THREE

Time in mixed methods longitudinal research: working across written narratives and large scale panel survey data to investigate attitudes to volunteering

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Introduction

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The aim of this chapter is to explore the methodological and analytical challenges thrown up by an ongoing study that has been reusing and combining longitudinal qualitative narrative and quantitative survey data to research individual attitudes to voluntarism between 1981 and 2012. This period represents a time of economic and social policy change encompassing recession and cuts to public services; followed by relative prosperity and increase in investment in public services; and then the most recent recession and accompanying austerity measures (Timmins, 2001; Glennerster, 2007; Alcock 2011; Defty, 2011; Driver, 28 2011 {2008?}).

Our study is part of a general move to promote secondary data
analysis in the UK, led by the major social science funding body,
the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Secondary
analysis involves the reuse of the rich infrastructure of pre-existing
social survey, interview, documents, administrative and other data
that have been generated by primary researchers or various agencies,
and which then are made available to secondary researchers through
archiving services. Our particular project reused both qualitative and
quantitative longitudinal datasets following individuals participating
in these panels through time, to enable us to identify changes and
continuities in volunteering attitudes and behaviours as these people
moved through the portion of their lifecourse under study. However,
the reuse of qualitative and quantitative data, and mixing methods are
not straightforward processes, and are subject to considerable debate

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about how these may be achieved, and their relative strengths and drawbacks, as we discuss in this chapter. Notably there is the knotty issue of the basis on which these methods may be 'mixed' together. The endeavour becomes even more complicated when the research topic is concerned with time and the various data sets are longitudinal. In turn, this raises issues about the nature of the conceptions of time that are invoked within the datasets. In considering these complex, interlinked issues, we aim to highlight and contribute to understandings of time in lifecourse research.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first considers our reuse of selected narrative and survey datasets, their relationship with time, and how we have accounted for this when engaging with them. The second examines how we have analysed the longitudinal data produced by writers and gathered from survey respondents and how we have mixed these analyses. The final section explores what we have learnt about mixing methods in a project where the data and analyses are shaped by time.

Designing our study

A mixed methods study has particular strengths for research setting out to trace individual volunteering attitudes and behaviours from the early 1980s to the present day. Quantitative analysis provides an overview of individual attitudes and behaviours, but can struggle to explain why individuals hold certain views or behave in a certain way. Qualitative analysis provides depth and nuance which can explain why individuals act in a certain way, or hold particular viewpoints, but it cannot and does not claim representativeness of its findings. Our research design aimed to potentially 'offset' the respective weaknesses of these two analytical methodologies by taking advantage of their joint strengths to provide a 'complete[ness]', and 'comprehensive' picture (Bryman, 2008, p 91) of volunteering behaviours and attitudes to voluntarism.

The methods, processes and terminologies involved in bringing mixed methods together are still being debated (for example, Bryman, 2008; Creswell et al, 2008; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2008 {anything more recent?}). Of particular relevance to us in this discussion are questions concerning the basis on which qualitative and quantitative are compatible and able to be mixed. Is one a facilitator of the other or are both approaches given equal emphasis? Are they corroborative or contradictory, complementary or integral? Does one enhance, extend or develop the other, or are they on a par? And in what order should the methods be carried out, one after the other or at the same time?

When designing this project we avoided the notion of integration,
which implies an illuminative moment when consistent findings across
datasets form a perfect fit and merge into one. Rather, we preferred to
conceptualise the process as bringing the analyses of our quantitative
and qualitative datasets *into dialogue* with each other while working
on these analyses *concurrently*. We saw the datasets as complementary,
contributing knowledge towards different aspects of the substantive
research. We aimed for three types of mixed method dialogue:

- 10 1. across the lifetime of the project, described by Teddlie and
 Tashakkori (2008, p 104) as a 'continuous feedback loop', to enable
 an iterative research process;
- ______ 13 2. some direct comparisons between qualitative and quantitative analyses where there was a fit between the data;
 - 3. combining substantive findings so that the sum of our joint
 knowledge claims would be greater than our individual findings.

_______18 Crucial to the success of this process of dialogue and feedback was _______19 the selection of a complementary combination of qualitative and _______20 quantitative longitudinal datasets.

