VOLUNTEER AND KEEP VOLUNTEERING: A LOOK THROUGH TSR
VOLUNTARIAR-SE E MANTER-SE NO VOLUNTARIADO: UM OLHAR ATRAVÉS DA TSR

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Abstract

Based on Transformative Service Research (TSR), the purpose of this research was to unveil the transformation in volunteer lifecycle, that leads someone to volunteer and keep volunteering after the first volunteer service experience. Eighteen interviews were carried out with volunteers. Results indicate that motives for starting and continuing voluntary work differ from each other; Among various meanings provided by voluntary service experience, the "volunteer's well-being", "possibility of feeling useful", and "gratitude" stand out; The different meanings and emotions attributed to voluntary work help individuals in their self-knowledge, assists in the formation of individuals' identity, and improves volunteer self-esteem and well-being.

Keywords: Volunteering. Motives. Meaning. Self-concept. Human care. Transformative Service Research.

Resumo

Com base na TSR, buscou-se desvendar a transformação no ciclo de vida do trabalho voluntário, envolvendo desde o que leva alguém a começar a ser voluntário até o que o mantém no voluntariado. Foram realizadas 18 entrevistas com voluntários de organizações de assistência à saúde. Os resultados indicam que os motivos para iniciar e continuar no voluntariado diferem entre si. Entre os vários significados da experiência do voluntariado, destacam-se "bem-estar do voluntário", "possibilidade de sentir-se útil" e "gratidão". Esses significados e emoções ajudam os indivíduos em seu autoconhecimento, na formação de suas identidades e melhoram a sua autoestima e bem-estar.

Palavras-chave: Voluntariado. Motivos. Significado. Autoconceito. Cuidado humano. Pesquisa de Serviço Transformativo.

Introduction

There is much suffering in the world, and research could be used to fight for a better world as we can see through the perspective called Transformative Service Research (TSR). TSR differs from traditional consumer surveys by "seeking to encourage, support, and publicize research that benefits consumer welfare and quality of life for all beings affected by consumption across the world" (Association for Consumer Research, 2019). In this regard TSR invites the researchers to contribute to the reduction of detrimental situations to consumers, improving their well-being and quality of life through the consumption of services (Anderson et al., 2013; Rosenbaum et al., 2011).

The quest for the vulnerable people's welfare is one of the issues surrounding TSR studies (Ostrom et al., 2014), as there are those who depend on voluntary services to live. In many cases involving vulnerability, nongovernmental organizations are required to account for the entire affected population.

While TSR studies usually emphasize on individuals considered vulnerable, they neglect those that are critical to the sustainability of services that serve these people: the volunteers. Further studies such as those of Mulder, Rapp, Hamby, and Weaver (2015), using the TSR approach, are needed to understand one of the most important elements for the maintenance of services that contribute to the vulnerable public: volunteers.

Although some NGOs have support from the State, volunteers are the base of social capital for many NGOs (Guo, Brown, Ashcraft, Yoshioka, & Dong, 2011; Handy, Mook, & Quarter, 2008; Yavas & Riecken, 1985). Even with this description of the volunteers' importance, NGOs seem to devote more effort to finding people who can be served or benefited by the services provided by the NGO rather than recruiting volunteers (Bussell & Forbes, 2006).

Voluntary work is the donation of time and effort spontaneously and without financial compensation. The non-profit organizations face the challenge of recruiting a workforce to their activities (Guo et al., 2011; Thomas, Pritchard & Briggs, 2019; Yavas & Riecken, 1985). This activity is exhausting (requiring dedication of time and effort without monetary payment) and challenging (dealing with situations of vulnerability) for the volunteers.

In the United States, 24.9% of the population over 16 years old participate in some volunteer work (CNCS, 2016). In the UK, 41% of the population over the age of 16 reported having volunteered at least once in the previous year (NCVO, 2017). In Brazil, approximately 18% of Brazilians are engaged in philanthropic activities (IBOPE, 2012) and 28% volunteered at least once in their lives (Eduardo, 2014). Based on this data, there seems to be two service challenges for non-profit organizations: recruiting and retaining volunteers (Bussell & Forbes, 2002).

In the scope of TSR, volunteers are also consumers who can benefit from working relationships (Rosenbaum et al., 2011). Although it may sound strange, considering voluntary service as something consumable is an idea supported by theories that deal with symbolic interactionism and symbolic consumption (Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Wymer & Samu, 2002). In this perspective, volunteers (as well as service providers) seeking benefits for others, somehow also consume something in volunteering. Volunteerism is an experience of interactions between individuals, representing a form of consumption that has symbolic meanings (Wymer & Samu, 2002). According to this approach, consumer behaviors may be motivated by what the experience of that consumption will mean to its consumers. The meanings perceived by the experience of voluntary work are the motivations of the individuals to stay committed to the activity, even helping in the formation of their identity (Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Wymer & Samu, 2002).

Investigating volunteer's behaviors Bussell and Forbes (2002) found out that volunteering operates in different ways in different organizations. Variations include intensity, form of participation and area of

activity: for example, the health care area is very different from sports or education. In this sense, Randle and Dolnicar (2011, p. i) identified that "who prefer different volunteering organizations differ significantly in their self-concept". The authors point out that when volunteers believe that their self-concept is similar to their image of the organization for which they volunteer, there is a greater possibility that volunteers perform their activities more consciously, with greater involvement. This indicates that the degree of congruence between the NGOs image and the self-concept of the volunteer may influence the volunteer's commitment to continue to perform voluntary service.

Research has been carried out (e.g. Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Fisher & Ackerman, 1998; Jeong & Koo, 2015; Qi, Smith & Yeoman, 2018) to understand the various forms of motivation, meanings, and profiles of individuals who consume the experience of voluntarism. Additionally, the voluntary work is seen as involving a cycle in which volunteers face two moments, the "decision to volunteer" (involving their recruitment) and "committed volunteer" (involving their permanence) (Bussell & Forbes, 2003).

However, Bussell and Forbes' (2003) article does not explore any of the suggested life cycle moments regarding each person, as well as their reasons to keep working as a volunteer and how volunteers' commitment to perform voluntary service is influenced by their self-concepts, providing us an opportunity to contribute to this discussion. Although there are different motivation, meanings, and profiles (as mentioned above), we could expand this discussion by considering self-concept influence in volunteering and different stages in the path of these volunteers work in a specific NGO – health care organizations –, addressing the transformations that happen in these stages (TSR). This may be useful to improve the welfare of volunteers (who act as consumers of the volunteer service), as Rosenbaum et al. (2011) claim.

