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志工活動做為融入途徑
以加拿大的臺灣中產階級婦女移民為例

Volunteering
A Path to Integration by Taiwanese Middle-class Female Immigrants in Canada

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Abstract

While the proportion of Taiwanese female immigrants in Canada has consistently surpassed the proportion of males, the Taiwanese female status in the labor force remains insignificant. Most of the women in this research study are middle-class women who had careers in Taiwan prior to emigration, but became full-time home-makers upon arrival in Canada. Based on a qualitative study of 43 Taiwanese women in 2005-2009, using in-depth interviews, focus group research and participatory observation, this study hopes to give voice to middle-class female immigrants who are engaged in volunteering as a major part of their civic participation, as a significant aspect of citizenship. The women who belong to split households, with children in Canada and husbands in Taiwan, have played a particularly active role in volunteering.

The major questions raised for this research are: 1) What types of volunteering work do they do and why? 2) What does volunteering work mean for them and the Taiwan community? It is found that civic participation is a way for them to be integrated or incorporated into the host society, as a "Canadian experience" that may prepare them for formal employment, enable them to form new social networks in the

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host society, and raise their self-esteem. While experiencing pleasure in volunteering work, most of them found this as a way to engage with society, promote a good image of and give back to Canadian society. The large diversity of volunteering activities is not only related to Taiwan organizations, but also linked closely with Canadian society. Further studies would be needed to compare differences in genders and places, between immigrants and non-immigrants, and impacts on the cultural and social fabric of Canada.

Keywords: Taiwanese female immigrants, volunteering, Canada, citizenship, diversity.

摘　要

移居加拿大的臺灣移民中，女性數量向來多於男性。近年來多數婦女移民在移出前，擁有自己的職業與工作，但到了加拿大之後，轉而成爲專職的家庭主婦，也因此在加拿大的臺灣女性移民勞動力參與情形並不顯著。本研究以質性方式爲主，透過深度訪談、焦點團體訪談法、以及參與觀察的多元研究方法，來了解臺灣女性移民的社會參與情形。研究者在 2005 至 2009 年間，共在加拿大訪問了 43 位從事志工的臺灣移民婦女，其中有不少婦女移民是先生在臺灣工作而自己獨自帶著孩子居住在加拿大的「單棲媽媽」。

本研究主要的發問爲：1) 移民婦女參與義工活動的原因及主要從事哪些類型的義工活動？2) 參與義工活動對於婦女移民及華人社群的意義爲何？由於在加拿大求職需要具備「加拿大經驗」，社會參與因而成爲進入主流社會的重要管道；透過義工活動的進行，婦女移民可在加拿大構築新的社交網絡，從活動中，她們不僅得到了助人的喜悅，也提升了自信。婦女移民參與義工活動的機構相當具多元性，並不限於華人的社團與組織；婦女移民將從事義工視爲回饋在地的實踐方式，並可藉此拉近與主流社會的距離，提升華人在當地的形象。後續的研究可比較在不同的地區、性別所造成的影響，以及移民與非移民參與義工的情形，以及義工活動對於加拿大社會文化的影響。

關鍵字：臺灣中產階級婦女移民、志工活動、加拿大、公民、多樣性

Introduction

The wave of emigration from Taiwan in the last three decades has been driven primarily by a fear of political instability, desire for a global education for one's children, and an aspiration for a better lifestyle (Chiang and Hsu, 2006). Canada ranks third as a destination for Taiwanese emigrants.[1] However, there is a gap in research on the Taiwan immigrants residing in Canada, likely because they are not as numerically significant as the Chinese who immigrated from Hong Kong and Mainland China.

In recent years, more females than males have migrated from Taiwan to Canada and to Australia. This

partly reflects the prevalence of transnational families in which at least one adult returns to Asia after settlement, usually the husband, the breadwinner, who commutes across the Pacific and leaves the wife and children in the countries of the new home. Recent studies of Taiwanese female immigrants in Australia and Canada have looked at the circumstances of migration for Taiwanese families, how "astronaut wives" cope with the challenges of the new environment, and how they relate to their husbands, children and the Taiwanese community during the process of adaptation (Chiang, 2006; 2008). These studies have found that commonly women from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan have difficulty finding work because of their lack of proficiency in English and the lack of recognition of foreign degrees, as well as the difficulties they have in finding childcare, their unwillingness to accept jobs not commensurate with one's education level, and the lack of the "Canadian experiences" that employers require (Man, 2004; Salaff, 2006; Salaff and Greve, 2004; Salaff, *et al.*, 2002).

This research extends my previous enquiries with Taiwanese women, by focusing on their civic participation with regard to volunteering work, which has emerged as a significant part of their lives. The voluntary sector refers to that sector of society which encompasses formal, non-profit distributing organizations that are both self-governing and constitutionally independent of the state. Geographers have been relatively slow to engage with issues around voluntarism (Milligan, 2007: 184). Volunteers comprise those people who give of their time to help others, without obligation and for no financial recompense – whether in the day-to-day operations of voluntary organizations, in a fundraising or lobbying capacity, on their management boards, or in all these contexts. Volunteering can occur formally as an activity that takes place within the structure of a voluntary organization, or informally, where an individual performs similar unpaid work without a formal organization…Moreover, active citizenship and participation might be promoted through volunteering (Milligan, 2007: 193).

This description is quite fitting of the women whom I visited in Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne and Perth in Australia (Chiang, 2006). Many are members of the Buddhist Compassion Relief *Tzu-chi* Foundation (TC),[2] one of the biggest Buddhist associations originating from Taiwan, which engages both men and women in philanthropic work. Apart from religious associations, a large number of Taiwan migrants also engage in other volunteering activities, thus not only forging new bonds, but also becoming empowered through wider social participation in the host society.

In this paper, I would like to offer an in-depth understanding of this subject through case studies of Taiwanese women in Canadian cities in the belief that it is a way for female immigrants to be socially integrated or incorporated into the host country, as a commitment to citizenship. I also want to show the broader aspects of volunteering which not only benefits Taiwanese migrants, but the host community as well. The questions I propose to answer are: 1) Why do immigrant women carry out volunteering work in their lives? 2) What types of volunteering work are done? 3) What are the meanings derived from this experience for the Taiwanese-Chinese and wider Canadian community? 4) What are the pleasures and pains for volunteers? As stated by Bloemraad (2000), "The changing nature of civic participation is thought to promote

a sense of belonging and is itself an indication of the attachment that is fundamental to identification as a citizen." Through this study, I hope to propose an alternative way of examining the relation between migration and citizenship among recent transnational migrants, focusing on social incorporation.

