TEMPORARY WORKERS IN CANADA: A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE*

ABSTRACT

Canada has a long history of racialized, gendered, and classed immigration that has been put in place to meet labour market needs. Migrant temporary workers have been played an integral role in this development. In this article, we address the growing importance of Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers Program, contextualizing it within global political economy in terms of flexibility, racialization and genderization. We show the growing importance of temporary migrants in various labour markets and briefly explain that in the 21st century different processes for bringing in temporary migrants to Canada are being used as vehicles to privatize immigration and to further racialize and genderize it.

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Temporary workers come to Canada under the auspices of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, and specifically, the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP). They are unfree in the sense that they are unable to circulate within the labour market due to legal constraints. This article contextualizes Canada's TFWP within the global political economy in terms of flexible labour, racialization and genderization. Temporary workers are flexible; they provide "just-in-time" labour to meet what are perceived to be shortages of workers in the labour market. While this labour is flexible from the point of view of the employer, it is "precarious" from the vantage point of the worker. Employers use the TFWP to have direct power over who immigrates to Canada, slowly eroding the goals of meritocratic fairness that have supported Canadian purported efforts to make (im)migration an impartial process. Although global political economy is a good starting point for framing temporary labour in Canada, it is not sufficient.

Historically, many forms of stratification have organized labour forces and markets via processes such as slavery, indentured labour, unpaid labour, contract labour, and seasonal labour. Segmented labour market theorists, in their 1980s critique of neo-classical human capital theory, argued that social factors such as "race," ethnicity, and gender have an important impact on opportunity and allocation in the labour market. As Portes (1981) noted, secondary labour market immigrant workers have a tenuous juridical status; they are hired not primarily on the basis of their ability but rather on the basis of their ethnicity; they are destined to work in jobs with low remuneration, poor working conditions, and restricted mobility.

It can be argued that global capitalism does not purposely create barriers based on "race" and gender because consumers and capitalists come from all "races" and both genders. Nevertheless, the past occurrence of colonialism and slavery under patriarchal structures means that race and gender remain salient in terms of work and labour. We will briefly examine the situations of flexibility, racialization and genderization as they relate to the TFWP and to selected labour market sectors, including agricultural workers, live-in caregivers and skilled high-tech workers.

Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program

Since Confederation, Canada has always had some type of temporary worker process. The ideal of creating a British settler community was Canada's original nation-building goal, but the reality was that the Canadian capitalist class preferred temporary workers for agricultural and industrial work, infrastructure and railway construction, and domestic work; Asian and Southern and Eastern European males filled many of these positions. In railway construction and mining, for example, there were racialized labour segments with distinct groups of workers: "Whites" in higher paid and "safe" occupations, and "foreigners" who were in lower-paid and dangerous jobs (Vosko 2000) – the latter group often being hired as temporary workers. There is also a long history in Canada of foreign domestic workers serving middle- and upper-class families dating back to the late 1800s and early 1900s.

World War II reversed the economic crisis that had lasted ten years following the worldwide capitalist crash of 1929, and women and prisoners of war filled the jobs created by the war economy. After the war, Canada experienced a shortage of labour to maintain the Fordist industrialization that

Table 1
Source area of foreign temporary workers[a] for selected years, 1982, 1995, and 2005

Year	1982		1995		2005	
Source area	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Asia and Pacific	20,013	16.1	48,775	28.7	85,504	34.8
Africa and Middle East	2,468	2.0	19,029	11.2	23,543	9.6
Americas	15,663	12.6	24,871	14.7	45,337	18.5
Europe	25,917	20.9	29,991	17.7	46,434	18.9
US.	59,805	48.2	46,295	27.3	40,253	16.4
Unknown/Not stated	248	0.2	780	0.5	4,355	1.8
Total	**124,114**	**100.0**	**169,741**	**100.1**	**245,426**	**100.0**

[a] Data based on temporary work permits issued.
Note: In terms of racialization, caution needs to be exercised when assuming that all temporary workers from Europe and the U.S. are White.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2006.

had burst forth. These urban and industrial jobs were particularly attractive to workers and thus dwarfed agricultural employment. The solution to the scarcity of agricultural labour was international migrants. About 11% of these migrants, many of whom were displaced persons, were destined to the agricultural sector (Satzewich 1991).

