

Evidence Insights: Volunteering and mental health

October 2021

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Insights

Insight 1: Volunteering is associated with better perceived mental health and quality of life.

- Volunteering correlates with greater self-assessed psychological wellbeing, self-esteem, happiness, and satisfaction with life, with lower symptoms of depression and anxiety, and with lower indicators of suicide risk.

Insight 2: Volunteering supports mental health by increasing psychological and social capital.

- The key mechanisms which link volunteering activity to better mental health are social interaction and sense of purpose.
- These factors encourage a positive emotional state, reduce stress, and create meaningful social roles—all of which correlate with reduced psychological distress.

Insight 3: The mental health benefits of volunteering vary among groups.

- Mental health benefits are especially pronounced for older people, people experiencing lower levels of life-satisfaction, unemployed people, and people with chronic health conditions.
- Volunteering may have distinct benefits for people with disability and people experiencing mental ill-health.

Insight 4: Type of volunteering activity has not been found to affect mental health outcomes.

- Studies which examine mental health outcomes by type of volunteering have not found significant differences across sectors or role types.

Insight 5: The extent to which volunteers experience mental health benefits depends on their motivation to volunteer and satisfaction with the volunteering experience.

- Satisfaction with the volunteering experience is associated with higher perceived wellbeing and social connectedness.
- While volunteering has mental health benefits regardless of motivation, there is some evidence that volunteers with “other-oriented” motivations experience stronger benefits.

Insight 6: Volunteering can play a strong role in mental health recovery.

- Volunteering can be a component of social prescribing programs, in which primary care providers link patients with non-medical sources of support within the community.
- Volunteering within the mental health sector, including in advocacy and education roles, can also contribute to mental health recovery.

Insight 7: In some situations, volunteering activity can have mental health risks. Volunteers experience slightly different mental health impacts than paid staff.

- This is particularly relevant in high-intensity sectors such as emergency management and crisis intervention, which expose volunteers to stress factors which can have strong mental health consequences.
- Adverse mental health effects may be different for volunteers than for paid staff. Emergency management volunteers are more likely to report identification with victims as friends and family, role confusion, and a lack of post-disaster social support.
- Without the appropriate social and economic support, people who volunteer frequently can have lower mental health outcomes than those who do not volunteer.

About this document

This 'Evidence Insights' reviews the research landscape on the effects of volunteering on mental health. It draws upon local and international studies which apply qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods research designs. There are a broad range of issues at the intersection of volunteering and mental health, including the contributions of volunteers in mental health services, and the role of volunteering in public education on mental health issues. However, this review focuses on the effects of volunteering on the mental health of volunteers themselves. The review concludes with a discussion of priorities for future research and the policy implications of the findings presented.

Mental health is understood in broad terms. Mental health is not only the absence of mental illness or disorder, but an integral and essential component of health. According to the World Health Organisation, mental health is “a state of well-being in which an individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and is able to make a contribution to his or her community.”¹

Volunteering Australia defines volunteering as “time willingly given for the common good and without financial gain.”² This includes both formal volunteering (undertaken through an organisation or group) and informal volunteering (taking place outside of an organisational or group setting). However, due to its predominance in the current literature on volunteering and mental health, all of the studies cited in this review examine formal volunteering activities. Other significant limitations of the available research on the mental health effects of volunteering have also been noted in the literature. These include a lack of research on certain social groups (particularly younger people, people with disability, and people experiencing mental ill-health), on how mental health effects vary across in sectors and roles, and on the role of the volunteer experience.³ Further, few studies apply longitudinal or experimental methods. As a result, reverse causality (that people with better mental health are more likely to volunteer) remains a possibility.⁴

Context

The introduction of public health restrictions in response to the outbreak of COVID-19 in March 2020 has limited opportunities for safe volunteering. Lockdowns and quarantine requirements have also had a profound impact on mental wellbeing.

