Engaged Scholar Journal
Community-Engaged Research, Teaching and Learning

Using Community-Engaged, Arts-Based Methods to Explore Housing Insecurity in Rural-Urban Spaces

Laura Pin, Tobin LeBlanc Haley and Leah Levac

Volume 10, Number 2, 2024

Engaged Scholarship and Housing Security

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1113438ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.15402/esj.v10i2.70849

See table of contents

Publisher(s)

University of Saskatchewan

ISSN

2369-1190 (print)
2368-416X (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

Pin, L., LeBlanc Haley, T. & Levac, L. (2024). Using Community-Engaged, Arts-Based Methods to Explore Housing Insecurity in Rural-Urban Spaces. *Engaged Scholar Journal*, *10*(2), 23–41. https://doi.org/10.15402/esj.v10i2.70849

Article abstract

This article explores how community-engaged, arts-based research methods can enrich our understanding of homelessness, with a specific focus on housing insecurity in rural-urban communities. Drawing on a digital storytelling project in Dufferin County, Ontario, that featured twelve storytellers and eight stories, this article explores the complexities of homelessness that are often neglected in official narratives of housing and home. We argue that the dominant method of documenting homelessness—enumeration through Point-in-Time (PiT) Counts—provides a limited understanding of homelessness and contributes to the invisibility of these problems in rural-urban spaces. We explore how a participant-led, arts-based approach can point to key areas for policy change by drawing attention to housing insecurity as a form of homelessness and highlighting how individual circumstances intersect with structural factors.

Using Community-Engaged, Arts-Based Methods to Explore Housing Insecurity in Rural-Urban Spaces

Laura Pin, Tobin LeBlanc Haley, Leah Levac

Abstract This article explores how community-engaged, arts-based research methods can enrich our understanding of homelessness, with a specific focus on housing insecurity in rural-urban communities. Drawing on a digital storytelling project in Dufferin County, Ontario, that featured twelve storytellers and eight stories, this article explores the complexities of homelessness that are often neglected in official narratives of housing and home. We argue that the dominant method of documenting homelessness—enumeration through Point-in-Time (PiT) Counts—provides a limited understanding of homelessness and contributes to the invisibility of these problems in rural-urban spaces. We explore how a participant-led, arts-based approach can point to key areas for policy change by drawing attention to housing insecurity as a form of homelessness and highlighting how individual circumstances intersect with structural factors.

KeyWords homelessness, critical arts-based methods, digital storytelling, Point-in-Time Count, rural-urban, community-engaged research

> *All human beings crave a place to call home. A safe haven to live and raise a family. The harsh reality is that this basic fundamental need is becoming harder and harder to attain.*
>
> —"Home" [research participant's digital story]

Housing is a fundamental human need and a basic human right yet many people experience homelessness. From 2016 to 2021, 230,000 relatively affordable rental units were lost in the Canadian market (Pomeroy, 2022). At the same time, the year-over-year cost of a private market rental has dramatically increased in many places (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2023) and social housing waitlists are measured in years, if not decades (Statistics Canada, 2018). These factors have made housing insecurity and homelessness urgent social problems in Canada. In response to this crisis, the federal government has increased its efforts to quantify homelessness and use this data to inform policy change (Donaldson et al., 2018). Point-in-Time (PiT) Counts are counts of people experiencing homelessness using a primarily quantitative methodology that emphasizes standardized measures (Smith, 2015). Yet the complex and

shifting ways structural dynamics shape individual experiences of homelessness are often absent from dominant methods of imagining, documenting, and enumerating homelessness.

This article explores how community-engaged, arts-based research methods can enrich our understanding of homelessness in rural-urban communities. Drawing on a digital storytelling project in Dufferin County, Ontario, involving twelve storytellers and eight stories, we explore the complexities of housing insecurity that are often neglected in official narratives of housing and home. We argue that the dominant method of documenting homelessness—enumeration through PiT Counts—provides a limited understanding of this pressing social issue and contributes to the invisibility of these problems in rural-urban spaces, where homelessness manifests differently than in urban areas. We explore how participant-led, arts-based engagement illuminates the often-neglected experiences of homelessness and shows how individual circumstances intersect with structural factors, thereby pointing to key areas for policy change.

In this paper, we first contextualize housing insecurity and homelessness in Canada and historicize the use of PiT Counts. Next, we introduce our case study location, Dufferin County, Ontario, and situate digital storytelling as a critical arts-based methodology. After, we describe how the digital storytelling workshop contributes to understandings of housing insecurity by developing complex, layered, and situated understandings; mobilizing an explicitly political framing of housing insecurity; using participatory and agentic research processes; and prioritizing process-oriented outcomes. We conclude with a brief discussion of the implications of this research.

Housing Insecurity as Homelessness in Canada

We draw on the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness' definition of homelessness as the absence of safe, adequate, and permanent housing and/or the immediate means of acquiring such housing (Gaetz et al., 2012).[1] Homelessness, and its prevalence, is shaped by complex structural factors that intersect with individual circumstances (Dej, 2020). Structural dimensions of homelessness include systematic exclusion and/or discrimination based on race, Indigeneity, disability, gender, sexuality, class, and migration status, as well as government policy decisions in intersecting areas such as fiscal policy, rent regulation, healthcare provision, and income supports (Dej et al., 2020; Levac et al., 2022). Focusing on Dufferin County situates this paper in literature exploring people's experiences of homelessness in rural areas and urban-rural spaces, categories which overlap. Schiff et al. (2015) describe rural areas as including three different zones: within commuting distance of urban areas, outside commuting distance of urban areas, and remote communities far from the urban areas that serve as local service hubs. In rural settings, homelessness is less visible because shelter systems may be underdeveloped and people experiencing unsheltered homelessness may be more hidden from public view (Schiff et al.,

1 While the Canadian Observatory on Homlessness' definition is commonly used in Canada, Métis-Cree scholar Jesse Thistle's work suggests that understanding homelessness from an Indigenous perspective requires considering the complex relations of land, culture, and displacement in Canada's settler-colonial context and how these create a sense of homelessness for Indigenous Peoples that extends beyond physical shelter (Thistle, 2017).

2015; MacDonald & Gaulin, 2020). This invisibility contributes to the inaccurate perception that homelessness is not an urgent social problem in rural settings. Yet recent research has demonstrated that homelessness not only exists in rural settings (MacDonald & Gaulin, 2020) but also that rural areas can have higher rates of per capita homelessness than major urban centres (Schiff et al., 2023).