Therefore, this article has as objective to comprehend the transformation of the volunteers during service provision, analyzing: a) meanings perceived by the experience of being a voluntary; b) different motives existing in volunteers' life cycle and c) how their identity formation influences the transition to a more mature stage. Besides, the present article follows the suggestion of Bussell and Forbes (2006) that in order to be more successful in recruiting volunteers, organizations should segment their efforts considering different motives Therefore, using the TSR approach, this study helps non-profit organizations to target the individuals who most identify with voluntary service and to attract them and besides expanding the understanding of the volunteer consumption's life cycle, through the transformations derived from the service that occur in the volunteer. The article is divided in five topics beyond this introduction namely: theoretical foundation; methods; results and analysis; conclusions and references.

Theoretical foundation

Transformative service research (TSR)

Transformative Service Research (TSR) is a perspective that studies the impacts of services on consumer welfare. It is defined as "the integration of consumer and service research that centers on creating uplifting changes and improvements in the well-being of consumer entities: individuals (consumers and employees), communities and the ecosystem." (Anderson et al., 2011, p.3).

Thus, TSR focuses on investigate and understand the role of services and the relationship of consumers to services in promoting consumer well-being (Rosenbaum et al., 2011). Besides, TSR also considers work as consumption, meaning that this perspective may assess how individuals who provide services can improve their welfare in the process (Mulder et al., 2015). Also, TSR considers general and broad well-being, as in communities and ecosystems, involving the impact that the forms of providing services may have locally and globally.

According to Kuppelwieser and Finsterwalder (2016), TSR locates itself at the intersection of two research agendas: transformative consumer research and service research; which leads TSR to studies

involving eudaimonic and hedonic well-being outcomes, through interactional outcomes, focused on the consumers and exploring solutions of real-life problems.

Moreover, TSR considers consumer well-being central to the analysis, involving physical and mental health, financial well-being, discrimination, marginalization and different forms of inclusion (Anderson et al., 2013; Anderson & Ostrom, 2015; Rosenbaum et al., 2011), considering that there is much suffering in the world related to diseases, poverty, violence, malnutrition, physical activities, epidemics, natural disasters, processes of social exclusion (among others) that can be diminished to some extent by this approach (Anderson & Ostrom, 2015; Mick, 2006; Ostrom, Mathras, & Anderson, 2014).

The focus of TSR can rely on services that already had as their goal the improvement of consumer welfare, such as social services, health programs, employee welfare programs, among others (Kuppelwieser & Finsterwalder, 2016; Rosenbaum et al., 2011). Consequently, it is possible to include all forms of nongovernmental organizations that provide some social service to their communities in this kind of research. In these NGOs we find the figure of the volunteer, who is both a service provider and a consumer. In this context, volunteers act as co-creators of value, largely involved in transformative service activities (Mulder et al., 2015).

Thus, TSR's perspective carries the idea of process, of activity in progress, and seeks to understand how this process can transform the services' consumers. By understanding more about the experience of voluntary service, we can know more about this group, allowing the development of efforts that provide more pleasant experiences for the volunteers (enabling a better communication among current and future volunteers and NGOs). Also, a positive volunteer experience reflects in those assisted by the organizations, because greater volunteers' satisfaction resonates in assisted people's satisfaction (see Homburg & Stock, 2005). Therefore, TSR seems adequate to understand the transformations in the volunteerism life cycle, a form of consumption involved in a service that contributes to the reduction of social problems while delivering benefits to the consumer/volunteer.

Volunteerism consumption, Meanings and Identity

Volunteering "is a form of civic engagement by which individuals can make meaningful contributions to their own vision of the well-being of society" (Brown, 1999, p.3). Volunteering can be understood in several ways such as donating money, personal belongings, organs, blood, among others. When talking about time donation, this behavior can be associated with voluntary work (Reed II, Kay, Finnel, Aquino, & Levy, 2016; Wilson & Musick, 1997; Wymer & Samu, 2002). Thus, volunteering is perceived as a service for vulnerable consumers and society.

Volunteering can also be a form of consumption. Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry (1989) argue that consumption is a way of attribute and experience meanings, as in places, things, and people. This understanding of symbolic consumption sees consumption as a moment of creation and production of symbolic meanings (Arnould & Thompson, 2015). It is a social activity where symbolic meanings, social codes, political ideologies, and relationships produce, reproduce and denote a social language (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). Thus, the use of goods and services (or experiences and relationships) becomes charged with multiple forms of values. Decrop, Del Chiappa, Mallargé, and Zidda, (2018) have identified that this voluntary activity "foster personal values such as harmony, inner peace, freedom, and altruism, as well as societal values such as friendship, trust, brotherhood, and peace" (p. 66). Furthermore, the authors point out that the benefits provided by volunteer service turn volunteers into volunteer multipliers.

One of the explanations for symbolic consumption is that whatever the individuals consume in some way represents their identity, so the meanings attributed to objects contribute to reinforce or drive away some sense of identity (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011; Belk, 1988; 2013). Then, symbolic consumption analyses how individuals consume through the congruence between identity and consumption (self-

concept), which may involve intangible goods as services and experiences, such as virtual shopping and tourism experiences (Cortés, 2015), or, in this article, the experience of voluntary work.

The self-concept theory is one of the most comprehensive approaches to identity construction (Ho & O'Donohoe, 2014). Epstein (1973) clarifies that, in a general way, self-concept is understood as a subsystem of concepts that individuals possess of themselves that helps in the experiences' data organization, mainly related to social interactions, for the construction of actions and reactions, as well as to help meeting needs while avoiding disapproval and anxiety. Among the many elements that make up self-concept (Sirgy, 1982), Belk (1988; 2013; 2016) considers the extended-self one of the main selves in the formation of individuals' identity, once it incorporates various forms of ownership (e.g. people, places, experiences) at different levels of self-construction (e.g. individual, family, community, nation).

According to Solomon (1983, p. 320), one of the characteristics of self-concept is that it "directs the individual's behavior". In addition, Epstein (1973) argues that it is important for the individual's life that self-concept is maintained and balanced. Thus, as individuals and consumers, people will act, and therefore consume, directed by the formation and communication of their identity (Epstein, 1973, Sirgy, 1982, Belk, 1988; 2013; 2016), so that what is aligned with the desired self will be consumed and what is not will be avoided (Ho & O'Donohoe, 2014).

In addition, Grönlund (2011) evaluated the association between identity and volunteering, describing identity as a narrative process. The author identified the existence of different types of identity in the analyzed volunteers (e.g. influencer, helper, community), revealing the flexible nature of volunteering, which can be combined with different values and meanings in identity formation.

