

1 **Co-producing knowledge through documentary film-making:**
2 **A community-based participatory study with older adults with homeless histories**

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4 Dr. Burns' main research interests focus on the intersection of aging, place and homelessness, all
5 of which are inspired by several years of community-based social work practice with older
6 adults.

7 Dr. Kwan's research interests and experiences are within social work and include ageing, practice
8 research, community and international development, social policy, green social work, social
9 innovation, livelihoods, and social work education/professional development.

10 Dr. Walsh's research interests involve contributing to the understanding of violence across the
11 lifespan, and populations affected by social exclusion, poverty and homelessness.

12 **Abstract**

13 Despite the increased recognition of older adult homelessness in research, policy, and practice,
14 few studies have considered the potential to coproduce knowledge using community-based
15 participatory research (CBPR) filmmaking with older adults with homeless histories. This project
16 redresses this gap. using walk along and drive along interviews the documentary focused on the
17 older adults' experiences of finding home after homelessness. In this article we offer insights
18 into the tensions revealed in CBPR filmmaking and share reflections of social work students
19 regarding their experiences working on this project. We offer recommendations for educators to
20 enhance students' competencies and interests regarding the fields of homelessness and aging and
21 for researchers who may be interested in engaging older adults in CBPR filmmaking.

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23 **Keywords:** Community-based participatory research, documentary film, homeless older adults

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Introduction

In the current context of population aging (United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA] and HelpAge International [HAI], 2012), societies have begun to respond to the issues, challenges, and possibilities brought about by an unprecedented number of older adults (UNFPA & HAI, 2012). Research plays an important role in informing policies and services that are inclusive and responsive to this population (Blair & Minkler, 2009). In particular, community-based participatory research (CBPR) methodologies that engage older persons in the co-production of knowledge are vital to ensure that such policies and services represent the perspectives of the end-users (Bindels, Baur, Cox, Heijings, & Abma, 2013; Blair & Minkler, 2009). CBPR is a broad term that includes a wide range of research approaches such as participatory research, participatory-action research, action research, feminist participatory research, and collaborative inquiry (Minkler, 2004). In their recent review, Kwan and Walsh (2018) found that despite being conceptualized in diverse ways, five key attributes were common across CBPR methodologies:

- (i) community as a unit of identity; (ii) an approach for the vulnerable and marginalized;
- (iii) collaboration and equal partnership throughout the entire research process; (iv) an emergent, flexible, and iterative process; and (v) the research process is geared toward social action. (p. 370)

CBPR's foundational principles: participatory, empowerment, and commitment to social justice (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008), align with the transformative desires of social work research (Branom, 2012) and have the potential to facilitate a platform for marginalized voices that are seldom heard (Kwan & Walsh, 2013).

48 Despite the potential of CBPR in advancing and mainstreaming the range of issues,
49 challenges, and possibilities related to population ageing, the use of such approaches with older
50 persons has been “slower to develop compared to other user groups” (Buffel, 2018, p. 53).
51 Further, while there have been calls for participatory designs and the co-creation of knowledge in
52 qualitative research circles, scant research has focused specifically on how older persons can
53 participate in CBPR (Bindels et al., 2013; Blair & Minkler, 2009; Jacelon, 2007). There are even
54 fewer examples of CBPR studies with older persons that utilize documentary film (Black &
55 Lipscomb, 2017; Kwan & Walsh, 2013). This paper seeks to address this critical gap in research
56 by considering the potential and practical realization of co-producing a short documentary film
57 with seven older adults with homeless histories. This study is based on a larger research project
58 that explored how sense of place is created by older adults (aged 50+) after homelessness,
59 residing Calgary, Canada (Burns, Walsh, & Hewson, 2019). The research project, informed by a
60 CBPR approach to inquiry, engaged older persons as co-researchers and co-creators of a short
61 documentary film, which was disseminated within and beyond traditional scholarly channels.

62 This paper is divided into five sections. First, we provide a brief review of the literature
63 regarding documentary film-making as a unique visual method in CBPR research. Second, we
64 describe the background information of the research project and discuss the rationale for
65 integrating documentary film-making as part of the research process. Third, we delineate the
66 process of co-constructing the CBPR documentary film and discuss the challenges and
67 opportunities of utilizing documentary film-making in advancing the voices of marginalized
68 older adults who are rarely included in research, policy, and practice discourses. We conclude
69 this section with recommendations for researchers who may be interested in engaging older
70 adults experiencing homelessness in CBPR film-making. Fourth and lastly, we share reflections

71 of student research assistants (RAs) on their experience with the project and offer suggestions for
72 educators to enhance students' competencies and interests in the fields of homelessness and/or
73 ageing.