The designation 'rural-urban' describes places falling into Schiff et al.'s (2023) first zone (rural areas within commuting distance of urban areas), where urban and rural characteristics intersect in complex and fluid ways (Pin & Haley, 2022; Scott et al., 2013). Characterized by low housing density and high population growth, rural-urban spaces are distinct from suburbs because they lack geographic contiguity with urban centres, while also being distinct from rural spaces due to being highly connected to urban centres (Ros-Tonen et al., 2015). That said, rural and rural-urban experiences of homelessness do overlap: both are characterized by hidden homelessness and the perception that homelessness is not an urgent social problem (Pin & Haley, 2022). However, the affordable housing sector and homelessness supports have historically been less developed for people in urban-rural spaces, even as they experience increasing housing market pressures and housing insecurity (Greenberg, 2021; Pin & Haley, 2022).

Enumerating Homelessness

While some national estimates exist (e.g., Gaetz et al., 2016), it is difficult to know exactly how many people are experiencing homelessness at a given time. PiT Counts attempt to enumerate the number of people experiencing homelessness in a specific geographic space at a given moment in time (Donaldson et al., 2018). During the count, trained volunteers or professionals survey individuals experiencing homelessness to gather information concerning their housing history, demographics, service use, and income sources (Donaldson et al., 2018). Despite earlier attempts by individual cities, Canada lacked a coordinated count until 2015, when the federal government and the Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness piloted a common PiT Count methodology in communities across Canada. The count further expanded in 2016 when the government required communities receiving federal funding to participate (Schiff et al., 2022; Smith, 2015). In addition, the province of Ontario mandates that all municipalities designated as housing service providers conduct regular PiT Counts (Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2021). Thus, since 2016, there has been an increase in local efforts to enumerate homeless individuals through standardized PiT Counts, with nationally coordinated PiT Counts occurring in 2016, 2018, and 2021 (Infrastructure Canada, 2024).

PiT Counts are taken up by policy actors as the best approximation of homelessness available. Data from PiT Counts are used by governments to inform planning and service provision regarding homelessness and to make funding decisions (Schneider et al., 2016). Moreover, the data are seen as the "key to ending homelessness" (Schneider et al., 2016). Proponents suggest that counts can encourage action by providing information on local needs, informing system planning and program development, and providing a means to assess progress for reducing or ending homelessness (Donaldson et al., 2018). Thus, the results of the PiT Counts, in terms of

the numbers of individuals assessed and the demographic characteristics of these individuals, have substantial policy implications.

Nonetheless, researchers have pointed out several limitations regarding PiT Counts. PiT Counts overrepresent people experiencing chronic homelessness compared to other types of homelessness (Smith, 2015). In addition, because PiT Counts rely on enumeration based on street visibility, sometimes supplemented with data from shelters, they undercount those experiencing less visible forms of homelessness such as couch-surfing, staying in motels, sleeping in vehicles, and/or squatting (Agans et al., 2014). PiT Counts thus undercount women and youth, as well as homelessness in rural and rural/urban areas. This is because these groups are more likely to develop strategies for finding shelter that involve less street visibility (Schwan et al., 2021; Smith & Castañeda-Tinoco, 2019; Schiff et al., 2023).

These limitations mean that PiT Counts are always undercounts of the number of individuals experiencing homelessness in a community (Deleu et al., 2023; Smith2015). Moreover, by documenting service use (and service burden) and demographic characteristics that co-occur with the experience of homelessness, PiT Counts implicitly suggest that individual-level, rather than structural, factors are more useful for understanding homelessness. To elaborate, the focus on individual-level data can lead to a deficit-based understanding of demographic groups more likely to experience homelessness, where homelessness is understood as a consequence of individual choices rather than a result of systemic issues affecting housing affordability and wellbeing (Levac et al., 2022). PiT Counts inevitably imply that homelessness is mostly an issue of visible, unhoused bodies and that the depth of the problem is related simply to the question of how many bodies. Having visible bodies as the dominant image of the homeless experience positions it as a problem for the state to solve, obscuring the production of homelessness through state policies and programs. At the same time, the focus on visible bodies conceals more hidden forms of homelessness, which has the perverse effect of reproducing homelessness through policy neglect.

Dufferin DufferinCounty, Ontario

Our digital storytelling project is situated in Dufferin DufferinCounty, a place we describe as a rural-urban community. Dufferin County is an upper-tier municipality[2] in Ontario, Canada, with a population of 66,257 (Statistics Canada, 2023), located approximately 80km northwest of TorontoDufferin. While not part of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), Dufferin DufferinCounty has a high degree of economic interconnectivity with urban centres in the GTA, while still maintaining the low housing density and high rates of population growth characteristic of rural-urban spaces (Statistics Canada, 2023).

As the upper-tier municipality in the area, Dufferin County is the designated housing service manager for Dufferin and other lower-tier municipalities within the county's boundaries. As such, Dufferin County produces a regularly updated housing and homelessness plan that

2 A county government is a form of local government in some areas of Southern Ontario that consists of the local municipalities (cities, towns, villages, and townships) within its boundaries. The county is referred to as an upper-tier municipality and one of its functions is to provid health and social services, including housing services.

includes information about the number of people documented as experiencing homelessness through the local PiT Count. In 2018, the first year PiT Count numbers were included, Dufferin County recorded 44 people as homeless during the PiT Count and had an average of 643 individuals waitlisted for subsidized housing (Dufferin, 2018). In 2021, the most recent year for which public data are available, Dufferin County recorded 23 people experiencing homelessness during the PiT Count and had an average of 703 individuals waitlisted for subsidized housing (Dufferin, 2021a). These data led the Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness to send a letter to Dufferin County congratulating them on reducing chronic homelessness by 50% (Dufferin County, 2021b). However, the PiT Count numbers in Dufferin should not be taken as a comprehensive tally of the number of individuals experiencing homelessness in the county. For example, long-term motel residents waiting for affordable housing may be counted as housed in PiT Counts but are still experiencing homelessness, as they lack permanent and adequate housing. In addition, overall housing waitlist numbers only tell part of the story, with some households falling off the waitlist due to attrition or displacement.

Besides these general challenges, PiT Counts create additional issues in rural-urban spaces such as Dufferin County, which have historically been understood as having lower levels of housing insecurity than major metropolitan areas (Bunting et al., 2004). Outer suburbs and exurban communities are often presented as places of relative affluence and voluntary in-migration from urban centres (Walker, 2010). Besides neglecting the settler-colonial context of rural-urban (and all) spaces in Canada, including the presence and displacement of Indigenous Peoples, this framing facilitates a narrative of homelessness and housing insecurity as a 'big city' problem.

