the percentage leaving for all other reasons,--i. e. all reasons minus resignations,--also increases slightly in that year. This reflects the weeding out process that had to be carried on in this firm, and the large number of men who were hurriedly hired and had to be "dropped" because they were not fit for the work. The building up process in one of the departments in this plant is clearly shown in Chart IX. It shows the planning of production and the manner in which it is stepped up to the desired level. It also shows the number of employees hired and kept on to maintain production at the planned level. The picture is one of continual hiring of men who are trained to do a special type of work. As the staff becomes more efficient, less men are needed to keep production at the planned level of output, and the least efficient men are laid off. In a period when the business is expanding and production is being progressively increased, like that shown for 1928-1930, the number of good men laid off is small, and the backward steps in the general upward trend are minor ones. The men "dropped" in this period are, in the main, unfit for the work done. When the turn comes, however, as it did in 1930, the drop is a steep and disastrous one, and even the good men are laid-off.

The numbers leaving during the years 1930-33 are mainly forced separations in the necessary reduction of staff. The percentage resigning--or leaving--drops to a very low figure in 1931, and becomes almost negligible in 1932 and 1933. The percentage of total separations is of course kept high because of the abnormal reduction in staff. As soon as the staff is reduced to the necessary minimum, this figure too will drop to below its normal level until the employment situation again changes. This is due to the fact that the men who remain are as a rule the older and most efficient men. They are aware of the difficulties encountered in the search for employment and are not anxious to leave their jobs, nor do they give any reason for being discharged. As a result, the employment situation keeps the turnover rate in check.

Similar evidence was obtained in firm C which employed a staff of two hundred, 75 per cent of whom were unskilled. No detailed figures were available, but the superintendent offered approximate information and the percentages for turnover are based on his estimates.

In 1925-29, the turnover was exceptionally high. During the summer, because of alternative "employment opportunities", the men were independent, unruly, and unreliable. In this period, there were each month from ten to twelve voluntary separations and from twelve to fifteen discharges. At the same time, no difficulty was encountered in obtaining the required number of men, since there always were more than enough men applying at the gate. The turnover among truck drivers was also particularly high in this period, but the problem was overcome

by instituting a system of helpers. Each regular helper had to be able to drive the truck, so that if the driver did not show up in the morning, the helper stepped into the vacancy and an unskilled man was put on as a helper and was required to learn how to drive within a certain period of time.

The picture has changed altogether since 1930. The personnel of even the unskilled staff has not changed in the three years--1930-32,--and many of the former employees are now trying to "get back on". The men, however, cling to their jobs, neither quitting nor giving any cause for discharge. These men are kept on as long as there is work to be done, and when there is less to be done, some are laid off. The men must keep in touch with their foreman, and he re-hires them as soon as there is enough work for them to do. The lack of alternative opportunity has reduced the turnover in this unskilled staff practically to nil.

In the two firms B and C, there was no concerted effort made in 1926-29 to reduce the high rate of turnover. In firm B, an employment office to centralize the demand for labour and the source of supply was set up, but the interviewer was not very strict in his grading of applicants. When men were needed, those applying at the office that particular day, were hired if they appeared at all suitable. The firm felt justified in not going to any additional trouble and expense since the men were trained for particular jobs. It was sufficient if they appeared capable and passed the medical test. This was

Chart Xa

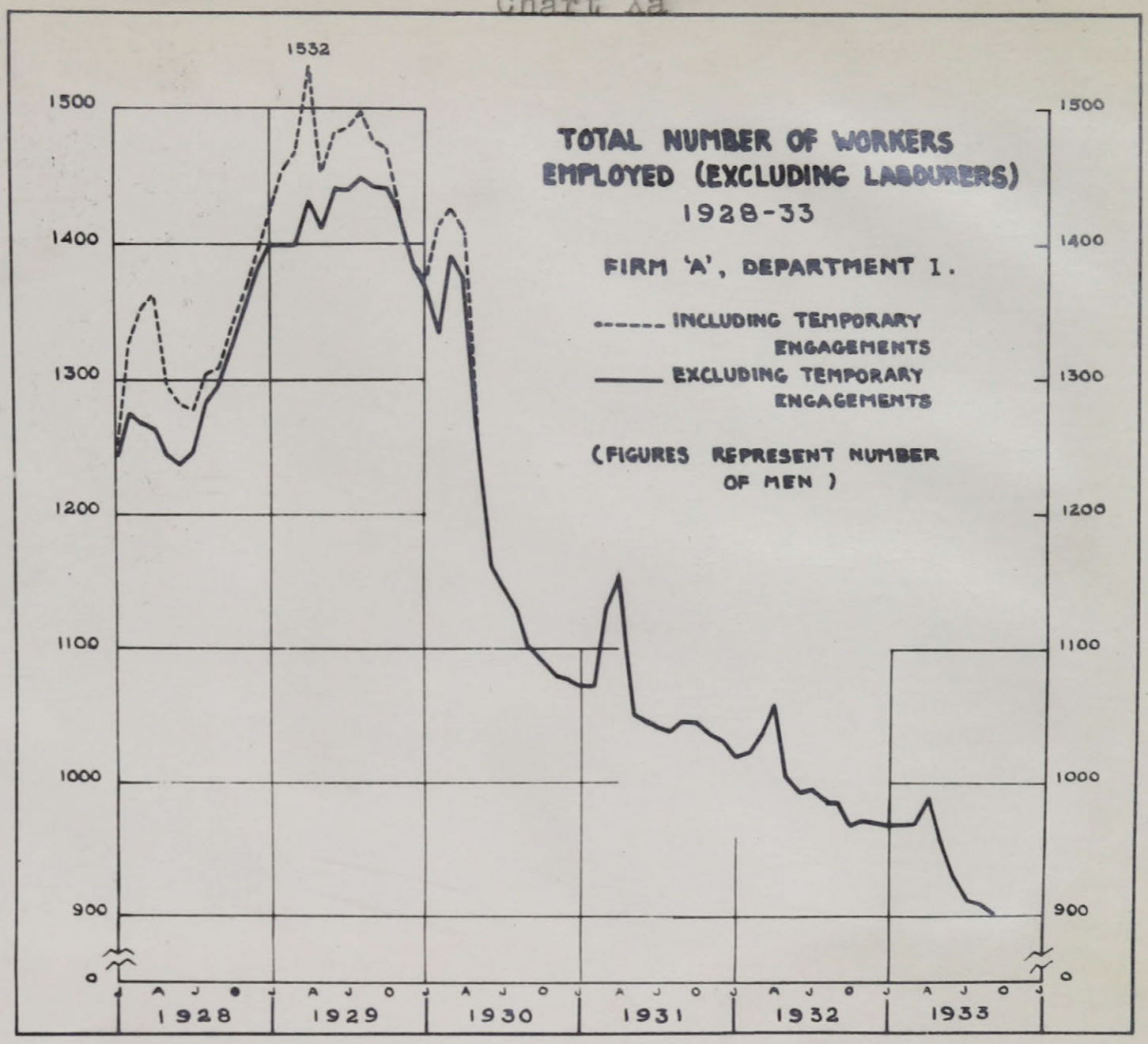
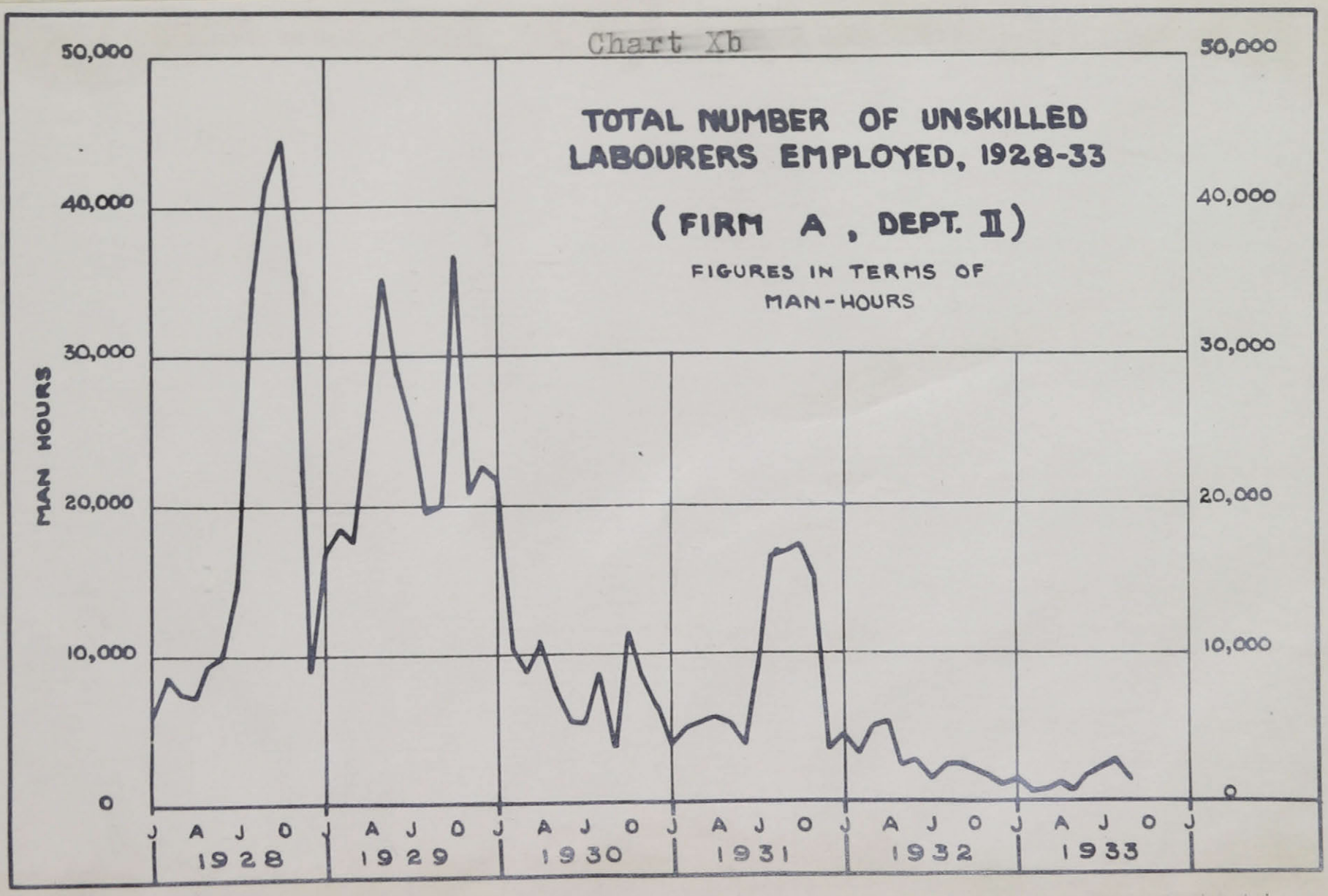