74 **Use of Documentary Film-Making in CBPR Research**

75 The use of visual materials in research has a long history within the social sciences (Rose,
76 2016). Rose (2016) for example, argued that “both anthropology and human geography have
77 used visual images as research tools for as long as they have been established as academic
78 disciplines [albeit,] visual sociology is a more recent development” (p. 15). Such an
79 approach can incorporate a broad range of visual materials, including, for example, photography,
80 drawings, paintings, sculptures, video, and web-based digital media (Pink, 2013). The extent to
81 which visual material is used throughout the research process varies, including using it as
82 research data, to illicit further discussion in an interview or focus group, or as part of research
83 dissemination (Pink, 2004, 2013). The source of the visual materials also differs, being
84 participant-generated, researcher-generated, and/or generated from an existing source (Pink,
85 2013).

86 Documentary film has a long tradition in ethnographic research, with key publications in
87 the 1990s and early 2000s that mainstreamed and set the context for its design and use (Banks &
88 Morphy, 1997; Ilisa & Lucien, 1996; Lucien, 1998; MacDougall, 1998, 2001; Pink, 2001; Ruby,
89 Pink, Wessels, & MacDougall, 2001). For instance, MacDougall (1998), a principal contributor
90 in the development of ethnographic documentaries and visual anthropology, wrote extensively
91 on the differences between written text and film, and the subjectivity, reflexivity and
92 positionality of the ethnographer. While ethnographic documentary film and/or video-making

93 remains “a specialized genre and a skilled practice, which has to be learned, and this is especially
94 the case for the production of finished films” (Pink, 2013, p. 103),
95 the rapid development and accessibility of digital technologies have opened new possibilities and
96 tensions regarding the use of this visual method within research.

97 Participatory documentary videos, as a visual method, have unique features that both
98 enrichen the CBPR research process and findings while raising ethical issues. As this visual
99 method continues to be used for the purposes of research (Pink, 2013), it is vital for scholars to
100 discuss, document, and debate its strengths and limitations. In response to this call, this paper
101 expands the literature on the use of documentary film-making within a CBPR research paradigm,
102 while highlighting unique opportunities for student researchers and vulnerable older adults as co-
103 researchers.

104 **Background Context of Study and Rationale for CBPR Documentary Film-Making**

105 **Study Design and Recruitment**

106 This study was embedded in the larger study, “Beyond Housing: Creating a sense of
107 place among older adults after homelessness,” which examined the process of finding home after
108 homelessness among older adults with diverse histories of homelessness (Burns et al., 2018).
109 Upon obtaining ethics approval from our university Institutional Review Board (IRB), the study
110 was conducted between 2017 and 2019. Service providers from Calgary-based housing facilities
111 determined which residents were physically and cognitively able to participate in a one to two-
112 hour interview. Participants in the study were 50 years of age and older, as this age is the most
113 widely used in the homelessness literature to denote old age (Grenier et al., 2016). In recognizing
114 the term homeless has many definitions, this study employed Canada’s most recent definition
115 that includes people who are unsheltered (living on the streets), residing in emergency shelters,

116 provisionally accommodated (couch surfing or living in cars), or ‘at risk’ of homelessness
117 (residing in substandard housing) (Gaetz, Gulliver, & Richter, 2014). All of the participants
118 provided written informed consent and were provided information about the voluntary nature of
119 the study. As rich visual data was central to answering the study’s research objectives, the older
120 adults selected were comfortable and willing to depict their lives through film; thus, participant
121 consent did not include the possibility of anonymity. Consent was an on-going process, whereby
122 older adults had choices about the ways in which their experiences were depicted. For example,
123 as the older adults were involved in the film editing process they exercised the right to remove
124 their footage until the final cut. All were eager to tell their stories, choosing to use their image
125 and real names on film. Participants received \$25 CAD for each interview.

126 **Participant Characteristics**

127 The older adults included four women and three men, ranging in age from 55 to 67 years.
128 They had diverse identifiers: five self-identified as Caucasian, two were racialized minorities,
129 one was Indigenous; one woman identified as ‘queer’ and two were immigrants. All had been
130 married and divorced at least once, six were living alone and one who was living with her
131 fiancée at the time of the interview. Five lived in congregate-site housing for adults aged 55
132 years. Congregate-site housing refers to a single building with several rooms or units and
133 common areas, or clustered units in a single building, which generally includes on-site health and
134 social services (Klodawsky, 2009). One older adult lived in a rent-geared-to-income apartment
135 complex with mixed ages and one was residing in a private market rental house (which is
136 housing rented out by private individuals and/or companies).