The impact of COVID-19 on patterns of volunteer engagement is ongoing. The proportion of Australians doing voluntary work fell from 36 per cent in late 2019 to 24.2 per cent in April 2021, and

¹ <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/mental-health-strengthening-our-response>

² <https://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/resources/definition-of-volunteering/>

³ Joanna Stuart, Daiga Kamerāde, Sara Connolly, Angela Ellis Paine, Geoff Nichols, and Jurgen Grotz, *The Impacts of Volunteering on the Subjective Wellbeing of Volunteers: A Rapid Evidence Assessment*, What Works Centre for Wellbeing (2020), <https://whatworkswellbeing.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Volunteer-wellbeing-technical-report-Oct2020-a.pdf>, 52-53

⁴ *ibid*

almost half of those who stopped volunteering during the pandemic have not resumed.⁵ The number and size of volunteer-run programs has also declined significantly, with 72 per cent of volunteer-involving organisations reporting that their volunteer programs were either only partially or not operational.⁶ As a return to in-person volunteering becomes safer, measures to reinvigorate volunteering will be crucial to maximising its benefits to volunteers, organisations, and the broader community.

At the same time, investment in mental health has become an urgent priority in Australia in recent years. In 2020, the Productivity Commission released its final Inquiry Report on Mental Health, which acknowledges the mental health benefits of volunteering.⁷ Ensuring that mental health support was accessible to volunteers was also a key recommendation in the Senate Inquiry Report 'The people behind 000: mental health of our first responders.'⁸ Given the well-recognised mental health implications of volunteering, ensuring appropriate support for volunteers and volunteer involving organisations will be essential to protecting and promoting mental health in Australian communities.

Findings

Insight 1: Volunteering is associated with better perceived mental health and quality of life.

Volunteering has been found to improve self-assessed psychological wellbeing, self-esteem, happiness, and satisfaction with life.⁹ Across multiple studies, people who volunteered scored higher on these metrics than people who did not volunteer. Volunteering is also associated with lower symptoms of depression and anxiety, and lower indicators of suicide risk.¹⁰ The number of hours a person volunteers was also found to be significant, with those who contribute more than 100 hours a year experiencing stronger wellbeing benefits.¹¹

⁵ Nicholas Biddle and Matthew Gray, "Volunteering during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic (April 2021)," ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods, https://csrcm.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/2021/5/Volunteering_during_the_COVID-19_pandemic_-_April_2021.pdf

⁶ <https://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/wp-content/uploads/2021.02.08-Re-engaging-Volunteers-and-COVID-19-Report.pdf>

⁷ <https://www.pc.gov.au/inquiries/completed/mental-health/report/mental-health.pdf>, 391

⁸ https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/reportsen/024252/toc_pdf/Thepeoplebehind000mentalhealthofourfirstresponders.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf, vii

⁹ Helen J. Chatterjee, Paul M. Camic, Bridget Lockyer, and Linda J. M. Thomson, "Non-clinical community interventions: a systematised review of social prescribing schemes," *Arts & Health* 10, no. 2 (2018): 97-123, doi:10.1080/17533015.2017.1334002; Jenkinson et al. 2013; Post, Stephen G., PhD, "It's good to be good: 2011 5th annual scientific report on health, happiness and helping others," *The International Journal of Person Centered Medicine* 1, no. 4 (2011): 819

¹⁰ Magnani, Elisabetta and Rong Zhu, "Does Kindness Lead to Happiness? Voluntary Activities and Subjective Well-being," *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics* 77, (2018): 20-28, 10.1016/j.socec.2018.09.009; Michael Rosato, Foteini Tseliou, David M. Wright, Aideen Maguire, and Dermot O'Reilly, "Are Volunteering and Caregiving Associated with Suicide Risk? A Census-Based Longitudinal Study," *BMC Psychiatry* 19, (2019): 6, doi: 10.1186/s12888-019-2255-8

¹¹ Kim, Eric S., Ashley V. Whillans, Matthew T. Lee, Ying Chen, and Tyler J. VanderWeele, "Volunteering and Subsequent Health and Well-being in Older Adults: An Outcome-Wide Longitudinal Approach," *American*

Further, research from the ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods found that people who continued volunteering after the initial outbreak of COVID-19 in Australia experienced a significantly lower loss of life satisfaction than those who stopped volunteering.¹²

Insight 2: Volunteering supports mental health by increasing psychological and social capital.