Chart Xb



mainly due to the fact that orders were coming in rapidly and more men were needed than could be obtained. The high rate of turnover, however, is adequate evidence of the inefficiency of these methods. In firm C, the men were hired at the factory gate by the foremen who needed them, and since they were available in sufficient numbers, no attention was paid to the frequency of additions and separations. When the problem did arise in the case of truck drivers, the system of having helpers who could drive overcame the difficulties involved.

Firm A, however, is aware of the extra costs of inefficient methods of hiring and has set up a centralized office to build up a suitable staff in an efficient manner. Chart X(a) shows how rapidly they were increasing their staff,--from less than 1300 in July 1928 to over 1500 in April 1929. The men taken on had to be carefully fitted into the organization and supervised during the period of training, since mistakes in the work prove very costly.

The first point at which waste can be eliminated, is in the hiring of the right type of individual, and careful attention was paid to this detail. At first, it was difficult to obtain the co-operation of all the various foremen and supervisors who preferred to do their own hiring, but soon they were made to realize that the employment interviewer was only recommending the men he sent up, and that they were still "doing their own hiring". They rapidly became aware of the gains of this service, since

it tapped the widest source of supply in the quickest possible manner, and they co-operated in making the service still more efficient.

This employment office was not satisfied with carefully interviewing all applicants, grading them and filing the information away for future references. It went farther, and sought to "contact" sources of supply of promising young men, best fit to be trained for the type of work to be done. For this reason, a special man was delegated to "contact" university graduates and to attract a certain quota each year into the organization. Another "contacted" technical schools, and trade schools and recruited the men with good records. This latter practice was discontinued soon afterwards, since there developed a problem of turnover among the young technical school graduates. Even though some few "graduated" into the best grade of men desired, the majority were unwilling to start at the bottom. The small percentage who remained, did not warrant the extra effort of continuing this method of recruitment.

By far the most important source of supply, however, was the company employment office itself. The fact that men were being hired was enough to bring applicants in more than sufficient numbers. The important problem was that of selecting from these applicants, men who could be trained to become valuable servants of the company. Over 80 per cent of the applicants were weeded out on the basis of a simple intelligence test and the impressions of the interviewer. The remaining 20 per cent were put

on the active files and kept there for six months, or until they were employed. When a vacancy occurred, the files were referred to, and three or four applicants were called for a second interview. They were then sent down to the particular foreman or supervisor who made his choice on the basis of recommendation of the employment interviewer. The foreman was the one who actually hired the men.

Without going in to any further detail of the personnel policies of the firm, it is worth looking at the turnover figures in this department, which undoubtedly are partly affected by the methods of hiring.

Table 43.--Firm A, Department I, 1929.

Skill Groups	Number of Additions			Number of Separations					
	(i)	(ii)	Total	Lay-off (i)	Lay-off (ii)	Dropped	Discharged	Voluntary	Total
Skilled.	13	25	38	10	4	8	3	21	46
Semi-Skilled.	34	139	173	28	24	32	5	39	128
Unskilled.	9	15	24	8	6	1	1	5	21
Clerical.	66	46	112	52	1	8	2	24	87
Total.	122	225	347	98	35	49	11	89	282

The total number of separations in 1929 was 282, 98 of which were of workers who had been hired for temporary work only. This occurred in a year when there were 225 additions to the regular staff and 122 to the temporary staff. In addition, this year also marked the turning point, and the beginning of the reduction in staff. Even then, the rate of turnover was only about 20 per cent.

The scientific methods of this firm stand out still more clearly in the light of recent developments. In

1930, there was a disastrous fall in orders which necessitated a reduction in staff. The men first to go were the younger men who had been hired in 1927, 1928 and 1929. When it was found that more had to be let out, the firm was reluctant to part with the good men in whom they had invested an expensive training. These men were therefore transferred to unskilled and low skilled jobs, and the unskilled workers were let out. After a certain point was reached, attention was turned to the reduction of hours rather than the lay-off of men. However, the amount of short-time was not allowed to go beyond a certain figure; earnings had to be considered. This meant that men with a good number of years service in the company also had to be laid off. A slow weeding out process, on the basis of merit was therefore instituted. For this, the detailed records which are kept of every man from the day he enters the employ of the company, are of value, and a close check is made on every move of each workman.

The activities of the employment department as a result have been diverted into other channels. It has the records for each individual and is in the best position to make decisions in the unpleasant process of reduction in staff. At present, it is kept busy with the difficult task of interdepartmental transfers in order to equalize the amount of short-time between departments. The fluctuations in the employment curve in Department I in 1931, '32 and '33 indicates the work that is being done. No one has been taken on since 1930. Taking 1932 as a

representative year, it is observed that there were 71 additions and 131 separations in Department I. "Unnecessary" turnover in this department is practically nil.