137 **Data Collection**

138 Building on research with older adults anchored in the tradition of visual ethnography
139 (Gardner, 2011; Lewinson, 2014), we used go-along interviews (walk and drive-along),
140 Photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997) and Videovoice (Pink, 2013) techniques as tools to document
141 their outings and actively explore their physical and social practices by asking questions,
142 listening, and observing (Kusenbach, 2012). To this end, the older adults were expected to carry
143 a small digital voice recorder in their pockets with a small microphone attached to their clothing
144 to capture the discussion. Over the course of the study, all of the older adults completed at least
145 three individual interviews, each of which lasted from one to two hours.

146 First, the *welcome interview*, aimed to build rapport and trust, collect sociodemographic
147 information, and begin to understand the older adults' meanings and relationships to home and
148 community. This conversational interview centered on understanding the older adults' pathways
149 into homelessness and how each older adult came to live in their current housing. Second, the
150 *guided home tour* asked the older adults to guide the researcher through a typical day in their
151 home (private room or apartment), with attention to the physical space, important objects, what
152 they like/dislike about their home, and what makes them feel at home. Third, the *guided*
153 *community tour*, was designed to take the researcher and film-maker through a typical day from
154 preparation in the home, through journeys in the building, to travel outside of the home.
155 Interviews focused on where and how far they went, reasons for the journey, who they saw,
156 mode of travel, supports and barriers to travel, and feelings and thoughts regarding place-making
157 as evoked by these journeys.

158 Interviews were conducted by the researchers and research assistants with assistance
159 from a film-maker, who became part of the research team. During the last full shoot, we
160 concluded the interviews by asking the co-researchers and RAs to comment on their experience

161 being part of the research process. The following sections presents the study methodology as it
162 unfolded.

163 **From Photovoice to CBPR Documentary Film-Making**

164 Photovoice has been documented as an empowering tool for place-based research with
165 older vulnerable populations (Lewinson, 2014). However, this method was not as effective for
166 this population as some participants felt intimidated by the technology. Also, one participant
167 expressed the method felt “contrived” and would prefer to share her experience directly via a
168 “real conversation”. In response to this feedback, the research team determined to move from
169 Photovoice methodology to the exclusive use of ethnographic documentary film (Pink, 2013).
170 This change was appreciated by participants who expressed a preference to share their stories
171 directly through the film-making process. This also shifted participants to co-researchers, with
172 the older adults in the study taking more ownership on the direction of the study and more
173 specifically how their stories would be shaped in the documentary. In shifting from Photovoice
174 to documentary film-making the older adults took greater ownership in the project, increasing
175 their level and quality of participation and necessitating the change from participants to co-
176 researchers. Co-researchers “situates participants as joint contributors and investigators to the
177 findings of a research project” and, in doing so, “validates and privileges the experiences of
178 participants, making them experts and therefore co-researchers and collaborators in the process
179 of gathering and interpreting data” (Boylorn, 2008, p. 600). Rodgers-Farmer and Tripido (2001)
180 elaborate that co-researchers “participate in defining the research questions, establishing
181 methodology, and interpreting and applying the results” (p. 446) with the purpose of some form
182 of social action on behalf of the target population/community.

183 This epistemological shift from participant to co-researcher with an emphasis on social
184 change (Walsh et al., 2008; Walsh et al., 2016) occurred naturally as the co-researchers were
185 eager to get move towards action. A number of the co-researchers had backgrounds as activists
186 and advocates in senior's issues, homeless issues and LGBTQ rights, allowing us to capitalize on
187 these skills and aspirations in creating the documentary film.

188 As the project progressed we recognized that the research team, comprised of three
189 university-based social work researchers, four social work student RAs, and the seven co-
190 researchers, did not have the necessary skills or expertise in film-making. We realized we needed
191 to hire a professional videographer, and given the subject of the study, we wanted a community-
192 minded filmmaker with experience working with marginalized populations. Through an internet
193 search, we found a videographer, who had previously worked with people experiencing
194 homelessness and was thus was aware of some of the opportunities and challenges of working
195 with this population.