In the postwar period the reversal of the historical trend of immigrants leaving Europe for other parts of the world had already begun. Instead of Europeans moving to the rest of the world, people from the Caribbean began moving to the United Kingdom, Turks to Germany, Northern Africans to France, Spaniards and Portuguese to Switzerland. Many would encounter difficulties becoming full citizens in industrialized Europe. In Canada, public discourse and legislation adjusted to this shift, at least partially. The discourse of Canada as a White settler society changed, and a discourse of multiculturalism began to emerge and became hegemonic. Immigration policy became meritocratic with the adoption of a "points system" in the late 1960s.

From the immediate postwar period up to the early 1970s, the Canadian state had established an accommodating system for regulating temporary workers as the Canadian economy was undergoing expansion. They were admitted as "visitors." For a few select industries, such as mining, logging, and lumbering, Canada set up a contract labour program in 1947, and this program expanded to include other specialized industries such as sugar beet production employing seasonal agricultural workers in Western Canada (Knowles 2000). In the early 1970s, although the Canadian economy was shaken by another crisis, temporary workers continued to be needed, but their entry and movement were placed under stricter legal control and management. The Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program was instituted by the Canadian government in 1973, which in the 1990s became known as the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP).

Table 2
Labour migration to Canada and Canadian unemployment (1995 to 2005)

	Labour migration to Canada			Canadian unemployment	
Year	**Immigrant workers[a]**	**Temporary workers[b]**	**Temporary to immigrant ratio**	**Number of unemployed (x 1,000)**	**Unemployment rate**
1995	98,823	169,741	1.72	1,402.1	9.6
1996	107,349	168,768	1.57	1,442.9	9.7
1997	102,172	163,911	1.60	1,382.0	9.2
1998	83,748	173,023	2.07	1,277.6	8.4
1999	93,817	186,492	1.99	1,185.2	7.6
2000	113,744	200,465	1.76	1,083.5	6.8
2001	123,853	209,675	1.69	1,164.1	7.2
2002	112,239	211,590	1.89	1,272.2	7.7
2003	111,672	213,160	1.91	1,288.9	7.6
2004	117,515	238,287	2.02	1,233.7	7.2
2005	128,727	245,426	1.91	1,172.8	6.8
% change 1995-2005	**+ 30%**	**+ 45%**	**+ 11%**	**- 16%**	**- 29%**

[a] Based on permanent residents data, and excluding live-in caregivers and business immigrants.
[b] Based on temporary work permits issued data.

Sources: Citizenship and Immigration 2006. Labour Force Survey 2006: *Table 282-0002: Annual estimates (LFS), by sex and detailed age group (age group: 15 years and over)*, Geography: Canada.
Statistics Canada, CANSIM, Table: *Labour Force Characteristics by Age and Sex (for fee)*. Catalogue No. 282-0002.
Statistics Canada: *Labour Force, Employed and Unemployed, Numbers and Rates, by Province*. Accessed at <www40.statcan.ca/l01/cst01/labor07a.htm>.

Table 3
Flow of all workers to Canada by migration status and source area, 1995 and 2005

	Labour migration to Canada					
	Immigrant workers[a]			Temporary workers[b]		
Source area	1995	% Change 2005	1995 – 2005	1995	2005	% Change 1995 – 2005
Asia and Pacific	47,415 (48%)	61,008 (47%)	+ 29%	48,775 (29%)	85,504 (35%)	+ 75%
Africa and Middle East	14,916 (15%)	23,928 (19%)	+ 60%	19,029 (11%)	23,543 (10%)	+ 24%
Americas	9,841 (10%)	14,959 (12%)	+ 52%	24,871 (15%)	45,337 (18%)	+ 82%
Europe	23,271 (24%)	24,217 (19%)	+ 4%	29,991 (18%)	46,434 (19%)	+ 55%
US	2,898 (03%)	4,513 (04%)	+ 56%	46,295 (27%)	40,253 (16%)	- 13%
Unknown/Not stated	482 (00%)	102 (00%)	-	780 (00%)	4,355 (02%)	-
Total	**98,823 (100%)**	**128,727 (101%)**	**+ 30%**	**169,741 (100%)**	**245,426 (100%)**	**+ 45%**

[a] Based on permanent residents data.
[b] Based on temporary work permits issued data.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration 2006.