Table 44.--Firm A, Department I, 1932.

Additions	No.	Separations	No.
Transferred in from another department.	57	Discharged.	1
Former skilled employees re-engaged for temporary work.	13	Pensioned.	4
Temporary scrubwoman.	1	Died.	4
		Laid-off--temporary men who had been hired.	13
		Left voluntarily.	5
		Transferred into other departments.	104
Total	71		131

The writer does not intend to leave the impression that this is the result only of the careful selection of the men hired. Other factors enter and are just as important. The lack of alternative "employment opportunity" which has been discussed above, no doubt plays an important part in reducing the turnover to its present low figure. Wages and working conditions are also important factors influencing labour turnover in normal periods. Labour management or mismanagement, however, is equally important in determining whether there will be a high or low rate of turnover. This undoubtedly is closely

connected with methods of recruitment.

. . . . .

This leads to the second question posed in this chapter,--the relative instability of the skilled and unskilled workers.

"It is generally known that common or unskilled labor is less stable than skilled labor, but extensive figures are not available to show just how much less stable it is"(1). Evidence to substantiate this was obtained in firm A, and the tendency can partly be explained by the policy of the firm. The expense entailed in the careful selection and training of men has led to the next step, which is to try and make efficient use of these men as long as they can give good service. Attention has been paid to wages, (the firm continually compares its rates of pay with those paid in the rest of industry) working conditions, (the firm has always tried to keep a "step ahead of the rest") and the demands of the men, (the men have their own plant council, where they can put forward and discuss their demands and complaints)(2). They have a pension scheme, (as an added attraction to men who have been with them for a number of years) stock subscription scheme, (to make the employees feel that they too can share in the profits of the company) and encourage activities among the men that helps to develop a feeling of close contact and loyalty to the firm.

(1) Brissenden and Frankel. op. cit.
(2) This has incidentally also served to forestall any union activity from outside.

All the above ensures a certain increased willingness to stay with the company. It then remains for the firm to give the men steady work.

Production in this firm is carefully planned to keep the total regular staff working all year round. It has entailed additional expense and extra difficulties, particularly in the winter schedule of work, but the fluctuations in the burden of work and hence of men required is considerably reduced. To allow the plan of work to be carried out to the full benefit of the regular employees, it is necessary to have a special staff of labourers whose work is not regularized but who are needed at different points in the plan of work. In other words, the work of the regular staff is planned and regularized, the fluctuations decreased, but at the expense of the unskilled temporary workers who are dovetailed in with the plan at irregular intervals. The extent of the fluctuations in the hours worked by this temporary unskilled staff is shown in chart X(a).

These men are not considered as part of the staff, and hence do not come in under the schemes, and are not entitled to the benefits enjoyed by the regular staff. By way of explanation, the employment manager said that men who are known to have given long service on this temporary staff, are given special consideration and treatment. In addition, any man who shows that he is capable of giving good service to the company in any other capacity, is trained and stepped up to a regular

position. In other words, he explained the treatment of these men by saying, if not in the same words, "They don't deserve any better treatment. If they were good enough, and really wanted to work, they would get a chance to prove their worth. They have become so used to working only a couple of days a week, that some of them do not come any more often even when there is work for them to do. As for those men who have given long years of service on this staff, they aren't fit for any other type of work. Something should be done about them; they are being given preference, and some concessions may be made in their cases".

It is not intended to discuss, here, whether the men are naturally unstable and whether the policy of the company has aggravated this tendency. Certainly nothing was done to counteract it, and it has been allowed to run its own course. A few figures here may serve to disclose the extent of the instability in this staff.

Table 45.--Number of men on payroll.
Firm A, Department II.
October, 1928.

Payroll	Number of Weeks Worked				Total	
	One	Two	Three	Four	No.	P.C.
First week.	50	27	27	141	245	64.
Second week.	18	34	42	141	235	61.
Third week.	16	32	42	141	231	60.
Fourth week.	59	25	15	141	240	62.
All payrolls. No.	143	59	42	141	385	100.
P.C.	37.	15.	11.	37.	100.	

The amount of work to be done (October 1932) was sufficient to keep almost 160 men fully employed (1), but actually 385 men were working on this staff during this month. In no one week were more than 64 per cent of these men employed. This is a product of fluctuations in work available, excessive reserves, and high turnover (instability of staff). Only 141 of the men, or 37 per cent, worked all four weeks, 11 per cent worked three weeks only, 15 per cent worked two weeks only, and 37 per cent worked only one week in the month. It is interesting to note that this instability is reduced considerably in the month of minimum working hours in 1928--January. Here, the total working hours--6,148--which could have kept twenty-two men fully occupied (on the above assumption) was divided among thirty-one men, twenty-four of whom were employed in all four weeks of the month. This policy of sharing the work among a smaller group was also practiced (by the foremen) in 1932. In the month of minimum working hours--December--the man hours of work shrunk to 1,205, hardly any more than to keep four men fully occupied. This work was shared among thirteen men, six of whom worked in all the four weeks, and the maximum number employed in any one week was ten. The busiest month in 1932--April--only furnished 5,417 working hours for this group, enough to employ nineteen men full time for the month. This work was divided among forty-four men, twenty-four of whom were employed in all the four weeks.

(1) Month of maximum working hours 1928.
Total man hours worked--October 1928--44,349. Assuming a 10 hour day and a 28 day month, this represents full employment for 158.4 men.

Table 46.--Number of employees in months of maximum activity.
Firm A. Department II.

Week	October 1928			April 1932		
	Hired	Separated	Working	Hired	Separated	Working
First	#	50	245	#	4	44
Second	40	45	235	-	7	40
Third	41	50	231	-	9	33
Fourth	59	#	240	-	#	24
Total	140	145	385	-	20	44

Not available.

The contrast between the busiest month in 1928 and that of 1932 as shown in table 46, is indicative of the degree of instability which characterises this unskilled staff, and the effects of alternating periods of prosperity and depression on the turnover rate. In 1928, there were continual accessions and separations (voluntary and forced) while in 1932 the separations that did occur were mainly forced because of lack of work. The maximum working in any one week in April 1932 was 100 per cent of the total number of men employed in that month while in October 1928, the maximum for any one week was only 64 per cent of the number employed.

These figures do not draw the complete picture of the instability of this staff. When a man is tabulated as having worked in a particular week, he may have worked a full week or only a day (or even less) in that week. This information, therefore, must be supplemented with that of the earnings of the men in the months considered.

Table 47.--Average weekly earnings of labourers employed in 1928, grouped according to number of weeks in month they appear on payroll.
Firm A. Department II.

Earnings in Dollars	Month of Greatest Activity October						Month of Least Activity January					
	No. of Weeks				Total		No. of Weeks				Total	
	1	2	3	4	No.	P.C.	1	2	3	4	No.	P.C.
Less than 5.00	32	-	-	-	32	8.	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.01 to 7.50	23	6	2	-	31	8.	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.51 to 10.00	7	5	3	1	16	4.	-	1	-	-	1	3.
10.01 to 12.50	17	13	12	2	44	12.	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.51 to 15.00	16	14	15	16	61	16.	-	-	2	8	10	32.
15.01 to 17.50	22	12	6	38	78	20.	1	-	2	10	13	42.
17.51 to 20.00	13	6	4	50	73	19.	-	-	-	4	4	13.
20.01 to 22.50	11	1	-	15	27	7.	-	1	-	1	2	7.
22.51 to 25.00	2	2	-	11	15	4.	-	-	-	-	-	-
25.01 and over	-	-	-	8	8	2.	-	-	-	1	1	3.
Total.	143	59	42	141	385	100.	1	2	4	24	31	100.

