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Vocational Guidance

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THE efforts made in most industrial countries to forward the movement for vocational guidance and selection are likely to be an important contribution towards improving labour conditions, and therefore towards developing production. We seem now to be emerging from the phase of experiment, and a rapid sketch of the various stages through which we have passed will be of interest, as well as a description of the direction which current research is taking and of the results already won.

Vocational selection and vocational guidance are two distinct classes of work, which though presenting many similarities and analogies ought not to be confused. Vocational selection means the selection of adult persons with a view to their immediate entry into some definite occupation, on the principle of the choice of those who are recognised to be the most suited to these occupations; vocational guidance means investigation of any disabilities which would make boys and girls leaving school unsuited to this or that occupation and equally investigation of such qualities as would help towards the choice of an occupation for them likely to further their interests and the general progress of production. The subject of this article will be vocational guidance.

NEED FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

It is almost always the case that a child on leaving an elementary school is sent into some occupation which promises him the highest wages for the time being without any trouble being taken to explain to his family the hazard of such a course or to help them in any way, supposing that they are acting under the pressure of material circumstances. Even when the family realises the need for apprenticing a child and is prepared to make the required sacrifices, the choice of an occupation is for the most part left to instinct without any effort being made to study

seriously the question of the child's aptitude for the occupation. It is hardly surprising that so few men distinguish themselves in their vocation or even so much as care for it and that so many people do their work in mediocre style or sometimes against the grain. The present state of affairs is a source of anxiety in all countries ; it is not only injurious to the persons involved, but is a real danger from the economic, social, and national points of view.

The prosperity of an industry is more and more coming to depend on the rapidity with which it can adapt itself to changes in market conditions, to progress in invention, and in scientific method ; national economic power, again, depends on the rapidity with which the whole of industry can do the same, for responsiveness to environment is a factor tending towards stability and prosperity whether in a country or in an individual. But mineral wealth, rivers, ports, water-power, tidal power, would be of singularly little avail if after schemes have been worked out and means found it were invariably necessary to go abroad for the necessary trained labour, simply because it would not be possible to depend on finding it on the spot. Besides, such labour could only be obtained with difficulty from those countries whose economic condition was satisfactory. It would also be more expensive than labour obtained at home, since to the cost of paying equal wages there would have to be added the further costs of recruitment and provision of accommodation and canteens. The lack of persons with the necessary specialised skill often prevents the carrying out of work which would afford employment to those who must otherwise be idle.

Attention has naturally been directed to the development of apprenticeship as a remedy for this situation. The French Act of 25 July 1919 aims at gradually making apprenticeship compulsory; which is one more reason why teachers should not be obliged to continue to instruct pupils who cannot follow what they have to teach nor pupils be forced to study what they cannot learn.

The problem will never be solved by merely turning out skilled workers without regard to the requirements of the labour market. If the supply of skilled workers for the carrying on of the various branches of production is to be adequate, the preference for certain occupations which leads to overcrowding must be restrained, and choice must be directed towards those which are being avoided without due cause ; too narrow a specialisation should be discouraged. Organisation should follow the principle laid down by the French Ministry of Labour : "the best distribution of human values among the various sorts of activity". The economic utility of this task is incontestable, especially for those countries which suffer from under-population.

The example of France is particularly significant. In 1911 its active male population was 12,494,229. Before the war French industry was obliged to have recourse to foreign labour, which furnished workers to the extent of 8.6 per cent. in the mining industry, 5.8 per cent. in manufacturing industry, and 6.5 per

cent. in other industrial occupations. Losses due to the war and the lowering of the output standard of the disabled have aggravated the scarcity. If the number of killed, missing, and injured suffering from disability of at least 50 per cent. is reckoned, it is found that the losses have been $10\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. in agriculture, more than 13 per cent. in banking and commerce, $20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the food and allied industries, nearly 11 per cent. in public works and building, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in manufacturing industry. The deficiency is even greater than these figures would indicate ; the loss of skilled workers in public works and the building trades, for example, has been calculated at 22 per cent.; further, the distribution of losses of men according to age—about 20 per cent. younger men and 5 per cent. elderly men—proves that the class most severely effected was that of the most active and capable men, and that the actual total loss of efficiency for these two occupations is certainly in excess of 22 per cent.