Based on these discussions, it is possible to understand that individuals engage in symbolic consumption practices, such as voluntary work, because consumption is associated with a system of meanings sought in the creation, maintenance, and improvement of its identity. Therefore, volunteering can be understood as a form of symbolic consumption at the same time that it is a work for others. Voluntary work is a consumption contributing both to the consumers of the service, to the volunteer himself and to the society in the surroundings. Hence, considering the importance of this form of consumption it is needed to understand which meanings are associated with the construction of identity and how this identity relates to the change of stage in the volunteer's life cycle.

Motivations for voluntary service

Regarding the motivations for voluntary service, these may have a more selfless appeal as mentioned earlier, but they may also have a more selfish appeal, with great force in the commitment of the volunteers in both cases (Hartenian & Lilly, 2009). Bussell and Forbes (2002) posit that helping others can be considered an altruistic motivation; while having a child in the same institution where the person volunteers (and ends up acquiring social prestige) can be considered selfish.

Some psychological approaches bridge the discussion between motivation and welfare, as the Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2012). According to this theory, benefits provided by the voluntary service motivate subject to continue performing this activity. Therefore, the activity becomes an instrument through which some behaviors are accepted (internalized) as part of the one's identity (Vansteenkiste et al., 2018). In the same way, Anderson and Ostrom (2015) affirm that the drivers of the co-producers (volunteers) are intangible and impact on their wellbeing. Depending on how the activities are organized and performed by the customers, these activities can supply some psychological necessities (autonomy, competence and belonging), which will impact on the permanence (Bussell & Forbes, 2003) of the activity (Davoglio, Spagnolo, & Santos, 2017).

Bussell and Forbes (2002) have found that the number of women volunteers is higher than that of men. Wymer and Samu (2002) find that motivations may differ between men and women. For the authors,

men are sensitized by social recognition and self-respect, also seeking true friendships, while women are more sensitized by maternal love, empathy, a sense of achievement and a search for a better world. In turn, Bachman, Norman, Hopkins and Brookover (2016) settle is congruence with self-image that drives motivation to volunteer and this motivation comes from social concerns, values, feelings of protection, and career concerns, instead of sex difference.

In the literature, there are already research about motivations for volunteer service as initial motivations to decide to aid a third part (Berkowitz, 1972, Qi et al., 2018), the expected-perceived relationship with volunteering (Gallarza, Arteaga-Moreno, Severa-Francés, & Fayos-Gardó, 2016), the participation of the State in such activities (Haß & Serrano-Velarde, 2015), and different social perspectives (Fisher & Ackerman, 1998). Other papers found motivations and meanings such as empathy and concern (Berkowitz, 1972). Factors such as materialism, subjective well-being and physical health all related to volunteering performed by older people (Wei, Donthu, & Bernhardt, 2012; Younnis, McLellan, & Mazer, 2001), social recognition (Bachman et al., 2016; Fisher & Ackerman, 1998), ways of self-promotion (Hackl, Halla, & Pruckner, 2005) and reduced feelings of guilt (Jeong & Koo, 2015).

Mulder et al. (2015) propose that investing in the volunteers' immersion in the activity is a usually well-succeeded action to engage them with the service. The authors justify that this action takes the individual out of his/her comfort zone, leading them to reflect on the condition of other individuals who depend on the voluntary service and motivate him/her to carry out this activity. In addition, immersion in voluntary service develops more empathy between the volunteer and the cause for which they volunteer as authors put "it is through truly getting to understand who the beneficiaries are that brings about the transformed perspective" (Mulder et al., 2015, p. 9).

The immersion in the voluntary work motivates people to overcome negative emotions because "the increased effort and adversity helps to form even stronger bonds between the two entities" (Mulder et al., 2015, p. 9). Considering that volunteer service can promote benefits for the society, the community, the individuals who receive the benefits of this work and even the volunteers themselves Stukas et al. (2008) reveal that there must be an effort by both government and NGOs to increase volunteer participation rates.

Therefore, we see in the literature that motivations for voluntary work can change over time (Bussell & Forbes, 2003, Mulder et al., 2015), through the different meanings that are acquired in this process of immersion in voluntary work. Thus, the alteration of motivations seems to be crucial in the process of transformation of the volunteers, then it is necessary to investigate the motivational differences in the life cycle of the volunteer.

Additionally, given the variety of sorts of voluntary services, it is necessary to identify the specific motivations for certain types of volunteering, such as human services, which can contribute to NGOs capture and maintain this workforce.

Methods

We looked for individuals who were living the experience of volunteering in organizations from the human health services sector. In this qualitative research we chose to use semi-structured interviews supported by a script. Although every interview followed its own route, all of them explored the following themes: how the person started in the volunteer service, which and how frequent these activities were performed, the meanings of these activities, the motivations for volunteering (permanence), how the individuals communicates about that activity when interacting with other individuals, and further steps regarding his or her voluntary work.

The use of interviews appears in similar research, as in Skoglund (2006) and Wood, Berger and Roberts (2017). These authors interviewed people about different types of volunteers and factors influencing the

volunteer work, which represent similar objectives as the ones we had in this research, indicating that this approach might fit our necessities. To develop our script, we considered both (1) the discussions we presented previously in the literature (so we could check if our context was aligned with the discussions from other academics); as well as (2) the objectives and gaps we introduced in the first section.

This article focuses on organizations from the human health services sector, defined as "that set of welfare agencies which provide care, cash, education, shelter and support to people, very often with significant personal interaction between the agency and the individual client or user" (Billis & Glennerster, 1998, p. 80). In human health services, volunteers provide aid to many ends: health, people with special needs, low income, disabilities, aggressive diseases, people in situations of vulnerability such as children who are abused or exploited, to name a few. Situations like these require preparation both physically and emotionally from the volunteers, as they deal with sensitive issues. Also, in addition to volunteers working to reduce their suffering, these organizations also help families and friends to cope with the situation they face.

Considering: the particularity of the subject to be investigated, the restriction of resources for displacement between different cities. Also, the researchers' concern to devote special attention to the emotions and body language of the interviewees in order to better understand the phenomenon studied. It was decided to conduct the interviews in person and in the place of preference of the interviewees so that they feel more comfortable talking.

Seeking to identify which NGOs would participate in the study, we searched for all NGOs registered in the city area of Maringá (Brazil) whitch is the biggest city in a 70 kilometers radius, having over 417,000 inhabitants (IPARDES, 2019).