Review of Pertinent Literature

The Canadian context and transnational migration

Chinese constitute the largest number of visible minorities in Canada, arriving from Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, Latin America, South Africa, and Europe (Wickberg, 2007: 193). According to the 2001 Census (Chiang and Huang, 2009), more than one million Chinese have immigrated to Canada, forming the largest group of non-European immigrants. Migration programs in Canada have successfully attracted immigrants with capital and skills. Since 1967, the universal point system of the Canadian immigration policy has favored applicants who are young and well-educated, who have English/French language proficiency, and who have the occupational skills that are in demand in Canada. In the last few decades, with the intensification of economic globalization, Canada has developed new immigration initiatives to select the highly-skilled as well as business immigrants to Canada (Man, 2004; Wong, 2004). Since 1978, a year before the United States severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan, Canada has implemented the business migration program to attract wealthy entrepreneurs and investors, a program that led to the first wave of migrants there. A second wave of increased migration from Taiwan to Canada culminated in 1997 at the time of the handover of Hong Kong to China. Before the turn of the century, a third wave of skilled migrants resulted from the political instability caused by Mainland China's stance towards Taiwan. Approximately one-half of the Taiwan immigrants to Canada in recent years came as business immigrants while the other half came via the independent skilled worker or family classes (Wong, 2004). The 2001 Census records 70,790 Taiwan-born immigrants living in Canada: Vancouver (64%, or 45,390 persons), Greater Toronto (22%, or 15,570 persons) and Calgary (2.2%, or 1,580 persons) (Hsu and Chi, 2004: 39) The first generation of Taiwan immigrants was able to concentrate in middle-class or upper-middle class residential areas, which provide safety, good transportation, and most importantly, good quality schools, and, often are places where they can easily meet other Taiwan neighbors (Hsu, 2008).

From 2002 to 2006, Canada received the largest number of immigrants in years – out of 1,100,000, 58% came from Asia, 16% from Europe, and the remaining 26% from elsewhere. The number of foreign-born people increased between 2001 and 2006, reaching one-fifth of the total population (6,186,950 born overseas), the highest in the last 75 years (Statistics Canada, 2008). Apart from the U.K., China, India, and the Philippines lead as countries sending the most immigrants. Chinese is spoken by 18.6% of the population. Between the last two censuses (2001, 2006), immigrants from Mainland China grew most rapidly among the three Chinese-speaking groups from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Between 1996 and 2006,

Mainland Chinese immigrants doubled (from 231,055 to 466,940), while the Hong Kong-born declined from 241,100 to 215,430, and the Taiwan-born, while increasing from 49,000 in 1996 to 70,790 in 2001, dropped to 65,205 in 2006. On average, Chinese immigrants are younger, and, at the time of migration have obtained higher levels of education than Canadians. However, their unemployment rate is twice as high as that of the Canadian-born, because of employers' requirement of "Canadian experience", the lack of recognition of foreign degrees, and the laborious process of recertification of foreign professional degrees (Man, 2004: 49). Lack of social networks is particularly serious for the newly arrived Mainland Chinese (Salaff, *et al*., 2002; Salaff, 2006) who have on the average the largest proportion with college education, compared to the Hong Kong and Taiwan-born (Chiang and Huang, 2009). Among the ethnic Chinese, Taiwan-born immigrants had the highest unemployment rate in 2001 (14.2%) and 2006 (16.1%).

Man (2004) studied Chinese immigrant women over the years and noted that the highly educated, skilled immigrant professionals became deskilled workers or unemployed. Getting low pay from low-status or menial positions, they find it even harder to pay for child care. Some have turned to religious organizations to support child care and for emotional and psychological comfort (Da, 2008). My earlier studies in Australasia and Canada show that Taiwanese middle class women found it difficult to find jobs for various reasons: lack of proficiency in English, lack of incentive to seek work because of one's own economic background, difficulty in finding child care, lack of "approval" from husbands, unwillingness to pay high taxes, and unwillingness to accept jobs not commensurate with one's education level (Chiang, 2006; 2008). In most cases, women had given up their work in Taiwan before immigrating, and usually do not seek full time employment in Canada because their responsibilities include caring for children of school age after the husband has returned to Taiwan for remunerative work. Moreover, as a circulating spouse between Taiwan and the host countries, the woman in the "astronaut family"[3] often takes care of two parts of the split-households in Canada and Taiwan and, as a consequence, cannot sustain full time employment in the host country. For some, their new life pattern provides them with a liberated experience from patriarchy regardless of their destinations. Due to their middle-class background, Taiwanese female migrants have brought their social and cultural capital to the host countries, and have used that toward their adaptation. They seem to have busy, happy and fulfilling lives through various volunteering activities. It is based on this observation that I decided to carry out a further study of volunteering by immigrant women. Additionally, I identified a research gap on the Taiwan immigrants in Canada, probably due to their smaller proportions compared to other Chinese, or reflecting the small number of research scholars on Taiwan. There remains insufficient attention accorded to women's participation in migration, particularly through a more nuanced understanding of their actual experiences.

Voluntarism and social participation

Kaminer's (1984) book, as indicated by the title *Women Volunteering: The Pleasure, Pain, and Politics of Unpaid Work from 1830 to the Present*, catches the essence of volunteering done by women: "It began a

hundred and fifty years ago, when middle- and upper-class women ventured out their homes and into their communities for the first time by volunteering." (p. 4) However, there is a "twofold feminist attack on service volunteering: it was not just bad for women but bad for the people it purported to serve; social services would never be adequately funded as long as women provided them for free." (p. 4) "The attack on service volunteering didn't come from the working-class and minority women for whom problems of equal pay, equal opportunities, and adequate social services were so crucial, but from middle- and upper-class and primarily white feminists, who, in another life, would perhaps have been volunteers." (p. 7) Moreover, "volunteering can offer untrained women greater opportunities to acquire and exercise administrative and executive skills than paid work…a volunteer job often serves as a kind of training ground for women seeking to enter the job market for the first time or to advance their positions in it." (p. 8) "Put very simply, volunteering, like most things in life, is a complex and paradoxical mix of rights and wrongs, strengths and weaknesses…from the beginning, volunteering has both liberated women and kept them in their place". (p.10)

Much of the scholarly work on women's philanthropy in the U.S. has been historical and has focused on white, middle-class Protestant women whose organizations began to expand in the early nineteenth century (McCarthy, 2001: 170). This work argues that in the U.S., "[p]hilanthropic activities are important mechanisms in maintaining social networks particularly those related to social class and in maintaining the social networks that are central in creating social capital," and ironically, "[t]he only context in which the great majority of white women were permitted activities outside the home were certain 'voluntary organizations' (McCarthy, 2001: 171). "The voluntary sector is, without a doubt, one of the major pillars of Canadian society. However…the very nature of the volunteer's role can also lend itself to a form of exploitation of women's labor" (Status of Women Canada, 2001). Said in a different tone, "[v]olunteering can be an effective way for immigrant women to gain 'Canadian experience', to make contacts in the community, and to increase awareness and affect change within mainstream organizations" (Ministry of Community Development, Cooperatives and Volunteers, 1999).

We can examine some case studies of female immigrants in Canada who are involved in volunteering. The concept of civic participation as a citizenship practice has been explored with regard to Hong Kong immigrants in Canada by Preston *et al*. (2006). Listed in the types of civic participation of Hong Kong immigrants are donations to charities and volunteering in children's schools, indicating a narrower range of activities compared to those carried out in Hong Kong, and more women than men in these two specific categories. Their findings contradict that construction of Asian transnationals as hypermobile migrants who relocate family members around the globe to take advantage of economic opportunities and to avoid economic risks (Ong, 1999). In support of their view, I will also demonstrate how Taiwanese immigrants are committed to citizenship in Canada through volunteering, regardless of whether they are permanently settled or not. I support the notion that civic participation promotes a sense of belonging and is itself an indication of the attachment that is fundamental to identification as a citizen (Bloemraad, 2000).