196 Creating a documentary film is cost-intensive; most videographers charge approximately
197 \$600 CAD per day and with fees for renting equipment we estimated that we would need at least
198 \$15000 CAD to make a high-quality documentary film (run time approximately one hour). To
199 raise the extra funds, we submitted a pitch to a competition for short documentaries and were
200 awarded \$10,000 CAD to produce the film (Burns et al., 2018).

201 **Co-Constructing a CBPR Documentary Film: Tensions, Challenges, and Opportunities**
202 Tensions unique to CBPR methodologies must be anticipated and solutions developed prior to
203 engaging in research in the community. The following section describes three main tensions that
204 emerged and were addressed during the research process. It follows with a discussion of how our
205 findings relate to existing CBPR and documentary film literature.

206 **Tension 1: Openness to Intimate Sharing versus Privacy**

207 Part of the rationale for using documentary film was that co-researchers were eager to tell
208 their stories in order to engage in social action and service to other people still suffering. As
209 Anne, aged 67 aptly stated, “I want to share my story, so I can help others.” The older adults
210 thought digital media was an effective and fun way to raise awareness of social issues. For
211 instance, in answering the question, what bring you joy? Stephen commented, “getting filmed on
212 camera, that’s pretty neat!” His response highlights how empowering film can be to this
213 population, who frequently have been subjected to deep exclusion (Burns et al., 2012).
214 Portraying themselves on film was also a source of pride, co-researchers mentioned carefully
215 choosing their outfits, fixing their hair, and “looking their Sunday best” when they were being
216 filmed.

217 While the majority of the co-researchers were eager to be on camera, Bruce, age 55,
218 initially expressed anxieties and asked to only be audio-recorded. Initially, Bruce was also
219 reluctant to allow a film tour of his apartment as he felt it was not in in a state to be on camera
220 and he expressed shame about being homeless and did not want his friends and family to know
221 about his situation. However, by the second interview after developing some rapport with
222 members of the research team, Bruce became more comfortable and volunteered to be filmed,
223 including in his apartment, which motivated him to give it “a long overdue cleaning.” Also,
224 George, age 65, who was sharing a room with three other men, did not allow us to film in his
225 room as he wanted to respect the privacy of his roommates. He was also reluctant to provide us
226 with guided tour of his housing complex, as he feared the administration would “not like it” even
227 though we had received permission from the administration to film the guided tour. He later

228 shared that because he had been evicted so many times previously, he was being “extra cautious”
229 in following the rules.

230 Most co-researchers shared that being asked to share their stories on film as a
231 combination of “difficult” and “therapeutic”. For instance, Anne, age 67, reported the overall
232 experience as demanding because of the introspective nature of the project, as she explained:

233 It’s difficult at times, because it requires looking in, you’re good at asking those difficult
234 questions [laughs] but it’s also been difficult to see more of the injustices that seniors
235 experience and, it comes out when I am on Twitter, when I talk to people, when I go to
236 conferences, but being retrospective of what my life has been, that has been difficult
237 because I would not have considered myself invisible homeless, I’m just one of these
238 people who gets on with it and doesn’t put a tag on it, but now that I put a tag on it, it’s
239 different.

240 Yet for some, the process of looking inward to share their story helped them counter their own
241 internalized stereotypes of what it means to be homeless, as one Bruce expressed:

242 I’ve really enjoyed working with the team. It’s been a process for me to put all the
243 different parts together, the homeless problem...I mean everybody’s different, what
244 makes a homeless person, I mean there are some common denominators.

245 In contrast, Stephen, age 60, found it relatively easy to share his story:

246 It’s been interesting...nothing’s been overly personal for me...I know in the beginning I
247 was political about it. But as I said earlier, [with recovery] you start to think clearer so I
248 wish it started now. People have been very friendly. I’ve been well taken care of.

249 **Tension 2: Varying Levels of Participation and Ownership**

250 Even though the intent was to have each co-researcher take an active role (editing the
251 footage, in directing the interviews, and in participating in dissemination activities and in using
252 the finished product for their own endeavors) the level of involvement varied amongst co-
253 researchers. Some co-researchers were more or less comfortable with technology and for some,
254 at times, their mental and physical state impacted their ability to actively engage over the length
255 of the project. For example, one co-researcher experienced a serious infection and
256 hospitalization, another had complications from a stroke, another had repeated hospitalizations
257 for mental health and one died near the completion of the project.