Table 47 shows the average weekly earnings of the men employed by firm A in department II for October and January 1928. They are grouped according to the number of weeks in the month they appear on the payroll. Almost 50 per cent averaged $15 or less per week in October--which, at the rate of 40-50 cents per hour, represents a maximum of from 30 to 38 hours per week, or from three to four days work. It is interesting to note that over 50 per cent of these men had worked in only one week of the month, and just a little over 10 per cent were men who had worked in all four weeks. All the men earning $5.00 or less per week i. e. who had worked less than two days (and some, only a few hours) only worked in one week of the month, and almost all of those who earned between $5.00 and $7.50 were also in this group. It is also interesting to note

that in the month of least activity, the work was shared among enough men to allow each to earn a reasonable amount for the week: 85 per cent of the average weekly earnings were between $12.50 and $20.00.

The enlightened methods in this firm in regard to the regular working force have produced a staff of capable and faithful employees who have given efficient service as long as their services were required. In direct contrast to their scientific personnel methods, is their attitude towards the unskilled staff for which they may be criticized as being unfair and discriminatory. In this respect, they lag behind the two firms mentioned in chapter VIII whose turnover was practically nil even though 90 and 95 per cent of their respective working forces were of low skill(1).

The casual nature of men employed on unskilled labour staffs is just as much a product of methods of hiring and the fluctuations in the work to be done, as it is of the instability of the men hired. It is a cumulative process from which the employer can break away through efforts at reducing the fluctuations in employment and a careful selection of the men to be hired.

In this regard, Lescohier has said: "The demand for casual labor is naturally an excessively fluctuating demand. Each employer seeks for help only long enough to help himself out of an emergency. When confronted by some unusual situation, he hires extra help to get out of it, and then immediately discharges the help. The

(1) See pages 141 and 142.

workman who must depend upon picking up an odd job necessarily leads a very uncertain existence. It is not strange, then, that men who seek casual work are just as uncertain as the work is. Employers who complain at the unreliability, incompetence, and indifference of casual laborers would do well to remember that the chances of employment which they offer are as unreliable as the men who accept them, and that the livelihood that these men obtain is as insufficient for their needs as the work they perform is insufficient to satisfy the employer(1)".

The problem of turnover and security of employment is in part at least a question of the attitude of the management. At times, they are motivated by economic factors and the realization that it is "good business". At others, the consideration is a psychological one--the realization that human beings are concerned. When "employment opportunities" are reduced by trade depression, the problem of labour turnover almost entirely disappears. The need to eliminate the causes of unnecessary turnover is obscured and this handicaps the development of scientific methods of personnel management.

(1) Lescohier, op. cit., p.63-64.

Chapter XI.--Conclusions: The Field for Organization.

"Society is built upon labour: it lays upon its members responsibilities which in the vast majority of cases can be met only from the rewards of labour;.... Reasonable security of employment for the bread-winner is the basis of all private duties and all sound social action"(1).

The inadequate reward and lack of security afforded to labour under the present economic system can still be traced at the root of most of our social problems. The full significance of Beveridge's statement can not be said to have been realized if we are to judge by the disinterested attitude of industry towards labour, and the lack of action to safeguard and reinforce this foundation of society. The market for the factor of production which warrants the most careful handling based on an analysis of the facts of demand and supply for that factor, and the social repercussions of wage policies, has been the one to which the least attention has been given.

This is not intended to suggest that unemployment is simply the result of the lack of competent machinery to bring employer and employee together. The causes of unemployment are more complex than this: they extend

(1) Beveridge, op. cit., p.1.

into the field of international policies. But, the presence of a continuous reserve of labour is a normal industrial phenomenon. Fluctuations have been accepted as inevitable in our present system of production and distribution. Day to day fluctuations produce a demand for casual labour for short and uncertain periods. Seasonal fluctuations in activity caused by climatic factors over which we have little or no control, have been accentuated by vagaries of taste and the "following of styles". Cyclical fluctuations have become more severe as the system has become more complex and less capable of easy adjustment. Changes in industrial structure have been the very source of life and method of progress of the system, and "normal fluctuations" have been further disturbed and aggravated in the post war period of uncertainty.

It is this maze of complex factors, contributing to the instability in economic activity which must be studied to get to a full understanding of the causes of unemployment. Unemployment is merely a symptom, the human index, of maladjustment in business or industry. It is a problem "insoluble by any mere expenditure of money.....it represents a disease to be eradicated. It needs not money so much as thought and organisation "(1).

Considerable thought has been given this subject ever since Beveridge's initial contribution. In England, the appeal for organization was heeded and the British service of Employment Exchanges was built up and developed to serve

(1) Beveridge, Preface to first edition.

that need. In Canada, however, even though the first step has been taken, that of organizing a nation-wide employment service, "much more effort and resources can well be devoted to the further organization of the labour market"(1).

Part Two of this study has drawn attention to the comparative lack of organization in Montreal. It has gone further to show what industry can do to reduce unnecessary turnover and the extent to which scientific methods of recruitment and personnel management have been carried in Montreal. The evidence has indicated the wide area in Montreal over which organization is haphazard and inadequate. With very few exceptions, the forces of supply and demand have been relied upon to ration this factor of production. But "forces of supply and demand in the labour market make only for ultimate equilibrium, they get to work very slowly and never complete their work"(2).

What this lack of organization has meant to the group of men interviewed has been observed in part one. Even though the facts apply only to the group interviewed, their experiences would appear to be representative of the tendencies which prevail in Montreal. The age of the worker and the "employment opportunity" appear to be significant factors affecting the methods of search and the ease of obtaining employment. As compared with their experiences in the older ages of occupational life, the men found it necessary at the younger ages, particularly

(1) Marsh, op. cit., p.30.
(2) Beveridge, op. cit.

on their first entrance into the labour market, to apply for the aid of friends and relatives in their search for employment. The comparison of the experiences of the group in the "representative periods" has served to indicate the wasteful manner in which the forces of supply and demand "get to work" and "make for equilibrium". The increasing opportunities for employment in 1926-29 produced a high mobility in the group as the attractions of seemingly better jobs resulted in a large number of voluntary terminations. The period of adjustment was relatively short; the method of search was, in the main, reliance on the individual's initiative and connections; and the job obtained was usually better paid and marked an improvement in the status of the individual. At the same time, it was observed that not all terminations in this period were voluntary, and that the continual need for adjustment and the ordinary methods of adjustment were being obscured by the increasing demand for labour and the relative ease of adjustment.

In 1930-32, on the other hand, the demand for labour was declining and in spite of the unwillingness to leave jobs, the number of terminations for the group interviewed was kept high because of forced separations. In this period, the "usual" methods of personal search and application were relatively unsuccessful and the aid of friends and relatives was more widely sought. Thus, "assisted search" was the most important method of job finding in this period. At the same time, however, the men had to

accept work at lower wages and on lower skilled and less pleasant work than they had been accustomed to doing. The difficulty of adjustment in this period may be gauged by the time lost by the group and the reduction in their earnings which are discussed in chapter VI.

The economic pressure of a period of unemployment produces a potential or latent mobility in the labour force which may result in desirable or undesirable movements, depending upon the stimulus applied or the leadership given. Reduction of income and of "employment opportunity" produce a willingness to accept lower wages, more unpleasant and less skilled work, and work away from home. In this way, the usual obstacles to mobility (occupational and geographical) have been broken down and the unemployed workers have been left in a position of hesitancy and doubt. By and large, the unemployed man in Montreal is in need of guidance.

The reaction of business to the depression by throwing off men has been effectively termed "the deflation of labour". It is clear that this deflationary process is likely to result in abuse when left to be motivated by the market. "Distress-competition", abuse of patronage, and the reduction of labour standards, the first impacts of which are upon the workers, have their repercussions on the whole community. Before this is realized and a clamour for regulation is raised by employers, the workers have borne the brunt of the burden and society has lost during the period of disorganization of trade. The stimulus to counter-activity seems to come only when the pressure has slowly found its way up to those in a

position to secure reform.