Low (2006) examined the roles Chinese women entrepreneurs play in their leadership initiatives and contributions in community organizations in Australia. She differentiated human capital, social capital, cultural capital and community capital and explored the roles Chinese women entrepreneurs play in community organizations in contributing to community capital formation not only to their own Chinese community but also to the Australian community at large. In her "conceptual model of contribution", commitment, knowledge and skills, and power and influence are the three input factors to community capital, which can also be an output factor (p. 221).

Studying the U.S. as a country with a long history of Chinese immigration, Zhou and Kim (2006) examined the role played by Chinese voluntary organizations in identity formation on the one hand and assimilation into the host country on the other in different historical periods. They found that immigrants are empowered by their ethnic organizations to the extent that they maintain a strong sense of "Chineseness" and ethnic pride, yet remain vulnerable to ethnic stereotypes and prejudice of the mainstream society because of their heightened ethnicity and lack of intimate contact with non-Chinese members (p. 248). Fong and Ooka (2006), who used survey research during 1998 and 1999 to study Chinese immigrants in Toronto, a multicultural city, examined the effect of immigrants' human capital resources and duration in the country on their social integration patterns. They found that participation in informal social activities is critical for social integration as an outcome of learning about and understanding the host society. Likewise, through informal interactions, immigrants can establish and extend their social networks, which in turn help them in other aspects of integration into the host society (p. 369). In the multicultural context of Canada, some of the Chinese immigrants consider that increasing their participation in informal social activities in the wider society and reducing it in their ethnic community is the appropriate response. It can be argued that countries like Australia and Canada, which embrace multiculturalism with a larger percentage of foreign born and recent arrivals than the United States, would have a different pattern of volunteerism. The difference in civic participation among countries and cities that attract immigrants remains to be studied.

In my first attempt to write about Taiwanese female immigrants in Canada (mainly in Toronto and Vancouver), I focused on how middle-class women who had careers in Taiwan adapted to the new environment in Canada, and how they related to their husbands, children, and the Taiwanese community during the process of adaptation. My research revealed that migration had not liberated them from the traditional familial roles in Taiwan, but did enable them to build new social networks that play an important role in their new lives. In my in-depth interviews, I found that volunteering had become a significant part of their lives. It gave the new [female] immigrants self-esteem to begin with and also helped them to kill time, to meet other Taiwanese, and sometimes to earn "Canadian experience" for employment later on (Chiang, 2008: 514). This research and the literature offer me the conceptual framework for further studies to examine closely how volunteering is done by Taiwanese women within their ethnic community and the wider society at the micro-level. In the following sections, I first discuss the research design, methodology, and the demographic characteristics of the sample. I then present the reasons, meaning, and patterns of volunteering

from their experiences. Finally, I discuss the policy implications and offer suggestions for future research.

Methodology and Profile of Interviewees

My experience in interviewing Taiwanese women started in Australia in 2001 (Chiang, 2004; 2006). This has helped me in my fieldwork in Canada, where the migrants are more spread out, and where some of them have been resident for longer periods of time, not fitting the stereotype of New Asian immigrants who live in "monster houses" and drive new cars. The excitement of doing fieldwork is the discovery of issues which are meaningful to the Taiwanese community, hence the birth of the research project to study volunteers. The first part of the research was conducted in the summer of 2005 in Toronto. Visits to Taiwanese associations helped in re-shaping some of the questions which were again used in Vancouver in the spring and summer of 2008, and again in the summer of 2009 in Calgary and Vancouver.[4] The total number that I spoke to therefore amounts to 43 women in all. Over time, it confirmed my proposition that volunteering is a way for women to integrate and develop a sense of belonging to Canadian society. My inquiries using the semi-structured questionnaire for my in-depth interview became more focused on volunteering activities in the second part of the fieldwork.

Since I am already familiar with the chain referral strategy from visiting Taiwan organizations and individuals who helped me earlier in 2005-6, I employed this snowball sampling method with better skills in 2008-9 when I returned, allowing me to add to the existing roster of respondents in Toronto. Quite often, I started with one or two persons through introductions by friends in Taiwan, and visited Taiwanese organizations of various kinds as soon as I arrived. The omnipresence of TC, Buddhist Light Foundation, Presbyterian church, women's organizations, Chinese schools, alumni associations, and Taiwanese Canadian Association (TCA or 同鄉會) in every big city opens up chances of finding recent immigrants from Taiwan. Parallel versions of "Little Taipei" (Sunnybank in Sydney and Metro Square in Markham, Ontario) are places to "hang around" to meet people. Being lucky enough, at times I would even meet a former graduate of my university/department, who would introduce their friends to me. I visited women in their homes and at coffee shops, restaurants, places of worship, Chinese schools or organizations to which they belonged.

A semi-structured questionnaire was designed for carrying out in-depth interviews in various places and occasions. My fieldwork took place in the three cities of Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary where Taiwanese immigrants are congregated. I allowed myself flexibility in meeting these women, staying overnight at their homes, sometimes participating in their volunteer work, and even re-interviewing them in Taipei when they returned briefly for a visit. I conducted focus groups in immigrants' homes in all three cities. A trusting relationship has been found valuable for my interviewing experiences. One notable factor contributing to the successful recruitment of respondents was associated with their positive view of my research project, which they felt was a reflection of their needs and concerns. Most respondents viewed this research as both timely and necessary and they were willing to have their voices heard.

Even though this is a larger sample compared to most qualitative studies, and provides the reader with a greater diversity in years of immigration, range of volunteering work, and reasons for undertaking volunteering among the immigrants than my earlier pilot studies, I am still aware of the limitations of such sampling procedures which may have omitted women who do not want to be interviewed or were not available at the time of my fieldwork abroad. It should be noted that without visiting the communities I would not have been able to acquire a nuanced understanding of immigrants, nor would I have been able to identify the issues and circumstances presenting the complexities of immigrants' lived experiences merely through reading statistics or going through the literature. The turn of migration studies to themes of identity and belonging has placed migrant stories at the root of much of this research, with interviews, focus groups, life histories, photographs and documents to illuminate the experience of migrants and the patterns and processes of migration (Gilmartin, 2008). My study follows this approach.

Table 1 summarizes the details of my respondents in Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary. The women were between 40 and 68 years old at the time of being interviewed, and arrived between 1969 and 2006. With five exceptions, all immigrated directly from Taiwan. With the exception of four who arrived between 1969 and 1975, the rest came with their family as recent immigrants. Thirty-eight were married at the time of the interview, three were divorced; and two were widowed. Sixteen of the 43 women belong to "astronaut" families, and all had a high level of education (the majority have received college or university education, with one holding a degree from a Medical University and three with Master's degrees). Most (39 out of 43) had worked before coming to Canada, holding jobs ranging from professional and managerial work to entrepreneurs and assistants/helpers/employees/managers in their husband's business, with some who had worked in foreign firms in Taiwan.