Research suggests that the key mechanisms which link volunteering activity to better mental health are social interaction and sense of purpose.¹³

Volunteering in the community creates opportunities for social interaction, and evidence suggests that giving support to others is a particularly beneficial form of social connection.¹⁴ Meeting and offering support to other people creates a positive emotional state and replaces stress-causing emotions, such as anger or loneliness.¹⁵ Long-term stress has been linked to numerous mental health issues, including anxiety, panic attacks, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder.¹⁶ Some studies indicate that social interaction is the primary reason that volunteering improves mental health.¹⁷

Research also suggests that volunteering creates meaningful social roles and gives volunteers a sense of purpose.¹⁸ Psychological research has found that gaining or losing a social role has a significant impact on psychological distress.¹⁹ In qualitative studies, volunteers experiencing unemployment or entering retirement emphasised the benefits of playing a role in an organisation

Journal of Preventive Medicine 59, no. 2 (2020): 176-186, doi:10.1016/j.amepre.2020.03.004; Timothy D. Windsor, Kaarin J. Anstey, and Bryan Rodgers, "Volunteering and Psychological Well-Being Among Young-Old Adults: How Much Is Too Much?" *Gerontologist* 48, no. 1 (2008): 65, doi:10.1093/geront/48.1.59

¹² Biddle and Gray, 10

¹³ Chatterjee et al. 2018

¹⁴ Neal Krause, A. Regula Herzog, and Elizabeth Baker, "Providing Support to Others and Well-Being in Later Life," *Journal of Gerontology* 47, no. 5 (1992): 300-311, doi:10.1093/geronj/47.5.P300; Post 2011, 819

¹⁵ Post 2011, 824

¹⁶ Post 2011, 825

¹⁷ Ann-Marie Creaven, Amy Healy, and Siobhán Howard, "Social Connectedness and Depression: Is There Added Value in Volunteering?" *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 35, no. 10 (November 2018): 1411, doi:10.1177/0265407517716786; Pamela D. Pilkington, Tim D. Windsor, and Dimity A. Crisp, "Volunteering and Subjective Well-Being in Midlife and Older Adults: The Role of Supportive Social Networks," *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences* 67, no. 2 (2012): 254, doi:10.1093/geronb/gbr154

¹⁸ Debra Gray and Clifford Stevenson, "How can 'we' Help? Exploring the Role of Shared Social Identity in the Experiences and Benefits of Volunteering," *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 30, no. 4 (2020): 348, doi:10.1002/casp.2448

¹⁹ John Wilson and Marc Musick, "The Effects of Volunteering on the Volunteer," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 62, no. 4 (1999): 153

and in the broader community.²⁰ Other studies have suggested that an increased sense of meaning, purpose, and belonging improve mood and increase happiness.²¹

Insight 3: The mental health benefits of volunteering vary among groups.

A longitudinal study of households in the UK found that the relationship between volunteering and mental wellbeing became stronger as respondents aged.²² Volunteering was most strongly associated with mental wellbeing in people over 70 and was not associated with mental wellbeing for people under 40.²³ Some mental health outcomes, like trajectories of depression, have only been linked with volunteering among older people.²⁴

An Australian study which used data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey found that volunteering had a stronger effect on mental wellbeing among people experiencing lower levels of life-satisfaction.²⁵ Volunteering is also particularly effective in improving the subjective wellbeing of people with chronic health conditions.²⁶

There is some evidence that volunteering is particularly beneficial to the mental wellbeing of people with disability. In an interview-based study, people with disability reported that volunteering empowered them to achieve goals and contributed significantly to their sense of self-worth.²⁷ A similar effect has been found for people experiencing mental ill-health.²⁸ However, additional research is needed to explain the differential benefits observed among these groups.

Insight 4: Type of volunteering activity has not been found to affect mental health outcomes.

Studies which examine mental health outcomes by type of volunteering have not found significant differences across sectors or role types.