258 After each filming session the rough cut was sent to the co-researchers, who decided if
259 there were any segments they preferred not to include in the film. This was appreciated by the
260 co-researchers, as Anne noted, “I had the right to say yes or no [if specific segments are included
261 in the documentary], whichever I’m comfortable with”. She further commented that she
262 appreciated the skills she developed as a result of this process:

263 First, I thought ... it was just gonna’ be videotaping, interview, videotaping, that was it.
264 And more and more things, you know, [name of the researcher] s been asking me, and
265 doing some editing and that and I was like, okay, I’m learning some skills, too, and
266 learning how to do things, and discussion of, should that be included, and why shouldn’t
267 that be included, and where can we hop from there, and what can we do with the
268 bloopers, you know, different things, different conversations that can be done.

269 Also, the sense of ownership over the work differed among co-researchers. Linda, age 64, for
270 example, preferred the direction of the project remain with the researchers, as she commented, “I
271 really appreciate the work that you guys are doing, it’s great.”

272 **Tension 3: Team Building versus Risk of Loss**
273

274 As has been highlighted in other CBPR projects (Nugus, Greenfield, Travaglia, &
275 Braithwaite, 2012; Nygreen, 2009; Walsh et al., 2008) interpersonal tensions emerged over the
276 course of the project which required mediation on the part of the research team. For instance, one
277 co-researcher ended up removing herself from the group’s social media page because she was
278 feeling left out of the conversations and the media attention that the documentary was receiving.
279 Nevertheless, when the co-researchers were asked how they felt about being part of this research
280 project, one of the most common responses was the community and friendships they established
281 over the course of the study. As Hilary, age 58, identified, “what I like is the team aspect. That
282 we are part of a team, that we aren’t, you know, we’re individuals but we’re all part of the team,
283 we’re all gonna’ have a say.” Beyond being a member of a research team, co-researchers
284 described deep connections, with some referring to the team as “family.” This depth of this
285 connection was evident when one of the co-researchers, George, unexpectedly passed away. This
286 was a difficult time for the team and for the co-researchers, in particular. Several team members
287 attended the funeral – Anne shared a portrait she drew of George, and Laura (age 67), wrote a
288 eulogy that recalled early days in their shared history:

289 **Remembering George**

290 I met George in June, 12 years ago, at [name of institution] place where we had
291 both left the streets. [Name of institution] accepts street people who were of the
292 age 55 and over. George had no computer and would spend lots of money on
293 calling cards to call his mom in Pakistan. I offered him the opportunity to help
294 him with my computer, to set up a Skype between him and his mom, by
295 computer, freely, each day. We set up a specific time for this. We also met at

296 [name of another institution], a psycho-social rehab center which I and him had
297 gone, and with him being there for 19 years. He was in and out of places because
298 of his addiction, which I also understood because of mine, would continue to
299 cause him harm. Whenever he was stable, he'd be a great person to be around and
300 fun to work with. I helped to set up the computer in his second place, so he could
301 Skype his mom himself. The last time I worked with him is on this video project.
302 I really miss him. I'll be glad we got this video done together. I miss catching up
303 with his family and here at [name of institution]. George, Rest in Peace.

304 Members of the research team and co-researchers share a joint Facebook Messenger.

305 While originally created to communicate and post updates about the study, it has become a site
306 for community support, as illustrated by Hilary:

307 It's been incredible, even when we set up our messenger system, to share some of things
308 I've done, to share things I've done, or when I've had a bad day and just need to say
309 "Argh"! I'll be sad when that gets taken down, and I know it will eventually – I'll find
310 another way to socialize I'm sure, and to be part of this team – and I'll say this, because
311 it's been part of my life for 34 years, to be accepted as a queer women, a senior queer
312 woman who was homeless and not being judged for being a queer woman. To be
313 accepted and respected and loved by my peers and my colleagues it meant everything. I
314 talk about it all the time!

315 As the project is currently terminating, members of the research team and co-researchers are
316 feeling disappointment and seeking ways to reconfigure relations and move forward together.
317 Continued involvement in knowledge dissemination, advocacy and social justice initiatives is
318 one way of remaining connected. To date, the documentary has been shown internationally

319 (Japan, New York City, USA, Melbourne, Australia) and in Calgary with the co-researchers as
320 invited panelist.

321 **Recommendations for Engaging Older Adults as Co-researchers**

322
323 In this paper, we have outlined the process of co-creating a short documentary film with
324 seven older adults with homeless histories, highlighting some of the challenges and opportunities
325 of carrying out this type of CBPR project. Ultimately, we advocate for more CBPR film projects
326 as they can serve to promote participation and to advance the voices of marginalized and
327 underserved populations who are less frequently heard in practice, policy, and research
328 discourses.