Over the past 25 years there has been a major shift in the source countries of temporary workers. In 1982, the U.S. was the country of origin for 48% of all temporary work permits issued; by 2005 this figure had dropped to 16.4%. Moreover, the absolute numbers for the U.S. have also been dropping (see Table 1). During this same time period, the proportion of workers originating from Europe has remained the same while the proportions from Asia and Pacific, Africa and the Middle East, and the Americas (excluding the U.S.) have increased substantially. Table 1 demonstrates that the shift in temporary workers has come from the developed northern nations of the world to the developing southern nations.

The flexibility of temporary workers is illustrated in Table 2. From 1995 to 2005 the number of temporary workers increased by 45% – indeed more rapidly than the number of immigrant workers, which increased by 30%. By 2005, the number of temporary migrant worker entries was almost double that of permanent immigrant workers who entered Canada.

Moreover, as the unemployment rate in Canada dropped during this period, as did the absolute number of unemployed persons, the number of temporary migrant workers correspondingly increased. These data indicate that temporary workers fulfill a "flexible" function in meeting labour force needs more so than do immigrant workers, whose numbers are smaller but also whose presence in Canada is not contingent on being active in the labour force. When gender is analyzed, the data (not provided here) indicate that there has been a feminization of temporary workers. Temporary male workers increased by only 29% from 1995 to 2005, while the number of temporary female workers increased by 76% (CIC 2006).

A further comparison by source area reveals that for Asia and Pacific, the Americas, and Europe, the percentage increase of temporary migrant workers far outstrips that of permanent immigrant workers for the period from 1995 to 2005 (see Table 3). In the case of Asia and Pacific, immigrant workers increased 29%, while temporary migrants increased 75%; in the Americas, the increases were 52% and 82% respectively; and in Europe it was 4% and 55%. The figures for the U.S. show a reverse trend, from 56% to 13%, although the absolute number of immigrant workers from the U.S. is very small. In contrast, the absolute number of temporary permits from the U.S. is very large due to the large number of border crossings by management consultants, musicians, and artists, many of whom cross the border to Canada for very brief periods. Thus, the contiguous border and extensive economic integration of the Canada-U.S. economy account for the large number of temporary permits issued to workers from the U.S.

When the source area data are broken down by gender, they show that the feminization of temporary workers mentioned earlier comes primarily from Asia and Pacific, the Americas, and Europe. Overall, the percentage increase from 1995 to 2005 in the number of female temporary workers from Asia and Pacific was 110%; for the Americas, was 84%; and for Europe, 71% (CIC 2006).

It should be noted that a significant percentage of the workers from the U.S., Europe, and Africa and the Middle East[1] are skilled and highly skilled. For example, 64% of workers coming from the U.S. have managerial or professional skill levels compared to 29% from Asia and Pacific and 10% from the Americas. Further analysis reveals that most temporary workers at the managerial, professional, and high-skilled levels are from Europe and the U.S. while most of the workers at the lower-skilled levels come from Asia and Pacific, and the Americas (CIC 2006).

To some extent, the feminization and racialization of Canada's TFWP can be attributed to Canada's solicitation not only of low-skilled labour but also of some high-skilled, flexible labour throughout the world. Six programs are now briefly examined.

Agricultural workers

Intensive recruitment of agricultural workers started in 1966 when Caribbean workers were hired to work seasonally in Ontario to grow tobacco, vegetables, and fruit by virtue of an agreement between the Jamaican and Canadian governments under Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) (Satzewich 1991). The program was well subscribed from the beginning. As Basok (2002) and Satzewich (1991) have pointed out, agriculture in Ontario in the last decades could not have been profitable without

Table 4
Caribbean and Mexican seasonal agricultural work permits issued by gender[a] (1995-2005)