²⁰ Simon Armour and Gil Barton, "Exploring Volunteering in a Food Bank and Psychological Wellbeing," *Voluntary Sector Review* 10, no. 1 (03, 2019): 50, doi:10.1332/204080519X15531755909597; Luc S. Cousineau and Katie Misener, "Volunteering as Meaning-Making in the Transition to Retirement," *Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research* 10, no. 1 (Spring, 2019): 70

²¹ Emily A. Greenfield and Nadine F. Marks, "Formal Volunteering as a Protective Factor for Older Adults' Psychological Well-being," *The Journals of Gerontology. Series B, Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences* 59, no. 5 (2004): S258-S264

²² Faiza Tabassum, John Mohan, and Peter Smith, "Association of Volunteering with Mental Well-being: A Lifecourse Analysis of a National Population-Based Longitudinal Study in the UK," *BMJ Open* 6, no. 8 (2016), doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2016-011327

²³ *ibid*

²⁴ Joongbaeck Kim and Manacy Pai, "Volunteering and Trajectories of Depression," *Journal of Aging and Health* 21, no. 1 (2010): 97, doi: 10.1177/0898264309351310

²⁵ Magnani and Zhu, 24

²⁶ Morris A. Okun, Rebeca Rios, Aaron V. Crawford, and Roy Levy, "Does the Relation between Volunteering and Well-Being Vary with Health and Age?" *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 72, no. 3 (April 2011): 265–87, <https://doi.org/10.2190/AG.72.3.f>

²⁷ Galit Yanay-Ventura, "'Nothing About Us Without Us' in Volunteerism Too: Volunteering Among People with Disabilities," *Voluntas* 30, no. 1 (2019): 154, doi: 10.1007/s11266-018-0026-7

²⁸ Shelly Read and Debra J. Rickwood, "Volunteering as a community mental health educator: Positives and negatives for recovery," *Australian e-Journal for the Advancement of Mental Health (AeJAMH)* 8, no. 2 (2009): 5, doi:10.5172/jamh.8.2.194

A recent meta-analysis on the mental health effects of volunteering found no robust evidence that the type or intensity of volunteering affected outcomes.²⁹ Further, a study which examined the effect of different volunteer role types—fundraising, committee work, coaching, providing personal care—found no significant difference in psychological wellbeing benefits between roles.³⁰

Insight 5: The extent to which volunteers experience mental health benefits depends on their motivation to volunteer and satisfaction with the volunteering experience.

Satisfaction with the volunteering experience is associated with higher perceived wellbeing and social connectedness.³¹

There is also some evidence that volunteers with “other-oriented” motivations experience stronger benefits. One study found that people who volunteered in service-oriented organisations, namely in health, education, religious groups, human services, public/social benefits, and youth development organisations, experienced greater mental health, life satisfaction, social wellbeing, and lower rates of depression.³² Similarly, although benefits were apparent regardless of motivation, those with values-based motivations to volunteer report greater wellbeing and social connectedness than those who volunteer for other reasons, such as personal development or career motivations.³³

Insight 6: Volunteering can support mental health recovery.

For people experiencing mental ill-health, participation in volunteering can support recovery. Volunteering can be a component of social prescribing programs, in which primary care providers link patients with non-medical sources of support within the community.³⁴ A qualitative study of a pilot social prescribing scheme in the UK which included volunteering found that 82% of patients visited health care professional less frequently the in six months after scheme than in the six months before it.³⁵ The value of social prescribing is acknowledged in the recent Productivity Commission Report on Mental Health.³⁶ Further, based on in-depth interviews with users of mental health services with severe mental disorders, volunteering can help to rebuild self-identity and the sense of living a ‘normal life’ during the recovery process.³⁷

²⁹ Jenkinson et al., “Is volunteering a public health intervention? A systematic review and meta-analysis of the health and survival of volunteers,” *BioMed Central Public Health* 13 (2013): 1-10, doi: 10.1186/1471-2458-13-773

³⁰ Windsor, Anstey, and Rodgers, 64

³¹ Arthur A. Stukas, Russell Hoye, Matthew Nicholson, Kevin M. Brown, and Laura Aisbett, “Motivations to Volunteer and Their Associations With Volunteers’ Well-Being,” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (2016): 127, doi: 10.1177/0899764014561122

³² Jerf W. K. Yeung, Zhuoni Zhang and Tae Yeun Kim, “Volunteering and health benefits in general adults: cumulative effects and forms,” *BMC Public Health* 18, no. 8 (2018): 6, doi:10.1186/s12889-017-4561-8

³³ Stukas et al., 123

³⁴ <https://www.centreforwelfarereform.org/uploads/attachment/339/social-prescribing-for-mental-health.pdf>

³⁵ Chatterjee et al. 2018

³⁶ <https://www.pc.gov.au/inquiries/completed/mental-health/report/mental-health.pdf>, 397