In addition to the number of people experiencing homelessness and/or on the housing waitlist, Dufferin County's report cards include information about substance use, health, and emergency service use by people experiencing homelessness. For example, the 2021 report card states that 73% of individuals documented as homeless during the PiT Count had a "substance use" or "mental health" issue (Dufferin County, 2021a). This is the only demographic data presented in the report cards, which reinforces the stereotype that only certain types of people experience homelessness and that homelessness is largely a result of individual decisions (Buck-McFadyen, 2022; Dej, 2020; Schneider et al., 2010). Enumeration functions as a biopolitical mechanism that identifies homelessness as a condition of the individual body, a failure to be a fully realized neoliberal subject. Thus, under neoliberalism, these are failed bodies that need to be corrected through targeted interventions, whose success is measured by the reduction in PiT Count numbers.

The Importance of Community-Engaged Research Approaches for Understanding Housing Insecurity

As discussed, developing a comprehensive understanding of the landscape and experience of homelessness in rural-urban spaces is uniquely challenging. Community knowledge about homelessness—specifically, knowledge held by people with lived experience of homelessness who regularly navigate private rental markets, non-market housing, shelter systems, and/or the geography of sleeping rough in their own communities—is often overlooked. People with lived

experience of homelessness have a deep understanding of the strategies for obtaining housing, staying housed, or finding/making shelter; the social supports available and the benefits and risks of accessing them; and the spaces where homeless populations are in community with one another. Yet this knowledge is often overlooked when state or non-profit organizations seek to quantify the 'homelessness problem' and build solutions (Malenfant et al., 2019 Nelson, 2020). Community-engaged scholarship can fill a critical gap by mapping the complexities of homelessness in a community in a way that PiT Counts cannot.[3] The need for a community-engaged approach may be especially important in rural areas, where homelessness is often hidden from public view and/or poorly understood (Buck-McFadyen, 2022; Schiff et al., 2023). Broadly, community-engaged scholarship in the social sciences approaches knowledge creation, action, and advocacy *with* communities and is grounded in the perspective that respectful and mutually beneficial engagements with communities are essential to a rigorous and complete analysis of a social issue and any subsequent recommendations or actions (Levac & Denis, 2019; Mokos, 2022). Our adherence to a community-engaged scholarship approach includes building meaningful relationships in and with communities and making decisions about research design, implementation, and outputs collectively. Engaged research has a long and diverse history across disciplines, but common commitments include cultivating reciprocity, sharing ownership of data and outputs, centring community-identified needs, and valuing diverse knowledges (Beaulieu et al., 2018). Rather than seeing these commitments as undermining the integrity and independence of the research process, we (in agreement with other community-engaged scholars) believe that "groups do not learn from research that simply confirms their agenda or justifies their grant proposals. True advocacy research that helps community partners is critical research" (Warren et al., 2018, p. 448). For community-engaged scholars the process of doing research with the community is at least as important as the outputs, in part because mutual capacity-building is another priority of engaged research (Boilevin et al., 2017; Francisco-Menchavez & Tungohan, 2020). Community-engaged scholarship brings academic and community knowledge together to make a positive contribution, whether in terms of highlighting marginalized insights, developing policy or other recommendations, designing and implementing new programs, and/or engaging in creative works. These vital commitments and contributions are difficult—if not impossible—to achieve through PiT Counts alone. The community-engaged approach used in this project taps into community knowledge about where, how, and why people are experiencing homelessness in a given space. This vital community-based knowledge is missed in PiT Counts and other enumeration practices that produce quantitative representations of homelessness.

3 In this paper, we use "community engaged" as an umbrella term that captures variations of the community-based, participatory scholarship that, despite evolving in different disciplines, generally share similar commitments to relationship building, reciprocity, equity, shared action, and valuation of diverse forms of knowledge.

Digital Storytelling as a Critical Arts-Based Research Method

We situate digital storytelling as a community-engaged research approach, part of a broader practice of critical arts-based research in the social sciences. Arts-based research is work that explores, represents, and challenges human experience through the diverse modalities of the arts (Wang et al., 2017). *Critical* arts-based research holds a broadly consistent set of normative commitments through a "postmodern, participatory, political, and process-oriented approach to research" (Rice & Mündel, 2018, p. 5). Through a postmodern orientation, critical arts-based research recognizes the situated, partial, and embodied aspects of knowledge production and seeks to highlight difference and multiplicity through competing narratives and understandings. Through its participatory orientation, critical arts-based inquiry disrupts the notion of an externally situated researcher and internally situated participant, working through a model of co-creation in the research process and project outputs by "participant-researchers" and "researcher-participants" (Rice et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2017). Importantly, co-creation involves the production of research outputs that use everyday modalities to disrupt divisions between the academy and the community and foster shared knowledges (Finley, 2011; Rice & Mündel, 2018). Critical arts-based research is explicitly political in its orientation. It interrogates social power relations through arts-based practices and produces accessible forms of knowledge that can be mobilized for social change (Finley, 2011; Rice & Mündel, 2018). Finally, critical arts-based research is process-oriented, valuing the research process itself for opening space for meaningful engagement rooted in the normative commitments outlined above (Rice et al., 2021).

Digital storytelling is an arts-based method that uses digital technologies to combine multiple types of visual and auditory media into a narrative (Wang et al., 2017). Our specific approach to digital storytelling is rooted in the practice developed by the Re•Vision Centre for Art and Social Justice at the University of Guelph in Ontario, Canada. Re•Vision's approach to storytelling is rooted in participant autonomy, but it also values collaboration and shared reflection. Participants are typically asked to respond to an open-ended prompt but are otherwise ungoverned by any broader constraints. The process is designed with touchpoints for collaboration, deep listening, and shared reflection (Rice & Mündel, 2018). Importantly, the process is highly supported, with one-on-one expert support available to participants as they navigate different types of technology and different approaches to storytelling. Furthermore, the process is rooted in difference: while it may include exploration of a shared structural issue or social experience, it does so through attention to the different lived experiences and relationships participants bring to this exploration (Rice et al., 2021; Rice & Mündel, 2018). This attention to difference can disrupt dominant narratives and lay the groundwork for future collaboration across differences (Rice & Mündel, 2018). Finally, through Re•Vision's specific approach to digital storytelling, the distinction between participants and researchers is often blurred or even collapsed. Rooting the process in difference enables researchers to enter a shared space of vulnerability by making and sharing stories shaped by their own positionality and reflecting on the process together with participants (Rice et al., 2021). This process of

shared reflection helps disrupt (though not necessarily resolve) hierarchies and creates space for dialogue, which are important components of community-engaged scholarship more broadly.