Voices of Female Taiwanese Volunteers

In the following, I will discuss the background and the reasons why my interviewees chose volunteering, what meanings they derived from them, what types of voluntary activities they include, and subjective feelings of their experiences, such as pleasures and pains.

Background, reasons and meaning

The motivation for volunteering varies from person to person. It reflects educational backgrounds, belief systems, personal interests and political commitments. The examples that follow reveal how these intersect and also contribute to engagement in particular kinds of volunteering. Winnie (VT1) illustrates such conjunctions. Having a degree in social work which she earned in Taiwan, she was an active participant in various programs run by the government, such as the China Youth Corps (CYC).[5] She had grown up in a "political family", where her father was a well-known politician, in which she developed a sense of community work when she was young, and felt very easy working with elderly immigrants in Toronto.

Julita's (VVI) motivations reveal a different set of factors. She worked in the Green Club, in the Greater Vancouver Regional District Development Office, and the Vancouver Taiwanese Presbyterian Church. Underlying her reasons for and choices of volunteer work reflected her love of nature, and her desire to use what she has learned, as well as to meet new friends. She would like to help Taiwanese migrants know Canada's natural and human environment…and to keep a good image of Taiwanese migrants here. "Canada is a great place to be a volunteer; I just do as the Romans do." She convinced me that I am researching a topic which is significant to an immigrant's life.

The availability of time is another consideration when engaging in volunteering. Kathleen (VV17) who works part-time in a bank, has a lot of spare time for volunteering. Her husband flies to Taiwan and stays there for a longer period of time than in Canada, and her children are finishing college in Canada. She volunteers "to kill time, and to meet people." Arlene, (VV19), who worked in trade before immigrating to Canada was a full-time mother. She has volunteered for nine years with the goals of wanting to learn and to make friends which she was accomplishing by working for TCCS[6] and Richmond Community Center. "It has helped me to be a part of Canadian Society, and to increase my understanding of this country," she said.

These last two examples introduce the role of marital and family status into the reasons for volunteering and how they shape choices, as the following examples of Cathy, Julia, Winifred and Mabel illustrate. Being an "astronaut wife" for twelve years in Calgary, Cathy (VV39) identified three reasons for volunteering: "I like to help others, and I think it is important to promote Chinese culture for our next generation. Our Chinese school is available not just to Taiwanese immigrants. She seems to manage her life of being an "astronaut wife" quite well, with her husband teaching in a National University in Taiwan and visiting her for three months each year. Being the principal of the Chinese school, which has a history of 37 years, she is held with respect by the Taiwanese community, and has kept a very busy life organizing cultural activities, and holding an annual event. Winifred (VC42), formerly a school teacher who migrated because of her children's education, works part time in the food service sector by doing demonstrations, earning Cdn $10-12 per hour. She talks proudly of her volunteering activities, which includes helping with the TCA, TC, and preparation of Canada Day events: "I know a lot of friends this way, and obtain knowledge and information and know the environment better. I grow with my children in the new environment too. Volunteering is part of life of a lot of people, for both men and women." Likewise, Julia (VV32) helped as *ai hsin ma ma* (愛心媽媽) in TC, while her children attended the Chinese School there. "It would be good for the image of Taiwanese immigrants here," she said. This is by no means peculiar to the Taiwanese immigrants, a sub-ethnic group among Chinese. As Kuah-Pearce and Hu-Dehart (2006: 21) noted: "…the Chinese voluntary organizations are attempting to construct a positive image to counteract the stereotype that has circulated in the community for a long time". (p. 21) Mabel (VC41), a divorcee who came to Canada simply for her children's education, gave up her career in dentistry because of her failure to get accreditation in Canada. She participated in the TCA in Calgary and helped to organize the Asian festival. She knows a lot of Canadians this way, receives information readily, and feels that she and her two children are a part of Canadian society through their

contributions. Her activities are diverse. She quickly wrote down in my questionnaire four types of volunteering – helping with the library in the TCA, visiting the nursing homes for the TC once a month to sing songs and massage the elderly; organizing activities for Canada Day; and helping with fieldtrips for young school children.

This desire to integrate and to contribute to Canadian society emerged as important motivations for others. Yolanda (VV30), an "old-timer" who came to Canada in the 1970s shows a different type of commitment – to help others as well as Taiwanese immigrants or to reflect her life stage in relation to her children: "I would like to see the continuation of Chinese education in Canada; we should join the mainstream society (主流社會) the best way we can, while paying back to Canadian society. I also want to help new immigrants from Taiwan and other countries to adapt to the new environment, and create jobs for them." To her, the meaning of volunteering is: "To plant our roots as Canadians, and be proud of being a Chinese in contributing to Canadian society." Similarly, Roberta (VV33) commented: "Not only do I know Canada better this way, I also find that I am integrating into the society faster; I find it much easier to learn English this way [outside classes] too." "Taiwanese migrants can join hands to do something for the society, helping one another, and expanding their horizons. It's fun too. I feel like being a part of Canada more and more through participation, by using my skills."

Sue (VV34) brings together the motivations identified by the other women – personal background, time, family relations, and integration into Canadian society. A 55 year old university graduate and an accountant, she can take time out as a volunteer while being a financial advisor. At our first meeting, she said to me that she is happy to be away from her dominating mother-in-law, now living in Taiwan. Her story sounds familiar over the years of my fieldwork. Even as an "astronaut wife", she expressed her happiness in being a volunteer, by helping the Chinese school of TC as *ai hsin ma ma*, assisting the secretary at TCCS, and making phone calls for the candidate running for Member of Parliament who supports Taiwan's position in the Canadian Parliament at the Federal level. Like other women, she believes that volunteering gives her the ability to integrate into Canadian Society, and to meet new friends this way. She said: "I feel like helping others as I have the ability to do so. I gained respect from them too."

Thus almost all my interviewees stated a range and mixture of reasons for volunteering, and for some, their personal values included seeing volunteering as part of a religious cause, expressed by Fiona (VV35) who sees her volunteer work as "answering the call of God", when she was helping new immigrants to adapt to their environment and the elderly who have problems. This reminds me of what I read in Kaminer's (1984) work about her interviews: "The first woman I interviewed spoke freely, simply, and directly of her own desire to "do things for people, because for her it derives not from socio-sexual conditioning but from a commitment she made years ago to God." (p. 54)

Types of volunteering

In the following, I try to emphasize the diversity of volunteering, without any attempts to be exhaustive.

Although I have tried to separate the reasons from patterns, I find that they reinforce each other in giving meanings in their volunteering. I have therefore retained reasons for some of the following respondents.