	Seasonal agricultural work permits issued						
	Caribbean			Mexico			
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Overall total
1995	6,154	29	6,183	4,845	57	4,902	11,085
1996	5,993	28	6,021	5,190	57	5,247	11,268
1997	6,476	24	6,500	5,634	66	5,700	12,200
1998	6,703	24	6,727	6,352	142	6,494	13,221
1999	6,881	44	6,925	7,359	160	7,519	14,444
2000	6,919	33	6,952	9,024	232	9,256	16,208
2001	7,434	78	7,512	10,154	362	10,516	18,028
2002	7,351	96	7,447	10,487	346	10,833	18,280
2003	7,580	80	7,660	10,284	302	10,586	18,246
2004	7,802	63	7,865	10,553	378	10,931	18,796
2005	8,061	78	8,139	11,653	356	12,009	20,148
% increase 1995-2005	**31%**	**169%**	**32%**	**141%**	**524%**	**145%**	**82%**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006.

these workers who assured agricultural owners a steady, hardworking, cheap, disciplined, and immobile labour force. In 1974 Mexican male workers began to migrate to Canada to work on farms under an agreement between the Mexican and Canadian government. Their numbers have climbed steadily and have surpassed the number of Caribbean workers (Cook 2004). Recent figures for 2005 indicate that there were 8,193 Caribbean workers and 12,009 Mexican workers, which represent 32% and 82% increases over a decade (see Table 4).

In Canada, the program is regulated by an established set of institutions. Human Resource Centres of Canada serves as the conduit between farmers' needs and workers' recruitment, administering the Caribbean/ Mexican SAWP on behalf of the Government of Canada. Since 1987, a strategic alliance has been forged between Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC) and industry representatives, and in 1997 HRSDC and horticulturalists formed the Ontario Horticultural Advisory Committee so that government and industry can work cooperatively, setting policy for this program.

Domestic workers

The contemporary movement of domestic labour is linked to an international political economy, where factors such as the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in underdeveloped nations intersect with social reproduction[2] and the crisis in the Canadian domestic sphere as a result of women's greater participation in the labour force (Arat-Koc 1989, Stasiulis and Bakan 2003). For example, the conditions of poverty in the Philippines have produced a flexible group of women, many of whom are professional nurses, for work in private households in Canada and elsewhere in the world. In 1992 the Canadian government replaced the Foreign Domestic Movement Program (in effect from 1981) with the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP); over the past decade, the number of workers who have entered Canada under the LCP has increased substantially (see Table 5). In 1995 there were only 6,805 permits issued but by 2005 this number had grown to 22,870, a three-fold increase.

Table 5
Live-in caregiver work permits issued by gender (1995-2005)

Year	Female	Male	Total
1995	6,700	105	6,805
1996	7,455	148	7,603
1997	7,864	188	8,053
1998	8,150	211	8,361
1999	8,316	244	8,560
2000	8,583	270	8,853
2001	10,857	333	11,190
2002	12,977	431	13,408
2003	14,719	558	15,277
2004	18,908	865	19,773
2005	21,755	1,115	22,870
% increase 1995-2005	**225%**	**964%**	**236%**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006.

Canada's unemployment rate has decreased over this same period of time, and this fact, combined with a growing labour force and an ageing population, has produced a high demand for domestic help, which has been met by temporary labour. In 1995, the top source country for work permits was the Philippines (68%) and the top five countries constituted 80% of all work permits issued. By 2005, the Philippines' portion rose to 86%, and the top five countries constituted 93% of all work permits (CIC 2006). This concentration of Filipina women, combined with the fact that there are no longer any European source countries in the top five, means that almost all domestic workers who come under the LCP are women of colour.

Thus the "visibleness" of nannies and caregivers in Canada has increased substantially over the past decade as part of the racialization of women's household work (Bakan and Stasiulis 1995).

High-tech workers

In the period from 1996 to 2000 computer programmers and computer systems analysts were the top two intended occupations of all skilled immigrant workers to Canada (CIC 2003: 4). Most of these analysts came primarily from China, India, and Pakistan. Even after the decline in the high-tech sector in the early 2000s, high-tech computer programmers and technologists were still among the top five occupations of immigrant workers. Under a fast-track program called the Information Technology Professionals Software Program, approximately 1,200 workers, the majority of whom were from India, entered Canada in 2004 (CIC 2005). By 2004, computer programmers and technologists were ranked second, immediately following engineers (many of whom are also in high tech) and above nurses and welders (Volpe 2005).