Our digital storytelling project arose out of past work in Dufferin County involving more traditional program evaluation and is founded on the relationships created during this time: the relationships are one of mutual respect created through shared interactions within and outside the formal research process. Importantly, our arts-based project was developed with community members with lived experience of homelessness who were interested in more participant-led research methods. Since many people experiencing homelessness experience institutional violence from landlords, service providers, and the legal system (Benbow et al., 2019; Kaufman, 2022), strong collaborative relationships were essential to our digital storytelling project.

Following Research Ethics Board approval, twelve storytellers[4], including the three members of the research team, were recruited into the workshop. All participants were compensated for their time. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the storytelling workshop occurred virtually. Participants were also provided with a digital tablet and headphones, and the research team worked one-on-one with participants to provide other supports needed to facilitate participation. The project began with a story circlewhere storytellers shared their initial responses to the prompt, "What do you want people to know about homelessness and housing insecurity in Dufferin County?" Consistent with our critical approach to social science research, the project's goal was to use storytelling to share knowledges that would otherwise be invisible and mobilize these knowledges for progressive social change. The facilitation team worked with the twelve storytellers over the next four to six weeks, producing eight stories that were 4 to 13 minutes long and included personal narratives and voice; song and soundscapes; and visuals including artwork, photos, illustrations, and videos.[5]

Findings

This section considers how the digital stories created by participants and researchers offer key insights into how housing insecurity in rural-urban spaces manifests and is experienced, adding much-needed texture and nuance to the story told about Dufferin County. The stories created through the digital storytelling process, titled "Home," "Racism in My World," "Legislated and Institutional Poverty of ODSP [Ontario Disability Support Program] Recipients," "Motel Living," "T's Story," "May Break My Bones," "Homelessness and Poverty," and "Complicating Research in and with Community" are diverse and layered interpretations of the storytelling prompt, "What do you want people to know about the experience of homelessness in Dufferin County?" We organized our discussion of the stories into four sections that mirror the commitments of arts-based engagement: postmodern, political, participatory, and process-

4 Following Rice et al. (2021), we use the category of "storytellers" to describe both participants and research team members who engaged in the process of creating a digital story, emphasizing shared engagement in the process.

5 The digital stories were completed in 2021. Seven of these stories can be viewed at www.dufferinchange.ca. The creator of the eighth story declined to post their story publicly but agreed that we could use it for this paper. Unless otherwise noted, all of the quotations in the findings section are from the digital stories.

oriented (Rice & Mündel, 2018). Woven through these sections are the challenges of leading a digital storytelling workshop with participants experiencing intersecting forms of social marginalization, including, in some cases, actively experiencing housing insecurity at the time of the workshop.

Sites/Sights: Multiple Narratives and Perspectives (Postmodern)

When it comes to the housing crisis and homelessness, the focus on quantification through enumerating homelessness and counting housing starts misses a rich analysis not only of the housing experience itself, but also of potential solutions. In light of this, digital storytelling's ability to generate and share a multiplicity of narratives makes it a valuable alternative capable of challenging dominant explanations of a problem.

The digital stories produced through our project showcase the many ways that housing precarity manifests in rural-urban spaces, ways that would be overlooked by simply counting bodies and structures. Instead, the stories take up the issue of 'site/sight.' Often, the sites of housing precarity in rural-urban spaces are unexpected and hidden from sight. In response, digital stories capture the unexpected revelations, erasures, look, and feel of housing precarity on the rural-urban edge.

For instance, "Motel Living" captures the experiences of a person who— after sleeping in cars, living in unsafe units, and experiencing what they identify as an illegal eviction—came to live in a rural motel for three and a half years. Far from grocery stores and medical services and unserved by public transportation, this person became isolated, with nowhere to go. In a motel at the edge of a highway, with farmers' fields in all directions, their health deteriorates. They are hidden from sight, invisible in homelessness counts, and concealed from the public eye but counted as housed by their social worker, emphasizing the incompleteness of official narratives. Likewise, "T's Story" takes up the power imbalance between landlords and tenants and the injustices—such as illegal evictions and rent increases—that push people into motel living. This story identifies other rural motels, as well as empty warehouses, as ignored sites that could be developed as transitional housing and speaks to the depth of the housing crisis in the county. While the use of motels and hotels as emergency and temporary housing is not new, their integration into COVID-19 homelessness response strategies raises the possibility that this form of unsuitable shelter will remain (Odd & Erfani, 2023). The hope raised in T's story for a dignified use of motels and hotels as transitional housing contrasts with the experience recounted in "Motel Living." For people in rural-urban communities, motel and hotel living often means living in isolation, out of sight and out of mind.

In "Racism in My World," the storytellers' discussion of race and racism in the predominantly white Dufferin County (Statistics Canada, 2023) also reflect the theme of site/sight, where people of colour experiencing housing precarity feel both hypervisible and invisible, an issue we have written about elsewhere (see Levac et al., 2022). The storytellers share, among other injustices, the experience of a racialized homeless family that was invited to view an apartment by a prospective landlord. When the family arrived, the sight of the prospective tenants of colour prompted the landlord to say the unit was no longer available. This story reveals the

racism (and, in particular, anti-Black racism) that is often "[swept] under the carpet" ("Racism," 2023) despite the stark housing inequality experienced by Black households. In Canada, 52% of Black households are renters compared to 27% of the total population and they are more likely to require housing subsidies; additionally, Black homeowners pay $620 more for their monthly shelter costs than the total population of homeowners (Randle et al., 2021). "Racism in My World" reveals the often-neglected racialization of housing precarity and poverty and insists on making it not just part of the conversation about homelessness in rural-urban spaces but central to understanding housing precarity.

"May Break My Bones" takes up the collision of poverty, anti-immigration sentiments, and misogyny in the production of homelessness. The storyteller explains how poverty, hunger, and homelessness forced them to hide in the woods, out of sight, and how the natural world was a site of shelter and food. The survival strategies shared in this story—sex work, hunting, and fishing—are often left out of the conversation of homelessness in Canada or else presented, in the case of sex work and sex workers, as pitying or pathologizing. "May Break My Bones" is a rich, complex story that makes hardships visible, as well as the undeniable amounts of labour and skill demanded of those navigating homelessness. In contrast to narratives that position people experiencing homelessness as without power, "May Break My Bones" flips the narrative to emphasize constant, unrelenting agency. As the narrator relates, they are always running, always working to evade oppressive systems and live with dignity.