We have to face the fact that, in order to bring the forces of industry up to strength, it is necessary to introduce a very great deal of foreign labour into the country ; it would be no exaggeration to estimate this number at 10 per cent. of the pre-war industrial strength, or more than 1,200,000 persons. The disquieting thing is that the population is affected not only in its quantity, but in its quality. Indeed, it is the shortage of skilled much more than of unskilled workers which makes itself felt. An examination of the applications to be allowed to bring in workers from abroad shows that out of the 1,200,000 foreigners required, 1,000,000 (or $\frac{5}{6}$) are to be skilled workers and 200,000 (or $\frac{1}{6}$) only are to be unskilled. Now, at present the earnings of the skilled worker are at least 5 francs a day more than those of the unskilled; taking the number of working days in a year to be 300, it will be seen that industry pays out to foreign skilled workers an annual sum of $5 \times 300 \times 1{,}000{,}000$, or one and a half milliard francs, which might accrue to national workers if it were possible to limit immigration to unskilled workers.

It is natural that countries should take precautions to avoid the economic loss resulting from the introduction of foreign workers. National as well as economic interests demand that everything possible should be done to avoid having to fill the ranks of skilled workers with foreigners. There is, however, no remedy for this state of affairs if technical guidance and education are not such as to produce within national territory the men with specialised skill of whom employers stand in need. All prohibitions will remain ineffective, and the authorities will be forced by the pressure of public opinion to refrain from enforcing them, as long as it is impossible to find the necessary labour on the spot.

Wise vocational guidance will be, in short, a potent factor in the maintenance of social peace. Boys and girls thrust at random into a trade for which they are unsuited cannot have any liking for an occupation in which they never receive more than a limited remuneration and the exercise of which is the source either of constant bodily fatigue or of irksome mental strain.

Without going as far as Dr. Toulouse, who, in his scheme for an institute of mental hygiene, demands that the entry into every school and factory should be by way of a psycho-physiological laboratory acting as an organ of selection and classification, we would nevertheless ask how many failures would not be avoided if, by such means, young people were diverted from occupations which, in all probability, would prove injurious to them. Vocational guidance in practice would certainly lessen the number of embittered and desperate men, chiefly recruited from among those who, believing themselves fitted for skilled employment and destined to occupy high positions, are from various causes thrown back into the mass of unskilled workers, without losing any of their illusions.

We may sum up by saying that, whether we regard the problem from the economic, national, or social standpoint, there is great advantage to be had from the vocational selection of boys and girls before they become technically specialised, so as to give to each of them instruction from which he can draw the greatest benefit, and to which his strength, health and intelligence are best adapted ; thus can he serve to the utmost not only his own interest but that of society.

Difficulties in the Way

If vocational guidance is to be given to children leaving school, various factors are involved, some of which are not susceptible of measurement.

Economic factors, such as the congestion of occupations, the prospects offered, and the social standing of the parents, can be determined with fair precision except where the eventual development of certain industries is concerned ; in any case, the organisation of public employment exchanges in a number of countries is such as can furnish information as to the congestion of occupations, and, further, these exchanges are in a position to estimate how many apprentices can be taken on by establishments in each district every year. Technical factors can as yet be assessed only in part. As regards the influence which may be exercised by standards of education attained by the children, the school authorities can supply the necessary information ; on the other hand, the degree of manual dexterity will remain an unknown quantity as long as the provisions of the Act relating to pre-apprenticeship training are not put into operation. Nevertheless, where courses of manual training exist, the opinion of the teacher in charge can be taken.

Two other factors remain for consideration. Their importance is emphasised by the results of research which will be referred to later.

Psychophysiologists have proved that a harmful reaction is provoked in the organism of an individual by the pursuit of an occupation for which he possesses neither psychological nor physiological aptitude ; conversely, there is no doubt that in such

a case his output is inferior both in quality and quantity to what it would be under normal conditions of adaptation.