Qualitative and quantitative datasets used

_____ 24 The secondary datasets that we chose to reuse – a *longitudinal* writing ______25 panel and cross-sectional and longitudinal panel survey data – were 26 generated so that they could be used for a variety of different research 27 purposes. As we describe below, given the broad potential uses of these _____ 28 datasets, this has affected how we were able to apply these datasets to 29 the substantive aims of our mixed methods study. The longitudinal _____ 30 qualitative data that we chose to use is the Mass Observation Project _____ 31 (MOP),² which we regarded as our 'lead' data source. Since 1981, a _____ 32 national panel of self-selected volunteers has written for the MOP _____ 33 in response to themed questions or 'directives' that are sent to them _____ 34 three times a year. Over three decades, MOP writers have been asked _____ 35 to discuss a range of issues relating to UK society and their personal _____ ³⁶ and political attitudes, involving past memories, current experiences _____ 37 and future expectations. Although most MOP writers answer the _____ 38 questions asked of them, their narrative scripts often stray from the _____ 39 theme and go 'off piste' (in our judgement). The results can be both _____ 40 frustrating and deeply rewarding to the researcher. MOP writing _____ 41 represents a rich source of insight into the changes and continuities in ______42 people's lives during the time in which they have written for MOP.

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It also represents a unique source of longitudinal data; yet, to date, in following individual writers across time, this is the first research project to use the MOP as a longitudinal data source, rather than a thematic cross-sectional source.

On the quantitative longitudinal side, we chose two datasets to provide facilitating, contextual insights into volunteering (see Table 3.1). The first, the British Social Attitudes survey (BSAS) is a cross-sectional survey conducted annually since 1983. More than 3,000 people aged 18+, who are representative of the British population are chosen at random to take part. The BSAS measures continuity and change in people's attitudes about 'what it is like to live in Britain and how they think Britain is run'.³

The second, the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) was a multi-purpose panel survey that collected longitudinal information from the same 5,500 households, comprising 10,300 individuals aged 16+, between 1991 and 2008.⁴ It was replaced by another survey Understanding Society (US) in 2011. Over 80% of the BHPS panel continued to participate in US. Although there is some variation in the questions asked between them, when analysed together the two surveys constitute one longitudinal panel survey. The overall aim of the BHPS/US is to understand social and economic change in Britain.

Thus, as Table 3.1 shows and we describe below, these three datasets complement each other, temporally and thematically.

Table 3.1 Qualitative and quantitative data fit

	Longitudinal	data sources	Cross-sectional data sources		
	MOP Directives	BHPS (1991 to 2008) and US (2011) questions	BSAS volunteering questions	BSAS views on welfare and political responsibility	
	Wave 1: 20 older, serial responding writers	2,267 people who volunteered at least once between 1996	The number of people responding and their age range varied by year. Mean age category 45 to 54, mean (sd) responders in a year: 3,392.8 (711.7)		
	Wave 2: 18 younger writers, lower response rate	and 2011, aged between 15 and 85 in 1996		,	
2012	Volunteering; the Big Society				
2011		Volunteering behaviours		Views	
2010	Work; Belonging; Survey			Views	

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	1		Longitudinal data sources		Cross-sectional data sources	
	2	2009				Views
	3	2008	Economic crisis	Volunteering behaviours	Volunteering behaviours	Views
	5	2007				Views
	6	2006	Core British Values	Volunteering behaviours		Views
	7	2005				Views
	9	2004	Being part of research	Volunteering behaviours		Views
	10	2003				Views
	11 12	2002		Volunteering behaviours		Views
	13	2001				Views
	14 15	2000		Volunteering behaviours	Volunteering behaviours	Views
	16	1999		56.141.154.15	Jenarioais	Views
	17	1998		Volunteering behaviours	Volunteering behaviours	Views
	18	1997	Paid work	Deliaviours	Dellaviours	Views
	19 20	1996	Unpaid work/	Volunteering	Volunteering	Views
	21		Volunteering	behaviours	attitudes	
	22	1995	Where you live: community			Views
	23	1994				Views
	24 25	1993			Volunteering attitudes	Views
;	26	1992				
;	27	1991		BHPS begins		Views
	28 29	1990	Voluntary Orgs/ Social			Views
	30	1989	Divisions			Views
:	31	1988				
:	32	1987				Views
:	33	1986				Views
	34	1985				Views
	35 36	1984	Relatives, friends, neighbours			Views
:	37	1983	Work		BSAS begins	Views
:	38	1982				
	39	1981	Unemployment			
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How the datasets fit together