Ultimately, these four digital stories tell multiple and overlapping stories about housing in Dufferin County, shifting our understanding of the sites/sights of housing precarity in rural-urban spaces. Importantly, the stories speak to the many gaps in formal homelessness and housing supports, as storytellers often relay working against systems to survive, a theme picked up further below.

Beyond showcasing the multiple narratives and understandings of homelessness, these digital stories highlight the movement of homeless people from a car to a hotel, across national borders, and through the woods. These stories interrupt and call into question the desirability and utility of focusing on a quantitative counting of homeless bodies to inform policymaking. As "T's Story," "Break My Bones," and "Motel Living" demonstrate, experiences of homelessness can be characterized by constant movement, where people are required to constantly reconstruct their relationship to place. Beyond calling into question enumeration's ability to capture the realities of homelessness in a particular place, these stories ("Break My Bones" in particular) showcase how movement as a survival strategy can hide a person experiencing homelessness from the biopolitical project of counting.

Ontological (In)Security: The Failures of Social Assistance (Political)

The digital stories in this project highlight how social assistance policy directly contributes to and exacerbates the experiences of housing insecurity within and beyond the rural-urban space, denying recipients ontological security. "Home" captures housing loss that resulted from the "terribly difficult" ("Home", 2021, 1:26) and very long process of applying for social assistance following a period of ill health. The storyteller of "Home" speaks to the fear of

housing loss and the denial of a "safe and comfortable" (Home, 2021,0:36) place to cultivate and maintain family ties, an experience that is part of the daily life of low-income tenants in Dufferin County where "there is a clear shortage of affordable housing and what is affordable is highly sought after and competition for rentals is fierce" (Home, 2021, 2:44). Similarly, "Poverty and Homelessness" discusses how social assistance programs produce poverty and homelessness. The story anthropomorphizes the social assistance system in Ontario, using the figure of a world-class boxer to highlight that "when you get in the ring with social assistance, be prepared to get knocked out" ("Poverty", 2021, 0:30=). Poverty and Homelessness" documents how social assistance creates uncertainty, harms self-esteem and self-worth, exhausts recipients, makes people sick, and limits hope for the future. Finally, "Legislated and Institutional Poverty of ODSP," highlights in painstaking detail the ever-present stress and anxiety that arise from a complex and cumbersome social assistance policy that impoverishes recipients.

These stories draw attention to the lack of ontological security experienced by people accessing social assistance (Woodhall-Melnik et al., 2017; Plage et al., 2023). Ontological security is, broadly, a sense of stability and control over one's life (Plage et al., 2023). The low rates of financial support that make rental market housing unaffordable for recipients, the arduous application and reporting process, and the intense surveillance experienced by social assistance recipients directly threaten their ability to exert control over or plan where and how they live. The social assistance system is captured as a policy failure that directly contributes to housing insecurity, stress, pain, and even illness, an experience not captured by PiT Counts. These digital stories bring to light the embodied experience of poverty and housing insecurity that, in these cases, is directly linked to policy failure, not individual experiences or failings. By drawing attention to the state-led creation of ontological insecurity, these stories challenge normative understandings of poverty and homelessness as an unfortunate individual experience. Instead, poverty and homelessness are identified and analyzed as structural problems in which the state is deeply implicated.

Negotiating Agency (Participatory)

In our digital storytelling workshop, the research process was co-created by storytellers. Developing the research processes and objectives was a shared undertaking. Co-creation meant that storytellers owned their stories and held authority over where and how those stories were shared. This process of ongoing consent was especially important in maintaining collective trust, which is necessary given the highly personal nature of the stories and their subject matter: housing insecurity is a fraught topic for many of the storytellers, who had experienced vulnerability and a lack of control during past discussions. In turn, storytellers' ownership of their stories helped create the trust necessary for the detailed and personal explorations that emerged in the digital stories. A second dimension of co-creation was the dual identity of the research team members as researchers and storytellers. Consistent with the call from over-researched communities that "if you want to do research with and about us, we want to know some things about you too" (Boilevin et al., 2017), all research team members participated in the process, making their own stories. Shared vulnerability was important for creating a

research space conducive to mutual respect and capacity building and, as we discuss in the next section, for disrupting the researcher-participant divide.

During and after creating the stories, storytellers worked together through ongoing conversations to revise the project's framing. A key contribution that several storytellers made was suggesting we re-think the language of "rural-urban fringe," which is how we had initially conceptualized the project's geospatial location. Two participants noted that fringe reinscribed the marginality of rural-urban areas rather than centring the space, potentially reinforcing the stereotype that homelessness is not a pressing issue outside of large cities. They were also concerned that the language of "fringe" might associate the project with extremist political rhetoric unrelated to the goals of the digital storytelling project. This prompted a group discussion of several alternatives and the adoption of the language of "rural-urban space" as more accurately describing the spatial dynamics of Dufferin County.

Another key dimension of participant agency was the interpretation of the storytelling prompt. Participants interpreted the prompt, "What do you want people to know about homelessness and housing insecurity in Dufferin County?", in ways that challenged not only dominant narratives concerning homelessness but also our interpretation of what is in/outside of scope in discussions of housing and homelessness. The digital stories all highlight the presence and urgency of homelessness, with a focus on housing insecurity in Dufferin County, but in diverse ways. "Racism in my World" centres experiences of racism and social exclusion in shaping their relationship with housing. The stories "Home," "Poverty and Homelessness," and "Legislated and Institutional Poverty of ODSP Recipients" all focus on how the shortcomings of income-support programs in Ontario are a primary driver of respondents' housing insecurity. "Motel Living" and "T's Story" focus on how state housing regulations and guidance contribute to housing insecurity, while "May Break My Bones" connects housing insecurity to gender-based violence and food insecurity. In short, participants interpreted the prompt in diverse ways, which drew attention to often-neglected dimensions of homelessness and connected individual experiences to structural socio-economic and policy dimensions. Importantly, the focus on structural issues such as the lack of affordable rental housing, the inadequacy of income support programs, and the prevalence of racism bring attention to dynamics of homelessness that extend beyond the type of data generated through PiT Counts.