Physiological factors could only be estimated with sufficient accuracy if the physiological characteristics of each pupil were known, and the physiological aspects of every vocation had been studied. Now the study of the physical conditions necessary for the exercise of a vocation and the study of the physical reaction produced in a person by the exercise of a vocation are far from being completed. Nevertheless, practical men such as factory inspectors, engineers, doctors, and especially persons who have been associated with the re-training schools established during the war, are capable of giving a useful and sufficiently accurate estimate of an applicant's physical aptitude for a given occupation. Further, when the medical inspection of school children provided for by legislation is operating normally, interesting information, which it will be easy to complete, will be elicited. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that certain physical defects may disappear in the course of a child's later development, and that close research is necessary to determine in what measure such and such an occupation may either aggravate these defects or perhaps contribute to their disappearance.

Psychological factors are of various kinds. In dealing with them it must not be forgotten that here, even more than in the case of physiological factors, a given person is, mathematically speaking, a continuously varying magnitude, and that, where a child is in question, psychic oscillations may have a very short duration and a very great amplitude. However that may be, there is no doubt that we already have sufficient grasp of certain characteristics such as attentiveness, orderliness, quickness of reaction, type of memory, and faculties of imitation, combination and imagination ; nevertheless, it would at present be hard to give to psychological factors the same value as to economic, technical, and physiological ones. Finally, though an endeavour has been made with some success to gauge those psychological characteristics of the individual which come into play in the exercise of a vocation, some yet remain which resist all attempts to evaluate them.

Parents are very liable to be deceived as to the aptitudes of their children. The child himself can hardly discern the stable and durable elements in his desires and tastes. False ideas arise from the conversation of neighbours and friends. Decisions are founded upon unconsidered preferences or aversions. The temptation of high apparent wages is yielded to, while occupations which involve getting dirty are avoided. Above all, the position which those people have attained whom one envies is taken as a basis of comparison without account being taken of the rungs in the ladder they have had to climb or of the efforts which they have had to make. Those who become fully skilled workmen or reach high executive posts do not often enough describe the laborious efforts which they have had to make.

To sum up, an examination of the various factors in vocational

guidance shows that we already possess a fairly accurate knowledge of the economic, scholastic, technical, and physiological factors ; that interesting research is going on in the psychological sphere ; and that much may be hoped from propaganda aiming at influencing the tendencies of parents and children.

Investigation having reached this stage, it has now become possible, with reservations dictated by justifiable caution, to proceed in the majority of countries to make essays both in positive guidance intended to furnish advice to the undecided and the misdirected, and, more especially, in negative guidance with the object of preventing the misdirected from starting on the wrong road.

Vocational Guidance in Various Countries

Vocational guidance offices have been started in the United States with the purpose of getting "the right man in the right place". Among various institutions may be mentioned the Bureau of Vocation founded at Boston in 1918, to which has been attached a school for vocational advisors, and a teaching department at Harvard giving similar training to school masters and mistresses. In very many towns, monographs or descriptions of occupations including details as to duration of apprenticeship, wages to be expected, and qualities necessary for success are circulated in the schools and among the public at large. A serious attempt is being made to organise scientific vocational selection for salaried staffs (1).

In England the local education authorities, as well as the Board of Trade, have been empowered by a regulation dated 7 February 1910 to entrust to special advisory committees the duty of finding suitable employment for boys and girls. The Education Act of 28 November 1910 requests the education authorities to do their utmost to persuade parents to leave their children longer at school and to send them into occupations which will really afford the means of livelihood. Thus at Birmingham there exists an organisation consisting of a central committee and sub-committees of social workers. Besides education officials, these committees include voluntary visitors whose concern it is to look after and influence boys and girls up to the age of seventeen. They get in touch with the children three months before they leave school, and consult with the parents, while the committees distribute leaflets and tracts containing chiefly advice on moral questions.

In Germany particular attention has been given to determining the characteristics of different occupations by men like Lipmann, Herkner, Schmoller, and Weber, with a view to selecting the most suitable applicants. The initiative taken by the municipalities and universities is leading to general legislative measures.

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(1) Cf. communication by Dr. Royal Meeker to the Second International Congress of Psychologists at Barcelona in 1921.

A Bavarian Ministerial Decree of 18 December 1919 requires school teachers to make a report every year on the vocations chosen by their pupils, and to transmit it to the employment exchanges ; departments for dealing with vocational guidance have to be attached to the employment exchanges.

A Prussian Ministerial Decree of 18 March 1919 requires each town or group of communes to set up vocation boards, which shall work either with the public employment exchanges or, in country districts, with child welfare organisations.