Social services, such as counseling for women and others in need of support, such as the elderly and children, emerged in multiple cases. When I first met Tammy (VT7) in 2005, she was working as a volunteer almost full-time, first to get "Canadian experience", and to get to know friends from Canada. I was offered a stay at her home, where she introduced me to several "astronaut" wives (in a focus group) whom I studied earlier (Chiang, 2008). She has never failed me in keeping contact for all these years by e-mail. As a mother of an astronaut family for twelve years since 1997, she belongs to several organizations as an extended interest of her expertise in social work before she migrated from Taiwan. Being the director of Life Choices (Canadian branch), an association to help Cancer patients, and Lifeline 6180,[7] she provides training for members and counseling for the women in need. Indeed, she co-founded Lifeline 6180, which was the only organization of its kind. All the workers are volunteers, and are paid Cdn $20 for each visit to cover the cost of their gasoline. Her co-worker, Norah (VT6), who met me in the coffee shop with Tammy (VT7), worked for the Taipei Lifeline before she immigrated. Being an "astronaut wife", she gave her time to Lifeline 6180, with several other Taiwanese women who take shifts – four shifts a day, with three persons at one time, one day a week. She has managed a dual-track of entrepreneurship and volunteering for the past ten years, using her experience in her business. In my interview, she said: "The Taiwanese immigrants who used our service at first did not do so later, because there were so few of us, and they recognize our voices, and are afraid to be recognized. Nowadays, we get more calls from Mainland Chinese…perhaps because they feel that they can remain anonymous when asking for help."

Winnie (VT1) is now leading a group of ten Taiwanese immigrants above the age of 55 in one of the classes at the Formosan Evergreen Senior Citizen Centre. The members, who are mostly Taiwanese female immigrants, range in age between 55 and 92. She noted: "It is important for the immigrant women to come out of their homes, so that they are not withdrawn from society. As most of them do not drive, they take the bus, and often transfer from the street car to buses to come here. Even if they learn just two English words each time, they would be just as happy, since their purpose of joining the activity is for company. At home, they often have difficulty in communicating with their children, as they expect to play the role of seniors."

On Winnie's and Tammy's recommendation, I visited Helen (VT4), the head of the Formosa Evergreen Senior Citizens Centre. Having worked as a flower grower in Canada and teaching Chinese while she was married to her former husband, Helen committed herself to the Senior Citizens Centre by scheduling the classes.[8] She received support from the Overseas Compatriots Affairs Commission (OCAC) in Taiwan and conducted businesses in the Canadian way, by obtaining a Charity's Business number so that she can raise funds in future. She proudly showed me the pictures taken of the Taiwanese choir and her participation in the senior service meetings, volunteer's workshop, and Senior Service Provider Network, which allows her to observe the way Canadian organizations operate. Living with her children and grand children, Helen felt supported morally and free to do what she likes: "My English is poor, but I can still do whatever I can think

of and dedicate myself whole-heartedly".

Women are also volunteering in order to help immigrant families of other ethnic groups to become a part of Canadian society. As June (VV8) reported, speaking for herself and her husband: "We help immigrant families to come out of their homes, as some of the parents become introverted because their English is limited. Our activities therefore involve parents and children." She was employed full-time as a system analyst, and was one of the very few to continue almost the same type of work she did in Taiwan after immigrating with her husband and two children in 1999. She and her husband both work as volunteers in the Boy Scout group where their children went.

As some of these examples indicate, quite a few volunteers intend to contribute to society and work with a range of organizations. Vivian (VV10), who came to my focus group, put down eight items as volunteering work in my semi-structured questionnaire. At different times, she has participated in a parent-teacher association, the TCCS, S.U.C.C.E.S.S.,[9] TC, *Chung-hua* community work and the Green Club. Sounding like a warm-hearted person, she likes to help people and make friends: "I meet people this way, and participate in the society. I learn while doing, and use my resources…" Also included in her reason for volunteering is a tall order – she also saw her efforts as helping in cultural exchange between Taiwan and Canada, assisting the new immigrants to adapt to the society, and building a good image for the Taiwanese migrants. Similarly Diana (VV11), whom I met at the Taiwanese Cultural Festival, said: "to contribute to society is the reason for me to volunteer in S.U.C.C.E.S.S. and TC". She also felt good about applying her skills after retirement. Tanny (VV5), another person who could not find work in Canada now has twelve years of experience as "volunteer." She finds the real meaning of being a volunteer: "to be a part of Canada". She has worked in nursing homes – chatting with elderly people, and cooking meals for them. Like her husband, she is an active member of the Green Club. She also worked in schools by helping to take roll calls, selling lunch boxes, organizing fieldtrips, raising funds for the schools, etc.

Women also reported drawing on their "social capital" such as English language proficiency or education to support a range of volunteering activities. Cecilia (VV6), who came to Taiwan in 1999, having worked for a foreign firm in Taiwan, speaks good English. She took up a wide range of volunteer in Canada, in the church, schools, and BC Chinese parents association, etc. On top of this, she thinks that she serves God by helping others, and helps to make a better society for humankind. Her words remind me of what I read in Kaminer (1984: 53) about service as a holy calling. In essence, Cecilia wants to help the Taiwanese immigrants settle down in a new land and feel emotionally secure. It is a way to help the Canadian government in addressing the needs of immigrants. She also believes that one's self-esteem is enhanced through volunteering to help others. Lena (VT2), whom I had interviewed twice in Toronto, is another who has brought her "social capital" from Taiwan. She comes from a family of intellectuals, and has been successful with businesses in Taiwan and Toronto. Capable, zealous, and willing to help others, she heads the ABC Society (pseudonym) which at one time had a membership of over 300, to help other female immigrants who belong to "astronaut families". Together with her son, who immigrated at two years of age, she has

organized the Toronto Night Market every summer to raise funds for the aged, attracting over 100,000 attendants each time. She has set a good example to her son who now organizes the "Power Unit" which is a non-profit, youth-driven organization, dedicated to promoting youth leadership and empowerment in the Greater Toronto Area. Yolanda (VV14), who was trained as a nurse in Taiwan and is now a full-time housewife, worked for a nursing home with the TC and for the food bank helping to give away milk, fresh fruit, canned food, and potatoes. She also helped in the pre-school. She said: "I have a lot of time; and I like children; I want to know more about the community too." She is also a member of the reading club of another Buddhist organization. To her, the meaning of volunteering is to do good to society through one's contribution: "I hope to let the Canadian government know that we do not come to enjoy their nation only, but also to help other immigrants with their problems."

For Kelly (VT2), "social capital" emerged in a different way. Feeling discriminated against by other Canadians in her neighborhood because she speaks English with an accent from South Africa, where she resided before immigrating to Canada, Kelly tried hard to adapt to her new life by planning her leisure activities well. Examples include helping other Chinese through the Lifeline 6180 and preparing for the Taiwanese Cultural Festival.[10] which is an important event for the Taiwan community in Toronto and Vancouver.

As many of the examples illustrate, the volunteering is often offered through organizations. Such participation may also draw on social capital. June (VV8), a professional banker, participated in the Chinese Women Entrepreneur Association of which she is a past-president. She now works as a consultant due to the need for "community involvement in her job". She was happy to introduce Taiwanese culture to Canadian society through social activities of her association. At S.U.C.C.E.S.S. which I visited in 2009, I found that this multi-cultural organization is headed by a female immigrant from Taiwan.

Others see their volunteering as outside organizations. For example, I met Eliza (VV22), with whom I stayed twice during my visits to Canada and who has helped me to find immigrants to visit with in her suburban home in a Taiwanese neighborhood, did her volunteering at home. In her case, "Actions speak louder than words." An old-timer who had migrated in 1997, she likes to help new arrivals to settle in, get them over their stresses, and organize young people to gather and deliver bread to the homeless. When I visited her family in 2009 on one occasion, she took a leading role in sorting donated bread in her kitchen with several young students and female immigrants from Taiwan before making deliveries to the homeless the next day.