An excellent example of this is provided by the recent experiences in the men's clothing industry. A recent survey made of labour conditions in this industry(1) attributed some of the deplorable conditions there exposed, not only to the depression, but more so to the extent to which deflation, once instituted by the depression, resulted in cumulative disorganization and "distress-competition". It drew attention to the costs, first to the workers through considerably reduced earnings; to the manufacturers and contractors, in reduced profits and even losses, and in the threat to the stability of the large producer because of the instability of the small; and to the consumer, who was not getting the quality of goods or of workmanship claimed. The methods of marketing "distress-goods" were disclosed, and the use of the "loss leader" was shown to be smashing established brands, the reputation of which had been slowly built up, and had introduced the element of assured quality into the market.

It is significant to note that this survey, which was sponsored by organized labour in the industry, was not undertaken until things had become bad enough to threaten their relatively secure position. They were finding it necessary to protect themselves against what they had looked upon with indifference when only unorganized labour was concerned. The stimulus to activity

(1) H. M. Cassidy and F. R. Scott,--Report on Labour Conditions in the Men's Clothing Industry in Ontario and Quebec. (1934 unpublished).

and the organization of the Montreal clothing market came as soon as the position of the union (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America) and labour standards in Toronto were seriously threatened by conditions in Montreal. The clothing manufacturers and contractors had also realized by this time that the limit to which they could "deflate labour" had been reached. They, too, were suffering from the resultant disorganization because of unfair practices and the competition of "sweat shops". These manufacturers, who had previously fought the union tooth and nail, and had forestalled their gaining control of the market, endorsed the report and joined forces with the union to fight the common enemy--disorganization and "distress-competition" which gave an unfair advantage to the big buyers, who could use their financial strength to set off one producer against another, and thus further depress standards below a reasonable level.

The evidence recently submitted to the Stevens' "Price Spreads and Mass Buying" Committe disclosed that similar conditions obtain in other industries, and that certain malpractices and unethical methods are being used to take advantage of the situation. These practices have benefited a few, but have further added to the disorganization of marketing and of production, and to the wholesale reduction of standards, particularly of labour standards. The repercussions of these methods on the rest of the community have been felt, and the movement advocating the curbing of the hitherto unrestrained power of the big buyer is gaining strength. It is an admission that a

certain amount of foresight and planning is necessary, if the system of production and distribution is to function properly without any excessive breakdowns. The social implications of the methods hitherto practiced must be given due consideration. In the attitude towards the organization of the labour market, the decision must be based on the realization that the supply of labour must adjust itself to the ever changing and fluctuating demand. The greater the ease and the least movement with which this is done, so much less is the unemployment and waste involved in such changes as are necessary. Yet in allowing all this to be motivated by the mechanism of price, the paradoxical situations that have been observed must result.

In a period of increasing "employment opportunity" and scarcity of particular types of labour (failing earlier preparation), the demand for labour tends to be overexaggerated and stimulates excessive and worthless investments in training(1). At the same time, it requires hurried and wasteful methods of building up and training staffs. In such a period too, the ability to move and the opportunities offered elsewhere are increased, while the attachments (mainly psychological factors) are also strengthened.

During a depression, the "deflation of labour" and its resultant fluidity, are brought about through the free action of economic forces, but there their power of

(1) See chapter VI for investments made in trainings and courses by the men interviewed.

stimulating activity ceases. They have prepared this factor to be moulded into a desirable scheme of things; they have reduced it to a state where it will react readily to any artificial stimulus, but in doing so, the power to apply the correct stimulus has been forfeited. At the same time, the path to be followed in preparation for future adjustment has been further obscured (for the unemployed man) by the element of uncertainty, and the pressure of immediate necessity.

The need for guidance based on knowledge of the trend of events becomes more and more evident as the experiences of men thrown out of employment are observed. Above all, it becomes more and more clear that there are times when these men are ready to be guided, and that a great deal of waste could be eliminated by taking advantage of a period like the present for re-training, and preparing for adjustment of the supply to future needs.

. . . . .

Reference has already been made to the establishment of the Employment Exchanges System which followed from the considered attention of the State in Britain to the problem of unemployment. It is relevant to mention here the object of the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909 which provided for the setting up of the system. They are interpreted by Seymour as follows(1):

(a) To bring together employers in need of workers and workers in need of employment, so as (i) to fill

(1) Seymour, op. cit., p.8.

up vacancies as speedily as possible and (ii) to shorten the period of waiting between jobs.

(b) To operate a system of compulsory unemployment insurance. (Seymour explains that even though this was not mentioned in the Act, it was in the back of the minds of those responsible for the Act. He also adds that the system owes its life to this fact as it otherwise might have been demolished by the "Geddes axe" in the economy measures after the war).

(c) To provide the less organized classes of labour with assistance similar to that possessed by the trade unions in seeking employment.

(d) To furnish data to the government for measuring the extent of unemployment, so as to be able to provide against periods of depression.

(e) To provide machinery for dealing with casual labour.

The Federal Service in Canada was based on the British system, but "there remains a wide field in which development has direct relevance to the country's unemployment problems(1)". Undoubtedly, there is a need in Canada for further legislation with these objects in mind. "The extension and improvement of their functions is the surest way in which the most desirable degree of labour mobility can be attained, and unemployment due to divergences from it reduced(2)". The details would have to be worked out to take care of the conditions particular to Canada, but the general principles need, no doubt, be the same.

(1) Marsh, op. cit., p.30
(2) ibid.

Dovetailing of the demands of seasonal industries, and the maintenance of a centralized mobile reserve, necessary for a large, sparsely populated country, which is rapidly being opened up and developed, is of special importance to Canada. The Federal Service is no doubt giving valuable assistance insofar as it aids the transportation of workers over long distances, but it caters only to workers of low skill, and is far from the developed and comprehensive system which is required.

This thesis has had in mind the establishing of the need mentioned under (a). Object (b) has now been the subject of greatly increased contemporary discussion since 1929. As for object (c), the need in Canada is even greater now than it was in Great Britain in 1909, for the assistance given by trade unions here is confined to a very small minority of the wage-earners. It is not necessary to elaborate upon the valuable information concerning unemployment that would be obtainable from such a system. The experience in Great Britain is ample evidence of this. The Exchanges have become the main source of statistical data concerning unemployment, and an important part of their regular work is the collection of statistics and the issuance of regular data at fixed intervals, besides a series of special investigations for administrative advice and improvement.

Despite the stunting of the growth of the British system by its administration of the unemployment insurance scheme, which has kept it from developing its primary function of placement and guidance, the Exchange has performed admirable service particularly in the period of

mobilization, (1914-18) and demobilization (1919). The work of the Exchange has in the post war period been further hampered by the flood of work involved in the administration of the insurance scheme, the scope of which had been considerably increased. Physical and financial limits have dictated a further postponement of the original plans for concentration on placement work. This does not at all detract from the service that is actually being given, nor is sight being lost of its possible developments for the future. The contribution of the Exchange both to the administration of the unemployment insurance scheme, and to the accurate knowledge of actual conditions in the labour market, if not to its complete organization, has been invaluable. This is the manner in which the government can, and does contribute to the reduction of the volume of unemployment, and to the shifting of the regressive incidence of its costs.

Canada has taken the first step, but has lagged behind in the development of the Federal System. The main objection that might be levelled at the extension and improvement of the present system, is the expense it would entail, and the resultant increase in the burden of taxation. This objection, however, is satisfactorily answered by Seymour in his chapter on "Does the Employment Exchange Pay?" He concludes "that the State employment exchange system yields returns in national welfare which amply justify the expenditure it entails"(1). On the

(1) Op. cit., p.255.

question of unemployment insurance, which is so closely linked up with the British employment exchange system, Beveridge has said: "If you ask me how much benefit your having insurance is, I should say it is invaluable. The cost of insurance should be set against the cost of demoralisation, the destitution test, and the unrest in times of unemployment"(1).

