This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Journal of Social Work Education on 30 Mar 2020 (Published online), available online: http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/10437797.2020.1723763.

Co-producing knowledge through documentary film-making:

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2 A community-based participatory study with older adults with homeless histories 3 Victoria Burns, Crystal Kwan, and Christine A. Walsh 4 Dr. Burns' main research interests focus on the intersection of aging, place and homelessness, all of which are inspired by several years of community-based social work practice with older 5 6 adults. Dr. Kwan's research interests and experiences are within social work and include ageing, practice 7 8 research, community and international development, social policy, green social work, social innovation, livelihoods, and social work education/professional development. 9 Dr. Walsh's research interests involve contributing to the understanding of violence across the 10 lifespan, and populations affected by social exclusion, poverty and homelessness. 11 12 Abstract Despite the increased recognition of older adult homelessness in research, policy, and practice, 13 few studies have considered the potential to coproduce knowledge using community-based 14 participatory research (CBPR) filmmaking with older adults with homeless histories. This project 15 redresses this gap. using walk along and drive along interviews the documentary focused on the 16 older adults' experiences of finding home after homelessness. In this article we offer insights 17 into the tensions revealed in CBPR filmmaking and share reflections of social work students 18 regarding their experiences working on this project. We offer recommendations for educators to 19 enhance students' competencies and interests regarding the fields of homelessness and aging and 20 for researchers who may be interested in engaging older adults in CBPR filmmaking. 21 22 23 **Keywords:** Community-based participatory research, documentary film, homeless older adults

26 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).		

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

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regarding documentary film-making as a unique visual method in CBPR research. Second, we describe the background information of the research project and discuss the rationale for integrating documentary film-making as part of the research process. Third, we delineate the process of co-constructing the CBPR documentary film and discuss the challenges and opportunities of utilizing documentary film-making in advancing the voices of marginalized older adults who are rarely included in research, policy, and practice discourses. We conclude this section with recommendations for researchers who may be interested in engaging older adults experiencing homelessness in CBPR film-making. Fourth and lastly, we share reflections

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

Use of Documentary Film-Making in CBPR Research

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The use of visual materials in research has a long history within the social sciences (Rose, 2016). Rose (2016) for example, argued that "both anthropology and human geography have used visual images as research tools for as long as they have been established as academic disciplines [albeit,] visual sociology is a more recent development" (p. 15). Such an approach can incorporate a broad range of visual materials, including, for example, photography, drawings, paintings, sculptures, video, and web-based digital media (Pink, 2013). The extent to which visual material is used throughout the research process varies, including using it as research data, to illicit further discussion in an interview or focus group, or as part of research dissemination (Pink, 2004, 2013). The source of the visual materials also differs, being participant-generated, researcher-generated, and/or generated from an existing source (Pink, 2013). Documentary film has a long tradition in ethnographic research, with key publications in the 1990s and early 2000s that mainstreamed and set the context for its design and use (Banks & Morphy, 1997; Ilisa & Lucien, 1996; Lucien, 1998; MacDougall, 1998, 2001; Pink, 2001; Ruby, Pink, Wessels, & MacDougall, 2001). For instance, MacDougall (1998), a principal contributor in the development of ethnographic documentaries and visual anthropology, wrote extensively

positionality of the ethnographer. While ethnographic documentary film and/or video-making

on the differences between written text and film, and the subjectivity, reflexivity and

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

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

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

Study Design and Recruitment

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

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

Participant Characteristics

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

Data Collection

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

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

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

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

From Photovoice to CBPR Documentary Film-Making

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

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

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

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

Co-Constructing a CBPR Documentary Film: Tensions, Challenges, and Opportunities

Tensions unique to CBPR methodologies must be anticipated and solutions developed prior to
engaging in research in the community. The following section describes three main tensions that
emerged and were addressed during the research process. It follows with a discussion of how our
findings relate to existing CBPR and documentary film literature.

Tension 1: Openness to Intimate Sharing versus Privacy

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

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

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

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

It's difficult at times, because it requires looking in, you're good at asking those difficult questions [laughs] but it's also been difficult to see more of the injustices that seniors experience and, it comes out when I am on Twitter, when I talk to people, when I go to conferences, but being retrospective of what my life has been, that has been difficult because I would not have considered myself invisible homeless, I'm just one of these 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 different.

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

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

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

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

Tension 2: Varying Levels of Participation and Ownership

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

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

First, I thought ... it was just gonna' be videotaping, interview, videotaping, that was it.

And more and more things, you know, [name of the researcher] s been asking me, and doing some editing and that and I was like, okay, I'm learning some skills, too, and learning how to do things, and discussion of, should that be included, and why shouldn't that be included, and where can we hop from there, and what can we do with the bloopers, you know, different things, different conversations that can be done.

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

Tension 3: Team Building versus Risk of Loss

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

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Remembering George

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

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

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

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

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

As the project is currently terminating, members of the research team and co-researchers are feeling disappointment and seeking ways to reconfigure relations and move forward together.

Continued involvement in knowledge dissemination, advocacy and social justice initiatives is one way of remaining connected. To date, the documentary has been shown internationally

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

Recommendations for Engaging Older Adults as Co-researchers

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

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

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

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

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

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

As scholars in the academy who embraced the opportunity to engage in documentary film as research, we initially presented our plans for the What Kids Love and Hate about School project to our university's [Social Science Institutional Review Board] SSIRB.

The innovative nature of our methods was debated among SSIRB members, and after a face-to-face questioning session with us, the SSIRB determined that our project did not conform to their definition of research. (p. 41)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

476 Conclusion

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

attributes that appear to be common across all 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" (Kwan & Walsh, 2018 p. 370). These attributes are also fundamental social work values. Most importantly, the research process was geared toward social action – this was planned for and realized throughout the process during various opportunistic and planned knowledge dissemination activities.

Conversely, as this study demonstrated, adhering to these principles is replete with tensions and require reflection and interventions. For instance, although community was a unit of identity, not all co-researchers felt equally a "part of" the project; as a consequence, individual proclivities and skills, as well as group dynamics and power differentials meant individuals differed in the ways in which they participated (Minkler, 2004; Walsh et al., 2008). CBPR in documentary filmmaking was a very powerful, collaborative method; it was also a very time intensive process – a finding that has been documented in previous CBPR research (Plyes, 2015; Wahab, 2003).

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

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

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

Funding

This work was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (430-2017-00394).

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doi:10.1007/s10805-008-9061-0665666667