Despite these significant numbers of immigrant high-tech workers, the Canadian government partnered with the Software Human Resource Council in 1997 to bring in temporary workers to fill high-tech position in the new economy. Further, a fast-track pilot project was initiated to facilitate spousal employment of high-tech workers under the TFWP; in 2000 HRSDC also became involved in this project. The program was expanded to include systems software designers, software product developers, MIS software designers, senior animation effects editors, and the like. Currently this program is called the Spouses and Common-Law Partners of Skilled Temporary Workers.

In 2005, 17,795 high-tech workers, comprising approximately 7.3% of all temporary workers, entered Canada under the TFWP (see Table 6). From 1995 to 2005, the largest percentage increase in high-tech temporary workers was from Asia and Pacific, the Americas, and Africa and Middle East, although the absolute numbers from the Americas and Africa and Middle East were very small. In contrast, the number of high-tech workers from Asia and Pacific in 2005 was approaching those from Europe and the U.S., where the percentage increases have been more modest. The U.S. also recruits high-tech workers through their H1-B visa program primarily from India and China. The labour in this group is still very gendered, with approximately 85% of high-tech workers in 2005 being male, although the percentage increase in female workers (152%) has been much higher than for males (92%) during the past decade.

In the U.S., there is considerable controversy and debate about high-tech workers who enter under the H1-B visa program. Over the past decade or so, high-tech companies have lobbied Congress to increase the quota on high-tech workers under H1-B, arguing that the U.S. faces an extreme shortage of high-tech workers. Opponents and critics of this increase argued that there was no such shortage and that the motive for increasing the number of foreign high-tech workers was an industry strategy for depressing wages.

The question that arises in Canada is whether or not this same debate is also applicable albeit on a smaller scale. As indicated above, the proportion of high-tech workers from Asia and Pacific, Africa and Middle East, and the Americas has increased dramatically over the past decade compared to much smaller increases from Europe and the U.S. However, there has been no research on the issues of domestic supply and the need for temporary high-tech workers in Canada.

Canada pilot project for occupations requiring lower levels of formal training (NOC C and D)

In the past few years there was a notable increase in the demand for workers in several Canadian provinces. In the early 2000s, employers sought to hire foreign workers for occupations that under the National Occupation Classification require little formal training (NOC C and D). Except for SAWP, HRSCD rejected most of these applications. Later HRSCD approved guidelines to allow foreigners to come to Canada temporarily to fill occupations defined as requiring few skills. These guidelines specify that the employer must provide: payment of the foreign worker's return airfare; assurance from the employer of the availability of adequate, affordable accommodation for the foreign worker (employers are not required to provide accommodation); provision for medical coverage until the provincial coverage takes effect; provision for workers' safety insurance by the employer; and a

Table 6
Hi-tech work permits issued by source area (1995-2005)

Source area	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	% change 1995-2005
Asia and Pacific	1,793	2,138	2,695	3,821	3,752	4,511	4,520	4,127	3,625	3,981	4,880	172%
Africa and Middle East	289	312	382	553	660	845	861	699	495	618	731	153%
Americas	226	313	371	459	576	722	763	646	625	831	804	256%
Europe	2,350	2,592	3,728	4,946	6,019	7,084	6,841	5,680	4,377	4,678	5,054	115%
United States	4,577	4,933	6,773	7,794	7,378	8,096	7,456	7,013	6,242	5,996	5,783	26%
Unknown/ Not stated	16	15	142	371	451	462	492	427	383	401	543	-
Total	**9,251**	**10,303**	**14,091**	**17,944**	**18,836**	**21,720**	**20,933**	**18,592**	**15,746**	**16,505**	**17,795**	**92%**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006.

twelve-month limit on confirmations and work permits, with an obligatory four-month stay of the foreign worker in their country of residence before returning to Canada for another temporary work opportunity. In 2007 it was decided that workers would be allowed to stay in Canada for up to two years, after which time they must return to their countries of origin even if hired for another period. These workers are not allowed to bring their families to Canada and are not free to change employers.

Thus, temporary Jamaican workers built bridges in Kelowna, Latin Americans participated in the construction of the Canada line in Vancouver, Filipinos work the kitchens of restaurants in Alberta, and people from different parts of the world work for Maple Leaf in Brandon Manitoba.