This thesis has not been concerned with the extent of demoralization, and the degree of unrest in Montreal, that has resulted from the period of unemployment under observation. It has studied only the difficulties encountered in the process of adjustment, the application for assistance in the search for employment, and the "time-loss" and reduction in earnings which contribute to the demoralization and unrest. It has given evidence of the desire of the unemployed man for opportunities to improve his status, and to adjust himself more readily to future demand. It has also given evidence of how discouraging a situation becomes when willingness to learn a new trade, or to take additional training, during a period of enforced idleness is of no avail, because the facilities for training and re-training are lacking.

An efficiently operated system of exchanges will not only reduce the extent of unemployment, by reducing the time between jobs, and quickly furnishing employers with the required number of men desired, but will also furnish such facilities for training and re-training. It will

(1) Ministry of Labour. Report of Committee of Inquiry into the work of the (British) Employment Exchanges: Minutes of Evidence. Cmd. 1140 (1921) p.167.

help counteract the demoralizing tendencies of the present aimless search for employment. Finally, it will be a reliable source of information which will form a better basis for future attacks on the problem of unemployment.

APPENDIX OF TABLES.

Table (i).--Total number of workers employed (excluding labourers), 1928-33.
Firm A, Department I.
(Figures represent number of men).

Month	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
January	1,251	1,427	1,374	1,074	1,020	966
February	1,328	1,455	1,415	1,071	1,022	968
March	1,351	1,469	1,430	1,128	1,034	969
April	1,363	1,532	1,411	1,156	1,059	989
May	1,295	1,452	1,263	1,052	1,006	955
June	1,283	1,482	1,161	1,046	992	929
July	1,277	1,485	1,147	1,042	995	912
August	1,306	1,496	1,132	1,039	987	909
September	1,308	1,476	1,103	1,044	986	903
October	1,341	1,471	1,093	1,044	968	
November	1,368	1,425	1,080	1,036	971	
December	1,395	1,385	1,077	1,032	970	

Table (ii).--Total number of unskilled labourers employed, 1928-33.
Firm A, Department II.
(Figures in terms of man-hours).

Month	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
January	6,148	16,857	21,835	4,038	4,833	1,300
February	8,443	18,353	10,169	4,949	3,012	785
March	7,493	17,629	8,765	5,205	5,100	882
April	7,378	25,410	10,787	5,716	5,417	1,100
May	9,215	35,111	7,783	5,371	2,350	950
June	9,982	28,597	5,163	4,019	2,932	1,900
July	14,888	25,454	5,166	8,999	1,633	2,450
August	34,088	19,644	8,633	16,619	2,345	2,900
September	41,514	19,763	3,641	16,781	2,435	1,193
October	44,349	36,777	11,371	17,315	2,128	
November	35,201	20,749	8,392	15,257	1,692	
December	8,923	22,511	6,355	3,513	1,205	

Table (iii).--Total number of male employees.
Firm B. 1927-33.

Month	Number of Employees	Total Number Leaving	Number Resigned	Month	Number of Employees	Total Number Leaving	Number Resigned
1927				1930			
Jan.	1,849	23	10	Jan.	2,796	51	30
Feb.	1,872	23	13	Feb.	2,831	60	38
March	1,864	22	15	March	2,971	86	48
April	1,846	46	32	April	2,931	76	43
May	1,872	21	15	May	2,943	80	67
June	1,878	31	17	June	2,841	136	47
July	1,794	34	23	July	2,722	39	16
Aug.	1,807	29	23	Aug.	2,696	112	27
Sept.	1,861	42	25	Sept.	2,561	137	24
Oct.	1,890	34	22	Oct.	2,510	127	17
Nov.	1,879	29	9	Nov.	2,377	144	12
Dec.	1,800	49	9	Dec.	2,329	36	7
1928				1931			
Jan.	1,805	22	8	Jan.	2,295	35	9
Feb.	1,818	29	13	Feb.	2,265	32	8
March	1,813	26	17	March	2,230	36	3
April	1,787	27	14	April	2,170	87	6
May	1,749	28	13	May	2,000	164	9
June	1,708	47	19	June	1,945	52	7
July	1,701	19	8	July	1,839	91	4
Aug.	1,713	34	26	Aug.	1,799	33	6
Sept.	1,719	38	23	Sept.	1,726	94	4
Oct.	1,735	25	15	Oct.	1,640	90	4
Nov.	1,751	20	10	Nov.	1,544	92	1
Dec.	1,778	21	16	Dec.	1,550	1	-
1929				1932			
Jan.	1,842	19	9	Jan.	1,567	19	2
Feb.	1,883	39	27	Feb.	1,560	13	-
March	1,941	32	20	March	1,546	18	-
April	1,982	30	23	April	1,483	85	2
May	1,999	53	39	May	1,325	178	-
June	2,070	57	32	June	1,210	55	-
July	2,094	43	27	July	1,090	114	-
Aug.	2,163	75	47	Aug.	1,050	31	1
Sept.	2,335	62	36	Sept.	1,006	44	-
Oct.	2,465	43	23	Oct.	1,001	19	-
Nov.	2,546	68	30	Nov.	1,001	2	-
Dec.	2,623	31	22	Dec.	1,011	4	1
				1933			
				Jan.	982	7	-
				Feb.	981	26	1
				March	950	30	-
				April	907	67	-
				May	856	48	-
				June	855	15	1

Table (iv).--Number of placements and active files.
Protestant Employment Bureau. 1926-33.

Month	Active Files	Place-ments	Month	Active Files	Place-ments	Month	Active Files	Place-ments
1926			1929			1932		
			Jan.	560	333	Jan.	2,108	182
			Feb.	394	325	Feb.	3,054	263
			March	351	363	March	2,718	387
April	194	177	April	301	620	April	2,443	458
May	263	276	May	393	951	May	2,522	523
June	335	328	June	411	542	June	2,587	274
July	260	132	July	318	511	July	2,853	122
Aug.	187	101	Aug.	338	341	Aug.	3,185	149
Sept.	232	131	Sept.	401	497	Sept.	3,638	273
Oct.	354	221	Oct.	386	548	Oct.	4,116	259
Nov.	402	216	Nov.	581	385	Nov.	3,895	204
Dec.	478	139	Dec.	631	392	Dec.	3,688	170
1927			1930			1933		
Jan.	555	148	Jan.	741	373	Jan.	4,035	133
Feb.	586	184	Feb.	671	232	Feb.	3,912	123
March	591	282	March	637	329	March	3,782	267
April	468	399	April	506	655	April	3,798	433
May	399	332	May	578	851	May	3,808	489
June	448	248	June	544	456	June	3,373	265
July	338	199	July	532	330	July	3,239	163
Aug.	326	215	Aug.	580	389	Aug.	3,472	177
Sept.	307	274	Sept.	675	358	Sept.	2,889	234
Oct.	374	340	Oct.	840	422	Oct.	2,992	288
Nov.	465	378	Nov.	1,050	462	Nov.	3,152	273
Dec.	538	298	Dec.	1,731	305	Dec.	3,242	172
1928			1931					
Jan.	653	250	Jan.	1,755	453			
Feb.	480	332	Feb.	1,608	297			
March	460	418	March	1,484	316			
April	303	432	April	1,028	580			
May	458	822	May	1,025	485			
June	377	425	June	1,112	457			
July	398	387	July	1,303	473			
Aug.	396	366	Aug.	1,567	414			
Sept.	400	488	Sept.	1,936	451			
Oct.	622	656	Oct.	2,391	325			
Nov.	538	526	Nov.	2,877	333			
Dec.	536	321	Dec.	2,823	216			