Pleasures and pains of volunteering

I finish by discussing the experiences of volunteers by a short section that I title "pleasure" and "pain", borrowing the title of the book by Kaminer (1984). When I asked the question "Are there any pleasures and pains in doing volunteering?" some responses emphasized the positive aspects of volunteering (the pleasures), others the difficulties and challenges (the pains), while yet others presented views that mixed both

dimensions. The women who focused on the positive aspects of volunteering spoke of the ways in which it had enabled them to make friends with others who shared their interests, indicated that it was “fun”, or reflected on the support it offered to them personally as well as the enjoyment. As one commented: “I am divorced and my child has hearing impairment; I join activities using sign languages, and simply enjoy working as a volunteer there.” They saw it as fostering their integration as immigrants into Canadian society while drawing on their own strengths:

> “Not only do I know Canada this way, I also find that I am integrating to the society; I find it much easier to learn English this way [outside classes]…Taiwanese migrants can join hands to do something for the society, helping one another, and expanding their horizons. I feel like being a part of Canada more and more through participation, by using my skills.”

In contrast, the women who felt the “pains” raised issues about time demands and constraints, especially if they also had paid work, but also commented on issues of finding reliable and congenial or adequate assistance from other volunteers, or of their work not being appreciated:

> “As I have a full time job, as well as being a participant in so many voluntary associations, I must try hard to manage my time to fit in all kinds of activities – it is a big challenge to do so.”
>
> “It takes a lot of energy to organize activities; but appreciation and participation do not seem to pay off the efforts that I made.”
>
> “As volunteering means un-paid work, it is sometimes hard to find helpers. ‘Astronaut’ wives need to fly back to Taiwan to visit their husbands and families when they are most needed, such as at the time of the Taiwanese Cultural Festival.”

Yet another dimension of the difficulties emerged in relation to the politics of personal relationships that arise in volunteer associations, some of which are seen as self-serving or dominating, for example:

> “Some leaders occupy the ‘stage’, and do not let go. They are jealous of other’s success, and sometimes build their own achievement based on other’s efforts…Some of our leaders abuse their members by making them work like slaves.”
>
> “Some people never step down from heads of organizations while doing volunteering. Some do not have good skills in communication, and sound offensive, even though we help them.”
>
> “Some volunteers are self-serving – they lobby and advertise for themselves during election time.”
>
> “Jealousy perhaps…I try hard to lower my profile in the organization that I helped to co-found.”

Nevertheless, other women offer balanced views of the pleasures and pains and indicated their coping strategies:

"It is better to close one's ears to criticisms. One should learn how to deal with crisis."

"One needs patience. Don't think too much; one cannot make everybody happy."

"No experience is needed, just zeal, a sense of responsibility and ability."

"One should learn to be open-minded. One might as well be psychologically prepared to face difficulties as a volunteer; and not expect to be thanked."

"God is behind me all the time; if I get frustrated, I talk to the rector."

Very few who engaged in volunteering made sustained criticisms however, Fanny (V37), an "old-timer" who re-migrated from the U.S. in 1974, is one of the very few who spoke critically:

> "Apart from donating my time, I pay my own bus fare, and spend 40 minutes on the bus to the Y Hospital. I work as a volunteer because I do not want to stay home all day…We actually take work away from people. This is because many public companies recruit volunteers, rather than hiring paid people. The government would save money this way, by actually recruiting new volunteers to replenish the labor force."

More positively, Kirsten (VV36), an "old-timer" and a re-migrant from the U.S. talked about the TCCS, which she co-founded, as if it was her "baby". "When you are working in an organization to help other Taiwanese migrants (服務鄉親), you do not anticipate benefit in return of any kind, but receive valuable experiences and knowledge while you are giving. My greatest gain in doing volunteering is to set a good example for my children. [Because of my family history], I was pessimistic, quiet, and had no confidence in myself. I am now independent, determined and passionate in helping the TCCS grow. The prime time of the TCCS was in 1991, when the number of Taiwanese immigrants reached a peak in Canada. We once had 7-8 full-time staff then. Immigrants came here to learn English, computers and other skills, attend lectures, get advice, and hold art exhibitions. We also have a Hope-line for women." She pointed at the posters of the Taiwanese Cultural Festival on the wall of the stairwell leading to the TCCS office. "Immigration is a long long road to take", she said; and she hopes to help people in taking the right steps.

Discussion and Conclusions

This paper shows that volunteering has become a major aspect of Taiwanese middle-class women's transnational lives in Canada. Using my previous experiences of studying female heads of Taiwanese households in Australasia and Canada, I have attempted to relate diversified experiences of volunteering among the 43 female immigrants whom I visited between 2005 to 2009 in Toronto, Vancouver and Calgary, the three leading cities in which Taiwanese immigrants congregate. My study shows that female transnational migrants who participated in volunteering have "carved out a niche" for themselves in the host society. This study therefore brings to light an aspect which has not been well-understood in previous studies of

transnational households, where women migrated mainly to accompany their children in school. Most of the immigrant women I have come across over the years have not been employed in the labor force, since, as the consequences of transnational migration, almost without exception they have difficulty retaining their established professional paths in the same fashion as they would have done in Taiwan. Nonetheless, their lives are fulfilled in both activities of social reproduction at home and societal contributions which they see as a way of engaging themselves with new opportunities and challenges in the host society. This is very similar to the experience of American women of over 150 years ago, "volunteering at a time when paid work was not a respectable or even available option for middle-class women." (Kaminer 1984: 79)

As my previous studies show, the term "passive migrant" should not apply to these "elite" middle class women who have been well educated, have given up careers in Taiwan, and have successfully played the role of transnational mothers o*r dan qi ma ma*[11] in the host country (Chiang, 2008). As noted in this paper, studying the micro-processes of societal involvement is a way to complement macro factors of socio-political economy within their countries of origin and destination, and across national boundaries. By revealing the subjectivities of female migrants, this study may fill in the gap left by the traditional theories of migration and policy decisions. The neo-classical economic growth model only explains the causes of migration, and fails to take into account what happens to migrants in the receiving country.

So far, the studies that cover female Taiwanese migrants are still fragmented and circumstantial. Much needs to be learned in the field, particularly on whether women find migration a liberating experience from patriarchy. In the past, economic incorporation as an indicator of adaptation has been over-emphasized, such that employment is used as a measure of success for both men and women (Chiang and Kuo, 2000, Wong 2004). The idea of flexible citizenship has been emphasized to a large extent, assuming that migrants capitalize on the welfare provided by the host community (Ong, 1999). Volunteering that may involve pleasures and pains is unpaid work and therefore not recognized as an economic activity. This paper shows that adaptation of the middle-class female transnational migrant takes the form of social and cultural processes, enabling them to gain their self-worth by leading fulfilled lives in the new country, and facilitated by Taiwanese social organizations which connect them to the host society, provide them with the opportunity to use their social capital from Taiwan.