The three secondary datasets chosen for this study were not designed specifically for researching volunteering, but as Table 3.1 shows, all three contain questions on volunteering. When selecting these datasets we attempted to find the best temporal and thematic fit to answer our research questions. However, despite this attention to fit, temporal and thematic gaps run through and across the datasets used. The MOP contains 15 directives with themes relevant to the substantive aims of our project: volunteering, helping out informally, membership of organisations, work, unpaid work, and voluntarism and the role of the state. These specific foci meant that the directives we planned to work with were not evenly spread across the timeframe. As Table 3.1 shows, there is some temporal bunching of our selected directives. We were concerned that these gaps in time would result in us missing reports of key events and changes in individual writers' lifecourses, their volunteering behaviour, their attitudes towards voluntarism and the state, and their experience of events such as recession, public unrest and changes to social policy. We believed, however, that these limitations were overridden by the contribution of the sampled directives to the substantive aims of the project.

The 1996 directive, entitled 'Unpaid work', which asks writers for accounts of their volunteering behaviour and their views on the role of voluntarism in society, is key in bringing MOP data, and BSAS and BHPS sources into dialogue. In particular, the questions asked by this directive fit well with those about volunteering attitudes in the BSAS and volunteering behaviour in the BHPS, in 1996. As Table 3.1 shows, both the BHPS and the BSAS have thematic and temporal gaps in their questions on volunteering. The BHPS did not begin asking questions about volunteering until 1996, and then did so only on alternate years. Furthermore, the questions asked are not able to provide insight into the individual attitudes towards voluntarism and the welfare state that are of interest to our project. To some extent these gaps are filled by the BSAS data set providing snapshots of annual changes in attitudes and behaviour. There are two drawbacks, however. First, the BSAS survey only asked questions about volunteering behaviour in 1998, 2000, and 2008, and its questions on volunteering attitudes only began in 1993 (see Table 3.1). Second, the same respondents are not used every year, meaning it is not possible to measure longitudinal, individual change or continuity in attitudes or behaviours. Thus there are difficulties in relating the BSAS directly to either the BHPS or the MOP data.

1 At the design stage we had concerns about the individual limitations
2 of these two quantitative datasets. However, we believed that these
3 would be mitigated by the strength of our mixed method study which
4 would allow us to combine the breadth of an extensive quantitative
5 perspective with the depth of intensive qualitative approach, offering
6 original substantive and methodological insights. We discuss the value
7 of this endeavour later in this chapter when we examine our analyses
8 and our knowledge claims.

Using our datasets: how the design worked in practice

_____ ¹² Sampling

14 Our sampling strategy sought to take advantage of the respective and distinct strengths of each of our selected data sets for our project's substantive concerns. This process was not always smooth. The 17 challenges related not just to ensuring strategic and useful sampling within each dataset, but ensuring that these choices enabled dialogue 19 across the qualitative and quantitative data.

Our primary criterion for the MOP study was writer response
rates for our chosen directives. We identified individuals who had
contributed to all 15 directives, then those who had responded to 14

out of 15, then 13 and so on. This yielded a cohort of 20 seriallyresponding-writers, 14 women and 6 men. The majority are now
in retirement, and began writing for MOP in their mid-30s or
later. While these people are not representative of the broader UK
population in terms of age, gender and status (Lindsey and Bulloch,
population in terms of age, gender and status (Lindsey and Bulloch,
see 2014), this was offset by our ability to compare them with BHPS and
differences between the samples; and to compare MOP respondents
with those who match them in age and volunteering behaviour in
the BHPS and BSAS.