Responsivity and Disrupting the Participant-Researcher Divide (Process-Orientation)

Finally, we discuss the process-oriented aspects of digital storytelling and how, consistent with critical arts-based research, the process itself was valuable, both for illuminating dimensions of housing insecurity and for creating space for future meaningful engagement among participants (Rice et al., 2021). Our research process was embedded in the structural dynamics of homelessness and marked by the harms caused by homelessness. Shortly before initial recruitment into the project, the community member 'M,' who frequently cycled in and out of homelessness, passed away very suddenly. Prior to their death, M had expressed interest in the digital storytelling project, but now their story remains untold. The absence of M's story highlights—in the most

severe way possible—how the consequences of homelessness make it difficult for research to adequately represent the lived expertise of those experiencing homelessness.

As noted in the methods discussion, the COVID-19 pandemic required us to adapt to a virtual format. Initially we had planned for all storytellers and facilitators to gather online in a digital workroom, similar to an in-person meeting space. It soon became clear that trying to work together as a large group in a digital space caused friction among participants. Some participants were observing the speed at which other participants were working on their stories and feeling left behind. Other participants were struggling with the logistics of digital engagement, which was often related to living in inadequate housing and living rural areas with less reliable internet. For some participants, irregular work commitments and/or caregiving responsibilities with little support made it difficult to commit to attending lengthy group meetings. These challenges, on top of the emotionally difficult work of exploring participants' first-hand experiences of housing insecurity and other forms of homelessness, made coping with group dynamics in a virtual environment untenable.

In response, and guided by participants' input, we changed our approach by moving the project work to one-on-one sessions between facilitators, academic leads, and participants. In this way the project pacing and support were more responsive to the needs of individual participants. For example, one participant had difficulty accessing reliable internet service and using the project-supplied tablet. This individual, however, was very comfortable with their phone, so we transitioned to working with this individual over the phone. Our initial approach of expecting everyone to use the same hardware (a project supplied tablet), attend the same group meetings, and produce their stories on the same timeline was motivated by the ambitions of digital storytelling, including building opportunities for collaborating across differences (Rice & Mündel, 2018). However, these expectations were too rigid and interrupted the goal of recognizing participants' deep and distinct lived expertise. The need for an adaptable approach speaks to the diverse and multi-layered barriers individuals with recent experiences of homelessness face when participating in arts-based research processes, which often involve intensive engagement over a prolonged period: when individuals are dedicating most of their time to meeting their basic survival needs, it is difficult to make space for this level of engagement.

Another way the participant-research divide was disrupted was through actively engaging with tensions that arose during the story creation. As a team, we had to negotiate decisions around framing and around how personal to make the stories. For the two university professors without experience of housing precarity, deciding how to express our relationship to the topic at hand without appropriating experiences was difficult and is contemplated in the story "Complicating Research with and in Community," which details our struggle with how to relate to the prompt authentically and experientially. Through the shared vulnerability created through the digital storytelling process and the moments of tension, joy, and satisfaction as the stories developed, the groundwork was developed for future research, with emergent and meaningful social relationships developing among storytellers. Specifically, the project led to

the formation of the Dufferin Lived Experience Collective, which continues to meet regularly and function as a supportive space for members.

Conclusion

Understanding the nuances and layered complexities of homelessness is not possible with PiT Counts alone. While these data serve a basic function for communities and are indeed required of them as part of government funding schemes, they underrepresent and flatten stories of homelessness. Moreover, PiT Counts fail to represent the lived experiences of people who acutely understand the challenges of navigating inadequate housing options in their communities. This is especially true in rural-urban spaces where narratives about the lack of homelessness further erase people's experiences. Digital storytelling is a critical arts-based research method that advances the overarching commitments of community-engaged scholarship, including practicing reciprocity, advocating shared capacity-building, and prioritizing community-identified needs. The digital stories produced through this research collaboration reveal critical information about sites/sights of homelessness and participants' ontological insecurity. They also provide critical policy information, such as detailing exactly why poverty and homelessness cannot be accurately understood as an individual deficit-based problem.

Working together and being process-oriented is instructive for anyone wishing to intervene on the complex causes and consequences of housing insecurity and other forms of homelessness. Moreover, it is critical for ensuring that housing-related policy efforts disrupt, rather than entrench, structural and social exclusion, discrimination, settler colonialism, sexism, and other factors that animate housing insecurity and homelessness generally in Canada (Dej, 2020; Schwan et al., 2021). Advancing more informed and just responses to homelessness and housing security depends on more collaborative research approaches–like the digital storytelling described here–that can reveal critical nuances in people's housing-related experiences.

Acknowledgements

"We are grateful for the support this work received from the Community Engaged Scholarship Institute and the Re•Vision Centre for Art and Social Justice, both at the University of Guelph. This work was also supported by funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council. We appreciate the engagement of each of the digital storytelling participants, whose time, energy, trust and care on this journey made the workshop a deeply generative experience."_

About the Authors

Laura Pin (she/her) *(corresponding author)* is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Wilfrid Laurier University. Her research and teaching focuses on community-engaged approaches to public policy, especially in the areas of housing policy, local government, and social policy. Email: lpin@wlu.ca

Tobin LeBlanc Haley (she/her) is an Assistant Professor of Sociology in the Department of Social Science at the University of New Brunswick and the co-director of the Housing, Moblization and Engagement -Research Lab. She is a community-engaged, social policy scholar who works at the intersection of housing, disability and poverty.

Leah Levac (she/her) is an Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair in Critical Community Engagement and Public Policy (Tier 2) at the University of Guelph in the Department of Political Science. Her research and teaching focus on community engaged scholarship, intersectionality and policymaking, particularly in local policy and federal impact assessment policy.