The special institute of vocational psychology at Berlin has compiled an index of some two hundred trades ; Munich and Mannheim are working on similar lines ; Karlsruhe, Frankfort, Dresden, Cassel, etc. have instituted courses of lectures, in which officials in statistical departments describe the characteristics of different occupations for the benefit of parents. Charlottenburg possesses a technical school equipped with an important laboratory ; Halle-on-Saale set up a psychological institute in 1920 ; Hamburg, Cologne, Leipzig, etc. are training vocational advisors. Influenced by the work of Alfred Binet in France, various towns, among them Berlin, Breslau, Charlottenburg, Freiburg, and Hamburg, make a point of picking out gifted children, thus completing the process of discrimination between school children already begun from the opposite direction by the segregation of the abnormal.

The Austrian Ministry of Social Administration set up on 1 January 1918 undertakes as one of its duties the giving of vocational guidance to children leaving school. The psychological laboratories of the Universities of Vienna and Innsbruck have published studies on the determination of aptitudes for vocations. The question of regional offices of vocational guidance has been proposed, notably at Vienna, Linz, and Salzburg.

Thanks to the efforts of the Belgian Education Society (*Société belge de pédotechnie*) a vocational guidance board was instituted in March 1912, and put in charge of Mr. Christiaens. It was more a body of volunteers interested in the devising of methods than an organisation available to the public. It was not till May 1914 that the institution was transformed, with the support of the town of Brussels and its adjacent communes, into a district office ; but its work could not be taken up again until the German Occupation had come to an end. The regulations of the Brussels Office define it as a sort of school for training in vocational guidance in order (*a*) to encourage the creation of local offices ; (*b*) to train research students ; (*c*) to define methods and invent and obtain apparatus ; (*d*) to originate tests and demonstrate their carrying out ; (*e*) to publish monographs on occupations ; (*f*) to supervise tests.

Switzerland possesses at Basle the oldest organisation for systematic vocational guidance. Founded by the Pestalozzi Society and directed by Mr. Stocker, a Grand Councillor, this office, which advises as to apprenticeship and supervises apprentices, has examined more than 8,000 cases in twelve years ; the

average of the last three years exceeds 1,000 examinations, of which nearly 450 resulted in apprenticeship. The town of Lucerne started in 1916 a course on the vocational guidance of girls. In several cantons the educational staffs have been given instructions (2) to watch the children and follow them up with a view to their being directed into the most suitable vocation. At Basle, Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, etc., pamphlets are distributed giving information as to different careers ; parents are invited to hear the opinions of men who know their trades as to the advantages and disadvantages, conditions of apprenticeship, and scope of their respective callings. Advice, information, and support are furnished by the apprenticeship committees. Various towns have opened courses of training in vocational guidance. At Geneva in particular, there is in operation at the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute a vocational guidance section where Messrs. Bovet, Claparède, Heinis and their assistants carry out the Binet tests (account being taken of the modifications suggested by the Americans Goddard and Texmann) and conduct further experiments, with special reference to the aptitudes of watchmakers, mechanics, and dressmakers.

In Spain Mr. Ruiz Castella, aided by Dr. Emilio Mira, is in charge of an institute for vocational guidance at Barcelona, in which the determination of aptitude is undertaken along the lines proposed by Munsterberg, H. Ling, Hollingworth, etc. The aim is to ascertain the normal type of worker in each occupation : a series of psychometric records relating to a set of good workers is compared with an analogous series relating to persons not in the occupation. The institute is open to the public. It keeps in touch with the chambers of commerce and trade unions. Although Dr. Mira's aim is essentially to substitue anthropometric and psychometric examination "for the fallacy of the questionnaire and personal judgment", he is prepared to utilise information supplied by employment exchanges, teachers, and trade unions.

France, driven by the necessity of remedying her deficiency both in the quantity and the quality of her skilled labour, began to turn theory into practice in 1920 and more emphatically in 1921, when vocational guidance was entrusted to the public employment exchanges. In June 1920 the Ministry of Labour requested the regional vocational guidance offices at Lille, Paris, Strasburg, Nantes, Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulouse to make cautious experiments in giving vocational guidance to children leaving school. In 1921 vocational guidance services were in operation in more than twenty towns. Lyons, Marseilles, Nantes, Roubaix, and Strasburg have each a body of specialists who are using psychological enquiry methods. The municipal and Departmental employment exchanges, under pressure from the regional vocational guidance offices, have put into operation vocational guidance departments in the towns of Rouen, Caen, Lisieux, Beauvais, Châlons, Bar-le-Duc, Mézières, Nancy, Epinal, Versailles,

(2) Schwytz, 14 March 1916 ; St. Gall, 1917 ; Vaud, 8 March 1917 ; Zurich 1918.