Using a catalog provided by www.ongsbrasil.com.br, we identified 88 NGOs in Maringá: 32 corresponding to social assistance; 10 to education and culture; 10 to entrepreneurship and commercial activities; 10 to health; 7 to asylums and shelters. Six other categories cover the remaining 19 NGOs. The presence of more NGOs of social assistance was the criterion used to choose the type of NGO to be researched. Considering that the services provided by organizations in this category relate to assist people with demands that match the description of "human services sector" (Billis & Glennerster, 1998), we considered the NGOs within the social assistance category as representing our scope of human services sector organizations. Still, most people in Brazil (72%) never participated in voluntary activities (Eduardo, 2014), which indicates great potential to be explored by third sector organizations.

After selecting the organizations that fitted this scope, we contacted the 32 identified organizations. Four organization accepted to participate in our study. The first institution (ORG A) is a cancer-fighting organization that works in social assistance, health and human valorization, developing projects to support individuals with cancer (and also their families). The second institution (ORG B) is dedicated to rehabilitate and reinsert in the society individuals with both physical and intellectual disabilities. The third institution (ORG C) focuses on supporting people with various physical or psychological illnesses, emphasizing the improvement of the quality of life involving medical, psychological and even legal care. Finally, the fourth institution (ORG D) supports underprivileged children and teenagers to promote health and improve opportunities.

Twenty volunteers were interviewed individually, with an average length of 15 to 20 minutes each, all of them recorded to facilitate subsequent transcription and analysis. All respondents were informed of the anonymity of the gathered information and agreed to have the conversation recorded.

From the 20 interviews, 18 were considered valid for the analysis. For data analysis, we used content analysis with categorical analysis (Bardin, 2011). The categories were defined through discussions involving all the authors. After transcribing all the interviews, we read the transcriptions and, guided by Bardin (2011) and Gomes (2009), we codified the excerpts.

NVivo (version 11) was used to create the categories, so we could codify the excerpts (Bardin, 2011, Gomes, 2009). Four categories were identified, driven by the theoretical basis of this work: "initial motivation", representing all the reasons that led respondents to start volunteering (Bachman et al., 2016; Garcia & Moreno, 2010); "permanency motivation", which identifies all the reasons that made the interviewees continue volunteering (Bachman et al., 2016; Garcia & Moreno, 2010; Wei et al., 2012, Mulder et al., 2015); "meanings", comprehending all meanings attributed to voluntary work (Banister & Hogg, 2004; Ho & O'Donohoe, 2014, Reed II et al., 2016); and "identity", which represents the behavior of belonging to a group of volunteers that form their identity and the impact they identified this new activity had in their lives (Bachman et al., 2016; Banister and Hogg, 2004; Ho and O'Donohoe, 2014; Reed II et al., 2016). All the authors discussed the patterns until we reached a consensus about the main motivations of beginning and permanence, the meanings, and the relation to the identity provided by the volunteer work. Based on this analysis, some patterns emerged within the four categories, so we could address the gaps we pointed out earlier.

Results and analysis

Characterization of the interviewees

Table I summarizes the results. In the contacted organizations, volunteers are mainly engaged in activities related to handicrafts (cutting, sewing, and embroidery, for example), participation in promotional food events (sale of tickets, collection of sponsors, kitchen activities, and cashier role, among others) and professional care involving health and education. These findings indicate that among the most frequent activities reported by the interviewees are those that seek to raise financial resources (handwork and food events) for the NGOs.

Table I. Summary of results

ID	Age	Gender	Volunteer time	Frequency	Initial contact	Initial motivation	Motivation of permanence	Meaning	Consider it as work?	Organization
I1	61	F	2-3 years	Once a week	Prayer group	Help others	Help others Occupy free time	Citizenship Well-being	Yes	A
I2	61	F	3 months	Once a week	Prayer group	Help others Acquaintances participating	Friendships Personal benefits Occupy free time Social recognition	Well-being	Yes	A
I3	68	F	~1 year	Once a week	Friends	Help others Acquaintances participating Illness of acquaintances	Help others Personal benefits Occupy free time	Citizenship Well-being	No	A
I4	66	F	2 years	Once a week	Relatives who already worked	Acquaintances participating Not working formally	Help others Personal benefits Contribute to the continuity of the organizational activities	Citizenship Gratitude	No	A
I5	65	F	3-4 months	Once a week	Friends	Help others Acquaintances participating Illness of acquaintances	Help others Friendships Personal benefits Occupy free time	Citizenship Well-being	No	A

I6	65	F	8 months	Daily	Television	The closing of previous volunteer work Loneliness	Help others Personal benefits Occupy free time Social recognition	Well-being	No	A
I7	59	F	5 years	Daily	Lives nearby	Illness of acquaintances Not working formally Loneliness	Personal benefits Occupy free time	Well-being	Yes	A
I8	67	F	5 years	Once a week	Lives nearby	Illness of acquaintances	Working environment Friendships	Well-being	No	A
I9	66	F	2 years	Twice a week	Friends	Help others Illness of acquaintances	Working environment Personal benefits	Citizenship Well-being	Yes	A
I10	64	F	3 years	Three times a week	Native / Always knew about the organization	Illness of acquaintances	Help others Working environment Friendships Occupy free time	Citizenship Well-being	Yes	A
I11	76	F	2-3 months	Twice a week	Friends	Acquaintances participating Loneliness Geographical proximity	Help others Personal benefits Occupy free time	Well-being	Yes	A
I12	67	F	2 years	Twice a week	Needs (or needed) the services of the organization	Help others Needs (or needed) the services of the organization	Help others Personal benefits Occupy free time	Citizenship Well-being	Yes	A
I13	33	F	6 years	Sporadic	Needs (or needed) the services of the organization	Acquaintances participating Needs (or needed) the services of the organization	Help others	Citizenship Gratitude	Yes	B
I14	55	M	26 years	Daily	Needs (or needed) the services of the organization	Needs (or needed) the services of the organization	Need (or needed) the services of the organization Contribute to the continuity of the organizational activities	Citizenship Gratitude	Yes	B
I15	56	F	37 years	Daily	Idealizer / Creator	Personal beliefs	Help others Personal benefits	Citizenship	Yes	C
I16	28	F	3 years	Once a week	Encouraged by teachers	Contribute to the continuity of the organizational activities Professional experience	Working environment View the results of the work	Citizenship Learning	Yes	D
I17	54	F	10 years	Twice a week	Idealizer / Creator	Social inequality	Contribute to the continuity of the	Citizenship	Yes	D

							organizational activities				
I18	22	F	2 years	Daily	Needs (or needed) the services of the organization	Contribute to the continuity of the organizational activities Participation in the social project	Help others View the results of the work		Citizenship	Yes	D

Note: Source: field research.

Among the activities the volunteers do, it is unanimous the understanding that these activities explore expertise they already have, with whatever the organizations need to deliver their assistance (even if they need to learn new skills, such as cutting and sewing), or with public relations (participation in events and posting about it in social networks).