Table (v).--Estimated skill-distribution of wage-earners Montreal: Males (1931).#

Occupational Group	Total Wage-Earners	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Un-skilled	Commer-cial	Cler-ical
Extractive(1) Industries	.77	.02	.55	.20	-	-
Manufacturing	18.61	7.74	9.82	1.05	-	-
Electric Power	1.14	.32	.37	.45	-	-
Building and Construction	12.73	6.26	6.17	.30	-	-
Transport and Communication	13.08	1.49	6.13	4.93	.35	.18
Warehousing, Storage, etc.	1.56	.01	.29	.13	-	1.13
Trade	10.27	.17	.11	.20	9.79	-
Finance and Insurance.	1.08	-	-	-	1.08	-
Services	8.26	1.67	3.60	2.99	-	-
Clerical occupations	9.55	-	-	-	-	9.55
Labourers	22.83	-	-	22.83	-	-
Unspecified	.06	.02	.02	.02	-	-
All other Industries	.06	.02	.02	.02	-	-
All Occupations	100.00	17.72	27.08	33.12	11.22	10.86

(1) Including labourers specifically employed in agriculture, etc.
All tables in text and appendix marked with # are compiled from D. B. S. Bulletin No. IX of Unemployment (Main Cities) series.

Table (vi).--Wage-earners losing time, classified according to cause and sex, showing the amount and duration of unemployment. Montreal 1931.#

Causes of Unemployment	Wage-Earners Who Lost Some Time No.	Aggregate Number of Weeks Lost No.	Average Weeks Lost by Those Losing Time No.	Proportionate Importance of Various Causes(1) P.C.
All Causes				
Total	122,168	2,815,076	23.04	100.00
Male	99,983	2,370,103	23.71	100.00
Female	22,185	444,973	20.06	100.00
No Job				
Total	95,880	2,353,957	24.55	83.62
Male	79,832	2,009,425	25.17	84.78
Female	16,048	344,532	21.47	77.43
Temporary Lay-off				
Total	16,201	225,609	13.93	8.01
Male	12,450	174,357	14.00	7.36
Female	3,751	51,252	13.66	11.52
Sickness				
Total	13,621	195,911	14.38	6.96
Male	10,543	154,976	14.70	6.54
Female	3,078	40,935	13.30	9.20
Accident				
Total	1,641	22,532	13.73	0.80
Male	1,507	20,961	13.91	0.88
Female	134	1,571	11.72	0.35
Strike or Lockout				
Total	83	981	11.82	0.04
Male	75	895	11.93	0.04
Female	8	86	10.75	0.02
Other Causes				
Total	903	16,086	17.81	0.57
Male	560	9,489	16.94	0.40
Female	343	6,597	19.23	1.48

(1) Based on total weeks lost.
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Table (vii).--Time lost: Male wage-earners
Montreal 1931.#

Industrial Group	Total Wage-Earners	Number Losing Time	Aggregate Weeks Lost	P.C. Losing Time	Average Weeks Lost
Extractive Industries	1,494	945	25,468	63.3	17.0
Agriculture	668	377	10,747	56.5	16.1
Logging, Fishing, etc.	185	150	4,343	81.1	23.4
Mining, Quarrying	641	418	10,378	65.2	16.4
Manufacturing	64,311	29,650	614,870	46.1	9.6
Vegetable Products	9,868	3,707	74,494	37.6	7.6
Animal Products	6,680	3,440	76,170	51.5	11.4
Textile Products	10,228	5,358	117,625	52.4	11.5
Wood, Paper, Printing	8,785	3,196	65,408	36.2	7.4
Iron Products	17,524	9,711	198,482	55.4	11.3
Metals	3,673	1,301	24,813	36.9	6.8
Mineral Products	4,183	1,926	36,961	46.0	8.8
Chemical Products	1,728	415	8,178	24.0	4.7
Miscellaneous	1,642	596	12,739	36.4	7.8
Electric Power	1,802	477	9,183	26.4	5.1
Building and Construction	34,529	25,232	645,201	73.8	18.7
Transport and Communication	31,693	12,177	256,142	38.2	8.1
Trade	30,117	8,586	189,757	28.6	6.3
Finance and Insurance	8,824	1,038	25,120	12.4	2.8
Services	38,019	11,436	265,939	36.6	7.0
Government Service	13,563	3,336	103,556	24.6	7.6
Professional	6,084	758	16,852	12.4	2.8
Entertainment, etc.	1,465	543	12,934	37.5	8.8
Custom and Repair	5,046	2,205	51,482	43.9	10.2
Business Service	750	187	3,899	24.9	5.2
Personal Service	11,111	3,407	77,216	30.7	7.0
Unspecified	13,286	10,442	338,423	78.6	25.5
Total All Industries	224,075	99,983	2,370,103	44.6	10.6

"Unspecified" includes 48 industries with less than 10 persons; 13 industries without unemployment.
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Table (viii)a.--Male wage-earners in Montreal (10 years of age and over) excluding managers, professionals and officials, losing time during the period June 1, 1930 to June 1, 1931, and the number of weeks lost.#

(a) Manufacturing.

Occupational Group	Total Wage-Earners	Number Losing Time	Aggregate Weeks Lost	P.C. Losing Time	Average Weeks Lost
Vegetable Products	3,239	1,441	30,729	44.6	9.5
Vegetable Foods	2,073	821	17,416	39.6	8.4
Drinks and Beverages	293	90	1,651	30.7	5.6
Tobacco Products	603	378	8,354	62.7	13.9
Rubber Products	270	152	3,308	56.3	12.3
Animal Products	6,478	3,454	77,055	53.3	11.9
Animal Foods	1,888	633	13,486	33.5	7.1
Furs and Fur Goods	742	429	8,999	57.8	12.1
Leather and Leather Products	3,848	2,392	54,570	62.2	14.2
Textiles, Clothing, etc.	5,401	3,223	72,111	59.7	13.4
Textiles (Primary)	978	523	11,281	53.5	11.5
Wood Products, Pulp, Paper, etc.	1,889	1,000	20,831	52.9	11.0
Wood Products	1,616	887	18,832	54.9	11.7
Pulp, Paper, and Paper Products	273	113	1,999	41.4	7.3
Printing, Publishing and Bookbinding	3,156	1,043	20,270	33.3	6.5
Metal Products (not electroplate or precious metal)	14,739	7,683	158,524	52.1	10.8
Precious Metals and Electroplate	551	206	4,484	37.4	8.1
Electrical Apparatus	512	190	3,546	37.1	6.9
Non-Metallic Mineral Products	1,120	610	11,878	54.5	10.6
Chemical and Allied Products	257	77	1,240	30.0	4.8
Miscellaneous Products	412	143	2,898	34.7	7.0
Total Manufacturing	38,712	19,593	414,847	50.6	10.7

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Table (viii)b.--Male wage-earners in Montreal (10 years of age and over) excluding managers, professionals and officials, losing time during the period June 1, 1930 to June 1, 1931, and the number of weeks lost.#

(b) Other Occupations.