Volunteering has increased migrant women's opportunities to meet new friends and learn English, and provided them with *bona fide* "Canadian experience", which may be used by some to get formal employment later on. In such cases the reasons for doing volunteering tend to be less altruistic. However, it has given them the opportunity to meet other Canadians on an institutional basis, such as being involved in the Parent Teacher Association, Canada Day, fund-raising for Canadian organizations, lobbying votes for Members of Parliament, and liaising between the Taiwan government with Canadian government officials on an un-official basis. Volunteers are also service providers for new immigrants of the same sub-ethnic group, or even those of different social and political inclinations.

As education for her children takes top priority as a mother's responsibility, her engagement with

volunteering could be a way to educate them by setting an example of “giving back” to the host society, through the mother’s role in her deeds of volunteerism. The split household, which is commonly found among Taiwanese immigrants, has another side to it. Examination of volunteering activities of the younger generation of immigrant families might be a topic for future research in children’s geography. By studying the subjectivities of female migrants, this study contributes to growing fields of research, either in the geographies of volunteerism, or identity and belonging, which have been left out in traditional theories of migration and policy decisions (Milligan, 2007; Gilmartin, 2008).

To date there has not been any in-depth study of the overseas Taiwanese social organizations which play crucial roles in some immigrant’s lives. Religious organizations, in particular, have played a crucial role in giving help and counseling to newly arrived transnational families, as well as steering the nature of women’s voluntary work. Both issues deserve further attention in the growing body of research on transnational women (Boyle, 2002; Huang and Yeoh, 2005; Waters, 2005; 2006; Da, 2008; Davidson, 2004).

Further studies of the gendered nature of volunteering would be a worthwhile undertaking, comparing experiences of men and women, immigrants and non-immigrants. As demonstrated in this study, despite their transnational lifestyle, the immigrants from Taiwan have committed to civic participation in a great variety of activities as a part of citizenship. Hopefully this paper will contribute to the body of literature that focuses on lived experiences of citizenship, the agency of individuals left out by normative models of citizenship in a transnational world. As suggested by Kivisto (2001), voluntary activities by immigrants have an impact on the host society’s cultural life and social institutions, a means for the receiving states to include immigrants through citizenship or new modes of political identity. In the future, we should ask two broader questions: What is likely to be the future role of Chinese Women’s organizations, and what role have Chinese women’s volunteering, fundraising, organization-building, and advocacy played in building Chinese-Canadian communities in the present century?

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Table 1. Details of Respondents in Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary.

No.	Name (Pseudonym)	Year of immigration	Age/Education/Marital status	Occupation before and/after immigration	Types/Organizations of volunteering
VT1	Winnie	1984	40/College /A	Social worker/Full time bank clerk	Senior Citizen Center
VT2	Lena	1990	55/University/D	Real estate business manager/Same	ABC Society (pseudonym)
VT3	Kelly	1985 (from S. Africa)	55/Vocational school/A+	Clerk/Housewife	Cultural Foundation
VT4	Helen	1988	62/ College/D	Teacher/Flower grower; Retired	Senior Citizen Center
VT5	Tanny	1983	62/High school/W	Housewife/Food Preparation	TC
VT6	Norah	1996	50/University/A+	Entrepreneur/Part-time entrepreneur	TC, Lifeline 6180; Women's organization
VT7	Tammy	1997	40/University/A+	Social worker/Housewife	Association for Cancer Patients /Lifeline 6180
VV8	June	1999	40-45/ University (M.A.)/A	System analyst/Full time system analyst	Boy scout
VV9	Patricia	1998	50-54/University/A+	Trade/Housewife	Green Club
VV10	Vivian	1995	52/University/A+	Commerce/Self-employed	Parent association; TCCS; S.U.C.C.E.S.; TC; *Chung Hua* community service; *Hua Ren* Parent,; Green Club;
VV11	Diana	1999	55-59/University/A	Financial manager/Housewife	S.U.C.C.E.S.; TC
VV12	Janet	1993	46-49/University/A	Housewife/Housewife	Nursing home; TCCS; Green Club; school; election
VV13	Cecilia	1999	51/University/A+	Secretary and salesperson /Housewife	Flower arrangement; church; school
VV14	Yolanda	1988	55-59//University/A	Nurse/Housewife	Nursing home; pre-school; food bank
VV15	Eileen	1991	46-49/University/A	Banker/Banker	Professional Association
VV16	Emma	1995	40-45 /Vocational school/A	Housewife/Housewife	Christian Service
VV17	Kathleen	1994	55-59/UniversityA+	Oil company administrator /Part-time business	Canadian-Taiwanese Association; S.U.C.C.E.S.S.; TCCS
VV18	Julita	1997	46/University (M.A.)/A	Planner and designer in consulting firm /Unemployed	Green Club; Greater Vancouver Regional Development; Presbyterian Church

Table 1. Details of Respondents in Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary. (Cont'd)

No.	Name (Pseudonym)	Year of immigration	Age/Education/Marital status	Occupation before and/after immigration	Types/Organizations of volunteering
VV19	Arlene	1994	46/Vocational school/A	Trader/Housewife	TCCS; Richmond Community Center
VV20	Beatrice	1992	55-59/University/A	Telecommunications /Housewife	TCCS; Green Club; Richmond Nature Park; Vandusen Garden
VV21	Phoenix	2001	46-49/Vocational School/A+	Manager of food business/Housewife	TC
VV22	Eliza	1997	50~54/University/A+	Kindergarten headmistress/Accountant	TCCS; church; election campaign
VV23	Esther	2006	54/University/A	Housewife/Housewife	TC; church
VV24	Cecily	1981	50/University/A	Administrator/Vancouver Formosa Academy; Part-time school administrator	Taiwanese Cultural Festival/Vancouver Chamber Choir Conductor; Vancouver Chinese Singers
VV25	Samantha	1969 ("old-timer")	55-59/University/A	Retired from employment benefit consulting /Part-time technician	Taiwanese Cultural Festival; fund-raising for foundations and for Member of Parliament
VV26	Tina	1997	55-59/University/A	High-school teacher/Housewife	Meals on Wheels
VV27	Estella	1994	46-49/University/D	Accountant /Part-time work in Salvation Army	Preaching Christianity to new immigrants; helping immigrants get driver's license; recycling; food bank; sign language activities…(over ten kinds)
VV28	Pauline	2000	48/Vocational School/A	Research assistant/Housewife	TCCS; TC
VV29	Phyllis	2001	46/College/A+	Import-export trade/Self-employed	TC
VV30	Yolanda	1975 ("old timer" who re-migrated from the U.S.)	60+/University/A	Teacher, administrator in airline company/Accountant	Chinese school; Bilingual Institute; Chinese Teacher's Training Center; Canadian-Chinese Lion's Club; Canadian-Taiwan Artist Association; Alumni Association; Chinese Business Association (Women's chapter)

Table 1. Details of Respondents in Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary. (Cont'd)