329 We assert that the use of documentary film, as a visual research method, represents
330 methodological innovation not only because of its relative novelty, but also because of its
331 capacity to enhance aspects of the research process in unique ways. For instance, it allowed for a
332 rich and more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon of ‘home’, by helping to portray and
333 contextualize a phenomenon in a way that text alone could not (Bryne, 2014). We align with
334 Pink (2008) who contests that this methodology is particularly effective for place-based research.
335 It allowed the topic of place-making in reference to older adults to be approached in a multi-
336 sensory way, and this too opened up an in-depth exploration of “the invisible, intangible and the
337 unexpected, the unspoken, felt or sensed elements of everyday experiences” (Morriss, 2017, p.
338 292). In doing so, the documentary film-making process allowed us to hear “the voices of the
339 participants directly in a way that also capture[d] nuances of gesture, facial expression, vocal
340 intonation, and emphasis” (Petrarca & Hughes, 2014, p. 579).

341 Importantly, our use of documentary film facilitated the transition from participant to co-
342 researcher by offering older adults a more direct role in the research process. Documentary film-

343 making was described as empowering for older adults with experiences of homelessness in our
344 study, who are frequently excluded from society (Burns et al., 2012). The process of film-making
345 in itself, can encourage community engagement (Pink, 2013) as was demonstrated in this
346 research. It also provided a unique and privileged window into the phenomenon of interest (Pink,
347 2013) by affording members of the research team a more direct entry into their world, with less
348 researcher-driven interpretation (Petrarca & Hughes, 2014). In these ways, the documentary film
349 process was successful in actualizing values of a CBPR study: “knowledge building and
350 enhancing a sense of collective identity throughout a collective engagement”; facilitating a
351 platform for vulnerable and marginalized communities; and collaboration and partnership
352 between researchers and participants (Kwan & Walsh, 2018, p. 372).

353 Using documentary film in the context of a CBPR study is an apt tool to improve
354 knowledge mobilization. Compared to traditional scholarly mediums (e.g. academic journals),
355 film is a more accessible and palatable medium (Petrarca & Hughues, 2014). In our study the
356 documentary film was not only used by the academic researchers in the context of conference
357 and educational presentations, but also by co-researcher older adults for advocacy, to advance
358 social justice issues and raise critical consciousness among multiple audiences. Overall, we
359 contend that documentary film-making is a powerful way to convey the reality of marginalized
360 and invisible populations, who are not often portrayed in mainstream media. In this way,
361 documentary film-making as a research methodology contributes to social work research and
362 CBPR’s mutual of goal of advancing social action.

363 Utilizing documentary videos raises unique ethical research challenges, both in relation to
364 procedural and practice ethics (Murray & Nash, 2017). Albeit, IRBs are becoming more aware of
365 and responsive to these innovative approaches to knowledge generation in recognition that

366 documentary film-making is as a legitimate tool within the research enterprise (Brandt et al.,
367 2016; Friend & Caruthers, 2016; Petrarca & Hughues, 2014). At the same time, as the
368 mainstream use of documentary film within research has only occurred in the last two decades
369 (Pink, 2013), IRBs have been relatively slow to recognize such methods. Thus, researchers
370 seeking IRB approval may face various barriers, including even the contested nature of this
371 method as research tool in itself. Researchers interested in utilizing this method may find the
372 need to “negotiate and even educate those colleagues who constitute such [IRB] committees”
373 about the legitimacy of such a research method (Hugman, Pittaway, & Bartolomei, 2011, p.
374 1282), as Friend and Caruthers (2016) illustrated:

375 As scholars in the academy who embraced the opportunity to engage in documentary film
376 as research, we initially presented our plans for the What Kids Love and Hate about
377 School project to our university’s [Social Science Institutional Review Board] SSIRB.
378 The innovative nature of our methods was debated among SSIRB members, and after a
379 face-to-face questioning session with us, the SSIRB determined that our project did not
380 conform to their definition of research. (p. 41)

381 Friend and Caruthers (2016) further explain that they were re-directed to the university legal
382 department and specifically to use their media release forms in obtaining consent to proceed with
383 their project. In contrast, in advancing this project we experienced few difficulties receiving IRB
384 approval due, in part, to portraying the strong desire of co-researchers to tell their stories and to
385 assert them as legitimate advocates advancing their own rights.