Melun, Fontainebleau, Montereau, Chartres, Toulouse, and Albi ([2 bis]). At Calais, Clermont-Ferrand, Cherbourg, Hirson, Laon, Le Havre, Laval, Le Mans, Lorient, Limoges, Rheims, Saint-Dizier, and Pau, these departments will not be in full operation until 1922. Several of them, however, have already taken up enquiries into cases of children whose families had been able to find situations for them on leaving school ([3]). The Ministry of Public Instruction has asked inspectors of schools ([4]) to invite all teaching staffs to collaborate with the employment exchanges. The Under-Secretary of State for Technical Education also stimulated the efforts of towns and Departments which were following out the instructions of the Ministry of Labour by emphasising the need for institutions of vocational guidance ([5]). In 1921 the exchanges examined 3,941 children (3,351 boys and 590 girls) with the result that 1,700 situations were filled.

Holland, according to Dr. van Wayenburg, is still in the stage of conducting vocational guidance through the schools ; the teacher fills up a form containing a list of questions and gives it to the pupil, who himself hands it in to the employment exchange.

In Italy interesting research, especially with regard to inherited aptitude for occupations, is preparing the way for practical application, which in Milan, at any rate, may be expected to begin very soon.

The Government of Czechoslovakia in 1920 appointed Mrs. Flaminkova, an inspector of female technical schools, and vice-president of the Central Economic Council, to undertake an enquiry abroad, one of whose objects was vocational guidance.

In Luxembourg Professor Braunshausen has carried on experiments at the Institut Metz.

In Japan the University of Tokio is formulating a series of tests for vocational aptitudes.

The brief summary here given is sufficient to show that vocational guidance is a subject which is being actively considered in most countries.

Methods of Enquiry in Current Use

However great may be the difference between one method and another, their primary aim in all cases is alike, namely, to bring to light the child's own personality. This very delicate task is the basis of all wise guidance.

Information on vocational guidance is kept either on the file system, as at Brussels and Lyons, or on the card catalogue system. Whichever system is adopted, the information collected is that

([2 bis]) Cf. the interesting vocational guidance institute under the direction of Mr. Mauvezin at Bordeaux.

([3]) The town of Paris does not appear in the list; the reason is that the Seine Departmental exchange, on account of the extent and importance of the population congregated in Paris (more than 4,000,000 inhabitants), considers that long preparatory work is necessary before engaging in a course of action, the possible failure of which might throw discredit upon the very principle of vocational guidance.

([4]) Circulars of 19 July 1920 and 17 March 1921.

([5]) Circular of 14 March 1921.

culled from answers supplied by parents, children, school masters, doctors, and practical psychologists to questions asked of them. The object of the questions put to the child's family is to obtain information about its social position. Most institutions, e. g. those at Barcelona and Basle and the French offices, ask parents to come with their children when appearing before the vocational guidance committees or before vocational guidance experts. Questions put to the boys and girls themselves deal with their preferences in lessons and games, etc.; the number of questions so put seldom goes beyond ten or fifteen. It is generally agreed that the Bordeaux questionnaire, which runs to ninety questions, is too complicated, and even the institutions which carry out this kind of interview only lay a very relative value on the results got from such introspective methods. The questions put to the schoolmaster or schoolmistress refer to the child's standard in the subjects of the ordinary educational curriculum, also to its standard of manual proficiency when manual training has been given, and ask for any information as to the child's moral character which the master or mistress may be able to supply. The Barcelona institute asks the schoolmaster to say whether the child belongs to the manual or to the intellectual type. The heads of that institute are, however, aware that in the absence of a special training, it is very often impossible for teachers to classify a child as either one or the other. In France a questionnaire was used in 1920 which had been closely modelled on that employed at Strasburg, but in 1921 in response to the requests of the teaching profession, masters were simply asked to give a general account of the child ; this has been the practice at Basle for the last twelve years.