Formally, under the strict logic of the immigration legislation that vows to bring to Canada the "best and the brightest" (or the very skilled), the "unskilled" workers should not be allowed to stay in Canada. However, as the work of researchers at Brandon University points out, after six months, many temporary workers arriving in Manitoba who labour in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations apply to the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). In this sense, temporary migrants become "transitional" foreign workers (Annis 2008, Bucklaschuk 2008). Unfree labour becomes both a vehicle for a probationary period for migrants and for a new style of immigration that is driven by employers rather than the state, allowing for unsupervised racial, geographical, or gender bias.

The Provincial Nominee Program (PNP)

Since 1991 Canadian provinces use the Provincial Nominee Program to achieve their immigration goals. For this, they have signed agreements with the federal government to administer their own immigration programs. Under the PNP it is often the employer who drives the immigration process. Employers nominate a worker, someone who could already be working for them or a prospective worker who may receive a temporary work permit while waiting for processing by provincial and federal authorities. Many of these workers are skilled workers seeking to immigrate faster than they would under the federal program, and to receive temporary work permits while their applications are processed. However, several provinces use the PNP to allow the immigration of semi-skilled employees like long-haul truckers or workers in the hospitality industry. Provinces like Saskatchewan have certain programs whereby only workers who have been labouring in the province for six months can apply to the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program, 2009). Thus, workers are sought by companies that hire unfree temporary workers on probation and who, if they pass it successfully, are given permanent residence status. This form of privatization of immigration opens the door to new venues for breaching the meritocratic system that is purported to be class, colour and gender blind.

The Canadian Experience Class

In 2008, the federal government created a new immigration program, the Canadian Experience Class (CEC). The CEC disregards safeguards against racist, gendered or geographical biases as it seeks skilled workers who have been attracted to work temporarily in Canada by private interests, employers who do not necessarily escape racialized or gendered views of the world. The CEC also focuses on university students, who are capable of paying hefty fees, to become permanent residents. The requirement of the CEC is that the applicant must be a skilled worker with two years of Canadian work experience or a foreign graduate from a Canadian university who has one year of Canadian work experience (CIC 2008).

As OCASI, the Ontario Coalition of Agencies Serving Immigrants, has pointed out (2008), the intention of the government is to blur the lines between temporary and permanent workers. The key idea is to make temporary immigration a transitional program for some skilled workers or for well-off foreign students who have graduated and worked in Canada as temporary workers. Since only a minority of temporary female labourers fit in the skilled categories, and a majority of the unskilled male labour force are chosen in already racialized programs, the risk of using the CEC to further racialize and gender immigration is evident.

Conclusion

Canada has a long history of racialized, gendered, and classed immigration in terms of meeting labour market needs. The import of temporary workers to Canada has also been integral to this development and entails a process of flexibility, racialization and genderization. In the 21st century, temporary immigration is being used as a vehicle to privatize immigration and to facilitate further racialization and genderization of permanent immigration to Canada.

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Notes

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[1] Unfortunately, the data do not allow for a differentiation between Africa and the Middle East, and thus they are treated as one source area.

[2] Social reproduction is conceptualized here as "the social processes and labour that goes into the daily and generational maintenance of the working population" (Fudge and Vosko 2003: 185).

Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne

Immigration Futures



The summer 2008 issue of *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* looks at the future of immigration with articles that focus on migration trends and patterns, and on new migration phenomena. This edition stems from a Metropolis inter-conference seminar on Immigration Futures hosted by the Monash Institute for the Study of Global Movements and held in Prato, Italy, in May 2006. Articles are drawn from this event, as well as from the 12th International Metropolis Conference in Melbourne, Australia. Contributions to this issue thus examine future immigration flows, the trend toward circular and return migration, the increased feminization of migration, the growth of Asia as a migration competitor, migration and the environment, and the ethics of migration. With an introduction by Demetrios Papademetriou of the Migration Policy Institute, this issue of *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* provides researchers, policy-makers and practitioners with a wide range of perspectives on what the future of immigration may look like.

Summer 2008
Guest Editor: Demetrios Papademetriou (Migration Policy Institute)

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