386 Documentary film vis-a-vi a CBPR approach to inquiry is an “emergent, flexible, and
387 iterative [research] process” (Kwan & Walsh, 2018, p. 370). It is malleable to changing contexts,
388 needs, and objectives negotiated between the researchers and the participants. As such,

389 researchers utilizing documentary film need to consider and critically reflect beyond that of
390 procedural ethics and focus on various ethical issues in practice, such as confidentiality and the
391 informed consent process. As documentary film entails an intrusion of people’s private spaces
392 (Land & Patrick, 2014), it is important that confidentiality and its caveats are continually
393 discussed and negotiated with participants during the entire research process (Yu, 2008). For
394 example, discussions and decisions regarding site selection (where the filming occurs), whom to
395 film, what to film, and how to film need to consider the intrusion of not only the private
396 space/places of the participants/co-creators but also other people who share space/places with the
397 participants/co-creators (Land & Patrick, 2014). As our project demonstrates, this reflection
398 needs to involve all members in the research endeavor, including student researchers, who, as
399 this project illustrates, can be profoundly impacted by the issues and close relations they
400 encounter in CBPR (Fiorella et al., 2009).

401 Similar to other CBPR projects, researchers utilizing participatory documentary need to
402 manage the balance between enabling participation/engagement and over-burdening (Land &
403 Patrick, 2014). Participants may have limited or no experience in video-making (and even more
404 so, film-making as part of a research process). It is also necessary that participants’ roles and
405 tasks as co-researchers throughout the research process are “congruent with the resources
406 available to them and their existing [interests], competencies and skills” (Kwan & Walsh, 2018,
407 p. 376). For instance, if participant/engagement entails the co-researchers’ involvement in the
408 storyboarding, filming, or editing processes, they must have access to both the materials needed
409 to complete the tasks and the requisite training. Alternatively, co-researchers may not be
410 interested or have the time to be involved in this way and thus it is important to continually
411 discuss with co-researchers where their interests and skills lie and the extent to which they wish

412 to contribute throughout the development of the film and the different stages of the research
413 process.

414 Additionally, the ethical issues surrounding copyright and ownership of the film is
415 another important area of consideration (Land & Patrick, 2014). In alignment with the principles
416 and values of a CBPR project, it would be important for the researcher to “facilitate the idea that
417 the group has ownership of the film and the film-making process” (p. 10). Albeit, Land and
418 Patrick (2014) discover through their case study of facilitating a participatory documentary film
419 research project, that copyright and ownership details are not straightforward:

420 ...the project team thought that the group should hold shared copyright. This was
421 facilitated by developing an agreed group name, in this case Dole Animators, with the
422 group holding copyright. However, there was then an issue with the management of the
423 copyright. The participants only came together as a group to work on the film project,
424 and there was little likelihood of their meeting again after the project. The project team
425 thought about using social media to connect the group after the project ended, but as not
426 all group members used the Internet, this was not an option. (p. 10)

427 In this case, the researchers and the participants/co-creators agreed that the best option would be
428 for the former to “manage the copyright on behalf of the group [which] mostly entailed
429 managing requests to screen the film from people outside the project” (p. 10).

430 **The Role of Social Work Students in CBPR Documentary Film-Making**

431 Aligning with the participatory nature of CBPR we invited the four social work student
432 RAs who worked throughout the research process in various capacities (e.g., conducting a
433 literature review, assisting with the walk-along interviews, and preparation of the various
434 dissemination products (including the video and manuscripts), to share their reflections on their

435 experiences. One RA, whose primary role was on preparing a literature review and assisting with
436 the writing of manuscripts, shared:

437 While my areas of research interests are within gerontological social work, I didn't
438 realize my lack of knowledge regarding older adults who are (or have been) homeless.
439 Through conducting the literature review and assisting with various manuscripts, I
440 realized that this area is a novel and critical research focus that has largely been left out
441 of the scholarly discourse within gerontological social work and more broadly in
442 gerontology.