Occupational Group	Total Wage-Earners	Number Losing Time	Aggregate Weeks Lost	P.C. Losing Time	Average Weeks Lost
Electric Light and Power	2,370	971	20,155	41.0	8.5
Building and Construction	26,468	17,907	407,266	67.7	15.4
Transport and Communication	27,209	10,322	221,646	37.9	8.1
Railway Transport	6,365	1,797	30,079	28.2	4.7
Water Transport	3,462	2,047	48,500	59.1	14.0
Road Transport	12,964	5,363	116,788	41.4	9.0
Other Transport	4,418	1,115	26,279	25.2	5.9
Warehousing and Storage	3,248	1,073	19,844	33.0	6.1
Trade	21,366	5,246	114,580	24.6	5.4
Finance and Insurance	2,246	300	6,919	13.4	3.1
Services	17,178	4,879	107,675	28.4	6.3
Government Service	3,242	317	5,504	9.8	1.7
Entertainment and sport	436	168	4,079	38.5	9.4
Personal Service	11,255	3,319	73,325	29.5	6.4
Laundry, Cleaning, etc.	2,245	1,075	24,767	47.9	11.0
Clerical	19,872	3,383	72,223	17.0	3.6
Labourers	47,492	33,389	914,253	70.3	19.3
Extractive Industries	1,589	922	25,205	58.0	15.9
Agriculture	1,012	495	13,774	49.4	13.6
Logging, Fishing, etc.	151	120	3,649	81.5	24.2
Mining and Quarrying	426	304	7,782	71.4	18.3
Unspecified	240	102	2,428	42.5	10.1
Total All Occupations	207,990	98,087	2,327,041	47.2	11.2

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Table (ix)a.--Comparison of time lost (1931) by Montreal workers (males) in main skill groups.

Manufacturing: Skilled, Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Occupations.#

Occupational Group	Skilled			Semi-Skilled			Unskilled		
	Wage-Earners No.	P.C. Losing Time	Av. Wks. Lost	Wage-Earners No.	P.C. Losing Time	Av. Wks. Lost	Wage-Earners No.	P.C. Losing Time	Av. Wks. Lost
Vegetable Products	2,120	42.0	9.4	920	48.5	9.5	199	52.3	10.1
Vegetable Foods	1,529	37.8	8.3	544	44.7	8.7	-	-	-
Drinks and Beverages	106	18.9	3.1	146	41.1	7.8	41	24.4	4.3
Tobacco Products	409	65.3	15.9	102	56.9	9.3	92	57.6	9.8
Rubber Products	76	34.2	6.3	128	66.4	14.9	66	62.1	14.0
Animal Products	1,944	56.0	12.8	4,366	52.4	11.6	168	45.8	10.0
Animal Foods	128	21.9	5.4	1,722	34.5	7.4	38	28.9	3.2
Furs and Fur Goods	378	56.8	14.3	364	58.8	12.4	-	-	-
Leather and Leather Products	1,438	58.9	13.6	2,280	64.8	14.6	130	50.8	12.1
Textiles, Clothing, etc.	2,323	59.2	13.2	2,885	61.1	13.7	193	43.0	9.3
Textiles (primary)	393	45.0	8.9	491	59.7	13.5	94	56.4	12.5
Wood Products, Pulp, Paper, etc.	1,013	50.7	10.5	591	55.7	11.4	285	55.1	12.0
Wood Products	911	52.7	11.1	458	58.1	12.3	247	57.1	12.5
Pulp, Paper and Paper Products	102	33.3	5.3	133	47.4	8.5	38	42.1	8.7
Printing, Publishing and Bookbinding	1,969	32.8	6.3	934	32.4	6.4	233	40.3	7.8
Metal Products (not electroplate or precious metals)	4,984	55.2	11.2	9,071	49.9	10.4	684	59.4	12.3
Precious Metals and Electroplate	395	36.5	8.6	138	39.9	7.2	18	38.9	4.8
Electrical Apparatus	220	29.1	4.4	232	43.1	8.7	60	43.3	9.5
Non-Metallic Mineral Products	484	51.2	9.9	495	59.8	11.7	141	46.8	9.4
Chemical and Allied Products	121	27.3	4.5	86	34.9	5.3	50	28.0	4.7
Miscellaneous	140	27.9	5.6	214	39.3	8.0	58	34.5	6.8
Total Manufacturing Occupations	16,106	49.5	10.5	20,423	51.5	10.9	2,183	50.7	10.5

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Table (ix)b.--Comparison of time lost (1931) by Montreal workers (males) in main skill groups. Other Occupations: Skilled, Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Occupations.#

Occupational Group	Skilled			Semi-Skilled			Unskilled		
	Wage-Earners No.	P.C. Losing Time	Av. Wks. Lost	Wage-Earners No.	P.C. Losing Time	Av. Wks. Lost	Wage-Earners No.	P.C. Losing Time	Av. Wks. Lost
Extractive Industries	30	33.3	5.3	1,139	51.2	14.0	420	78.3	21.7
Agriculture	12	25.0	4.8	1,000	49.2	13.7	-	-	-
Forestry, Fishing, Trapping	-	-	-	17	35.3	7.2	134	87.3	26.3
Mining and Quarrying	18	38.9	5.7	122	69.7	17.0	286	74.1	19.6
Electric Light and Power	609	32.6	6.9	745	41.9	8.6	956	46.1	9.6
Building and Construction	13,023	68.2	15.3	12,826	67.5	15.5	619	59.3	14.8
Transport and Communication	3,099	29.4	6.0	12,761	36.1	7.3	10,252	43.7	10.1
Railway Transport	1,779	26.6	5.0	3,383	29.7	4.6	845	29.9	5.5
Water Transport	525	51.0	11.4	79	49.4	10.3	2,858	60.9	14.6
Road Transport	87	14.9	1.2	8,525	40.3	8.8	3,613	45.5	9.9
Other Transport	708	23.2	5.0	774	15.2	2.4	2,936	28.6	7.2
Warehousing and Storage	19	51.6	4.5	604	40.6	7.3	270	40.4	7.4
Trade	356	19.4	3.2	242	24.0	3.9	408	48.3	11.3
Service	5,464	21.2	4.6	7,504	33.9	7.5	6,210	25.8	5.8
Government Service	1,665	8.5	1.5	1,448	9.8	1.7	129	25.6	4.1
Entertainment and Sport	64	29.7	6.7	182	34.6	8.2	190	45.3	11.3
Personal Service	1,623	33.2	7.5	4,020	33.6	7.1	5,612	25.5	5.7
Laundry, Cleaning, etc.	112	32.1	6.7	1,854	53.2	12.2	279	19.0	4.8
Labourers	-	-	-	-	-	-	47,492	70.3	19.3
Unspecified	80	42.5	10.1	80	42.5	10.1	80	42.5	10.1
Total: Manufacturing	16,106	49.5	10.5	20,423	51.5	10.9	2,183	50.7	10.5
Other Occupations	20,740	52.4	11.6	35,901	47.4	10.4	66,707	61.4	16.3
Total: Manual Workers	36,846	51.1	11.1	56,324	48.9	10.6	68,890	61.1	16.1

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Table (ix)c.--Comparison of time lost (1951) by Montreal Workers (males) in main skill groups.#

Clerical and Commercial Workers.

Occupational Group	Clerical			Commercial		
	Wage-Earners No.	P.C. Losing Time	Av. Wks. Lost	Wage-Earners No.	P.C. Losing Time	Av. Wks. Lost
Transport	358	17.8	3.4	739	36.1	8.0
Railway Transport	358	17.8	3.4	-	-	-
Road Transport	-	--	-	739	36.1	8.0
Warehousing and Storage	2,355	30.3	5.7	-	-	-
Trade	-	-	-	20,360	24.2	5.3
Finance and Insurance	-	-	-	2,246	13.4	3.1
Clerical	19,872	17.0	3.6	-	-	-
Total: Clerical and Commercial	22,585	18.4	3.8	23,345	23.5	5.2

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List of Unions Interviewed.

Boilermakers; International Brotherhood of.

Bookbinders; International Brotherhood of.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Bricklayers', Masons' and Marble Masons' Union.

Carpenters and Joiners; United Brotherhood of.

Clothing Workers of America; Amalgamated.

Electrical Workers; International Brotherhood of.

Garment Workers' Union; International Ladies'.

Machinists; International Association of.

Photo Engravers' Union of North America; International.

Railway, Bus and Coach Employees; Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.

Typographical Union; International.

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1919--February, March, April, May, September, November and December.
1920--June.