This first cohort of MOP writers provided older voices that could
offer insights into the volunteering lives of individuals as they moved
from a midpoint (or further) in their working and family lifecourse
into retirement. But we were concerned that our MOP sample
selection would not allow us to explore, fully, discourses around civic
engagement at different stages in the lifecourse. So we decided to
sample a second group of 20 writers with good response rates from a
younger mixed-gender cohort who would provide voices at an earlier
state of their working and family lifecourse. The pool of writers
available comprised a mix of people who had written between 1981

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and 1996, or 1996 and 2012. We also wanted to select people with a mix of occupations, as a very loose indicator of class and educational background. However, this yielded less youthful individuals than we had hoped. Most writers in our second cohort were 30 or older at the time that they started writing, leaving us with a shortage of voices of individuals in their twenties. The eventual second cohort amounted to 18 individuals, 5 men and 13 women.⁵

Sampling of the BSAS survey was a more straightforward process; we were able to use the entire representative sample. However, sampling of the BHPS/US was more complex. Two different sample options were possible. The first consisted of the entire sample. Unfortunately, not all of the respondents have taken part in the panel every year so we were unable to follow these individuals through time. Instead we had to take a cross-sectional approach, treating each year as a snapshot of volunteering behaviour.

The second sample option was specific: people who had volunteered between 1996 and 2011. This allowed exploration of how people transition in and out of volunteering over time, and potentially some associated lifecourse events. To reduce the impact of missing responses within the dataset, we sampled individuals who had responded to the volunteering question every year between 1996 and 2011 (serial responders), and who stated that they had volunteered at least once between 1996 and 2011 (serial volunteers). This serial responding sample also had strong similarities with the MOP volunteer writers, meaning that these two sources were compatible, enabling some direct comparisons to be made between quantitative and quantitative material within this particular timeframe. By combining and comparing these secondary data, we hoped to overcome some of their individual weaknesses, and add to our substantive and methodological knowledge base.

Reflections on data fit

The process of sampling and fitting our reused datasets together has not been smooth or seamless. The temporal and substantive 'messiness' (Law, 2007) of data originally collected for a different set of research aims has presented the primary challenge to data fit. Yet, although individually messy, when used in dialogue with other data, each dataset has much to contribute to the study, offering longitudinal and substantive complementarity and comparison.

Analysing data produced by writers and survey respondents across time

4 In this section we move on to explore our experiences of working
5 with the strengths and limitations of these secondary qualitative and
6 quantitative datasets. We note how the original methods of collecting
7 and producing the datasets shaped our data temporally, and shaped the
8 way in which we have gone about our longitudinal analyses. This has
9 imposed limitations on our analyses, enabling less direct comparison
10 of the quantitative and qualitative data than we anticipated. However,
11 the process of bringing qualitative and quantitative data together has
12 demonstrated the methodological strengths of attempting a dialogue.
13 Mixing methods and reusing longitudinal data has also challenged
14 us, as researchers, to reflect on how we have engaged with time in
15 our research project, and how we can communicate our different
16 methodological conceptualisations of time within a mixed method
17 research environment.

———— ¹⁹ Research instruments for collecting data

21 The research instruments for our secondary data were designed by other
22 primary researchers, and thus were not a perfect fit with our research
23 questions. In the case of the BHPS/US and the BSAS surveys, these
24 were structured questionnaires that were conducted verbally face25 to-face, or over the telephone. In the case of the MOP, the research
26 instruments were directives generated by the archivists or commissioned
27 by researchers for specific research projects. These quantitative and
28 qualitative research instruments were used consecutively across the 'real'
29 timeframe of 1981 to 2012, a linear longitudinal movement visualised
30 in Table 3.1, which we have conceptualised as 'vertical time'.

Both types of research instrument have produced responses that

coccur in the individuals' 'now', a form of present time that immediately

becomes a point in the past. The questions fielded required respondents

to loop backwards and forwards through time from their 'now' to their

past and future. As researchers, we have also had to move mentally

across these timeframes in order to make sense of the responses. We

have conceptualised this respondent and researcher movement as

'horizontal time'.

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The quantitative story

The designers of the BSAS questionnaire aimed to generate responses from survey participants that could be measured quantitatively and cross-sectionally. The designers of the BHPS/US questionnaire aimed to produce responses that could be measured quantitatively, longitudinally and cross-sectionally. The temporal questions that were put to survey participants were relatively uncomplicated, and when responding they moved through simple 'horizontal time', usually the recent past (the last year), the 'now', the planned future, and sometimes a vague imagined future. In this context, recall of the recent past can be flawed (Lugtig and Jäckle, 2014). When asked to describe their experiences over the previous year participants can misjudge the length of time involved without the aid of a diary or mental landmarks to guide them through the recent past. The point in the day, week and year in which the survey was conducted can influence the responses of the participant (Tumen and Zeydanli, 2013). The rapport and relationship built between participant and interviewer, variations in how interviews were conducted, and alternatives to interviews, such as telephone or by proxy when interviews were not possible, can also affect the accuracy of responses (Lynn et al, 2004). These process provisos are not immediately accessible to the secondary analysts using this type of data. In contrast, they are very evident in the MOP data, which have provided insight into their possible effects within the quantitative data.