The form handed to the doctor usually includes questions on height, weight, fitness, sight, hearing, lung and heart action, and on special points, such as hernia and varicose veins. A general opinion is often also asked for as to the child's aptitude for work requiring either strength or agility. Eye and ear tests are sometimes left to the psychologist, as at Brussels, and sometimes handed over to a medical specialist. Sometimes, as at Bordeaux, ear, nose and throat specialists are consulted. In towns, such as Basle, Rouen, Nantes, etc., where medical school inspection has been established for some time, the child's school health record is consulted. Attention may be drawn to two special systems. The medical form used at Barcelona includes, besides the usual medical questions, an anthropological part dealing with skull, chest, abdomen, and limb measurements. At Brussels the doctor fills up two separate forms : the first contains medical information and is not sent on to the vocational guidance expert ; he simply receives the second, in which the doctor states that it would be advisable to discourage or disallow the child from entering such and such occupations. The advantage is that the child's family is hereby secured against any disclosure of confidential medical information; this method has been adopted at Roubaix and other places and is beginning to be widely used.

There are various types of questionnaire drawn up on psychological principles and requiring to be answered by means of 'tests'. The Brussels questionnaire is unusually complete and covers four kinds of subjects : (1) attention, external and internal, in the case of conscious attention, with or without distraction ; (2) sensation and perception, visual, auditive, olfactory, gustatory, or tactual, testing both degree of acuteness and *limina* of perception ; (3) memory, visual and auditive ; and (4) complex intellectual processes, such as association of ideas, whether spontaneous or deliberate, judgment through the medium of concrete or abstract terms, practical judgment, quickness of verbal apprehension, power of observation. Dr. Mira's research at Barcelona is concerned with the registration of emotional states ; Mr. Fontègne at Strasburg groups together a whole series of data from which he proceeds to construct a 'psychological profile', a method which has since also been adopted at Marseilles. At Basle psychological examinations are considered a little premature, except perhaps as additional elimination tests where too many applicants are crowding into certain occupations. The French offices, except those at Strasburg, Marseilles, and Roubaix, have decided that psychological methods are still too uncertain to permit of application ; what is wanted is immediate and practical vocational guidance. This attitude, however, in no way implies any spirit of repudiation, for the University of Paris has instructed Professor J. M. Lahy to organise a course on applied psychology in trades and occupations at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Pratiques*.

All investigators agree that prudence is greatly to be desired. The Second Congress of Psychologists, which was held at Barcelona in September 1921, came to the conclusion that it was not yet possible to agree upon a list of such tests as had been sufficiently standardised to allow of their being formally recommended. Professor Claparède, who jointly with Mr. Bovet directs the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute at Geneva, has with the scientist's scruple for truth pointed out that the variability or the reverse of the tests used has not yet been established. It is uncertain whether their significance remains the same either for the same person at different times or for different persons ; what is their worth as a forecast of the child's future development ; whether the child, in growing up, retains its original aptitudes or whether new aptitudes can be created or old ones developed. In any case, a great many experts, including Lipmann in Germany, Fontègne at Strasburg, and Heinis at Geneva, state that they attach more importance to the observations they make while the tests are proceeding than to actual test results ; this brings in the personal point of view of the vocational guidance expert and introduces an element of empiricism into his work. However, we are justified in hoping great things of such research, especially when carried on, as at Brussels by Messrs. Christiaens and Decroly, with the express purpose of formulating, by selection and comparison of such laboratory experiments, another series of what might be called 'practical application' tests of a simpler

kind, which could be more easily managed and which would admit of being at once applied to almost every school child and to a large number of adult workers.

Information obtained as to the social position, standard of education, health, and psychological aptitudes of the child examined must then be compared with the qualities which are required in the exercise of such and such an occupation. Consequently, vocational guidance experts attach great importance to the writing of monographs on different occupations. These might be drawn up in several ways. They could be detailed descriptions, such as are found in an encyclopaedia, or summaries written as pamphlets or leaflets to circulate among applicants and their families, or again, trade monographs giving very systematically the salient features of some occupation, its advantages or the reverse, and above all, a description of the moral, physical, and intellectual endowments required in those who wish to be successful in it. This is the kind of publication which vocational guidance experts are likely to find most useful.