Volunteers were mainly a female audience (only one man was willing to be interviewed), which reinforces the findings of Bussell and Forbes (2002) there are more women volunteering than men. Wilson and Musik (1997) explain that this behavior occurs because women usually are more empathic and altruistic. However, Wymer and Samu (2002) have found that men provide more voluntary work individually, spend more hours in this service, and work in more organizations than women. In our research, it may have some relation with a lower affinity of men with artisanal works (the main activity developed by the volunteers of one of the organizations).

About the age, Bussell and Forbes (2002) consider that people over 50 are more likely to volunteer. One explanation for this may be that they retire and have more free time, once that people who do not work are more likely to volunteer (Wymer & Samu, 2002). Finally, the average work frequency was "once or twice a week", and one-third of those interviewed reported volunteering on a daily basis.

As to the way in which the interviewees had the first contact with the organization that they participate as volunteers, they knew about such organizations in different ways. Friends and family were the most common way reinforcing Hyde et al (2016) findings that friends/relatives are the primary source of this kind of information. Some people reported that they knew about the organizations in prayer groups, while others were encouraged by family members. A few also reported some previous contact with the organization, some that had already worked there as volunteers in previous opportunities, and others that already had been assisted by the organization this form of contact reinforces what was identified by Mulder et al. (2015) that is common to find in NGOS people who alternately represent both roles of provider and consumer. It is noteworthy that some people started the contact with the organization due to the geographical proximity of their houses.

This seems to reinforce Geiser, Okun and Grano (2014) and Hyde et al. (2016) findings. Their data point to scenario where the older the volunteers are, their frequency of volunteering is also higher. Even though some of their findings relate to people in higher education years (Geiser, Okun and Grano, 2014), we can see similar results in Hyde et al. (2016) with a sample of 13-77 years old people, which seems to demonstrate a pattern consolidated with our sample (mainly older volunteers).

Considering the different profiles of volunteers, as described by Bussell and Forbes (2002), Hyde et al. (2016), Wilson and Musik (1997), Wymer and Samu (2002), this research shows that the profile of the individual who volunteers in the human sector interviewed mainly relies on the type of activity, which was predominantly handmade activities and in all cases takes advantage of the individual's expertise.

Initial motive (Decision to volunteer stage)

Understanding that the initial contact refers to the way through which the interviewees became aware of the organization where they later began to work, they were asked about what led them to volunteer. The most commonly reported motive was the fact that such people already had some acquaintance participating in the activity, which may signal to a situation that volunteering needs to be stimulated. As Interviewee 5 (65, female, volunteering for less than a year) says: "Then, as this friend invited, I came here, and I liked it." Here we can recognize that immersion in voluntary service positively influences the motivation for an individual to become voluntary as pointed out by Mulder et al. (2015).

Bussell and Forbes (2002) also indicate that personal relationships can motivate volunteer work. Motta, Junqueira and Turra (2018) say that social networks are motivators to attract people to a new practice. Also on the social networks, Motta et al. (2018) consider the existence of two types of relations: strong and weak ties. Weak ties are better in attracting individuals to participate in new practices. According to the authors, this is due to the greater spontaneity of the relations with the latter group.

In Table I is possible to see (through interviewees' reports) more than one motivation by each person, making it possible to group them into three categories: personal motivations, social motivations (refers to interaction with others) and altruistic motivations (involves helping other people). Personal motivations refer to issues related to the particularities of the interviewee's life, such as a family illness, loneliness or even geographical proximity to the organization. The geographical proximity to the organization was identified by Hyde et al. (2016) as a factor which promotes commitment between volunteers and the NGOs. The motivations of the social environment refer to what in the environment stimulates the person to participate, as acquaintances who already participate in the work, participation in social projects, search for professional experience (for the younger ones), or even due to social ties (for the elderly) as identified in the study of (Grant, 2012). Altruistic motivations, however, deal with the volunteer's posture relating to those directly impacted by the work developed in the organization, which involves responses that refer to altruism and social inequality. These different categories relates to the findings of Geiser et al. (2014), who point out that motivation can be extrinsic or intrinsic in individuals, according to their profile.

First, about personal motivations, most of the interviewees reported some previous assistance (either for themselves or a family member). This previous assistance eventually influenced the volunteer choosing to help such organization, which confirms the findings presented by Berkowitz (1972) and Mulder et al. (2015). These authors suggest that the fact that individuals have already needed the services provided by the organization can establish a relationship of reciprocity, making, as Bussell and Forbes (2002) points out, the person wanting to contribute to the maintenance of the existence of the place as well as confirms the results of Randle and Dolnicar (2011) research regarding the influence of NGOs image and the self-concept of the volunteer congruence on the choice and commitment of this volunteer with the volunteer service performed.

On the motivations of the social environment, the most apparent one refers to the presence of acquaintances, as Hyde et al (2016, p. 162) describes "volunteers with increased satisfaction were motivated by the opportunity to support their loved ones". Either because they are already working in the organization, or because they have started together in volunteering. "I had a friend who used to come here and I once told her 'I'd like to volunteer as well, I want to do a voluntary work'. And then she told me 'you should go there and speak with ((employee's name)), so you can start" (I12, 76 years old, female, less than a year of voluntary work). Additionally, the social environment has some influence on this initial decision. Some interviewees mentioned that their search for volunteerism was motivated by the need for professional experience to enter in the job market, and we also found those who said that one of the reasons for wanting to contribute to society was due to previous participation in social projects.

The search by the youngest for professional experience serves both to familiarize themselves with what to expect of formal work (Taylor, 2004) and to the possibility of communicating to the market a positive image of the individual and his/her values (Peterson, 2004). These reports demonstrate congruence with

Piacentini and Mailer (2004), Wilson and Musik (1997) and Bachman et al. (2016). Voluntary work also makes earnings, in this case not monetary, but symbolic, as happens with gains in social capital and cultural capital, which implies that voluntary work does not necessarily have only motivations of pure altruism, but also can be used as a strategy for personal promotion.

Finally, altruistic motivations indicated that the feeling of altruism was, among all, the second most present initial motivation to the volunteers. Also referring to this category of motivation, some respondents indicated considerations about social inequalities as something that contributed to the decision, as Fisher and Ackerman (1998) and Haß and Serrano-Velarde (2015) point out.

Motivation of permanence (Committed volunteer stage)

All respondents were motivated to continue volunteering. Again, the answers indicated personal motivations, motivations of the social environment and motivations of altruistic nature. About personal motivations, most volunteers believe that volunteer service brings personal benefits such as happiness, well-being, gratification, and pleasure (as found by Wei et al., 2012). Although the objective of voluntary work is to help other people (Bussell & Forbes, 2002), it seems that the personal gains of those who perform this activity are the main motivation to stay volunteering (Piacentini & Mailer, 2004).