References

Advocacy Centre for Tenants Ontario. (2021). *Vacancy decontrol—What is it and why does it matter*? https://www.acto.ca/vacancy-decontrol-what-is-it-and-why-does-it-matter/

Agans, R.P., Jefferson, M.T., Bowling, J.M., Zeng, D., Yang, J., & Silverbush, M. (2014). Enumerating the hidden homeless: Strategies to estimate the homeless gone missing from a point-in-time count. *Journal of Official Statistics, 30*(2), 215-229. https://doi.org/10.2478/jos-2014-0014

Bay, J.L., & Yankura Swacha, K. (2020). Community-engaged research as enmeshed practice. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 26*(1), 121-141. https://doi.org/10.3998/mjcsloa.3239521.0026.108

Beaulieu, A., Breton, M., & Brousselle, A. (2018). Conceptualizing 20 years of engaged scholarship: A scoping review. *PLoS ONE, 13*(2), Article e0193201. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0193201

Benbow, S., Forchuk, C., Berman, H., Gorlick, C., & Ward-Griffin, C. (2019). Spaces of exclusion: Safety, stigma, and surveillance of mothers experiencing homelessness. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research, 51*(3), 202-213. https://doi.org/10.1177/0844562119859138

Boilevin, L., Chapman, J., Deane, L., Doerksen, C., Fresz, G., Joe, D. J., Leech-Crier, N., Marsh, S., McLeod, J., Neufeld, S., & Pham, S. (2017). *Research 101: A manifesto for ethical research into the downtown eastside.* Homeless Hub. https://www.homelesshub.ca/resource/research-101-manifesto-ethical-researchdowntown-eastside

Buck-McFadyen, E. (2022). Competing perspectives on rural homelessness: Findings from a qualitative study in Ontario, Canada. *Health & Social Care in the Community, 30*(5), e2003-e2011. https://doi.org/10.1111/hsc.13633

Bunting, T., Walks, A.R., & Filion, P. (2004). The uneven geography of housing affordability stress in Canadian metropolitan areas. *Housing Studies, 19*(3), 361-393. https://doi.org/10.1080/0267303042000204287

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (2023). *Rental market report: January 2023 edition*. https://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/-/media/sites/cmhc/professional/housing-markets-data-and-research/market-reports/rental-market-report/rental-market-report-2022-en.ashx

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2021, March 16). *City of Toronto secures space in hotels for every person living in 4 'priority' encampment sites*. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/city-toronto-secures-hotel-space-every-person-four-priority-encampents-1.5952510

Dej, E. (2020). *A complex exile: Homelessness and social exclusion in Canada*. UBC Press.

Dej, E., Gaetz, S., & Schwan, K. (2020). Turning off the tap: A typology for homelessness prevention. *The Journal of Primary Prevention, 41*(5), 397-412. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10935-020-00607-y

Deleu, H., Schrooten, M., & Hermans, K. (2023). Hidden homelessness: A scoping review and avenues for further inquiry. *Social Policy and Society, 22*(2), 282-298. . https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746421000476

Donaldson, J., Gaetz, S., & Turner, A. (2018). *Point-in-Time Count toolkit*. Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press. https://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/download-chapter/PiT%20Count%20Toolkit%202020%20Final.pdf

Dufferin County. (2018). *Country of Dufferin 10-year housing and homelessness plan, 2018 report card*. [Infographic]. https://www.Dufferincounty.ca/sites/default/files/housing/2018%2010%20Year%20Plan%20Report%20Card.pdf

Dufferin County. (2021a). *Country of Dufferin 10-year housing and homelessness plan, 2021 report card*. [Infographic]. https://www.dufferincounty.ca/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/2021-10-Year-Plan-Annual-Report-Card-Infographic.pdf

Dufferin County. (2021b). *Country of Dufferin 10-year housing and homelessness plan: 2021 update*. [Infographic]. https://www.dufferincounty.ca/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/2021-10-Year-Housing-Plan-Update-003.pdf

Finley, S. (2011). Critical arts-based inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 435-450). Sage.

Francisco-Menchavez, V., & Tungohan, E. (2020). Mula sa masa, tungo sa masa, From the people, for the people: Building migrant worker capacity through participatory action research. *Migration Letters, 17*(2), 257–64. https://doi.org/10.59670/ml.v17i2.768

Gaetz, S., Barr, C., Friesen, A., Harris, B., Hill, C., Kovacs-Burns, K., Pauly, B., Pearce, B., Turner, A., & Marsolais, A. (2012). *Canadian definition of homelessness*. Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press. https://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/COH-Canadian%20Definition%20of%20Homelessness.pdf

Gaetz, S., Dej, E., Richter, T., & Redman, M. (2016). *The state of homelessness in Canada 2016.* Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press. https://homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/SOHC16_final_20Oct2016.pdf

Greenberg, M. (2021). Seeking shelter: How housing and urban exclusion shape exurban disaster. *Sociologica, 15*(1), 67-89. https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.1971-8853/11869

Home [Video]. 2012. Dufferin Country. https://www.dufferinchange.ca/post/home-a-compelling-digital-story

Infrastructure Canada. (2024). E*veryone counts 2020-2022–Results from the third nationally coordinated Point-in-Time Counts of homelessness in Canada*. (Catalogue No. T94-54/2024E-PDF). https://www.infrastructure.gc.ca/homelessness-sans-abri/reports-rapports/pit-counts-dp-2020-2022-results-resultats-eng.html

Kaufman, D. (2022). Expulsion: A type of forced mobility experienced by homeless people in Canada. *Urban Geography, 43*(3), 321-343. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1853919

Levac, L., Buchnea, A., Pin, L., Karyar, R., Annan, J., Morton, E., & Malenfant, J. (2022). A *national housing strategy by and for whom? Documented experiences of people with living knowledge of housing need*. National Housing Council. https://assets.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/sites/place-to-call-home/pdfs/national-housing-council/nhs-a-national-housing-strategy-by-and-for-whom-en.pdf

Levac, L., Cattapan, A., Haley, T. L., Pin, L., Tungohan, E., & Wiebe, S. M. (2022). Transforming public policy with engaged scholarship: better together. *Policy & Politics, 50*(3), 403-424.

Levac, L., & Denis, A.B. (2019). Combining feminist intersectional and community-engaged research commitments: Adaptations for scoping reviews and secondary analyses of national data sets. *Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement, 12*(1), Article 16. https://doi.org/10.5130/ijcre.v12i1.6193

MacDonald, S.A., & Gaulin, D. (2020). The invisibility of rural homelessness in a Canadian context. *Journal of Social Distress and Homelessness, 29*(2), 169-183. https://doi.org/10.1080/10530789.2019.1688540

Malenfant, J.A., Nichols, N., & Schwan, K. (2019). Chasing funding "to eat our own tail": The invisible emotional work of making social change. *Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research, 10*(2). https://doi.org/10.29173/cjnser.2019v10n2a307

Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing. (2021, March 12). *Minister's directive: Enumeration of homelessness*. Government of Ontario. https://www.ontario.ca/page/ministers-directive-enumeration-homelessness

Mokos, J.T. (2022). Engaging the complexities of community: Conflict and difference in community-engaged research. *GeoJournal, 87*(Suppl. 2), 223-234. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-021-10397-3

Nelson, A. (2020). Nothing about us without us: Centering lived experience and revolutionary care in efforts to end and prevent homelessness in Canada. *Radical Housing Journal, 2*(2): 83-100. https://doi.org/10.54825/IMUC6661

Norman, T., & Pauly, B. (2013). Including people who experience homelessness: A scoping review of the literature. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 33*(3/4), 136-151.