No.	Name (Pseudonym)	Year of immigration	Age/Education/Marital status	Occupation before and/after immigration	Types/Organizations of volunteering
VV31	Julia	2000	50-54/University/A+	Commerce/Housewife	TC Chinese school
VV32	Stella	1995	55-59/University/A+	Secretary at trading company/Retired	TC Chinese school
VV33	Roberta	1992	55-59/University/W	Translator(retired)/Retired	Elementary school; Church; Lion's Club; Vancouver Mandarin Lions Club secretary
VV34	Sue	1995	55/University/A+	Accountant/Housewife	Primary school; TCCS; lobbying for Votes; Financial advisor
VV35	Fiona	1988	46-49/University/A	Music teacher /Housewife	ESL coordinator
VV36	Kirsten	1973 ("old-timer" who re-migrated from the U.S.)	62/University/A	High school teacher	TCA; language school; Hope-line; TCCS
VV37	Fanny	1974 ("old-timer" who re-migrated from the U.S.)	68/University (MBA)/A	Secretary in import-export company, retired accountant in the U.S.)/Retired	TCA; TCCS; Gift shops at two hospitals
VV38	Ruby	2001	50/Vocational school/A+	Accountant/Housewife	TC Chinese School; Salvation Army; cook for homeless and low income
VV39	Cathy	2002	49/University/A+	Trade	Primary school teacher
VC40	Heather	1996	50-54/University/A+	High Tech. marketing /Commercial property management	President of community association
VC41	Mabel	2003	46-49/University/D	Dentist/Housewife	TCA; TC; Canada Day
VC42	Winifred	2001	46-49/Vocational School/A	Teacher/Part-time in food service	TCA; TC; Canada Day.
VC43	Elsie	1994	50-54/University/A	Working in private Co./Housewife	S.U.C.C.E.S.S.; Elementary School

Note:

Marital Status:

A = Married; A+ = Astronaut wives; D = Divorced; W = Widowed

Location of respondents:

VV = Volunteers in Vancouver; VT = Volunteers in Toronto; VC = Volunteers in Calgary

Taiwan organizations in Canada:

S.U.C.C.E.S.S = This is not an acronym. It is known as *Chung-chiao* (中僑) to the Taiwanese

TCA = Taiwan Canadian Association or 同鄉會; TC = Buddhist Compassion Relief *Tzu-chi* Foundation

TCCA= Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Society

Notes

1. The term “Taiwanese immigrant” should be used exclusively to mean anyone who immigrated to Canada from Taiwan, unlike the census which presents Taiwan-born immigrants, using one’s place of birth to identify the whole group. The population of Taiwan is represented by four main groups who differ in terms of time of arrival, size and language of use. The Taiwan indigenous population, the “aborigines” constitutes about 2 per cent of the population. The Hoklos and Hakka, who are often referred to as “native Taiwanese” are ethnic Han Chinese who were in Taiwan before 1945 and their descendants, and form about 70 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively. The fourth group consists of the “mainlanders” and their descendants, who came to Taiwan from 1946 to 1950 when the mainland fell to the communists. In order to avoid the sometimes controversial political connotations of the names associated with each of the four groups of people in Taiwan, and for the sake of simplicity, the term “Taiwanese” is used throughout the paper in a purely geographical sense to refer to anyone who immigrated from Taiwan, regardless of their place of birth, length of time in Taiwan, or other factors.
2. Some women were Buddhist Compassion Relief *Tzu-chi* Foundation (TC) volunteers in Taiwan before they migrated. TC seems to play an active role in the immigrant society providing support to “astronaut wives” (female migrants who live on their own with children in Canada, while the husband has gone back to Taiwan), as well as giving practical information and helping new arrivals on schools, houses and transportation. TC provides an opportunity for volunteering such as visiting old people’s homes, delivering hot meals to the aged, and helping new immigrants in nursing homes. Some women volunteers teach Chinese during the weekends as *ai hsin ma ma* (mother with a loving heart or 愛心媽媽). When I visited Phoenix (V21) in Vancouver, I was impressed by the large size of the gathering in her home which can contain 100 people at one time, holding simultaneous meetings of the young and old adults in two big rooms. TC is keenly recruiting young people (慈青) who begin joining in volunteering activities at an early age.
3. “Astronaut family” is a family that migrates, but the breadwinner, usually the husband, returns to the home country and leaves his wife and children at the new destination while he will fly back and forth for periodic visits (Chiang, 2008).
4. From August 14 to September 10 of 2006, I made 3 repeat interviews of respondents in 2005 (T1, T3 and T8 in Table 1 of Chiang, 2008: 510) and 5 first interviews in Toronto, and 2 repeat interviews (V1 and V11 in Table 2 of Chiang, 2008: 509) and 20 first interviews in Vancouver. Hence the total number of female volunteer women I spoke to in this first endeavor to study female volunteers amounted to 30 in all. Between April 1-10, and later in August 7-17, 2009, I interviewed 13 women who engaged themselves in volunteering in Vancouver and Calgary. I was also a participatory observer in some of the volunteering such as Asian Night, and the Taiwanese Cultural Festival in Toronto and Vancouver in 2006.

5. China Youth Corp (CYC or 救國團) is a youth organization in the Republic of China (Taiwan). Established in 1952, it was very much a quasi-governmental, quasi-political organization with close ties to the Kuomintang regime. Over the decades the CYC shifted its focus from military training of youths to providing recreational services to Taiwanese immigrants and Overseas Chinese alike.
6. In view of the influx of new immigrants from Taiwan to Canada, around 40 Taiwanese Canadians in Vancouver established the Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Society (TCCS) in 1991. Besides providing various settlement services to help newcomers enjoy a smooth transition, TCCS plays an important role in introducing Taiwanese culture to the Canadian public through large-scale annual events, such as the Taiwanese Cultural Festival & Lunar New Year in Taiwan Exhibition, Taiwanese Folk Art Tent at the Vancouver International Children's Festival and other multi-cultural activities. It is the goal of the TCCS to promote mutual understanding and cultural harmony between Taiwanese and other ethnic groups in Canada. The largest organization for Taiwanese immigrants, it had a membership of 2,700 families during the peak time of immigration. http://www.tccs.ca (accessed on 10/27/2009).
7. Formed by Taiwanese female migrants in Toronto. If read in Chinese, 6180 sounds like: "Glad to help you" (樂於幫你).
8. They included elementary English, calligraphy, painting, *Tai-chi*, square dancing, computer, weaving, computers, reading, cooking, exercise for fitness, badminton, table tennis, drama, Chinese knot, *majong*, cooking, and painting.
9. S.U.C.C.E.S.S. is a term used by Taiwanese immigrants to refer to *Chung-chiao* (中僑) which is a multi-service agency in British Columbia, Canada. Established in 1973, their mandate is to promote the well being of all Canadians and immigrants. Their participation in the community is encouraged through delivering services in five major areas: social services, employment services, business and economic development services, training and education services, and health services. Their website is http://www.successbc.ca/eng/.
10. Volunteering to promote Taiwanese culture culminates in the Taiwanese Cultural Festival which began in 1990. This event has helped to raise visibility of Taiwanese-Chinese in Canada. It was awarded the 6th consecutive Best Cultural Event award in 2006. For 2008, attendance met a new milestone of 140,000 across both Vancouver and Toronto. http://www.taiwanfest.ca/about/history (accessed on 10/28/2009).
11. This is a term that I coined in my earlier study (Chiang, 2008) to refer to "lone mothers" who stay with their children during their education, while the migrant men moved back to Taiwan or other countries to make a living.

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