³⁷ Jorge Pérez-Corrales, Marta Pérez-de-Heredia-Torres, Rosa Martínez-Piedrola, Carlos Sánchez-Camarero, Paula Parás-Bravo, Domingo Palacios-Ceña, “‘Being normal’ and self-identity: the experience of volunteering in

Volunteering within the mental health sector, including in advocacy and education roles, can also contribute to mental health recovery. A study of the Mental Illness Education ACT program found that volunteer consumer mental health educators experienced significant benefits, including the unique value of peer support, the personal meaning gained from educating others about mental illness, the benefits of validation and catharsis through telling their story, and the development of new skills.³⁸

Insight 7: In some situations, volunteering activity can have mental health risks. Volunteers experience slightly different mental health impacts than paid staff.

Despite its benefits, volunteers engaged in high-intensity work environments can also be exposed to mental health risks. This is particularly relevant in high-intensity sectors such as emergency management and crisis intervention. Emergency management work exposes people to stress factors which can have strong mental health consequences, and these psychological stressors also affect volunteers. In a comprehensive study of the mental health and wellbeing of personnel in the police and emergency services, both paid staff and volunteers experienced consistently higher rates of poor mental wellbeing across a number of measures including level psychological distress, score on the PTSD screening scale, and likelihood of having a diagnosed mental health condition.³⁹

These adverse mental health effects may be different for volunteers than for paid staff. In a review of the mental health outcomes for volunteers in disaster settings, volunteers were found to be more likely to report identification with victims as friends and family, role confusion, and a lack of post-disaster social support.⁴⁰ These factors correlate with symptoms of PTSD.⁴¹ Research has found that crisis support volunteers working in community-based organisations often have limited training and their support needs are at risk of being overlooked.⁴²

Similarly, the mental health effects of volunteering might depend on the broader social environment in which people volunteer. A cross-national study found that, in general, unemployed people who volunteered reported greater subjective wellbeing, happiness, and life satisfaction than those who did not.⁴³ This effect was stronger in countries with generous welfare benefits. However, in

individuals with severe mental disorders—a qualitative study,” *BMJ Open* 9, no. 3 (2019): 5-6, doi: 10.1136/bmjopen-2018-025363

³⁸ Read and Rickwood, 5

³⁹ David Lawrence, Michael Kyron, Wavne Ridders, Jenn Bartlett, Kate Hafekost, Ben Goodsell, and Rebecca Cunneen, *Answering the call: National Survey of the Mental Health and Wellbeing of Police and Emergency Services. Detailed Report* (Perth: Graduate School of Education, The University of Western Australia), 180

⁴⁰ Sigridur Bjork Thormar, Berthold Paul Rudolf Gersons, Barbara Juen, Adelheid Marschang, Maria Nelden Djakababa, and Miranda Olf. “The Mental Health Impact of Volunteering in a Disaster Setting: A Review.” *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 198, no. 8 (2010): 534-535, doi: 10.1097/NMD.0b013e3181ea1fa9

⁴¹ *ibid*

⁴² Samantha L. Howlett and Anthony Collins, “Vicarious Traumatization: Risk and Resilience among Crisis Support Volunteers in a Community Organisation,” *South African Journal of Psychology* 44, no. 2 (2014): 180-190, doi:10.1177/0081246314524387

⁴³ Daiga Kamerāde and Matthew R Bennett, “Rewarding Work: Cross-National Differences in Benefits, Volunteering During Unemployment, Well-Being and Mental Health,” *Work, Employment and Society* 32, no. 1 (2018): 46-47, doi:10.1177/0950017016686030

countries with less generous benefits, people who volunteered frequently had lower mental health outcomes than those who did not volunteer.⁴⁴ While Australia was not included in the study, based on the OECD net replacement rate in unemployment data used by the researchers, its unemployment benefits would be considered less generous.⁴⁵ Ensuring that volunteers have the appropriate support, both in their voluntary work and in broader society, is crucial to realising the benefits of volunteering to mental health.

Future research priorities

Youth volunteering and mental health

Most studies on the mental health benefits of volunteering use samples of older populations. Consequently, research on the mental health benefits for working aged people, and especially for young people (aged 15-24), remains scarce. This also makes it difficult to explain why volunteering appears to have a stronger effect on mental wellbeing in older people. For example, some studies have suggested that volunteering fulfils the role function of paid work and provides a sense of purpose post-retirement.⁴⁶ Research which more effectively separates age from other theoretically significant factors could improve our understanding of how the mental health effects of volunteering might vary among age groups.