When analysing the BHPS/US longitudinal data for this study, participants' responses provided a wealth of retrievable, representative, demographic data across a series of consecutive individual 'nows'. However, the absence of volunteering questions prior to 1996 meant that we were only able to look at the timeframe 1996–2011, a 15-year period that represents half the portion of lifecourse being analysed in the qualitative data. To illustrate, if a BHPS serial responder, whom we will call Sarah, volunteered every year between 1985 and 1995, but stopped volunteering in 1995, we would have no knowledge of Sarah's volunteering. Hence we would have no reason to think of Sarah as a recently-stopped serial volunteer. Instead Sarah would be perceived as a non-volunteer after 1996, and would not be considered within our 1996–2011 sample. Although we cannot directly compare Sarah with our sample of MOP writers, our MOP sample can tell us that people like Sarah exist.

The individuals who comprised the longitudinal sample we used from the BHPS/US were all serial responding, serial volunteers between 1996 and 2011. They represent a cohort of individuals, of various

1 ages, who have grown older as they moved through 'real' longitudinal ² time. Their experience of ageing may be unique to this chronological ³ timeframe. Although we are able to describe their reported attitudes, 4 behaviours, and demographic characteristics over time, we cannot be 5 certain why any changes or continuities in their attitudes or behaviour ______6 have taken place. These may have been associated with the process of ______ 7 moving through the lifecourse, but equally or additionally they may 8 have related to other influences, such as the economic, political and 9 social policy environment of the time. In this quantitative sample, ______ 10 time, age, lifecourse, and external events are entangled and connected, ______ ¹¹ reducing the accuracy with which we can extrapolate the experiences ______ 12 of this cohort to similar BHPS/US cohorts in other chronological ______ 13 timeframes. Again, the MOP data has been able to provide us with ______ 14 analyses and insights that the BHPS/US data cannot offer. For example, ______ 15 MOP writers have described changes in their capacity to volunteer, ______ 16 and related this to the complexity of their ageing experience, discussing ______ 17 transitions in health, mobility and energy. _______18 Individually the BHPS/US and the BSAS analyses offer limited

Individually the BHPS/US and the BSAS analyses offer limited

19 evidence relating to voluntarism and volunteering attitudes and

20 behaviours across, and at particular points in, time. When used in

21 dialogue with the MOP data, the quantitative analyses offer some

22 corroboration of and comparison with the MOP material. However, in

23 the most part, what they offer is a different type of descriptive insight.

24 Driven by the representative nature of the survey participants, these

25 analyses illuminate the different dynamic demographics of those taking

26 part in volunteering over time.

———— ²⁸ The qualitative story

30 Our longitudinal qualitative analytical approach was to treat each writer as a single entity evolving through vertical time. We conceptualised each response to a directive as a freeze frame of a lifecourse, and the combined responses of a writer as an evolving narrative of that lifecourse. In this way we sought to contextualise reported attitudes towards voluntarism and volunteering behaviours. Within this conceptual framework we anticipated that 'the now' would play a large part in our analyses, allowing both complementarity, and direct comparison with the BHPS/US and BSAS responses from 1993 onwards.

39 However, the questions put to MOP writers by the directives were
 40 far more temporally intricate than those put to the survey participants.
 41 Writers were encouraged to move through a range of time states, tenses
 42 and identities, from the retrospective private or collective past, to the

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imagined personal or collective future. This required us, as researchers, to track the ideas and thoughts written in these different horizontal time states through the 'real' vertical time of each consecutive response to a directive. This complex, superfluid MOP time could not be immediately compared with the BHPS/US data, and the qualitative data required synthesising and interpretation before bringing it into dialogue with the quantitative material to provide comparison and complementarity.