443 One older adult co-researcher who was going through a very difficult time and was suicidal
444 described the support of another RA as "saving her life." This RA shared learning about
445 "boundaries" and "the messiness of CBPR research". Another RA articulated that CBPR
446 changed the way she thought about the relationship between social work research and practice: "I
447 thought research and practice were more distinct, but with this study, I got to build rapport and
448 relationships with the older adults, I felt like a social worker." Another spoke about the learning
449 related to being involved in a film-based study:

450 I was grateful for the support and leadership of a professional videographer throughout
451 the project, who made the filming process comfortable for participants. Based on
452 previous work experiences, I know how challenging it can be to capture good footage -
453 visual and audio - that will be compelling to viewers while highlighting key ideas. I was
454 mostly moved by participants' openness and commitment to share their stories and their
455 passion for social justice, and their willingness to meet frequently, sometimes to reshoot
456 segments, making sure we had quality clips for the editing process. Finally, what I
457 appreciated about using film as a research tool is that it captured more than just words, it

458 provided deeper insights for the researchers to feel the story, rather than just critically
459 analyze text, which can disembodiment peoples' stories. I feel that the filming method created
460 space that honoured peoples' voices and stories in a respectful and wholistic way.

461 Students' reflective statements hint at some possibilities of how faculty researchers in
462 areas of homelessness and/or ageing can help mentor and foster interests and competencies
463 within these fields. For example, as CBPR projects expose students to innovative research
464 methods that are aligned with our professional values (e.g., social justice) (Branom, 2012). To
465 address the Grand Challenge to End Homelessness (National Association of Social Workers
466 [NASW], 2018), innovation is key. Social work students need to be exposed to a variety of tools
467 to engage in the decade of work our profession is calling for (NASW, 2018). Research projects
468 that utilize such innovative and social justice oriented methodologies are one way to tap into
469 ethical issues, while building and diversifying social work students' tool kit. Even more
470 indirect/passive roles, such as assisting with a literature review can foster students' knowledge
471 and interest about homelessness and ageing. Projects, such as this, that focus on the intersections
472 of ageing and homelessness, offer an invitation to students who may have only interests in one
473 area (e.g., ageing or homelessness) to critically reflect on the junction between the two – an area
474 of research and practice that is largely neglected but necessary to focus on if we are to address
475 the Grand Challenge to End Homelessness (NASW, 2018).

476 **Conclusion**

477 This paper contributes to the social work literature in that it builds on two neglected areas
478 of research. The first is methodologically focused on exploring the tensions of conducting CBPR
479 with vulnerable populations and specifically the use of documentary film-making as a research
480 tool, an area of limited social work research inquiry. This CBPR project aligns with the five key

481 attributes that appear to be common across all CBPR methodologies: “(i) community as a unit of
482 identity; (ii) an approach for the vulnerable and marginalized; (iii) collaboration and equal
483 partnership throughout the entire research process; iv) an emergent, flexible, and iterative
484 process; and (v) the research process is geared toward social action” (Kwan & Walsh, 2018 p.
485 370). These attributes are also fundamental social work values. Most importantly, the research
486 process was geared toward social action – this was planned for and realized throughout the
487 process during various opportunistic and planned knowledge dissemination activities.
488 Conversely, as this study demonstrated, adhering to these principles is replete with tensions and
489 require reflection and interventions. For instance, although community was a unit of identity, not
490 all co-researchers felt equally a “part of” the project; as a consequence, individual proclivities
491 and skills, as well as group dynamics and power differentials meant individuals differed in the
492 ways in which they participated (Minkler, 2004; Walsh et al., 2008). CBPR in documentary film-
493 making was a very powerful, collaborative method; it was also a very time intensive process – a
494 finding that has been documented in previous CBPR research (Plyes, 2015; Wahab, 2003).

495 Social work researchers have taken an active role in developing the field of visual
496 methodologies. Several studies within the social work field have been reported using visual
497 methods. For example, Chapman, Hall, Colby, and Sisler (2013) used photographs to examine
498 the ways in which images function to facilitate difficult discussions and can be used to stimulate
499 shifts in attitudes. Photovoice has also been used in community-based social work research with
500 youth (Dakin et al., 2015; Walsh et al, 2014), older adults (Kwan & Walsh, 2013; Lewinson,
501 2014), and sex workers (Desyllas, 2014), amongst others. Also, film is a powerful medium for
502 storytelling that has begun to emerge in gerontological work research (Scheidt, Bosch, &
503 Kivnick, 2014). Despite these promises, few social work researchers have described the use of

504 documentary film, particularly in documenting the lives and needs for housing and social
505 supports of older homeless persons.

506 The second contribution to social work literature concerns research topics that explicitly
507 examines the intersections of two phenomenon: homelessness and ageing. As identified earlier in
508 the paper, to address the Grand Challenge to End Homelessness (NASW, 2018), there needs to
509 be an ageing lens/perspective. This project explicitly approaches the juncture between the two
510 phenomena, and further encourages future social workers (students) to critically reflect and
511 engage in this domain of practice/research.

512

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