People with disability and people experiencing mental ill-health

Qualitative research indicates that people with disability and people experiencing mental ill-health may experience unique mental health benefits of volunteering. Further research on this, particularly quantitative research which compares the benefits across groups, could provide greater clarity.

Informal volunteering

Most of the studies reviewed here focus on formal volunteering, which takes place within an organisation or group.⁴⁷ However, the key theories and mechanisms examined in the literature suggest that the same benefits should be experienced by those volunteering informally in the community. A notable exception to this is a 1992 study by Krause, Herzog, and Baker, which found that people who provided 'informal assistance' to others experienced a greater sense of personal control in life, while those who volunteered formally did not.⁴⁸ Further comparative research is needed to interrogate this result. Research which focuses on informal volunteering, and which

⁴⁴ *ibid*

⁴⁵ <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=NRR>

⁴⁶ Barbara Griffin and Beryl Hesketh, "Post-Retirement Work: The Individual Determinants of Paid and Volunteer Work," *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 81, no. 1 (2008): 101-121, doi: 10.1348/096317907X202518

⁴⁷ Some studies used indicators which could include informal volunteering activities. For example, Griffin and Hesketh (2008), Rosato et al. (2019), and Windsor et al. (2008), simply asked respondents whether they undertake 'voluntary work.' All other studies (with possible exceptions for the studies examined in meta-analyses and review articles) used a measure which captures only those who volunteered through an organization or group.

⁴⁸ Krause, Herzog, and Baker 1992

compares the benefits of formal and informal volunteering, is also needed to more accurately explain why volunteering improves mental health outcomes, and which aspects of the volunteer experience lead to greater benefits.

Policy implications

The Evidence Insights have the following policy implications which would support the realisation of the mental health benefits of volunteering.

1. The effective promotion and resourcing of volunteering is vital.
 - Given its benefits to mental health, public campaigns which promote volunteering opportunities across sectors could encourage mental health awareness and proactivity.
 - Programs should also be resourced to accommodate a larger number of volunteers, and to remove barriers to inclusion, particularly for people with disability, recently arrived migrants, First Nations people, and people from low socioeconomic backgrounds.
2. The effective promotion and resourcing of volunteering is vital.
 - The sense that volunteer work has impact and leadership which promotes learning and innovation have been found to be significant determinants of volunteer satisfaction.⁴⁹
 - As volunteer motivations also correlate with greater satisfaction,⁵⁰ organisations should consider the motivations of volunteers in their programs.
3. Further opportunities for people recovering from mental ill-health are needed.
 - The use of volunteering in social prescribing programs require developed relationships between general practitioners and volunteer involving organisations.
4. Further training and support programs can help to protect the mental health of volunteers.
 - This is particularly important for volunteers in high-risk settings, such as emergency management or crisis intervention.

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⁴⁹ Paula Benevene, Ilaria Buonomo, and Michael West, "The Relationship between Leadership Behaviors and Volunteer Commitment: The Role of Volunteer Satisfaction," *Frontiers in Psychology* 11, no. 602466 (2020): 8, doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2020.602466; Alexander C. Henderson and Jessica Sowa, "Volunteer Satisfaction at the Boundary of Public and Nonprofit: Organizational- and Individual-Level Determinants," *Public Performance & Management Review* 42, no. 1 (2019): 162-189, doi: 10.1080/15309576.2018.1471405

⁵⁰ Marcia A. Finkelstein, "VOLUNTEER SATISFACTION AND VOLUNTEER ACTION: A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH," *Social Behavior and Personality* 36, no. 1 (2008): 9-17, doi:10.2224/sbp.2008.36.1.9

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About Volunteering Australia

Volunteering Australia is the national peak body for volunteering, working to advance volunteering in the Australian community. The seven State and Territory volunteering peak bodies work to advance and promote volunteering in their respective jurisdictions and are Foundation Members of Volunteering Australia.

Volunteering Australia's vision is strong, connected, and resilient communities through volunteering. Our purpose is to lead, strengthen, celebrate volunteering in Australia.

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