Writing in 'the now' was not always reliable. When respondents were experiencing some sort of personal rupture or transition in their lives - such as divorce, bereavement, unemployment, sharp loss of income or a health problem – this was often elided during the time in which this was taking place, even when relevant to the directive theme being discussed. These elisions may stem from the inability of narrators to make immediate sense of these events and how they fit into their 'nows' and constructed identities and life stories. When a rupture is finally discussed by the narrator the effect is palimpsestic. Previous 'scripts' are overwritten, and the new event is presented with hindsight as 'the past' and absorbed into the life story. This phenomenon affected our analytical approach, in that we placed increasing value on retrospective recall. However, we noted that retrospective recall also has its limitations. Some narratives can be contradictory, and occasionally writers have refocused or reframed the past when examining it through a different lens, or in the light of recent events (Neale and Flowerdew, 2003{1999?}; Lindsey, 2004).

We settled on an approach that combined analysis of 'the now' with retrospective accounts to construct vertical personal, work, volunteering and attitudinal lifecourse histories/biographies for each writer. Contextualising voluntarism, volunteering, and attitudes towards the welfare state within these lifecourses, 6 we looked for continuity and change in individual writers, and differences and similarities between writers. We were able to identify various complex volunteering trajectories associated with the lifecourses of the MOP writers sampled. However, few writers actually related their personal and volunteering experiences to external events such as recession and increased unemployment. This narrative gap may be associated with the secondary nature of the data, as the research instruments do not explicitly prompt such connections. But it also raises some interesting questions about how individuals make sense of the public and the private when constructing narratives and stories about their lives.

We also sought to explore the longitudinal shape of volunteering trajectories in our concurrent quantitative analyses. This process

1 was hampered by the limited timeframe of the available sample
2 (1996–2011). Although the quantitative analyses were able to offer
3 some cautious insights into relationships between some key life events
4 and volunteering behaviour during this time, they were not able to
5 provide a full understanding of the relationship between the lifecourse
6 and volunteering. Thus, when describing volunteering trajectories,
7 the quantitative analyses could only provide evidence for two types
8 of behaviour within the British population: episodic or continuous
9 volunteers. However, the quantitative analyses were able to make some
10 associations between volunteering and recession, and provide detail on
11 who volunteers across time, a question that the MOP data was unable
12 to answer, given the limited size of the sample.

------ 14 Reflections on mixed method analytical fit

16 Reflecting and evaluating on how we have met the original aims
17 relating to mixing our methods (at the time of writing when we are
18 three-quarters of the way through the project), we acknowledge that
19 our mixed method approach to our longitudinal analyses of secondary
20 data has provided us with some challenges, but we believe that this was
21 a worthwhile endeavour. We have been able to maintain a continuous
22 dialogue that has allowed us to corroborate findings emerging from the
23 analyses of the MOP data, and enabled an iterative research process.
24 This, however, has been less successful when making direct comparisons
25 between qualitative and quantitative analyses, and when asking the
26 same research questions of these analyses. The limitations of these two
27 types of data, and their analytical fit, has not lent itself to this sort of
28 blending. Rather, both types of analytical method have made distinctive
29 contributions towards the project and to our understanding of time,
30 volunteering and the lifecourse.

________32 Learning from our mixed method longitudinal secondary _______34 data analysis

35 At the start of this chapter, we observed that undertaking mixed
 36 methods research is not a straightforward process. It becomes very
 37 complicated when we add a research topic that is concerned with
 38 time, and draw on longitudinal, secondary datasets to undertake our
 39 analyses. In this final section we reflect on what we have learnt from
 40 this complicated and rather messy process, sharing learning that might
 41 be of benefit to those conducting longitudinal mixed method studies in
 42 the future. We reflect on: our choice of research design; the analytical

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fit between our quantitative and qualitative data; and how our datasets have lent themselves to answering our substantive research questions in relation to longitudinal time and the lifecourse.

Research design

Reusing data that has been collected by others is often thought of as a time-saving process, cutting out the investment of resources associated with collecting primary data. But it is not without its own challenges. In this study we had to invest time and financial resources in choosing and preparing the data (particularly the qualitative data⁷), and weighing up how our data sources fitted together temporally and thematically. It was particularly difficult to decide which quantitative datasets we should reuse. The BHPS/US did not offer as much data relating to our substantive research questions as a cross-sectional dataset like the Citizenship Survey. However, the value of this dataset was its longitudinality, which provided a good fit with the longitudinal possibilities offered by the MOP. Both datasets allowed us to follow individuals across time, although the timeframe in the survey data was limited by the questions asked by the research instruments.