Also, the voluntary work in the cause of human services seems to help with the self-esteem and valorization of what one has and what one is (Wei et al., 2012). The volunteer usually faces less difficult social realities than the assisted ones' face (Younnis et al., 2001). Regarding social motivations, volunteers showed benefits of voluntary work associated with the establishment of friendships, the relationship with other people within the work environment, and the social recognition for the work done (benefits also found by Hackl et al., 2005, Bachman et al., 2016 and Thomas et al., 2019). A speech was highlighted, making clear the importance of social recognition for staying in voluntary work: "everyone... thinks helping other is something beautiful, right? It is an incentive (to continue), right?" (I2, 61 years old, female, volunteer for less than a year).

Finally, regarding the altruistic motivations, most volunteers affirm that this possibility motivates the continuity of their work. Some of them stressed that the result seen for those helped is something that keeps them motivated. This finding reinforces the results of Sajardo and Serra (2010) and Mulder et al. (2015), pointing out that the organization's activity area where the volunteers work may be related to social welfare motivations, which leads to the thought that organizations oriented towards different social sectors can stimulate people from different backgrounds to start developing volunteer service. Some interviewees were dissatisfied with social problems, showing solidarity with the individuals receiving assistance from the organization.

These respondents usually associate negative points such as lack of money to improve working conditions and the need for more people willing to help as challenges in day-to-day volunteering work, while they recognize the value of well-managed organizations. These findings corroborate what Gallarza et al. (2016) discussed.

Few volunteers affirmed that doing good for others were their only motivation, which reinforces considerations from works such as Hackl et al. (2005) and Jeong and Koo (2015), where we see that motivations for voluntary work may also be oriented not only for altruistic purposes but to compensate some social need. So, although doing good for others is important, personal and social motivations seem to be more determinant for most interviewees to persist. The interviewee I8 highlights this situation when, even if her initial motivation was to help other individuals due to her child had an illness and needed the organization, she ended up feeling more helped than helping. She believes that while doing this work, she diminishes her anxiety and forgets her problems: "They helped me, and here I feel good". Thus, helping others is understood as the main influencer to initiate voluntary work, while satisfaction with the work and perception of personal gains are important for permanence (Bachman et al., 2016).

Regarding the influence of satisfaction with the consumption of services and the motivation to continue consuming the same services, Lima-Costa and Loyola Filho (2008) identified that consumers satisfied with the public health service in Brazil tend to continue consuming its service. The authors also identified that older women are the most satisfied with public health services in Brazil, a public that matches with the profile of the majority of respondents in the present study. Thus, it is another indication that satisfaction with the consumption of services, at least for the elderly women, is a motivating factor to continue consuming these services.

Meanings and identity

Considering that volunteers act according to the meaning they attribute to the practice of volunteering, several categories describe the meanings of the work. One way to understand the meaning of this work was to ask whether volunteers consider what they do as formal work, which most respondents partially agreed. When people associate the word work with aspects of commitment, responsibility, and quality of the service provided, they affirm that the voluntary work is performed like any other formal work. On the other hand, when people relate the work with aspects of fatigue and obligation, they usually do not consider voluntary work as formal work.

Another way to understand the meaning of volunteering is to understand the emotions volunteers experience. The balance of emotions found in voluntary work helps the individuals to maintain their self-concept (Epstein, 1973; Sirgy, 1982). Among the emotions reported, the most important one was pleasure: the pleasure of seeing that their work helps other people, the pleasure of following the development of an individual benefited by the program, the pleasure of feeling useful. Other emotions reported were gratitude, happiness, satisfaction, joy, and pride. Values very similar to some of the values found by Decrop et al. (2018) as inner peace, altruism, friendship and brotherhood.

Additionally, it was possible to see differences in the volunteers' perception about their way of thinking and doing, compared to what they were before volunteering. Most of the volunteers said that the change is broad in both the way of thinking and how to act. Participants reported that living in this environment, where many people need help, helps them to leave their comfort zone, increasing the willingness to help confirming what Mulder et. al (2015) had identified. Still, the volunteers reported that voluntary service means having access to a new way of seeing their lives.

This positive change may be associated with the change of values that occurs when individuals perceive a different reality. Briggs et al. (2010) argue that values are the guiding principles of individuals' lives. Therefore, the change of values that happens with the volunteers during volunteering activities, when noticing difficult realities, makes them realize that their work, even if doing little things, can help several lives.

In addition, questioning about the meaning of voluntary work, it was possible to identify some. The first meaning relates to well-being, indicating improvements in volunteers' quality of life. Volunteers reported they feel better by doing this work, both emotionally and physically. The second highlighted meaning is citizenship, related to acting socially to help other people. Volunteers said that helping others is a way to reduce the suffering of some individuals. According to Interviewee 5 (65, female, volunteer for less than a year): "The least you are doing is already contributing, and if everyone does a little, well, it works". Gallarza et al. (2016) contribute to this understanding by clarifying that volunteering provides a higher level of satisfaction for the individuals, mainly for their social contribution.

Another meaning refers to gratitude for the current or previous use of the organization's services by close people or by the volunteers themselves. The meaning is related to a form of payback for the services provided by the organization. Berkowitz (1972) points out that in various social situations, people tend to outsource a behavior of retribution when they are, in some way, helped. This behavior appears to be motivated by a social norm of the individual who has been helped and therefore feels the need (or perhaps

obligation) to compensate the help received. Therefore, various meanings permeate the experience of volunteering. The three main sets of meanings found may relate to each other, which means they are not entirely different.

Through the various meanings attributed to voluntary work, it was possible to notice that these meanings happen through consumption as a way of constructing and maintaining identity, validating the insights from Belk (1988), Lee (1990), and Solomon (1983), which point out that experiences represent a form of symbolic consumption.

As well as the motivations, the highlighted meanings that indicate personal gains (both physically and mentally) seem to be the most valued ones by the interviewees. Wymer and Samu (2002) and Thomas et al. (2019) found similar results, believing that volunteers use volunteering as a way to gain a better life both for themselves and others.

These meanings may be associated with the social recognition acquired by volunteering, sometimes related to status, as Fisher and Ackerman (1998) also highlighted. Evidence of this relationship is the appreciation of social recognition, indicating that voluntary work is a way for individuals to put themselves before others, and sharing a voluntary activity with the individual's social network as a way to present the benefits of this activity.