The standard of ordinary educational efficiency required in an apprentice is now pretty well known for the different occupations. The advice given by professional associations can be studied and the minimum requirements of each vocation made clear. Physiological experts must be consulted as to physiological requirements; the most useful information will be got from research work arising out of enquiries into industrial diseases and industrial fatigue and from the results which from time to time may be obtained by the research staffs in one or two institutes, such as the Carnegie, the Lannelongue, and Solvay Institutes. It is on laboratory research, too, that we shall depend for information about psychological disqualifications.

Vocational guidance experts can already consult the list of qualifications drawn up by Otto Lipmann for over a hundred occupations, by Mauvezin of Bordeaux for two hundred and twenty occupations under the title of *The Compass for Trades and Occupations*, and under the supervision of Messrs. Christiaens and Decroly at Brussels for thirty middle-class and a few other occupations. The tendency in France is to begin by preparing monographs on occupations by separate districts so as to allow for local differences in the carrying on of a trade. Examples are the hundred guides published by the apprenticeship associations at Paris (*patronages d'apprentis*), those on twenty-six occupations published by the vocational guidance offices at Nantes, and on twelve occupations published by the vocational guidance offices at Marseilles. The work of making a collection of these guides and of filling in the gaps has been entrusted by the Joint Commission on Technical Training and Technical Work to Mr. Fontègne, the Head of the Vocational Guidance and Selection Office at Strasburg, whose previous researches make a choice of his name eminently acceptable.

The vocational guidance expert proceeds to compare the information he has on his card catalogue or files, and any observa-

tions he may make personally, with the requirements listed in different occupations. He can thus eliminate those occupations which applicants must be advised not to enter. He then has to make up his mind which out of the remaining vocations he shall suggest they should attempt. It is here that knowledge of the state of the employment market becomes an indispensable necessity. Such knowledge can easily be supplied by free public employment exchanges such as were recommended by the Washington Conference of 1919 (6). In a great many countries these employment exchanges have reached a high degree of development. The old systems of exchanges which were working long before the date of the Conference in Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia (Bohemia), or the more modern systems which, at any rate, had been started before that Conference in Great Britain, France (Acts of 1904, 1911), Italy (1918, 1919), Canada (1918), Sweden, Norway, and Poland received more effective government support and were stimulated in their work. Employment exchanges are now in course of being established, or are under enquiry, in Denmark, Holland, Roumania, Serbia, and Spain.

Vocational Guidance Institutions and Agencies

The information on which the vocational guidance expert will base his work is drawn from more than one source ; this has already been made clear. The use of such information will be made easier in proportion to his increased contact with the persons collecting it. The problem is, therefore, to establish and maintain the necessary system of collaboration, and an enquiry must be made into the question of which bodies and agencies are the best for this purpose.

The review given above of the state of vocational guidance in the various countries of the world brought out many similarities and some important differences. These differences have their origin in the different groups or classes of societies in which the movement for vocational guidance started.

Teachers and educational experts have for long been trying to change the school regulations which insist on classifying children by age alone, without taking any account of their general capacity for assimilating what they are taught nor their varying aptitudes for different kinds of instruction ; practical aptitudes are now claiming a place on an equality to that allotted to intellectual endowment in the narrow sense of that term. In the course of the enquiries made on this point, the teaching profession came to realise that they were capable of making an important con-

(6) Draft Convention on Unemployment, Article 2 : "Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall establish a system of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority. Committees, which shall include representatives of employers and of workers, shall be appointed to advise on matters concerning the carrying on of these agencies ".

tribution to the vocational guidance of adolescents. Some teachers, therefore, claim that the right agency for conducting this guidance should be the school itself, but a larger number favour special offices directed by practical psychologists.

Just at the time when the teaching profession was attacking the problem of vocational guidance, employment exchanges, especially those dealing with younger applicants, as the apprenticeship associations at Paris, the Basle Office, the Swiss Associations of Apprenticeship Councils and Apprenticeship Protection, began to attack the same problem from the opposite angle, leaving scientific research to others, and restricting their efforts to finding work for the applicant subject to the greatest number of precautions which could be obtained. The methods of either group have now been assimilated, and the question is by which of them vocational guidance should be organised and conducted.