The timing of our analyses also provided challenges. The aim was for the quantitative and qualitative analyses to be concurrent, so that they could be in continuous dialogue with each other and thus encourage an iterative approach. When work began, the starting points of the analyses, the ordering of the analyses and the length of time taken to draw conclusions, differed. In particular, the qualitative data preparation and analysis took longer than the quantitative work. Although we were able to share emerging themes and hypotheses, these differences in progression and timing increased the difficulty in maintaining dialogue throughout the analysis. With retrospect, a staggered start, with the quantitative analysis beginning after the qualitative, might have benefited the project.

Analyses

We envisioned three types of dialogue that would bring the quantitative and qualitative analyses together. These included direct comparisons of the data and analyses, a continuous iterative dialogue/feedback loop, and combining the substantive findings in order to answer complex, mixed, research questions.

As anticipated, due to the nature and limitations of the different datasets being used we were not particularly successful in undertaking

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¹ direct comparisons between our different datasets and analyses. ² In contrast, although we experienced difficulties relating to the ³ timing and concurrency of our analyses, we were able to maintain ⁴ a continuous iterative dialogue. Moreover, this dialogue represented ⁵ the methodological heart of the project. It included discussion of the 6 differences in our research instruments and how these affected our 7 analyses and conceptualisation of time. We discussed and recorded 8 emerging themes and hypotheses. We identified where the data and 9 findings complemented, or built on each other. We questioned whether _______ 10 or not (in the case of our project at least), it was essential for the ______ 11 different datasets to be comparable directly. Perhaps most importantly, ______ 12 we considered how we might bring together the ideas and concepts ______ 13 that were emerging from the separate analyses in an iterative and ______ ¹⁴ ongoing fashion. At the time of writing this chapter, we are in the ______ 15 process of a final dialogue, bringing together our substantive findings, _____ ¹⁶ exploring evidence and ideas from different angles, and combining and ______ 17 interweaving the results of our quantitative and qualitative analyses.

———— ¹⁹ Time and the lifecourse

_____ 21 A key consideration when undertaking analyses of our datasets was ______ 22 that we should be aware of what type of time our datasets were able ______ 23 to describe and measure. The aim of our mixed method longitudinal _____ 24 approach was to bring together three different sorts of time:

- 26 . the flow of personal biographical time, connecting the lifecourse, volunteering activities and attitudes to voluntarism, in MOP writers' 27 narratives:
 - chronological time, moving from one year to the next, in the 30 variables about social characteristics and volunteering attitudes and behaviour, repeatedly collected through the cohort studies; 31
- 32 . contextual public/collective time, in which we were particularly interested in the historical ebbs and flows of prosperity and austerity.

_____ 35 The way that these multiple forms of time interact and intersect (or not) _____ 36 was at the heart of the mixed methods effort for our research project.

_____ 37 Unfortunately, our survey data, which is anchored in chronological _____ 38 time, was unable to provide us with clear evidence of the relationship _____ 39 between lifecourse events and volunteering. Its primary value was in _____ 40 providing an understanding of who was volunteering, and how their _____ 41 attitudes towards voluntarism have changed across calendar time. 42 However, the survey data also offered the potential to be mapped onto

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historical/collective events and changes in social and economic policy over time, and to explore the relationship between individual changes in behaviours and attitudes and changes in national events over time. We found that individuals like our volunteer Sarah, whom we met earlier in the chapter, reduced the intensity and frequency of their formal volunteering in 2008. We might infer that this was associated with the 2008 economic crisis.

In the MOP narratives, where individuals moved through biographical time, writers described the relationships between personal lifecourse events and their volunteering attitudes and behaviours. However, few writers made explicit connections between external events, the lifecourse and volunteering, requiring us to look for inferred connections and associations. We are unsure why writers did not make these connections. This negative evidence has made us reconsider the potential of a data source like the MOP for examining the influence of public, external events on individuals. We are of the view that further work on this data source is required to explore its temporal limitations when considering the relationship between the public and the private.

Although we hoped that our qualitative and quantitative datasets would provide us with a multidimensional picture of volunteering behaviour and attitudes across time, each dataset was unable to provide a comprehensive picture on its own. However, when bringing our longitudinal analyses and findings together, we have been able to build up the multilayered picture that we were aiming for, demonstrating the value of a mixed method approach.