Other evidence of the relation of voluntary work and individual's identity were sadness and frustration reported at the impossibility of keep doing voluntary work, causing a loss of meaning in individuals' lives.

When inquired, some volunteers even mentioned that they would seek other places to continue their volunteer work, indicating the need to continue in the activity to keep the identity built. Finally, identity forms as the groups in which individuals belong share the values of voluntary work, forming a collective identity and bringing a sense of belonging to the group. These findings corroborate what Hyde et al (2016) identified commitment leads volunteers to work for a longer period in an NGO than satisfaction with the activity.

Furthermore, volunteers were asked to describe the profile of an individual who performs volunteer work as a way of investigating what they project as their strengths (Ho & O'Donohoe, 2014). The most attributed characteristic to volunteers was the willingness to help others. Moreover, other characteristics such as being loving, patient, wisdom, honesty, seriousness, and commitment, were attributed to the volunteers.

In general, it is understood that volunteers have their identity built and maintained through the process of transformation that they undergo after the decision to volunteer. Various meanings are perceived and valued, changing the way volunteers think and act, also making them feel part of this universe in which they live whilst this universe is part of them.

The transformation process

Individuals seek a congruence between what they would like to be and what they consume as a way of constructing their identity, making it possible to understand that voluntary work is a symbolic consumption practice that these individuals use to balance their self-concept as part of their identity, since it expresses how the individual identifies himself and also contributes socially, as found in the works of Cortes (2015), Mulder et al. (2015) and Belk (1988). In a few words, individuals initiate voluntary work by a set of specific motivations, they have their world view modified by the new reality experienced (meanings), and end up staying because of a new set of motivations that - associated with the different meanings of the activity - become part of who the individual is.

So the transformation process of the volunteers can be perceived both through motivational differences and through the meanings that are acquired and incorporated into one's identity over time. Furthermore,

the meanings produced and consumed over time cause volunteers to move from an initial stage of motivation to do this work to the final stage of a committed volunteer, where the activity is so linked to their identity that he/she no longer can identify him/herself without it.

This process of transformation of the volunteer is depicted in Figure 1. The initial motivations have an emphasis on helping others. After the beginning, volunteers experience various meanings related to well-being, citizenship, and gratitude, changing the relationship of these individuals with volunteer work and even the way they understand the world. The consumption of these meanings contributes to the change of motivations of voluntary work, which become more personal and social.

Such process of signifying the consumption of voluntary work changes its motivations and increasingly incorporates this activity into the identity of these individuals, making them identify themselves as volunteers. From the general identification with the activity, the volunteer moves on to the next stage in the life cycle, becoming a committed volunteer.

Figure 1 - Transformation process.
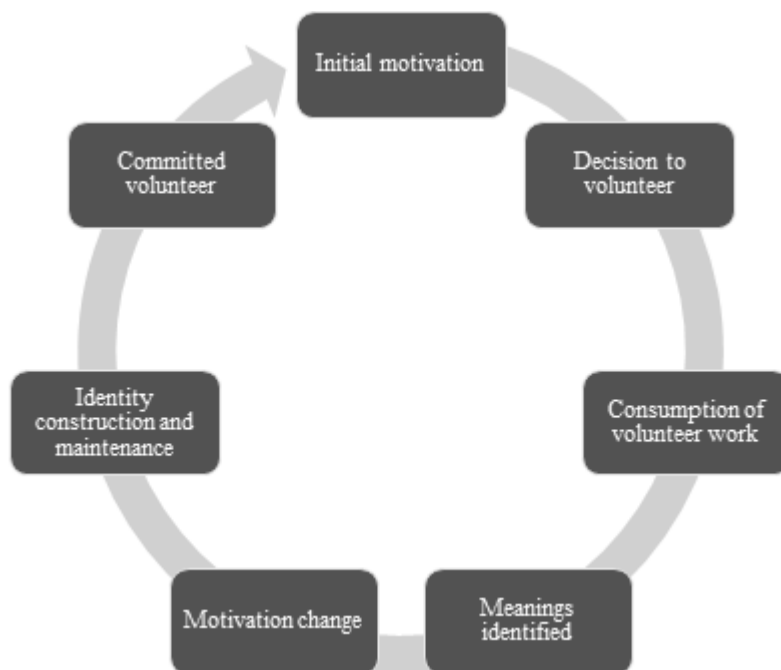
Note: The process starts from some initial motivation the volunteer has and it goes through the following stages. The person can interrupt the cycle in any stage. If the person decides to continue in the volunteer work, he/she reaches the "committed volunteer" stage. Source: Prepared based on Bussel and Forbes (2003).

These findings suggest that volunteers undergo a process of transformation through the service provided. Such transformation contributes not only to their well-being but also to the well-being of the various individuals who receive the services of the volunteers. Thus, rather than thinking about the types of motivations and meanings that pervade voluntary work, it was possible to understand the changes in these elements during the volunteer's life cycle and how this change allows the passage to the next stage, through building and maintaining the identity of volunteers.

Conclusions

Considering that volunteers are one of the main workforce for non-profit organizations (Guo et al., 2011; Handy et al., 2008; Yavas & Riecken, 1985), understanding the transformation process that involves the beginning and permanence of these individuals in voluntary service is vital for the continuity of these organizations. Here we analyzed voluntary service focused on human care, understanding that depending

on the nature of voluntary service and the volunteers' socio-demographic profile, their motivations, meanings, and impact on individuals' self-concept may be different.

Some characteristics were frequent among our interviewees. Usually, these volunteers develop a work that matches with some previous expertise they already had (although they are open to help with activities they do not know anything about). Women are the majority. They tend to be older and without a formal job (retired included), which contributes to a higher availability of time and enables them to develop volunteer activities once or twice per week. Last, the volunteers sounded as having mixed motivations during the volunteers' life cycle: at the same time, they cared about social issues, they also were interested in improving their physical and mental well-being.

There is an important difference between initial motivation and permanence motivation. For the beginning of volunteer service, the discourse of helping others prevails. Personal and social issues, although present, work only as facilitators in the beginning of the work. On the other hand, for the permanence in voluntary work, the motivations related to personal gains are more evident, with the motivations to help others on a secondary level.

Moreover, it was noticed that the meanings acquired throughout the volunteer life cycle contributes to the construction of the individuals' identity. But this process contributes to the motivational change that occurs in the volunteer's life cycle, favoring the incorporation of this activity into the individuals' identity and making them committed to the activity.

This identity is built and maintained by the volunteer experience through the search for balance and constant negotiation that exists between self-concept and the actions of individuals. Two major pieces of evidence found in this context are that is part of the individual's identity negative emotions if he/she can not (1) volunteer anymore, and (2) share that experience with other individuals (Belk, 1988; 2013). In addition, the self-concept is influenced by different meanings found, whether personal or social.