Odd, M., & Erfani, A. (2023). Homelessness in the district of Nipissing of Ontario, Canada before, at the onset and during the Covid-19 pandemic: A trend analysis (2018–2021). *BMC Public Health* 23, Article 1388. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-023-16314-2.

Pin, L., & Haley, T. L. (2022). On The Edge of the Bubble: Homelessness and Near Homelessness on the Rural-Urban Fringe in Canada. *Journal of Rural and Community Development, 17*(4).

Plage, S., Kuskoff, E., Parsell, A., Clarke, A., Ablaza, C., & Perales, F. (2023) Longing for a forever home: Ontological insecurity is collectively produced in fixed-term supportive housing for families. *Housing, Theory and Society, 40*(3), 394-410. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2023.2173287

Pomeroy, S. (2022). *Updating analysis on erosion of lower rent stock from 2021 census*. Canadian Housing Evidence Collaborative. https://chec-ccrl.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Updated-Analysis-on-Housing-Erosion-from-2021-Census-Steve-Pomeroy.pdf

Poverty and Homelessness. [Video]. Dufferin Country. Dufferin Country. https://www.dufferinchange.ca/post/poverty-and-homelessness

Randle, J., Hu, Z., & Thurston, Z. (2021). *Housing experiences in Canada: Black people in 2018*. (Catalogue No. 46-28-0001). Statistics Canada. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/46-28-0001/2021001/article/00006-eng.htm

Rice, C., Cook, K., & Bailey, K. A. (2021). Difference-attuned witnessing: Risks and potentialities of arts-based research. *Feminism & Psychology, 31*(3), 345-365. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353520955142

Rice, C., & Mündel, I. (2018). Story-making as methodology: Disrupting dominant stories through multimedia storytelling. *Canadian Review of Sociology, 55*(2), 211-231. https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12190

Ros-Tonen, M., Pouw, N., & Bavinck, M. (2015). Governing beyond cities: The urban-rural interface. In J. Gupta, K. Pfeffer, H. Verrest, & M. Ros-Tonen (Eds.), *Geographies of Urban Governance* (pp. 85–105). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21272-2_5

Schiff, J.W., Schiff, R., Turner, A., & Bernard, K. (2015). Rural homelessness in Canada: Directions for planning and research. *Journal of Rural and Community Development, 10*(4): 85-106.

Schiff, R., Wilkinson, A., Kelford, T., Pelletier, S., & Schiff, J. W. (2023). Counting the undercounted: Enumerating rural homelessness in Canada. *International Journal on Homelessness, 3*(2), 51-67. https://doi.org/10.5206/ijoh.2022.2.14633

Schneider, M., Brisson, D., & Burnes, D. (2016). Do we really know how many are homeless?: An analysis of the point-in-time homelessness count. *Families in Society, 97*(4), 321-329.

Schneider, B., Chamberlain, K., & Hodgetts, D. (2010). Representations of homelessness in four Canadian newspapers: Regulation, control, and social order. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, 37*(4), Article 8. https://doi.org/10.15453/0191-5096.3564

Schwan, K., Vaccaro, M., Reid, L., Ali, N., & Baig, K. (2021). *The pan-Canadian women's housing & homelessness survey*. Canadian Observatory on Homelessness. https://womenshomelessness.ca/wp-content/uploads/EN-Pan-Canadian-Womens-Housing-Homelessness-Survey-FINAL-28-Sept-2021.pdf

Scott, A.J., Carter, C., Reed, M.R., Larkham, P., Adams, D., Morton, N., ... & Coles, R. (2013). Disintegrated development at the rural–urban fringe: Re-connecting spatial planning theory and practice. *Progress in planning, 83*, 1-52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2012.09.001

Smith, A. (2015). Can we compare homelessness across the Atlantic? A comparative study of methods for measuring homelessness in North America and Europe1. European Journal of Homelessness, 9(2), 233-257.

Smith, C., & Castañeda-Tinoco, E. (2019). Improving homeless point-in-time counts: Uncovering the marginally housed. *Social Currents,* 6(2), 91-104. https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496518812451

Statistics Canada. (2023). *Census profile, 2021 census of population*. (Catalogue number 98-316-X2021001). https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E

Statistics Canada. (2018). *Waitlist status including length of time, by tenure including social and affordable housing, 2018, inactive*. (Table 46-10-0042-01). https://doi.org/10.25318/4610004201-eng

Thistle, J. (2017). *Indigenous definition of homelessness in Canada*. Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press. http://hdl.handle.net/10315/41247

Tremblay, C. & Hall, B.L. (2014). Learning from community–university research partnerships: a Canadian study on community impact and conditions for success. *International Journal of Action Research, 10*(3), 376–404.

Vandenbeld Giles, M. (2020). Not a home: Shelter families living in Canadian motels. *Current Sociology, 68*(5), 701-718. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392120927739

Waegemakers Schiff, J., Schiff, R., & Turner, A. (2016). Rural homelessness in Western Canada: Lessons learned from diverse communities. *Social Inclusion, 4*(4), 73-85. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v4i4.633

Walker, G. (2010). Class as social formation in the ex-urban fringe. In K. Beasely (Ed.), *The rural-urban fringe in Canada: Conflict and controversy* (pp, 2–9). Rural Development Institute.

Warren, M. R., Calderón, J., Kupscznk, L.A., Squires, G., & Su, C. (2018). Is collaborative, community-engaged scholarship more rigorous than traditional scholarship? On advocacy, bias, and social science research. *Urban Education, 53*(4), 445–72. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085918763511

Wang, Q., Coemans, S., Siegesmund, R., & Hannes, K. (2017). Arts-based methods in socially engaged research practice: A classification framework. *Art/Research International: A Transdisciplinary Journal, 2*(2), 5-39. https://doi.org/10.18432/R26G8P

Woodhall-Melnik, J., Dunn, J., Svenson, S., Hamilton-Wright, S., Patterson, C., Waterfield, D., Kirst, M., & Matheson, I. (2017). Finding a place to start: Exploring meanings of housing stability in Hamilton's male Housing First participants. *Housing, Theory and Society, 34*(3), 359-375.