The idéa of charging the school authorities with the task of vocational guidance has been rejected. The teaching profession in England have made no secret of their opinion that such work was outside their functions. The French General Inspecting Staff on primary education has stated that unless special agencies are set up—which is not advisable—the task of co-ordinating work on vocational guidance should be handed over to the employment exchanges. Mr. Otto Lipmann of Germany remarked at the 1921 Barcelona Congress that school reform was a dream of the future, and that the schoolmaster ought to be placed in a position to observe and classify, but that there his function ended.

Special offices for vocational guidance are much talked of, but ideas on this point need to be precise. If it were simply a question of establishing a trained staff in suitable premises to secure sensible employment for young workers, as is the aim of the Paris Office, we should only be dealing with specialised branches of employment exchanges. But vocational guidances offices are generally interpreted to mean distinct and separate institutions directed exclusively by psychological experts. Experience has shown that specialisation of this kind, however admirable as creating centres for research, does not satisfy practical demands. We must never lose sight of the fundamental fact that all vocational guidance depends on the state of the labour market. "Vocational guidance which fails to get the child into work is apt to be a dead letter", says Otto Lipmann. What happened at Brussels is a warning. Scientific experts and enthusiastic founders established and conducted this office under the name of the Brussels Municipal Bureau for Placing Apprentices (*Office intercommunal pour le placement des apprentis*), from 1912 to 1916 ; it was entirely distinct from the *bourses du travail*, which in Belgium act as employment exchanges. However, the danger of arousing trade union feeling against the office became obvious, in view of the jealousy of the trade unions about employment exchange work, and it seemed possible that the question of restricting the numbers of apprentices might be raised. This

was one of the factors which, together with such tendencies as the extreme scientific exactness of the staff, tended to turn the office into a research and training centre for experimentalists. But any institution which covers a definite geographical area and aims at embracing all the branches of its own subject, cannot exist unless it can count on public support. Now the general public is unfortunately more interested in results than in any ingenuity in the means used to obtain them.

Employment exchanges are, therefore, undoubtedly the best adapted institutions to undertake the many-sided duties involved in vocational guidance, if necessary acting through special departments. In a large number of countries they deal year by year with hundreds and thousands of persons, in some countries with millions. The work they do gives them an amount of power which is in fact undeniable, however vehemently its existence be contested, and which will be most useful in establishing juvenile employment systems. Their joint committees are representative of employers' and workers' organisations. The press support them solidly, and they can co-operate freely with chambers of commerce, chambers of crafts, chambers of agriculture, voluntary societies for protecting the young, and any kind of institution which has taken up technical education, apprenticeship work, or the supervision of young workers.

The Second (1921) Congress of Psychologists in relation to Industry at Barcelona voted the following resolution, the substance of which was shortly afterwards adopted with a slightly different wording by the Apprenticeship Congress at Lyons (7).

> Vocational guidance and selection, besides their scientific, physiological, and psychological interest, have an economic and social interest; they should, therefore, be linked up with agencies for employment or for the relief of unemployment.

Related Problems

The linking up of vocational guidance and selection with institutions run by joint committees of employers and workers, with the co-operation of technical and intellectual workers trained to examine the labour problem, becomes more obviously advantageous if some problems allied in nature to vocational guidance and selection are taken into account. There is the deferring of the school leaving age, for instance, which is an almost indispensable preliminary to any pre-apprenticeship system or non-specialised manual training. Joint committees have agreed that apprenticeship could often be shortened, having taken to heart lessons learned in the course of arranging for the retraining of men disabled during the war or for the speedier training of skilled workers, as adopted by several countries since the year 1919, e. g. Germany, France, and Great Britain. Joint

(7) Held 12-15 Oct. 1921.

committees are especially well qualified to suggest that the wage paid to apprentices should be raised, which again is an essential reform if apprenticeship is to be revived. Apprenticeship will only become a permanent institution if apprentice wages are higher and grants and maintenance allowances are given. Vocational guidance cannot always be final when applied to a boy or girl of 14 or 15 years of age. A vocational guidance expert must be expected to make a few mistakes ; or the child will change ; or changes in industrial processes will thrust the worker out of his craft, especially where he is tied to living in one spot. The scope of apprenticeship ought to be widened, so that the worker is not imprisoned in a narrow specialised occupation ; he ought to receive vocational training wide enough to make it always possible for him to adapt himself to circumstances.