Also, when asking the respondents to describe the profile of a volunteer, all the qualities described were positive, which reinforces the character of status that the consumption of the activity provides. Recalling the theory of self-concept, which considers that people have different "selves" (social, ideal, extended, etc.), it is possible to consider, by identifying the prioritization of personal motivations and by the status that voluntary activity generates, that possibly the experience of volunteer service assists in the pursuit of the "social and ideal" selves.

Then, given the TSR approach, it was possible to perceive that voluntary service is a consumption that occurs in a transformation process that at the same time develops the well-being of the volunteer and influences the well-being of society as it contributes solving social problems. It is, therefore, an important consumer activity, which demonstrates civic and social responsibility.

It is important to emphasize that volunteer service is relevant for several globally developed actions, such as the Millennium Development Goals (promoted by the United Nations). Volunteers are recognized as key players in the success of this initiative (United Nations Volunteers, 2017). Hence, a better understanding of the motivations of volunteers also enables actions to be taken to help achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

Based on the results of this research about the motives difference in the volunteers' life cycle, knowing that the motivations for the permanence in voluntary work are more personal this may indicate a paradox, where the volunteers engage in the work not to contribute, but because he/she identifies some personal gain. This reinforces Qi et al. (2018) and also expands the discussions of Hartenian and Lilly (2009) by considering altruism and selfishness as a duality existing in the same individuals.

In the present study, to remain in voluntary activity, volunteers are strongly motivated by the personal gains involved, although they recognize that they are helping other individuals. This means that even

though voluntary activity is an activity with altruistic means, it is selfish when it relies on the symbolic returns that this consumption brings. Then, this research advances the literature with the understanding of this process by stating that the selfish nature of volunteering takes place in the more advanced stage of the volunteer's life cycle, once it acquires the meanings of the activity and incorporates it into his/her identity. This further confirms the notion of consumption as symbolic, while the value attributed to the activity performed is far from being monetary.

Moreover, given the different motivations in the contexts of volunteer life cycle and the difficulty of understanding them (Bachman et al., 2016), this work advances theoretically by differentiating three types of motivation, both for beginning (decision to volunteer stage) and permanence (committed volunteer stage) in voluntary work, which facilitates the theoretical understanding for future work. Still, our discrimination of motivations for beginning and permanence related to the Bussell and Forbes' (2003) stages of volunteer life cycle contributes to the literature by identifying different motivations for each stage of volunteering. Thus, NGOs should direct different efforts towards each case.

In addition, given the different meaning related to the voluntary work, it is possible to highlight a theoretical contribution of this work, besides understanding the meanings of volunteer service involving human care, is to group these meanings into categories to assist theorists and practitioners of service research in understanding the phenomena, as done by Grönlund (2011). The conception of voluntary work as a form of consumption contributes to this perception. Considering that individuals will consume the meanings that are perceived by consumption, it is relevant to understand and systematize the main meanings that favor the consumption behavior of voluntary work.

Overall, the results stack in the comprehension of the transformation process of volunteer, so these results contribute to TSR research (Anderson et al., 2013, Rosenbaum et al., 2011), showing voluntary service as a symbolic form of consumption motivated by both personal and social issues. It is a form of consumption that seeks to reduce the injustices of the world while create meaning in the consumers' lives. In this sense, this study positions voluntary service in the theoretical framework of TSR as an activity for the benefit of individuals in two directions, both for those who work (and in some way consume that service) and those who are assisted. Volunteers in this context are co-creators of value (Mulder et al. 2015), being both NGO staff and service consumers.

In the process transformation volunteer service is seen not as merely altruistic, with the goal of helping someone in a situation of vulnerability, but as an activity that also brings diverse meanings for those who consume the experience as a volunteer, both meanings of status and functional improvement in health and social relationships by providing rapprochement between individuals who can become friends. More specifically, in highlighting voluntary work in human care, which is an area of great importance for the maintenance and continuity of social services, this paper contributes to the service consumption literature and also to NGOs.

As managerial implications, it should be noted that the individuals who manage third sector organizations, especially in the area of human care, can use the results of this research to support them when elaborating marketing strategies for recruitment and maintenance of human resources for volunteering. An important finding was that the lack of disclosure about what are the volunteers' attributions regarding what they are supposed to do and the time required, as well as the lack of information about the meaning experience of this consumption that the volunteer can get, may be one of the causes of the low number of volunteers. Organizations can strengthen strategies for publicizing not only volunteer positions but also the status of the cause and also the meanings that are perceived by volunteers so that non-volunteers can have a dimension of their importance and what volunteering can do for their lives. These strategies can bring the necessaries initial motivations for the decision to volunteer stage.

Young students without work experience find it difficult to get their first job. Considering that voluntary activity is valued by society and well regarded by companies recruiting and selecting personnel. NGOs

could undertake visits to higher education institutions, introduce their activities, and the benefits of volunteer work for those who volunteer in order to attract these young people to volunteer service.

Influences of social groups such as friends, church groups, and family members were frequently identified as motivations to the beginning of the individuals in a voluntary activity, so it is recommended that NGOs seek support to publicize their activities, also inviting individuals to work as volunteers with neighborhood groups, study groups, church groups, among others. It would also be positive in NGOs campaigns to use volunteer testimonials about the meanings of the activity in their lives, generating empathy with potential new volunteers.

Another suggestion is for NGOs to invite relatives of people who are receiving assistance from the NGO to volunteer. Develop a relationship marketing program so the organization can keep in touch even when the treatment is over, in order to preserve the link between the parts. This relationship can be fruitful in many ways, as the organizations can ask the families to indicate other people that could be interested in helping, snowballing new volunteers.

We consider as a limitation the fact that all our interviewees came from a particular reality (human care organizations from one city), even though some may consider this as part of qualitative research. Still, it is a limitation that the interviews were held extensively with women, although it seems to us that this is the representation of the volunteer scenario (Bussell & Forbes, 2002) for some types of voluntary activity, at least of the organizations in this research. In any case, research that explores male behavior and motivation may bring results that are complementary to the ones found here.

In addition, considering the life cycle of volunteers (Bussell & Forbes, 2003), volunteers can give up and stop volunteering at any point in the cycle. In this paper we investigate only those volunteers who remain active in the voluntary life cycle, leaving a limitation on how the process occurs when this cycle ends. Future studies can investigate this stage by analyzing the transformations that occur in motivations, meanings and their relation to the individuals' identity. It is important to consider that the closing of this cycle can take place at any of its different stages, which generates the idea of different types of closure, that can be studied in the future.

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