The multilayered picture resulting from mixing methods has been at its strongest in providing a comprehensive and complimentary understanding of the way in which individuals move in and out of volunteering throughout the lifecourse. The proportion of people who are long-term volunteers is relatively small, amounting to less than a third of BHPS/US respondents. Crucially however, these individuals contributed over half the total amount of voluntary activity reported by BHPS/US respondents over time. We had hoped that the BHPS could provide some correlation between life course events, public events and volunteering behaviours, for example, showing a relationship between early retirement and volunteering in the economic crisis year of 2008. Unfortunately, the data was not able to provide this sort of explicit correlation. Nevertheless we did find that the contribution of BHPS long-term volunteers became less intense and less frequent in this particular year. MOP writers, who were also long-term volunteers, wrote at length about the trigger points for entering and exiting volunteering, many of which were linked to lifecourse events. Entrance

1 trigger points for some individuals represented exit trigger points for others. These include events such as starting a job, children entering the education system, or a spouse taking retirement. Several mentioned their spouse taking early retirement during the economic crisis of 2008. The fact that for some writers this was a trigger for ending their volunteering, while for others it was a trigger for beginning meant that we could argue there may have been more exiting and entering into volunteering in this year than suggested by the survey data. Indeed, the recessionary effects on volunteering can be hard to evidence if relying only on one type of data source.

_____ 12 Conclusion

______ 14 The aim of this chapter was to explore the methodological and ______ 15 analytical challenges encountered when reusing and combining ______ ¹⁶ longitudinal qualitative and quantitative data to take a lifecourse ______ ¹⁷ approach to studying volunteering. In particular, we have reflected on 18 the temporal aspect of this mixed methods endeavour. Our conclusion ______ ¹⁹ is that, at times, working through the methodological issues involved ______ 20 has been a messy and difficult process. An initial issue that we faced _____ 21 was that when working across our multiple data sets (Mass Observation ______22 narratives and cohort surveys) the temporal and substantive fit was ______23 not exact and seamless. Despite the limitations this posed for direct ______24 comparison of qualitative and quantitative data, we hope that we have _____ 25 conveyed that a mixed methods dialogue had the advantage of enabling 26 us to combine the breadth of an extensive quantitative perspective 27 with the depth of an intensive qualitative approach. We discussed ______28 the implications of the uneven fit between the different data sets for ______ ²⁹ bringing them into dialogue, which became complementary rather _____ 30 than directly compatible. A key issue here was the different sorts of time _____ 31 being engaged with through the data sets: chronological time through _____ 32 the cohort survey data which links into public/collective time; and _____ 33 personal biographical time in our narrative material which could be _____ 34 held against, but did not establish links to, public/collective time within _____ 35 itself. We argue that the process of grappling with these challenges _____ 36 has enhanced our understanding of the value of mixing methods to _____ 37 examine substantive questions related to time and the lifecourse.

_____ ³⁹ Notes

40 ¹ The project is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council under its first
 41 Secondary Data Analysis Initiative (SDAI), grant number ES/K003550/1.

_____7 10 _____ 13 _____ 14 _____ 15 _____ 17 _____ 18 _____ 19 _____ 21 _____ 22 _____ 23 _____24 25 _____ 26 _____ 28 _____ 30 _____ 31 _____ 32 _____ 33

²See www.massobs.org.uk/mass_observation_project.html

³ See www.natcen.ac.uk/our-research/research/british-social-attitudes/

⁴ See https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/bhps. Northern Ireland was not included within the data collection until 2001; this reduces how representative the sample is of the UK.

⁵ The gender imbalance and loss of two writers from the project relate to problems in accessing metadata on individual writers held by the Mass Observation Archive (MOA). We have worked in partnership with the MOA to gain funding from the ESRC, through the SDAI2, grant number ES/L013819/, to improve the quality of its metadata.

⁶This approach required an acknowledgement that we, the researchers, were exploring writers' lifecourses through the hierarchical lens of our own subjectivities, rather than 'walking alongside' the writers (Neale et al, 2012). We sought to offset this by exploring some writing using different analytical methods that might allow the voices of the writers to speak without the militating effects of our researcher identities.

⁷See Lindsey and Bulloch (2014) for a detailed discussion of the difficulties relating to preparing MOP material.

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